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Master's Degree in International Relations  
Major in Diplomacy

Chair of History of Italian Foreign Policy

A Female Commitment to Europe:  
Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso  
*First Lady of Europe*

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Academic Year 2022/2023



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## INTRODUCTION

Nowadays we live in a reality easily definable as politically and socially stable, mainly thanks to the genuine commitment of those who came before us that literally “wrote our history” and whose gestures we attempt to grasp through the study of the historical subject. To this end, I like to think of History as a basic addition, the result of which is nothing other than the sum of the lives of the people who preceded us. However, it often seems inevitable that in the study of this immense subject, a few addends get lost along the way. In my opinion, the approach to this field usually involves a prejudicated process of discrimination which often leads us to consider only the experiences of “the great ones”, leaving aside instead the work and contributions of those not worthy of mention. So, what about all those forgotten histories? Are they really less relevant? I would like to disagree. Indeed, I rather believe getting to know the lives of “the forgotten” would provide us with an additional tool to understand History and it would also help us realize that no selection process should be needed, and that no histories are more relevant than others. In addition, Thomas Carlyle himself used to define History as a biography of *great men*. But, what about the History “of *great women*”? As we all know, indeed, women’s contributions, historical and not, were for a long time too easily forgotten. Indeed, history often only focused on the analysis of the masculine viewpoint, of those men that undoubtedly achieved great results, changing the course of our history. However, on a few occasions I just started to ask myself where women were in the meantime? Or better, were there even women working side by side with men in making history?

Therefore, starting from the assumption that in my opinion no experience is marginal in the complex historical result, the intent of this thesis is exactly this: to tell the life of a woman who through her small contribution, which I would not really define as small, changed the political and trade unionist context, both in Italy and in Europe, in the second part of last century. To this end, thanks to the guidance of Professor Varsori I decided to base my Master Thesis on the study of the life of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso who represented one of the most relevant personalities on the Italian political and trade unionist scene. An ambitious woman, with an irreducible character, who step by step built an outstanding career that eventually brought her to play significant roles on the most prestigious European stages. Unfortunately, she, together with a lot of other personalities, who relentlessly worked in shaping our political national and international environment, has been too often forgotten. However, in my work I will attempt to do the exact opposite or better to reconstruct her experience and her life trying to underline the turning points of her career, in the attempt of celebrating the relevance of her historical contribution.

Methodologically speaking, it would be useful to understand how my research has been carried out. Indeed, all the information regarding the life and experiences of Fabrizia were taken by her fund, carefully preserved at the *Historical Archives of the European Union*. The Fabrizia Glorioso Fund is indeed rich with papers, documents, official records, and newspapers' articles which were essential in the writing of my thesis and without which my work could not have been realized.

Essentially, this thesis is organized in four main chapters, respectively focused on four stages of Fabrizia's life. In particular, the first chapter will be dedicated to an analysis of the familiar, youth and political roots of Fabrizia. This chapter aims therefore at understanding the environment in which Fabrizia was born and raised, her first university choices and her first political and work engagements. Furthermore, in this chapter we will be able to

investigate the beginning of her relationship with the CISL, the trade union to which Fabrizia will be affiliated to for many years of her career, and which somehow represent the starting point for the realization of her future most important achievements.

Subsequently, chapter two will be focused on the analysis of the contribution of Fabrizia in the process of European social integration leading to the creation of the European Confederation of Trade Union, detailing therefore her first concrete engagements at the European level. Essentially, this chapter will pretty much summarize a phase of Fabrizia's life in which two aspects of great importance for her came into contact: the trade union experience and the European one. In particular, the degree of her participation in this stage of constructing a social Europe is fundamental in understanding the subsequent steps she will take.

Moreover, the third chapter is dedicated perhaps to the most important achievement of Fabrizia's career: the election as President of the European Economic and Social Committee. Despite the briefness of her presidency, this surely represents the most important turn of her life. Indeed, she gained the primacy as the first woman to become leader of one of the European institutions. In addition, her election as President was commented on in the European press but also on the other side of the world. It is precisely this position that allows her to be associated with appellatives such as *Madame Europe* or *The First Lady of Europe*. Basically, this chapter will analyze in depth the activities she carried out as President of the European CNEL allowing us to realize the degree of contribution she gave in the social and economic field at the European level.

Finally, the fourth chapter will analyze her mandate as European Parliamentarian in the legislature of 1979-1984. In particular, Fabrizia got the chance of being a candidate in the lists of the first elected European Parliament. In addition, her work in the EP was extremely relevant and her contribution was mainly concentrated in the Political Commission and in the

Commission for External Relations. Furthermore, this chapter also represents the trickiest and darkest moment of her life. Indeed, I was careful in pointing out the first frictions she had with the CISL after her acceptance of the candidature in the PCI lists for the EP, but later on also with the Communist leadership and in particular with another relevant personality at the European level at the time, Altiero Spinelli. However, despite this being probably the most traumatic period of Fabrizia's life, it also allows us to better understand some shadows of her character. Indeed, this final chapter highlights the courage of Fabrizia and all her conviction in the hope that her work could be recognized by her colleagues, the ones she liked as those she did not. Nevertheless, the end of her career, as we will see, will not be as brightful and satisfying as it probably should have been.

To sum up, this thesis will try to give the most comprehensive and detailed description of Fabrizia's life and experiences. The idea is that of reconstructing carefully her career trying to underline, where possible, her point of view, her ideas and whatever could be more adequate in helping us to understand who she was and what she believed in. In essence, this thesis celebrates the tireless work of a woman, a politician, a trade unionist, who had great relevance in the most important political and social environments in Italy and elsewhere, but who, unfortunately, often ends up being forgotten.



## CHAPTER I

### FABRIZIA'S ORIGINS AND THE ROOTS OF HER POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

#### I. FAMILY AND YOUTH

Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso was born in Perugia on July 2nd, 1927, from a family of distant French ancestry. She is the first of three siblings, Gabriella and Ugo, respectively born in 1929 and in 1934. Her mother Anna (Smyrna 1896 - Perugia 1978) belonged to the house of the Marquises Gavotti Verospi, a house of Roman nobility with Genoese ancestry, while her father Giuseppe Baduel (1895-1954), from Perugia, was a lawyer, a highly decorated aviator in the First World War, and since 1920 a shareholder and member of the Board of Directors of the *Deruta Majolica Society*. The two married in 1921.

Many remember Fabrizia as a woman of great substance and with an "irreducible" character. In particular, Emilio Gabaglio himself will write about her in a short article in memory of Fabrizia after her death. I quote:

“Contrary to a certain apparent fragility, Fabrizia was a strong and determined woman and she proved it in her long militancy under the banner of the ideals of trade unionism and Europeanism. A testimony not to be forgotten.”<sup>1</sup>

Fabrizia's university career began with her enrollment in the Faculty of Law of the University of Perugia in 1946, after having attended classical studies during high school. Already starting from an early age, she approached the left-wing coalition and the Communist Party, and, in this environment, she will have the opportunity to meet a young

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<sup>1</sup> [Movimento Europeo - In ricordo di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso](#) (Last consultation: 20 luglio 2023) - Translated from Italian.

man, Giulio Innamorati, who will be fundamental for the development of his political path<sup>2</sup>. As Fabrizia herself recalls in her notes<sup>3</sup>, after the end of the Second World War, two fronts gradually shaped in our country, the Christian Democracy supported by its American allies, and the Communist and Socialist Parties, sympathizers of the Soviet Union. Of course, when she enrolled in the University of Perugia in 1946, the young men part of the Popular Front soon asked her to join their lists. At that moment, the influence of her friends played a particular role, since she had acquaintances on both sides. As a matter of fact, some important hesitations characterize these years of youth of Fabrizia, undecided on whether to completely embrace the leftist path or to approach the Christian Democracy which reminded her of “the conservative orientations of her family, her Catholic faith and lack of knowledge of the principles of Marxism”<sup>4</sup>.

In this climate of hesitation, fundamental was the role of Bartolo Ciccardini, who, as Fabrizia herself underlined<sup>5</sup>, was the one that convinced her that considering her education, family and background she should have joined the Christian Democrat side. Indeed, even though she still had not reached the adequate age to vote on April 18th, 1948, Fabrizia declared having participated in the propaganda for the Christian Democracy. Indeed, subsequently, she joined the *Interfacoltà* with the university list of the DC, *L’Intesa*. In these first years, her young political engagement towards the DC was extremely fruitful. However, the leaders of the DC women's movement soon imposed, and started to pretend more commitment especially from the youth, and since Fabrizia was a young woman, she was meant to be limited to more feminine subjects. Nevertheless, as Fabrizia recalls in her notes<sup>6</sup>, even though the women representing the Christian Democracy were at the time

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<sup>2</sup> Becherucci, A., *L’Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, in Pisa, B. (ed.), *Le Europarlamentari italiane nella realtà comunitaria 1979-1985*, Milan, Biblion, 2022, p.288.

<sup>3</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-37, *Autobiographical Typescript Without Indications*, n.d., p.1

<sup>4</sup> Becherucci, A., *L’Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> HAEU, *Autobiographical Typescript Without Indications*, p.1

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

relentlessly fighting for their rights, this struggle, even if judged extremely relevant by Fabrizia herself, never gained her real attention, hence why she gradually detached from the political engagement on the Christian Democratic side.

Furthermore, during the year 1949 Fabrizia spent six months in Switzerland, as a guest of relatives and friends and then she made some short trips in Geneva, Freiburg, Sion and Paris, described as her second favorite city after Rome. During this short experience, that she defined as worth mentioning<sup>7</sup>, she got the opportunity of meeting some students who had left Eastern Europe since the time of the Nazi occupation and who later engaged in the Allies army to fight for the freedom of Europe. As she recalls<sup>8</sup>, some of them became European Officials.

However, her vision started to change when she got the chance, in those years, of attending the university of Saarbrücken, the capital of the Sarre after the Second World Conflict, which was temporarily autonomous and hoped of preserving its independence therefore excluding any possibility of coming back to Germany. It was exactly in that *milieu* that Fabrizia had the chance, of “meeting Europe”<sup>9</sup>, and enter into touch with the Europeanist ideals of a political and civil fight aiming at unifying different nations, which, in the first half of the century, fought with each other in the two bloodiest wars of all times.

Later on, in March 1950, Fabrizia took part in the *Nouvelles Équipes Internationales*, a new Demo-Christian European organization that gathered almost more than a hundred students of the six European nations which at the time were preparing for the first sectoral economic reunion and a small group of English Liberals plus some refugees from Eastern Europe. In that period great effort came from the part of those political leaders relentlessly engaged in the Europeanist movement. They organized a series of debates, exchanges of information, confrontations, which occupied the daily life of Fabrizia and that contributed to

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<sup>7</sup> *Ivi*, p.2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ivi*, p.2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

give shape in her mind, and in those of many others, to that image of Europe that Schumann, Churchill, De Gasperi, Adenaur and others had foreseen: a European Economic Community.

## II. THE FIRST PROFESSIONAL ENGAGEMENTS

The beginning of the 1950s was a turning point in the life and career of Fabrizia. As a matter of fact, she graduated in law in the academic year of 1951/52 with a thesis entitled *Considerazione sugli Atti Politici*<sup>10</sup> under the administrative guidance of Massimo Severo Giannini who she will always consider one of her points of reference, together with Mario Romani and Bruno Storti<sup>11</sup>. After her graduation, in 1952, she moved to Rome where she started working in an economic and financial newspaper, entitled *Centro Italia*, thanks to which she was able to grow up professionally and personally. In particular, her contribution in this newspaper was extremely fruitful since she was able to write tons of brief articles concerning different topics, focused on politics and economics, society and culture. For general knowledge I will quote some of the articles she wrote:

- 1) An article focused on the establishment of a trade accord between Italy and India, written in April 1952<sup>12</sup>. This trade accord was relevant at the time because, as Fabrizia highlighted in her article, it broadened the opportunities for Italian exporters to find in that country a correspondent foreign market. This arrangement was interpreted by Fabrizia as a first step in a road that would have led to the deepening of the relations between the two parties.
- 2) An article written in April 1952 and focused on the issue of emigration<sup>13</sup>. It highlighted the increase in movement of people towards Latin America, especially Argentina, but also Canada and Australia. Even if, according to

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<sup>10</sup> 'Considerations on political acts'.

<sup>11</sup> Becherucci, A., *L'Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p. 289.

<sup>12</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-37, *Economic News Bulletin*, April 22nd, 1952, p.1

<sup>13</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 1-2.

Fabrizia's opinion, the rate of emigration decreased in that same year, a huge increase in permanent movement of people from the South of Italy towards Transoceanic countries was developing.

- 3) An interesting article written in November 1952 recalling an accord between Italy and Egypt<sup>14</sup>, signed at Al Cairo. The accord was meant to discipline trade relations, regulate payments and all the trade transactions between the two parties.
- 4) Last interesting article written in January 1953 concerned the organization of a European consortium, the Coal and Steel Pool<sup>15</sup>, which entered into force exactly at the beginning of January of the same year. According to its guidelines, in five years all the nations which signed the accord will have to homologate the prices of coal and steel.

### **III. THE BEGINNING OF HER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CISL**

In addition, the year 1952 was fundamental exactly because it represented the year in which the long-lasting relationship of Fabrizia with the CISL took off. As a matter of fact, she first joined the *Office of Studies and Training*<sup>16</sup> of the CISL and the first task to which she was assigned was that of ordering and constituting the library of the trade union. Her job essentially consisted in choosing which books or reviews of economics, law, sociology, Italians or not, to buy and then classify them all. Moreover, after consultations with the Professor Mario Romani<sup>17</sup>, she started to engage in the syndicalist training. In particular, she participated in organizing teaching courses which at the time involved the knowledge of extremely interesting aspects of economic and social history, starting from the period of

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<sup>14</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-37, *Economic News Bulletin*, November 18th, 1952, p.2.

<sup>15</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-37, *Economic News Bulletin*, January 1953.

<sup>16</sup> Ufficio Studi e Formazione della CISL.

<sup>17</sup> Mario Romani was the Head of the Office of Studies and Training of the newly born CISL.

industrialization of the Italian peninsula and the subsequent birth of the proletariat responsible for those future forms of association and mutual aid which will convert in trade unions later on. Moreover, as Fabrizia herself recalls in her notes<sup>18</sup>, she enjoyed working with Professor Romani, of whom she was also deeply fond of, even if the job required her to move a lot throughout Italy. As she recalls<sup>19</sup>, Romani was extremely careful in guiding the Office in a proper way as to avoid political propaganda and political discourse which would end up detaching the new participants from the syndicalist themes and rather pushed them directly in the polemical waters with the CGIL and with the opposed parties. Furthermore, in the meantime she started teaching at the CISL *Center of Study* of Fiesole in Florence, in particular focusing on the most relevant topics of syndicalism history but also the structure and the activities of the other European trade unions and of American syndicalism.

Therefore, for some years, her work was divided between the training activity in the different provinces and for the different federations of category, the courses at the Studies Center of Florence and also the trimestral trips to Paris, as CISL representative, at the TUAC (Trade Union Advisory Committee) of the OCSE, constituted for the concretization of the Marshall Plan in Europe. In particular, her participation in the TUAC, first of the OECE and later of the OCSE, started in 1953 and lasted until 1978. As she underlined in her notes<sup>20</sup>, the OCSE gave her the opportunity to take part to a series of trips and conferences in different countries on themes of syndicalist training and on the issues linked to the salaries. In particular, she was in three conferences in Greece, three in Sweden, and she also visited several trade unionist schools in the Federal Republic of Germany. Interestingly enough, she was also able to visit those German industries in which the principle of *mitbestimmung*, or co-management, was dominating, even though the opinion of the CISL always remained opposed to this practice. Furthermore, in 1958 she was part of the delegation in the USA to

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<sup>18</sup> HAEU, *Autobiographical Typescript Without Indications*, p.3.

<sup>19</sup> *Ivi*, pp.3-4.

<sup>20</sup> *Ivi*, p. 4.

visit their syndicalist schools. As Becherucci also recalls in his chapter<sup>21</sup>, this was the period in which Fabrizia started to make acquaintances at the international level and indeed her name began to be often heard and recognized among the leaders of the trade union movements of Europe and out of Europe.

In addition, she took part in two relevant experiences both for the CGIL, which she judged as worthy of mention in her notes<sup>22</sup>. The first one was the *Colloque International on the Training of European Workers*, which was an event promoted by the University of Strasbourg and in particular by Professor Marcel David. This event made it possible to organize an entire week of frequent meetings among the different syndicalist organizations of Europe divided in groups of 30 people each with a university professor which introduced the debate. Moreover, representatives of the French Government, of UNESCO, of the Bureau International du Travail and of the OIL were invited. In particular, as representatives of the Italian CISL there were Benedetto De Cesaris, the Director, Fabrizia as Professor of the Study Center of the CISL, Gian Giacomo Feltrinelli as President and Franco Ferri as Director of the G.G. Feltrinelli Library in Milan. The other interesting initiative was the *World Conference on Occupation* of the BIT which took place in Geneva in the Autumn of 1963. As always foreseen by the BIT, there were present three delegations in the conference: the governments, the employers, and the trade unions. To this end, Fabrizia was elected, with surprise by everyone, as she recalls in her notes<sup>23</sup>, representative for the Western European side, and it was exactly the vote of the USSR, and of the iron curtain countries, to decide her election. This was an extremely interesting conference for the part of Fabrizia, who got the chance of meeting Pimenov, the President of the Soviet trade unions and member of the Central Committee of the Party in the USSR, Boris Averianov, the Head of the International Bureau of the Soviet trade unions, and others. Moreover, she also met the Swedish delegation

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<sup>21</sup> Becherucci, A., *L'Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p.291.

<sup>22</sup> HAEU, *Autobiographical Typescript Without Indications*, p.4.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

composed of Rudolf Meidner and C.E. Odhner who were the authors of significant reports written for the OCSE on the topic of manpower, the issues of savings and on policy of work. The Swedish, as she recalls, and in particular Gosta Rehn, were the ones to have theorized the so-called principle of “active policy of work”, meaning the theory according to which the workers ought to move geographically, thanks to adequate subsidies from the government, towards places where jobs could be easily found. Interestingly enough, Fabrizia asked the editor *Il Mulino* to publish their volume on the “active policy of work”, allowing the relations among the CISL and the Swedish syndicalist environment to be deepened. As a matter of fact, the goal of Fabrizia at the time was that of making the CISL known in the international syndicalist *milieu*. Indeed, she courageously writes in her notes<sup>24</sup> that before her the CISL never established deep international relationships. Her tendency was that of letting the other European trade unions know about the CISL, about her politics, issues and successes.

Furthermore, in 1965 Fabrizia was nominated Head of the International Office of the CISL. This was a very prolific period for Fabrizia, who, as she recalls<sup>25</sup>, was continuously engaged in travels and trips, getting the chance to operate in the various sectors of the syndicalist environment on an international and European scale. At that time, the CISL priority was Europe, to be intended as a political, economic, and social construction of course, but above all as process of building of a Syndicalist Europe. This process took several years of efforts, organization, meetings, and reunions, but it eventually led to the unity of almost all the trade unionist forces of the EEC in a single organism, as we will see in the next chapter. However, during these first years of working in the CISL, and before being involved in the process of real construction of a Social Europe at the beginning of the 70s, Fabrizia performed a series of interesting activities. In particular, she decided to recall two long travels

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<sup>24</sup> *Ivi*, p.5.

<sup>25</sup> *Ivi*, p.6.



she made between 1967 and 1970, respectively in the USA and in the USSR, the two poles of the Cold War at the time.

#### IV. THE TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES

The first of the two travels, which took place in December 1967, was kindly offered to Fabrizia by the American Embassy in Rome, to which she had previously requested the opportunity to visit the twelve American universities involved in the study of the politics of the EEC<sup>26</sup>. After she landed in Washington her first stop was Miami, where a conference of the Congress of the AFL-CIO was taking place. In particular, Fabrizia recalls the discomfort linked to this experience since she was the only European representative involved in the gathering, while all the other representatives came either from Latin America, Asia or Africa.

However, this travel allowed her to deepen some already established connections, as in the case of Georges Meany, President of the AFL who she already knew, and make some new acquaintances. Indeed, not only she was able to meet some of the Professors specialized in international politics and economics who focused on the issues of the EEC, therefore pertaining to the twelve universities we mentioned above<sup>27</sup>; but she also recalls meeting a representative of the *Teamsters*<sup>28</sup>, the General Hotos, a member of the Mafia who was in jail. However, her judgment of the Teamsters appears positive from her words<sup>29</sup>, since this big trade union allowed her to understand some aspects concerning the complex narrative of the affiliation of the various categories to the central AFL-CIO.

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<sup>26</sup> They were all connected and coordinated by a Head in New York.

<sup>27</sup> In particolare the Universities of Cornell, Ithaca, Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, New York, Columbia University, and Berkeley University.

<sup>28</sup> The *International Brotherhood of Teamsters* (IBT) is a union of truckers of the United States and Canada born in 1903. It is considered one of the largest trade unionist organizations in the US, but potentially also one of the most corrupt.

<sup>29</sup> HAEU, *Autobiographical Typescript Without Indications*, p.7.

## V. THE TRAVEL TO THE SOVIET UNION

In November 1970, Fabrizia headed the first Italian delegation of the CISL to the Soviet Union, under invitation of the Soviet syndicates. In particular, the delegation was composed of four representatives, one of whom was indeed Fabrizia, who was voted President of the delegation on the flight to Moscow. As anticipated before, Fabrizia got the chance of meeting Pimenov in Geneva in 1963, and to partially get in touch with the Soviet syndicalist forces, but after her trip to America she started to feel the need to explore the social reality of the other big pole of the Cold War. As Fabrizia writes in her note, she wanted to see the USSR in all its features, the most traditional and famous ones, and in its novelties, in particular as far as the workers and the dimension of conducting the State enterprise were concerned.

The delegation took off on November 6th, 1970, to get the chance to watch the traditional parade on the Red Place the next day. Subsequently, they left Moscow to go to Siberia and visit *Irkutsk*, the second most famous electric center in the world. However, the travel was much more difficult than foreseen, and some of the members of the delegation were threatening to defect. Eventually, Fabrizia was able to get them all to Bratk, a lost place in Siberia where during the Tsarist period the enemies were locked up, later converted into two industrial bases, respectively of wood and aluminum. This town was built in a very similar way to Togliattigrad and was inhabited by young workers who were available to move and in order to survive were willing to face the tremendous climate of Siberia. This experience was extremely emotional, as Fabrizia recalled, especially for a European used to the “better conditions” of life typical of the western world.

Moreover, the delegation visited in Moscow a watch factory, again characterized by very young workers, both men and women, and subsequently a truck factory in Leningrad. This time Fabrizia was interested in observing the modality of performing work typical of the Soviet industries, characterized by the effective lack of rhythms, the slow pace of work, the

possibility of leaving the job place for two or three times even during the day. In Leningrad they visited several museums, even that of Lenin under Fabrizia's request.

In conclusion, this represented only the first steps Fabrizia took in the European trade unionist environment, following which her engagement became much more relevant and significant. As a matter of fact, we will see her next contribution in the CISL during the process of construction of a Social Europe, subsequently her precious work as President of the European Economic and Social Committee and her activity as European Parliamentary.

## **CHAPTER II:**

### **FABRIZIA'S EXPERIENCE IN THE EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONIST ENVIRONMENT**

#### **I. BRIEF EVOLUTION OF THE ITALIAN TRADE UNIONS AFTER WORLD WAR TWO**

In the previous chapter we analysed the origins, the familiar environment, and the first political engagements of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso. However, to deeply understand the woman on which this thesis is focused, it is fundamental to take small steps in reconstructing her life and experiences. In particular, the beginning of Fabrizia's career was strictly connected to the Italian and later also European trade union environment. As a matter of fact, she was a member of the Research Department of the CISL starting from 1953 to 1965. Subsequently, she became Head of the International Department of the CISL, from 1965 to 1978, and exactly this second position allowed her to actively participate in the process of European integration characterizing the 1970s which will lead eventually to the creation of the *European Confederation of Trade Unions*. Therefore, to better understand the context in which Fabrizia acted, this chapter will be first providing a brief background of the political and social climate involving the Italian trade unions and especially the CISL after the Second World War, deepening the aspect of the building of the Social Europe.

To comprehensively understand the role that the Italian trade unions played in the process of European integration and the figure that Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso represented in this phase, it would be appropriate to reconstruct the developments that involved the movements and associations in question in the aftermath of World War Two. As a matter of fact, it is only with the fall of the fascist regime in the Italian peninsula that it is possible to

start talking about real trade unions or at least of the rise of that section of trade union history which ends up being most significant for the purposes of our study. Indeed, as Agosti and Marucco specify, the trade union history of our post-war period concretely allows us to grasp those choices that characterize and condition the life of the trade union movement today<sup>30</sup>. Essentially, with the liberation process of the Italian peninsula, in the syndicalist movement in Italy, as in any other aspect of the political, social, and economical life of the nation, the necessity of engaging in the reconstruction process started to be felt<sup>31</sup>. Indeed, as Bruno wrote, the end of the fascist regime represented, above all for the anti-fascist collective forces, the possibility of starting the process of rebuilding a democratic life and institutions from scratch<sup>32</sup>.

To this end, central in order to understand the development of the Italian syndicalist movement in the aftermath of the Second World War was the historical agreement known as the *Pact of Rome*, signed during the Second World War, precisely on June 9th, 1944, by the three major Italian mass parties of the time, the Communist, the Socialist and the Christian Democratic Party, and that inaugurated the creation of a unitary syndicalist association: the *Italian General Confederation of Labor*, or the CGIL. The idea behind this agreement was quite basic and rooted in the belief that unity of all types of workers, without distinction of religious faiths or political opinions, represented the most effective solution to achieve the socio-economic reconstruction process of the Italian trade unions as quickly as possible. Furthermore, the year 1944 also marked the birth of a new form of Christian trade union association: the *Christian Associations of Italian Workers* or ACLI<sup>33</sup>. The founder of the

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<sup>30</sup> Agosti A., Marucco D., *Gli ultimi anni (1945-1969)*, in Agosti A., et al, *Il Movimento Sindacale in Italia*, Turin, Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, 1971, II edition, p.85.

<sup>31</sup> Romagnoli, U., Treu, T., *I sindacati in Italia. Storia di una strategia (1945-1976)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1977, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Bruno, R., *Breve storia del sindacato in Italia. Lavoro, conflitto ed emancipazione*, Rome, Futura, 2011, p. 124.

<sup>33</sup> The *Christian Associations of Italian Workers* were associations of social promotion in Italy founded by Achille Grandi. The original scope of these associations was to take care of the training moral, religious and

ACLI and its first President was Achille Grandi, while Giulio Pastore was nominated as its Secretary. The deep relationship between ACLI and CGIL was never questioned<sup>34</sup>, but rather confirmed especially by the general lack of hostility of the CGIL towards the new-born organization.

As for the CGIL, it presented itself as an organization strongly affiliated with the anti-fascist forces of the three majority parties, as already seen, although the signatories<sup>35</sup> were extremely scrupulous in clarifying that it represented a unitary trade union independent from any political affiliation<sup>36</sup>. However, the history of the CGIL movement was far from being peaceful<sup>37</sup>. Indeed, this organism can be easily described as a *de facto* “artificial environment”<sup>38</sup> in which different political forces engaged, merely pushed by their own interests<sup>39</sup>. In addition, the three main mass forces inside the organization, PCI, PSIUP and DC, had very dialectical relationships<sup>40</sup>, forcing the CGIL to constantly oscillate between unity and division. Therefore, once considered the degree of heterogeneity of the forces inside the CGIL, it appeared clear since the beginning that this form of unity was not meant to last long.

To this end, the heart of the Italian trade union narrative of the post-war period is represented by the so-called *split of the unity of trade unions*. Although the moderate

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social of all Christian workers, in the hope of preserving the ideal heritage and specificity of social Catholicism inside the new unitary trade union.

<sup>34</sup> As Bruno recalls in his volume the founding congress of August 1944, conferred to the ACLI the role of point of reference and supporter for the Catholic component within the unitary CGIL”.

<sup>35</sup> Di Vittorio for the PCI, Emilio Canevari for the PSI and Achille Grandi for the DC.

<sup>36</sup> Bruno in his book “*Breve storia del sindacato in Italia. Lavoro, conflitto ed emancipazione*”, pointed out that the opposition to the regime characterizing the attitude of trade unions during the fascist period had maximized the political and party ideological affinities of these organizations subordinating instead their social affinities. If compared to the post-war phase that followed World War I, at this moment party cultures of trade unions in Italy became the most influential features.

<sup>37</sup> Romagnoli and Treu talk about “out of season fruit” produced by a quick and unsatisfactory negotiation. They conceived the idea that this unity was bound to fail since its own origin.

<sup>38</sup> Romagnoli, U., Treu, T., *I sindacati in Italia. Storia di una strategia (1945-1976)*, op. cit., p.119.

<sup>39</sup> As Romagnoli and Treu explain in their volume “*I sindacati in Italia. Storia di una strategia (1945-1976)*”, the communists, on the one hand, saw the CGIL as an instrument to achieve the economic reconstruction of the working class allowing consequently the party to become a hegemonic force in the country. The DC, instead, wanted the unity in the CGIL to be able to control and mitigate the balance inside it excluding also the risk of being cut out.

<sup>40</sup> Bruno, R., *Breve storia del sindacato in Italia. Lavoro, conflitto ed emancipazione*, op. cit., p. 130.

Christian Democrat forces and the left forces both agreed on the need for reconstruction, the lack of a real common institutional strategy made the path for the achievement of the established goals much more complicated than expected. Indeed, party differences gradually became more and more concrete, underlining the special moderating role of the DC. Eventually, the turning point came in 1948, when a real “deterioration of relations” consummated among the forces supporting the Pact of Rome<sup>41</sup>. One of the main causes of the split was linked to the failure of the Popular Front in the political elections of 1948, but above all to the attempted assassination to the leader of the Italian Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti, which was followed by a wave of strikes that offered to the Christian Democrats in the CGIL the right opportunity to disengage from the unitary union<sup>42</sup>. The latter, accusing the CGIL executive of having broken the trade union unity pact and violated the spirit and the letter of the Statute, announced its division<sup>43</sup> from the syndicate in question and created a new movement autonomous and antagonist to the trade union at social communist hegemony<sup>44</sup>. Ultimately, in October 1948 the end of unity took place when the Christian wing formed an autonomous organization with the name of the *Free Italian General Confederation of Labor* (LCGIL), later the CISL.

Obviously, the national dynamics concerning the aftermath of the Second World Conflict must be read under the light of the general international framework of reference. Indeed, the split that took place in 1948 and the ousting of left-wing political forces<sup>45</sup> from the government clearly represented a reaction to the changes marking the international political climate at the time. Indeed, in this exact moment the world was splitting into two

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<sup>41</sup> *Ivi*, p.138.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>43</sup> According to what Bruno writes in his volume *Breve storia del sindacato in Italia. Lavoro, conflitto ed emancipazione*, the pretext of the DC to split from the unitary trade union was based on an accusation raised by the DC according to which the CGIL promoted unilaterally, without involvement of the DC a political strife violating the unitary character of the federation. However, as he also points out, it seemed more likely that the Christian Democracy had been long looking for the right pretext to close a form of cooperation which became quite difficult to carry on.

<sup>44</sup> Bruno, R., *Breve storia del sindacato in Italia. Lavoro, conflitto ed emancipazione*, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>45</sup> It should be useful to recall that with 1947 historians mark the beginning of the centrism phase in Italy.

opposing blocs, the Soviet and the Capitalist one, and each country found itself bound to choose its position in this new scheme which will be characteristic of the entire Cold War narrative<sup>46</sup>. However, the Italian political elections of 1948, the subsequent exclusion of the communists from government with the beginning of the centrism phase, and the Italian participation in the Marshall Plan initiative, clearly placed the peninsula in the western block<sup>47</sup>. Indeed, the dynamics involving the end of the unitary CGIL and the birth of the CISL reveal not only a great interconnection between the national political context and the always more polarized international framework, but also a great tendency towards anti-communism which will almost become an ideological glue for the new trade union organization that was created<sup>48</sup>.

The following year, on June 4th, 1949, the social democratic and republican wings of the CGIL opted for dissolution from the unitary trade union and gave life to the *Italian Labor Federation* (FIL). Moreover, on May 1st, 1950, the *Italian Confederation of Trade Unions* (CISL) was born from a merger between the LCGIL and part of the FIL forces. To this end, it would be useful to underline the deep interconnection of relations between the CISL and the American trade unions, after the Second World War, which proves once again the anti-communist character of this social organization and its tendency towards an undeclared alliance with the Capitalist block<sup>49</sup>. In the meantime, a majority of the secular and republican supporters of the FIL in March of the same year had founded the *Italian Union of Work* (UIL) led by Italo Viglianesi. Eventually, in 1950, another organism was created, the *Italian Confederation of National Workers' Unions* (CISNAL), which was completely extraneous to the events of the original unitary trade union organization and inspired by trade unionism of a corporate matrix as well as collateral to the Italian Social Movement.

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<sup>46</sup> Formigoni, G., Saresella, D., 1945. *La transizione del dopoguerra*, Rome, Viella, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Formigoni, G., *Storia d'Italia nella Guerra fredda (1943-1978)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Bruno, R., *Breve storia del sindacato in Italia. Lavoro, conflitto ed emancipazione*, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

<sup>49</sup> Guasconi, M.E., *L'altra faccia della medaglia : guerra psicologica e diplomazia sindacale nelle relazioni Italia-Stati Uniti durante la prima fase della guerra fredda, 1947-1955*, Rome, Rubettino, 1999.



## II. THE CISL AND THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS

The paragraph I am introducing right now will deal with a brief analysis of the position of the CISL in relation to the process of European Integration. Indeed, since this study will be focused on the contribution of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso in the European framework and considering that she was member of the CISL since the 1950s, and also Head of the International Department of the same organism, I found useful to briefly understand the line of thought shared by this trade union in relation to the main European developments characterizing the decades of the 1950s and 1960s<sup>50</sup>.

First, as far as the choice between the two blocs which were constituting at the international level<sup>51</sup>, the LCGIL completely shared a western position, since it was engaged in the construction of a new trade union movement completely embedded in the western area. Indeed, it soon supported the creation in 1949 of a new transnational organization which will be later known as the *International Confederation of Free Trade Union* (ICFTU), an organism stemming from a western position and meant to challenge the old dominance of the *World Federation of Trade Unions* (WFTU) which slowly evolved into a direct tool of Soviet politics. The ICFTU was born through the Congress of London at the end of 1949 from a breakdown of the WFTU, when many non-communist trade union federations - among which the British TUC, the US AFL-CIO, the French FO, the Spanish UGT, and the Italian CISL - abandoned the organization contesting the communist domination of its central institutions<sup>52</sup>. Later, during the month of January 1952 also the UIL became an affiliated trade union of the ICFTU. Furthermore, the western orientation embraced by the CISL was gradually

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<sup>50</sup> We will later take under consideration the position of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso and therefore of the CISL during the 70s, when the project of the ETUC took off.

<sup>51</sup> We should remember that the Italian Trade unions' history after the Second World War must be read always keeping under consideration the framework of the Cold War and the opposition between the Soviet and the American blocs.

<sup>52</sup> It will be useful to underline that after the fall of the USSR, the numbers of members involved in the ICFTU increased massively due to the gradual joining of former Soviet bloc countries.

strengthened by its absorption into the *Italian Trade Union Advisory Committee* for the European Recovery Program.

However, the real challenge for the ICFTU and the CISL came when on May 9th, 1950, the *Schuman Plan* was launched<sup>53</sup>. At this precise moment, as far as Italy is concerned, CGIL and CISL took two different paths. While the first shared the anti-communitarian propaganda of the PCI<sup>54</sup>, opposing for long time to Europeanist initiatives, the second, instead, opted for a strong Europeanist attitude, ending up supporting not only the Schuman proposition, but also the plans later envisioned by Jean Monnet, President of the ECSC between 1952 and 1955, and the idea of the *Action Committee for the United States of Europe*<sup>55</sup>. Moreover, the Schuman Plan certainly changed the context in which the CISL and the other adherents trade unions were operating, and, to this end, the Italian CISL was extremely clever in understanding soon enough that the structure proposed through the Schuman plan could have turned into something more than a mere “political affair”, but that it could have had represented the perfect environment to develop the design of a European form of cooperation among national trade unions<sup>56</sup>.

Moreover, the CISL also tried to get in touch with bodies of the ECSC and the new Community stemming out from the Schuman Plan, as suggested by Formigoni<sup>57</sup> in his volume. As a matter of fact, Pastore, the Secretary of the CISL, supported the ECSC since its foundation and favoured the concretization of the markets' unification as a system through which further improving the conditions of workers. To this end, the CISL actively

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<sup>53</sup> Ciampani, A., *La Cisl tra integrazione europea e mondializzazione*, Rome, Edizioni Lavoro, 2000, p.70.

<sup>54</sup> Ciampani, A., Gabaglio, E., *L'Europa sociale e la Confederazione Europea dei Sindacati*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2010, p. 43.

<sup>55</sup> As Ciampani recalls in “*La Cisl tra integrazione europea e mondializzazione*”, Pastore was a great supporter of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe. This Committee, also known as the Monnet Committee, was part of a project initiated by Jean Monnet between 1955-1975 based on the goal of fostering and accelerating the process of European integration through debates between political and trade unions' leaders.

<sup>56</sup> Ciampani, A., *La Cisl tra mondializzazione e integrazione europea.*, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>57</sup> Formigoni, G., *La scelta occidentale della CISL. Giulio Pastore e l'azione sindacale tra guerra fredda e ricostruzione (1947-1951)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1991, p. 139.

contributed to the negotiations in Paris that will lead to the creation of this new Community, as demonstrated by the direct participation of some of its representatives. Moreover, the position of the CISL in this negotiation was extremely moderate, considering that its main goal was that of avoiding the failure of the negotiation and instead ensuring the success of a treaty being signed, even if that meant putting temporarily aside claims that would have caused unnecessary frictions. Nevertheless, this moderating attitude of the CISL remained constantly subordinated to the willingness to promote the interests at the base of its own *raison d'être*. Therefore, the CISL position was that of fostering the integration process while carefully inserting in this game of equilibriums characteristic of the ECSC, always attempting as much as possible to preserve the interests of its affiliates. Furthermore, the CISL gradually became relevant among all the trade unions of the six countries of the ECSC, but also at the national level since its Europeanist positions allowed it to play a crucial role in influencing opinions and mitigating the uncertainties of technocrats, experts, and diplomats. As far as European integration is concerned, the CISL opinion was generally positive since the newly born organization represented the possibility to develop an integrated social policy and an integrated trade union movement, leaving aside all the difficulties enforced by the limits of national boundaries. Indeed, these were seen as the right premises to achieve an ideal situation of fairer distribution of wealth, which would then favour a full policy of occupation, better life conditions, more opportunities for workers and a better system of social protection<sup>58</sup>. Most importantly, the question of work remained always at the core of the Europeanism of the CISL, and of the other adherents' trade unions, giving therefore a reason

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<sup>58</sup> Mechi, L., *Le Politiche Sociali della CECA*, in Ranieri, R., and Tosi, L., *La comunità Europea del Carbone e dell'Acciaio (1952-2002). Gli esiti del trattato in Europa e in Italia*, Padua, CEDAM, 2004.  
Mechi, L., *Dai Fondi Ceca al Fondo Sociale Europeo: l'Italia e la nascita di un principio comunitario di redistribuzione*, in Tosi, L., *L'Italia nella costruzione europea. Un bilancio storico*, Padua, CEDAM, 2000.

to the request of a syndicalist representation in the ECSC, and the structuring of rules regarding the free circulation and relocation of workforce<sup>59</sup>.

Nonetheless, the failure of the *European Defence Community* (EDC) and of the *European Political Community* (EPC) initiatives at the beginning of the 1950s slowly exposed the fragility of the newly created unity and the degree of opposition in relation to the European integration process<sup>60</sup>. However, the push for improving the arrangement proposed by the ECSC did not disappear, and Italy, but also the Benelux countries, played a particularly relevant role in fostering the relaunch of the European integration process. To this end, the Conference of Messina in June 1955 marked a turning point: the creation of one common market through the *European Economic Community* (EEC). Obviously, the judgment of the trade union forces, and of the CISL of course, was extremely positive since the establishment of a common market would have allowed for the free circulation of manpower, a topic particularly relevant for Italian trade unions. Indeed, after the Messina Conference, the CISL renewed the necessity of involvement of trade union representatives in the process of European integration<sup>61</sup>. To this end, Pastore himself believed that only the integration process could have solved the political, economic, and social problems affecting Europe at the time<sup>62</sup>. The CISL position was indeed extremely favourable to the EEC, which was seen as the right path through which improving the well-being of working classes and build a more solid Europe in the hope of fostering a concrete politics of economic development and a more responsible occupational politics<sup>63</sup>. However, it soon became evident that this relaunch of the European integration process was meant to represent a source

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<sup>59</sup> Ciampani, A., *La Cisl tra mondializzazione e integrazione europea*, op.cit., p.75

<sup>60</sup> Ballini, P. L., *La Comunità Europea di Difesa (CED)*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2009.

<sup>61</sup> Ciampani, A., *La Cisl tra mondializzazione e integrazione europea*, op.cit., p. 79.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>63</sup> *Ivi*, p.80.

of difficulties for social and economic forces, which did not obtain a real role in the decision-making phase<sup>64</sup>.

### III. THE EVOLUTION OF A *SOCIAL EUROPE*

As Ciampani points out in his book, the summer of 1950 represented a decisive turning point for the European trade unions which were called to take relevant choices destined to change the course of the European integration process<sup>65</sup>. In this renewed European climate, a new awareness begun to consolidate among the major trade unions, that of the necessity for a profound interdependence among social, economic, and political action plans of the process of Europeanization<sup>66</sup>. To this end, the contribution of syndicalist forces in the different negotiations regarding the evolution of the European space undoubtedly ended up changing the identity of the new Community, pushing it towards the adoption of a clear-cut *social footprint*. Since the end of the Second World Conflict, indeed, some of the most important trade unionist movements in Europe, such as the TUC, the CGT, the DGB and the CGIL have been constantly oscillating between the ideal of defence of workers in their national systems and the search for a supranational form of coordination<sup>67</sup>. To this end, the 1950s represent a relevant decade not only in relation to the European Integration Process and the development of a new Social Europe, but also considering the international relations' context, marked by the beginning of the Cold War, whose dynamics ended up deeply affecting the European development<sup>68</sup>.

In particular, the creation in 1950 of the *European Regional Organization*<sup>69</sup> (ERO) inside the ICFTU and the participation of the trade unions' forces in the negotiations and

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<sup>64</sup> *Ivi*, p. 79.

<sup>65</sup> Ciampani, A., Gabaglio, E., *L'Europa sociale e la Confederazione Europea dei Sindacati*, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>67</sup> Cruciani, S., *L'evoluzione dei Sindacati Europei*, in *Europa. Culture e Società*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Catanzaro, Abramo Printing & Logistics S.p.A., 2018, p.154.

<sup>68</sup> Laschi, G. *Storia dell'integrazione europea*, Florence, Le Monnier Università, 2021.

Loth, W., *Building Europe: A History of European Unification*, Berlin, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017.

<sup>69</sup> The ICFTU *European Regional Organisation* (ERO) brought together the different national organizations of European trade unions in a single confederation.

debates linked to the founding of the ECSC ended up highlighting the significance of social policies and of the organization of employers, employees and consumers. Starting from these premises, and despite the lack of real and concrete political powers by the syndicalist forces, the ECSC was nevertheless able to broaden its power in different fields, including the social one. Furthermore, the involvement of trade unionist forces in the context of the ECSC gradually allowed syndicates to become aware of the necessity of correspondent bodies able to support their interests in this new framework. In particular, those social organizations which shared a Europeanist footprint began to exercise a great deal of influence in the decisional phases at the European level, often compensating for the lack of such autonomy at the national one and consequently adopting a doubled level of action<sup>70</sup>.

In particular, a first seed of consolidated social action of trade unions in the European framework was represented by the so-called *Committee of XXI*, composed of the confederations of the six countries part of the ECSC and of the organization's category of mining and metallurgical workers, which starting from October 1952 met and openly stated the intention of creating what Ciampani defines as the first organizational structure of a real European trade union<sup>71</sup>. As a matter of fact, starting from this moment on, the participation of the social forces becomes a recurrent element in the narrative of Social Europe. In particular, what became gradually clear in the minds of European leaders was that an integrated and unified European Community could not be achieved without the direct contribution of trade unions<sup>72</sup>.

Moreover, the more the European process of integration went forward, the more the position of trade unions evolved. As already anticipated in the previous paragraph, the CGIL, but also the FSM and the CGT, were less eager at the idea of the ECSC, considering it simply

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<sup>70</sup> Ciampani, A. *La Cisl tra mondializzazione e integrazione europea*, op.cit., p.44.

<sup>71</sup> *Ivi*, p. 45.

<sup>72</sup> Mechi, L., *Le Politiche Sociali della CECA*, op. cit.

a tool of great monopolies to achieve control of European industries<sup>73</sup>. In this vision, it is useful to insert the process of the attempt of creation of the *European Defence Community* of 1952, which exposed the ideological differences among socialist trade unions and catholic ones. The CISL led by Giulio Pastore at the time was one of the greatest supporters of the EDC, while the Italian CGIL and French CGT remained extremely sceptic. Eventually, these tensions, together with problems stemming out from the different political national contexts, contributed to the failure of the EDC fostered by the refusal of the French Parliament to ratify its treaty in August 1954. However, it is important to underline that on the eve of the Treaties of Rome, which will lead to the creation of the *European Economic Community*, trade unions' forces were clearly involved in the process of integration. Indeed, they became strongly aware of the political and socio-economic potential of this new structure, which contributed even more to concretize their need of structuring ordinary bodies to represent their interests.

In particular, the Messina Conference of June 1955 and later the signing of the Treaties of Rome in March 1957 fostered new tendencies among the syndicalist organizations already active at the national and international level. As a matter of fact, the birth of the *European Economic Community* and of the *European Atomic Energy Community* promoted, as Cruciani points out, a strict collaboration in the social field<sup>74</sup>, accompanied by the creation of the *European Investment Bank* (EIB) and the *European Social Fund* (ESF)<sup>75</sup>. Nevertheless, this new integrational context was only partially successful. Indeed, during this new phase of integration, the syndicalist forces ended up being almost marginalized since their interests were often subordinated to the economic needs of the Community<sup>76</sup>. However, at the end of negotiation the trade unions forces were able to make their voice heard and obtain the

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<sup>73</sup> Cruciani, S., *L'evoluzione dei Sindacati Europei*, op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>74</sup> *Ivi*, p. 156.

<sup>75</sup> Mechi, L., *Dai Fondi Ceca al Fondo Sociale Europeo: l'Italia e la nascita di un principio comunitario di redistribuzione*, op. cit.

<sup>76</sup> Ciampani, A., Gabaglio, E., *L'Europa sociale e la Confederazione Europea dei Sindacati*, op. cit., p. 48-49.

creation of a new social body in the framework of the Community: the *European Economic and Social Committee*. Nonetheless, even though this could have been read as a victory for the trade unions, it remains to say that this organism was essentially powerless because it only held a consultative jurisdiction and, since it lacked a real defined role, the effect of its interventions remained quite marginalized perhaps until 1965<sup>77</sup>. Notwithstanding these difficulties<sup>78</sup>, the adherents trade unions confirmed once again their Europeanist choice, pushing even further the claim for new forms of representative organisms. The idea of introducing a *Commissioner of Social Affairs* in the EEC Commission certainly represented a step forward in the promotion of a line of social character as far as the integration process is concerned. However, if we take a close look to the Treaty of Rome and to the Commission of the EEC one could easily argue, as Ciampani did, that no real seed was posed in order to develop a social policy since also the commission itself did not really detain a consistent power in order to support one<sup>79</sup>.

In any case, the EEC and the '60s substantially stimulated the creation of a syndicalist movement of international character. Indeed, a significant change was marked by the decision of summoning a General Assembly of trade unions in the European Communities affiliated to the ICFTU which would have supported the foundation of a *European Trade Union Secretariat* (ETUS) in 1958. The ETUS was born under the lead of Harm Buitter and its role consisted mainly in organizing in an ordinary and unitary manner the efforts of the trade unions of all the nations participating in the European Community context. This first “organizational form” of European syndicalist forces allowed them to strengthen their position by using instrumental and concrete powers this time, finally taking distance from

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<sup>77</sup> Ivi, p.55.

<sup>78</sup> Ciampani underlines how the trade unionist environments during the moment of birth of the EEC relied on the hope of a concrete space in the new community of a politics of economic development and the perspective of an employment politics. However, the spirit of the Treaties of Rome revealed clearly different intentions, that involved almost a marginalization of trade union forces in the decisional process.

<sup>79</sup> Ciampani, A., Gabaglio, E., *L'Europa sociale e la Confederazione Europea dei Sindacati*, op. cit., p. 51.



purely consultative institutions which had prevented trade unions from reaching their goals so far.

The next relevant revolution as far as Social Europe is concerned came in 1969<sup>80</sup>, when the ETUS decided to create the *European Free Trade Unions Confederation* (EFTUC), which of course marked an improvement in the overcoming of divisions among the trade unions of the different countries. This represented a fundamental step in the development of the awareness linked to the creation of a European syndicalist confederation, which became already a hypothesis in 1971 and only reality in 1973, with the birth of the ETUC.

We could say that the *European Trade Union Confederation* took form in two distinct moments<sup>81</sup>, the first being the meeting in Brussels, between 8th and 9th of September 1973, of seventeen different trade unions adherents to the ICFTU, pertaining to fifteen different European countries. The objective of the meeting was that of promoting the common social and cultural interests of workers at the Community level, especially among the several European institutions. A second relevant moment was the Congress of May 1974 in Copenhagen, during which the participation of the seven western European catholic confederations to the new organization was established. Moreover, the creation of the ETUC certainly marked the entrance on the scene of a dedicated European social organism without which the building up of a Social Europe would have never concretised. To this end, George Debunne, one of the founding fathers of ETUC, was clear in expressing the reasons which led to the creation of this organization, mainly revolving around the necessity to strengthen the position of workers which appeared to be disadvantaged in a context of evolved international economies at the time governed by multinationals<sup>82</sup>. In this optic, the ETUC represented the perfect platform to coordinate the action and interests of the trade unions of the Community.

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<sup>80</sup> Guasconi, M.E., *L'Europa tra continuità e cambiamento. Il vertice dell'Aja del 1969 e il rilancio della costruzione europea*, Florence, Polistampa, 2004.

<sup>81</sup> Ciampani, A., Gabaglio, E., *L'Europa sociale e la Confederazione Europea dei Sindacati*, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Degryse, C., Tilly, P., *1973-2013: 40 ans de la Confédération Européenne des syndicats*, Brussels, ETUC, 2013, p. 18.

However, the ideal of European cohesion among very different trade unions remained always a difficult challenge, first from the ideological viewpoint, but also from the geographical one<sup>83</sup>, indeed, the path leading to the creation of the ETUC was not free from pitfalls and difficulties.

#### **IV. THE CONTRIBUTION OF FABRIZIA BEFORE THE ETUC**

As already explained in the previous paragraph, the evolution of the trade unions forces inside the bigger framework of the European integration process has led to the final creation of the *European Trade Union Confederation*, which can be considered one of the main developments in terms of Social Europe. To this end, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso was a member of the CISL starting from 1952 to 1965, and in particular from 1965 to 1978 she held the position of Head of the International Office in the same trade union, meaning that she must have been present and active during the entire process of creation of the ETUC. Indeed, thanks to the documents carefully preserved in the Historical Archives of the European Union, I was able to reconstruct the role she played, especially at the beginning of the 70s, when the European syndicalist forces were engaged in a series of meetings and conferences in order to give shape to the new European trade union. We already saw how in 1969 the confederations of the six nations members of the EEC and part of the ICFTU decided to create the *European Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (EFTUC). In the meantime, trade unions' leaders all over Europe started to worry about the need to seriously unite forces in order to consolidate the syndicalist action in relation to the Community institutions. Therefore, starting from 1971 onwards, a series of frequent meetings were organized to take initiatives and promote concrete changes. To this end, many of these conferences involved of course the presence of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso as one of the most reliable members of the Italian trade union CISL at the time. However, I would like to underline that a lot of

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<sup>83</sup> *Ivi*, p.19.

gatherings took place between 1971 and 1973, and clearly, I cannot mention all of them. Therefore, basing my research on the documents contained in Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso's Fund I will mention only those meetings which were considered particularly relevant or that reported news in relation to the presence of Fabrizia and of her contributions.

A first significant meeting was organized between June 19th and 20th, 1971, on initiative of Heinz-Oskar Vetter, the President of the DGB, and of the ICFTU. This first conference was organized at Frankfurt am Main, in Germany, and about fifteen European trade union organizations participated in it. In particular, the Italian representatives of the CISL were obviously present and documents demonstrated that Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, together with Bruno Storti, the General Secretary of the CISL of time, participated too<sup>84</sup>. This conference, despite the general scepticism regarding the possibility of quickly reaching an arrangement, was still fundamental as far as it fostered a great degree of engagement in the discussions among parties, allowing them to exchange the different opinions regarding the obstacles that a potential organism of European free trade unions needed to overcome. As a matter of fact, it represented a starting point after which the syndicalist forces began to seriously engage in the discussion and work for the realization of a syndicalist European form of cooperation.

Some months later, at the beginning of November 1971, a new conference was summoned in Oslo, with a unique topic to be discussed: a future syndicalist cooperation of European confederations. This conference was preannounced by another meeting of the Executive Committee of the EFTUC which took place in Toulouse at the beginning of October of the same year. Fundamental during the meeting of Toulouse was the introductory speech by H.O. Vetter inspired to the issue of enlargement of the EFTUC<sup>85</sup>. In particular, the

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<sup>84</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *List of Participants to the Conference of Frankfurt am Main*, n.d.

<sup>85</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *Annual EFTUC Assembly*, Tolosa, 8-9 October 1971.

President of the DGB smartly dealt with all the relevant themes involved in the European process of integration while in the meantime traced a real proposal for a European social policy<sup>86</sup>. However, this reunion was only preparatory to the Oslo conference, during which a new working Group EFTUC/EFTA-TUC for the Enlargement of Syndicalist European Cooperation was created.

This group reunited for the first time in Brussels, on the 27 January 1972. To this end, I identified a note produced by the same Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, Head of the International Office, for the Confederal Secretary Armato<sup>87</sup>. This sort of synthesis of the meeting, written by Fabrizia, not only confirmed her presence at the Conference of January 1972 in Brussels but also contains a short summary of the points raised by the different European members. To this end, I was therefore able to analyse the intervention that Fabrizia made on this occasion, in which she, as a representative of the interests of the CISL, underlined the necessity to open as much as possible the membership of the new potential organization in such a way to facilitate new adherents to join. The words she spoke were extremely clear. Indeed, she proposed an organization “open to everyone”, except to the fascist trade unions and organizations of fascist countries<sup>88</sup>. Moreover, carefully reading the end of the note, we can discover something more in relation to her opinion. As a matter of fact, she was able to list positive and negative aspects of this meeting. Among the positive aspects she includes: 1) the acceptance of the opening of membership to everyone except fascists; 2) the non-refusal of a thesis of modification of the connection between the ICFTU and the new organization, meaning full autonomy of the ICFTU, and 3) the prevalence of the idea of not a simple enlargement of the EFTUC but of a fusion of the ICFTU with the EFTA-TUC. Furthermore,

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<sup>86</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *Introductory Speech of H.O. Vetter to the Annual EFTUC Assembly of Tolosa*, 8-9 October 1971.

<sup>87</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *Note for the Confederal Secretary Armato*, Rome, 31st January 1972.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*.

Fabrizia points out in the note how this working group<sup>89</sup> was still premature as it represented only some organizations, leaving out the Norwegians and the Dutch for instance. Eventually, she declared how clearer indications from the single organizations could be obtained only in the next reunion, fixed on 9 of March 1972, when single representatives were called to express their opinions on the matters. The next relevant meeting happened on the 5th of February 1972 at the Hague. The meeting was basically the reunion of EFTUC-OE/CMT. To this end, from the document contained into the Historical Archives of the European Union I was able not only to trace back the presence of Fabrizia but to furthermore individuate the scopes of the reunion, mainly two: improving the collaboration between the two bodies involved in the meeting and pointing out the evolution of the European trade unionism and its perspectives<sup>90</sup>. Of course, the participation of Fabrizia at the reunion was as a CISL representative part of the CESL organization.

In addition, on 8-9 of March 1972, the ICFTU organized its 55th session of the executive committee in Brussels. Even if the ICFTU discussion was not directly related to the initiative of the European trade unions of creating a new organism, it was still partially linked and referred to the issue of constituting a new regional social structure in the European framework. The documentation concerning this session was relevant because it revealed the transcription of a brief intervention of Fabrizia which must be inserted in a debate concerning the relations between the ICFTU and the future European syndicalist organization<sup>91</sup>. What she carefully pointed out was that the European trade unions were effectively wrong in thinking they were the only ones to have the right to tackle the issue of Europe while the international organizations, such as the ICFTU, must indeed worry themselves with the rest of the world. Of course, she understood the problems inside the European framework were

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<sup>89</sup> The one created in the Oslo Conference.

<sup>90</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *Reunion CESL-OE/CMT. CESL Footnote - OE/CMT on the programme of works*, The Hague, 5 February 1972.

<sup>91</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *ICFTU. Executive Committee. Abstract from the Verbal of the 55th Session*, March 1972.

extremely specific and called for equally meticulous solutions. To this end, Fabrizia decisively expressed the need for the ICFTU to be more flexible in establishing relationships with the future European syndicalist organization so as not to be an impediment in its path.

After this ICFTU meeting, it came the time for another reunion in May 1972 in Brussels of the working group of ICFTU/EFTA-TUC<sup>92</sup> for the enlargement of European syndicalist cooperation. Among the documents I consulted, I found an internal note of the International Office of the CISL about this reunion, redacted by its Head, which at the time happened to be obviously Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso<sup>93</sup>. This reunion, which was the third and last one involving the working group set up in the Oslo Conference, was, as Fabrizia writes in her note for the CISL, extremely fruitful since it allowed a broader agreement to be achieved, overcoming most of the alternatives already under exams in the document<sup>94</sup>. However, her note highlights how at the end of this reunion some topics remained to be debated and others were discussed but without reaching a common agreement. In particular, among the topics dealt without finding a common ground, Fabrizia individuated: a) the participation at full title of the trade union of neutral countries (plus eventually Ireland and Iceland); b) the enlargement to organizations not adherent to the ICFTU; c) the participation and in what measure of the Industrial Committees; d) the modality of elections of the Secretariat. While, among the issues not discussed she placed: a) financial problems; b) the acronym; c) the text of the preamble; d) eventual links to the ICFTU. In addition, by analysing the conclusion of this same document we can get an idea of the viewpoint of Fabrizia. As a matter of fact, she expresses her content with the results of the reunion that she judged positive even though it certainly did not direct towards the objectives of a unified trade union organization for

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<sup>92</sup> The third reunion of the working group.

<sup>93</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *Working Group CESL/EFTA-TUC for the enlargement of European syndicalist cooperation. Internal Note of the Office of International Relations of the CISL on the Reunion*, 18th May 1972.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*.

Western Europe<sup>95</sup>. She also added that Scandinavian countries decided to support the participation of neutral countries and even though they did not reject the hypothesis of enlargement they still consider this hypothesis as a subsequent phase. Moreover, the DGB instead did not express on the matter, the F.O. were instead opposed to any attempt of enlargement, while the CISL and the UIL supported the thesis of enlargement to everyone.

The next step was the meeting of the leaders of the European Trade Union Confederations in Geneva on the 6th of June 1972, which on the second point at the daily order viewed the discussion concerning the report of the working group IFTUC/EFTA-TUC for the enlargement of the European Trade Union Confederation. The documents in the Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund obviously confirm her being one of the representatives of the above-mentioned working group<sup>96</sup>, which was born with the Oslo conference and was tasked with the goal of structuring the new European trade union organization. This meeting in Geneva of the EFTUC drew the conclusions of the working group ICFTU/EFTA-TUC and prearranged the creation of a new working group to prepare propositions concerning the topic of the financing of the new organization and the structure of the Secretariat<sup>97</sup>. However, the CISL in this new working group was represented only by Bruno Storti, who nevertheless always worked in proximity to Fabrizia.

A next step in this sequence of meetings and reunions leading to the new organization of European Trade Union forces, the ETUC, was the reunion of the Executive Committee of the EFTUC which took place in Brussels on the 31st of October 1972<sup>98</sup>. From the documents I analysed, I was able to confirm the presence of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, who participated

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>96</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-24, *Reunion of the Dirigeants of The European Trade Union Confederations. Point 2 of the daily order.*, Geneva, 6 June 1972.

<sup>97</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-25, *Reunion of Dirigeants of the European Trade Union Confederations. Press Release of CESL/EFTA-TUC with list of Participants*, n.d.

<sup>98</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-25, *Procès Verbal. Réunion du Comité Exécutif - EFTUC*, Brussels, 31 October 1972.

as a substitute for Storti in representation of the CISL<sup>99</sup>, one of the affiliated Confederations to the EFTUC. The same document revealed the nature of some of the interventions made by its participants during the meeting, and therefore by Fabrizia herself<sup>100</sup>. With reference to point 4 of the daily order of the reunion, revolving around the extension of European Trade Union Cooperation, the document contained a summary of the previous meeting of Luxembourg on the 4th of October of the same year, a meeting involving the 16 trade unions organization of the ICFTU in Europe. The meeting of Luxemburg however was not successful at all since no real agreement was found on two of the most relevant points to be discussed: 1) scopes and objectives of the organization; 2) geographical and ideological limits of the organization. Since no real common ground was found in relation to the new organization to be created, and mainly because of the opposed positions of the DGB and the TUC, the opinions of the meeting in Brussels were not at all positive, and a majority of the members of the EFTUC refused to continue insisting on the same issues once again. In particular, as far as the opinion of Fabrizia was concerned, she largely shared the idea of her colleague Bergeron, the representative of the FO. He supported the thesis that a new reunion among the forces EFTUC/EFTA-TUC was needed in order to settle the unsolved questions, scheduled for December 1972. Therefore, according to their opinions there was no point in discussing the same topics, but it was the case of leaving them aside for the moment. Moreover, this seemed to be the opinion largely shared by everyone since the conclusion of this document revealed that the participants did not want to discuss those issues not agreed upon and they rather preferred to switch to the next point on the daily order<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>99</sup> It would be useful to point out that starting from the summer 1972 the interests of the CISL gradually became associated with those of the UIL and the CGIL since in July 1972 these main three trade unions converged together and created a new federation, known as *Federation CGIL-CISL-UIL*. This happened mainly thanks to a shift, involving the UIL and the CISL, towards the position of the left. Therefore, from this moment on we should read the interventions of Fabrizia under the light of this turning point of the Italian syndicalist history.

<sup>100</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-25, Executive Committee of the EFTUC, *Verbal Abstract of the Session, Point 4 of the daily order: Enlargement of trade union Cooperation in Europe*, Brussels, 31 October 1972.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*.



Furthermore, the conference which took place in Luxembourg between November and December 1971, and to which of course Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso participated as proved by a document contained in her fund<sup>102</sup>, was the starting point for the creation of a new working group, known as *The Group of the Five*<sup>103</sup>, which was tasked with the goal of examining the issue of the name to be given to the new organization, and any further problems remained unsolved. The first reunion of this small group was meant to be on the 9th of January 1973, and Storti was chosen as the representative of the Italian CISL. However, a note contained in the fund of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso revealed that Fabrizia participated to this reunion as a substitute for her colleague Storti, to which she then wrote a sort of note and summary, since she was still occupying the role of Head of International Office<sup>104</sup>. According to what Fabrizia wrote, the following topics discussed by the Group of the Five were: 1) name of the organization; 2) relations with the ICFTU; 3) presence of trade union committees; 4) question of contributions. On the first point, no decision was reached, and the choice was pushed back to the Constituent Congress. However, there were three main options in relation to the proposed acronyms: European Confederation of Trade Unions; European Confederation of Free Trade Unions and European Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions. As far as the relation of the new organization with the ICFTU was concerned, some points were clarified. The same pretty much happened for the other two topics tackled in this meeting. Moreover, for what concerns the Constituent Congress fixed for February 1973, some important decisions were taken and the different tasks to be performed on the 8th and 9th of February were established. Finally, the last point that Fabrizia raises in this internal note destined to Bruno Storti concerns the organization of the CISL. Fabrizia, indeed, underlines the necessity of structuring as soon as possible the CISL delegation which will

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<sup>102</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-25, *Work Conference for the enlargement of trade union cooperation in Europe. Delegations.*, Luxembourg, 30 November-1 December 1972.

<sup>103</sup> It was a small and restricted group, composed of Feather, Vetter, Storti, Nielson and Debunne.

<sup>104</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-25, *Working Group of the Five. Internal Note of CISL*, Brussels, 9 January 1973.

participate to the Congress, considering that as established by the general guidelines each country would have had four seats in it. Therefore, she pointed out the need for reaching as soon as possible a settlement between CISL and UIL in relation to the division of places. The last point she raised was linked to the supplementary places, informing Storti that, on the basis of the number of enrolled people, the CISL had the right to four supplementary places while the UIL only two. Furthermore, Fabrizia closes the note once again urging for the rapid creation of the delegation and suggesting that a meeting should take place among the representatives chosen as a way to build a unitary line of attitude, also considering that votes on some matters were to be required on the next Congress of 8 of February 1973<sup>105</sup>.

## V. THE CONTRIBUTION OF FABRIZIA AFTER THE ETUC

Another point which was fixed in the Luxembourg meeting was that on the 8-9th of February 1973 the first and Constituent Congress of the ETUC was to be held. The Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso's Fund documents her presence to this extremely relevant Congress, obviously as delegate of the CISL<sup>106</sup>. In particular, the Assembly decided the constitution of a trade union organization at the European level, formed by national trade union confederations which adhered without any reservations to the principles of free and democratic trade unionism. Therefore, a Statute was approved, and the organization was created under the name of *European Trade Union Confederation*, or ETUC. With particular reference to the work performed by the Italian trade unions, CISL and UIL, and therefore by Fabrizia, we can affirm that their influence was fundamental to determine the "open" character of the new organism<sup>107</sup>.

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<sup>105</sup> However, just in proximity of this first Congress of the ETUC, the members of the Group of the Five decided to meet once again. Unfortunately, no record was produced of this meeting.

<sup>106</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-25, *Constituent Assembly - First Congress of the New European Trade Union Organization. Participants.*, Brussels, 8-9 February 1973.

<sup>107</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-25, *Position of the Italian Trade Unions in the precedent phase to the Federative Pact on the International Collocation of the Future Unitary Organization. Unitary Documents. Documents CISL*, n.d.

The next trace we have in relation to Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso's contribution in the framework of the ETUC goes back to a note she produced on the 3 of October 1973, regarding an extraordinary reunion of the Executive of the ETUC which was required by Debunne the same September 1973 in order to examine the programme of action in the social field of the new organization<sup>108</sup>. I found relevant the last point she summarized in the Note in which she describes the position of the Italian Government in relation to the topics treated in the meeting. In particular, she describes how the Italian Government was in favour of absolute equity for all foreign workers in Europe and it asked for the elaboration of a "European Statute of Emigrated Workers"<sup>109 110</sup>. Eventually, she concludes by pointing out that all the participating trade unions shared the same view.

Furthermore, this note was followed by another one written by Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso on 16th October 1973 and always directed to Bruno Storti. The note presented the summary of a new meeting of the ETUC, held in October, to which she was clearly participated<sup>111</sup>. Indeed, she described a debate lasted an entire day, during which she was able to expose the statements of the CISL, as designated by the Secretary of the same organization, and she declared she had failed since she did not obtain neither an engagement in relation to the regional policy nor the pledge of the absent trade unions to support the social action of the ETUC in the European offices or in relation to single governments. Interesting feature emerging by the document redacted by Fabrizia was the communication of a great deal of absences<sup>112</sup> in the executives of the ETUC, which caused of course general nervousness, especially in Debunne. Moreover, interesting to notice was her position in

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<sup>108</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-30, *Note for the General Secretary Bruno Storti*, Roma, October 3rd, 1973.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>110</sup> Varsori, A., Mechi, L., *Lionello Levi Sandri e la politica sociale europea*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2008.

<sup>111</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-30, *Note for the General Secretary Bruno Storti*, Roma, October 16th, 1973.

<sup>112</sup> Those that participated to the reunion were Debunnes, Morgues (FO), Lappas (DGB), De Vries (NVV), Varnjebold (Danish LO), Querenghi (UIL) and Meis for Luxembourg. Those resulting absent were instead the representatives of the TUC, Swedish and Norwegian LO, Swedish and Finaldese TCO, Switzerland, Austria, and Iceland.

relation to the Social Fund. As Fabrizia herself wrote in the note, she opposed, and her view was generally supported, to the proposition of destining the Fund primarily to the handicapped and to the emigrants, by claiming that the Social Fund had its own set of established rules and therefore all the activities of the Fund should be decided without any priority framework<sup>113</sup>.

In addition, I was able to analyse a document which attested the presence of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso in a reunion of the Executive Committee of the ETUC which took place on July 9th, 1974, in Brussels<sup>114</sup>. Particularly relevant was one of the points tackled in this meeting regarding the application by the *Histadrut*<sup>115</sup> to obtain the statute of permanent observatory within the ETUC. The opinions on the matter were numerous and very different, nevertheless, as specified in the document, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso shared the viewpoint of her colleague Debunne, whose idea was straightforward. He believed that the question raised by the Histadrut was as clear as the ETUC response should have been. In his opinion, the ETUC could not grant to just one organization a special statute of permanent observatory. He proposed that in this case the European Trade Union Confederation followed the logic promoted by its relative, the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which consisted in submitting and approving a list of the organizations invited as observatories in occasion of each different annual congress or assemblies.

## **VI. HER OPINIONS AND IDEAS**

The Fund Fabrizia generously deposited at the Historical Archives of the European Union was extremely rich of documents. Among the different papers, notes and recordings of the meetings that took places at the beginning of the '70s and which led to the establishment of

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<sup>113</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-30, *Note for the General Secretary Bruno Storti*, Rome, October 16th, 1973.

<sup>114</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-30, *Executive Committee ETUC.*, Brussels, July 9th, 1974.

<sup>115</sup> *Histadrut*, or the General Organization of Workers in Israel, is Israel's national trade union.

the ETUC, I was able to consult some reports written by Fabrizia herself in this first “syndicalist” phase of her life, and which gives us a deeper idea of the opinions and views she shared in those years.

*a) Report on the Federation CGIL, CISL, UIL*

Among the many documents she produced during her time as Head of the International Office of the CISL, there were indeed some reports which are worth mentioning. One of these papers was focused on a very interesting topic if considered the history of the Italian trade unions, or to say the creation of the Federation CGIL-CISL-UIL<sup>116</sup>. As a matter of fact, that unity among the major trade union forces, born with the Pact of Rome and broken in 1948, came to life again, and in a different shape, at the beginning of the 1970s. The three major trade unions in this moment, CGIL, CISL and UIL, started to meet several times in Florence, between 1970 and 1971, until they decided to form a unitary federation<sup>117</sup>, and Fabrizia, as a reliable member of the CISL, witnessed and wrote about this process. In particular, the document to which I am referring is an internal note of the CISL and it deals with one aspect which was left mainly undiscussed: the issue of the international collocation of the new unitary trade union<sup>118</sup>. Indeed, she briefly points out in the note the international tendency of the three organizations, the CISL and UIL being affiliated to the ICFTU and the CGIL to the FSM. To this end, she raises a question at the beginning of the note: what about the international affiliation of this new Federation? Basically, the road taken between 1970 and 1971 by the three trade unions involved a series of steps to be realized, first, the

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<sup>116</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-64, *FBG. Head of the International Office of the CISL*, n.d.

<sup>117</sup> The first reunion involving the three trade unions happened in October 1970 in Florence and was not at all definitive. Indeed, it was followed by another meeting and then by a third one, both always in Florence. In the meantime, significant shifts involving the position of the CGIL happened: it gradually took the distance from the WTUF, of Soviet inspiration, and it started approaching the ETUC, to which the CISL and UIL were already affiliated. This change made it considerably easy to reach a new form of cooperation after the split in 1948. In July 1972, indeed, the three General Councils allowed for the birth of the CGIL-CISL-UIL Federation.

<sup>118</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-64, *FBG. Head of the International Office of the CISL*, n.d.

dissolution congresses of the three trade union Organizations on the 21st of September 1972 and later the constitution of the new unitary trade union five months after their dissolution. However, this process inevitably involved the choice of a new and general international affiliation, considering that the original links of the old trade unions would have disappeared with their dissolution. In the summary she provides, Fabrizia highlights the choice taken in Florence by the three parties of not being isolated and she confirmed the willingness of these forces to be engaged internationally<sup>119</sup>, therefore expressing the position of the Italian trade unions more united than ever at this moment. Indeed, she pointed out that these forces were not willing to organize through bilateral and diplomatic mechanisms of alliances, but rather they preferred and were available to work together in order to find solutions to common problems.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, Fabrizia is careful in making clear that the European trade unions needed to make this effort in unifying necessities, needs and solutions to be truly able to solve the most serious and shared problems, such as the modification of working conditions in the companies, the achievement of full employment and action in the multinational corporations<sup>121</sup>.

*b) Report on Immigrant Workers*

In this report written by Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, she tackled another interesting and very relevant topic considering the framework of the European integration process taking place between the 1960s and 1970s<sup>122</sup>. The report opens with Fabrizia highlighting the elevated quantity of foreign workers engaged in Western Europe, specifying that these people were part of the waves of people coming from nations such as Turkey, Yugoslavia and North African countries who crossed the borders of southern European states, like Italy, Greece, and

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<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>122</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-64, *Relazione. Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso*, n.d.

Spain, in search of a job in the industry sector. According to her opinion, therefore, the European industry starting from the 1950s “has been feeding” these people, who, however, were not citizens of the countries in which they worked, nor did they understand their languages and traditions. Moreover, Fabrizia presented a logical analysis of this very expanded phenomenon, tracing back its roots in the economic crisis that Europe was facing at the end of the Second World War, and which led these nations to coordinate the effort for European reconstruction in the EEC. However, this reorganization was realized in completely new conditions. Indeed, the European industry was able this time to count on what she defined as “manpower tanks” internal to the area and coming from third neighbouring countries. Nobody could imagine in the ‘60s that this would have become a massive phenomenon, so relevant as to convert into an essential feature needed by nations to help stabilize their economies. Furthermore, Fabrizia brings up the example of Italy in its report, defining the massive emigration of workers as a partially positive factor since it influenced the national economy allowing it to maintain the right balance of payment. However, the same phenomenon has its own backlash, such as the negative impact of widening the structural gaps differentiating the North from the South of the country. According to her viewpoint, the Italian case is peculiar, since in this country the territorial and sectoral disequilibrium have been aggravating, therefore demonstrating how even if the EEC provides certain formal guarantees, it is not however able to achieve neither an equal distribution of financial and human resources nor that harmonious development which is also granted by the article 2 of the Rome Treaty. Moreover, Fabrizia underlines the need to create a “manpower politics” putting in connection the countries of Western Europe with the nations of the Mediterranean Basin, from which the majority of foreign workers came from. The problem, according to her opinion, involved those underdeveloped countries finding satisfaction from emigration waves but that needed to be supported in the process of economic take-off,

otherwise the resulting situation would have been a continuous flow of young manpower from their own nations, which would not have benefited their economic development. In addition, she listed some interesting insights to be followed by those trade unions inserted in the framework of the European Community to support immigrant workers:

1. trade unions should have been, according to her opinion, the right platform to deal with the workers' integration in the new society;
2. greater effort of trade unions in relation to the phase of employment, to help balancing supply and demand;
3. more adequate protection by trade unions;
4. the need for collaboration among trade unions of the foreign countries and those of the countries of immigration;
5. the necessity of protection of immigrant workers of fascist nations of Western Europe, such as Spain, Greece, and Portugal.

Finally, she concluded by restating once again the need for trade unions to be engaged, actively and conjunctively, in managing immigration forces, adding how these are fundamental in fostering a more human development of our society and more egalitarian conditions of all workers, subsequently fostering the general unity of this social category.

*c) Report on the threat of the European Capitalism*

This report was written by Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso in the '70s when she was both a member of the European Economic and Social Committee and the Head of the International Office of CISL and it contains a summary of the opinions expressed by the Danish trade unions in relation to the EEC<sup>123</sup>. Fabrizia points out that during the meeting between the accredited trade unions of the EEC and the European Commission, which took place on the 3rd October

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<sup>123</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-64, *Report on the threat of the European Capitalism*, n.d.



1972, the speaker of the trade unions Ter Heide was extremely critical of the Community. Moreover, following the insights that the Norwegians gave to the EEC, the speaker has expressed the dissatisfaction of the Scandinavian countries in relation to the narrative of the communitarian Europe. These countries were generally against what they used to define as the “Europe of capitalists”, characterized by the lack of a global vision of problems of the balanced development of the area, but also affected by a shortening and insufficiency of the promoted interventions due to the absence of a real democratic check from the European Parliament and by the inexistence of a concrete mechanism of consultation of trade unions. Ter Heide, according to the report prepared by Fabrizia, was alerting the European Commission of this tendency affecting all the syndicalist environments of western European countries and which was converting the support of European trade unions towards the community into a systematic and always more incisive opposition. The report then engages in a deep analysis involving the face of the European Community starting from its origin in 1951 when, through the Paris Treaty, the six European countries gave birth to the ECSC, judged by Fabrizia a reality “economically positive” for the trade unions which since it fostered the production of new norms and the establishment of mechanisms of guarantee for workers, even if still limited to the fields of steel and coal industry. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the trade union forces, already eager of the experience of the ECSC, supported in equal measure the process of constitution of the EEC. As she explained, the trade unions tried to play a role in the process of evolution of the European integration, but, this time, they were somehow marginalized to a role of observatory in relation to the structuring of the Treaty of Rome. According to Fabrizia’s view, the Treaty of Rome represented a step backward if compared to Paris one, which led to the establishment of the ECSC. Basically, she carefully points out that one of the changes introduced by the EEC was

the relaunch of the European economy, which undoubtedly benefited the workers<sup>124</sup>. However, the positive aspects were accompanied by a series of negative ones that obviously aggravated the conditions of workers in the area<sup>125</sup>, and of which the European trade unions took awareness quite rapidly. Indeed, this gradually translated into an “explicit condemnation” of the society and values carried out by the Community, values which were accused of mirroring the American ideal of a closed society, consumeristic, extremely competitive and embedded in injustice. In conclusion, the only solution, according to Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso’s viewpoint to contrast the phenomenon of the “European Capitalism” criticized by the Scandinavian nations was to constitute a unitary trade union front in Europe, a process that had already been started in Oslo in 1971. This basically meant for Fabrizia the coming into life of an ideal of social democracy for western Europe, the only right answer to the threat of conservatism, restoration and progressive reduction of benefits and guarantees obtained by the workers at the national level.

#### *d) Study on the Textile Industry*

Another report of this first trade unionist phase of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso and which I wanted to include in this work concerned the topic of the textile industry<sup>126</sup>. The core of the issue presented in the report written by Fabrizia was the decrease of the numbers of workers involved in the textile industry, a crisis which proceeded gradually with the European integration process. Fabrizia presents a short summary of the examination conducted by the

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<sup>124</sup> Among the positive effects of this economic relaunch, Fabrizia listed: 1) the support of full employment in all countries, except for Italy; 2) a progressive convergence of lowest salaries to the highest ones; 3) a rapprochement between trade unions of different countries which attempted at creating a first nucleus of supranational trade unionist action at the European level.

<sup>125</sup> Among the negative backlashes of this process Fabrizia listed: 1) the absence of guarantees of interventions to support the full employment in short and long time; 2) the obligation for workers to move where the capital flew, which implied further impoverishment of already backward regions in the Community area; 3) the obligation for business to maximize the use of the implants and reduce the cost of labour; 4) the lack of supranational powers and the reduction of the European construction to a constant negotiation between national interests ending up highlighting the nationalist character of these organisms.

<sup>126</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-65, *Project. Textile Industry study EEC*, n.d.

EEC on the matter in order to identify reasons and causes of the crisis of this sector. In particular, the study summarized by Fabrizia identified a first cause of crisis in the concurrence coming mainly from the developing countries such as Yugoslavia and Asian countries. A second reason must be associated with the fractionation of the productive units in the sector, or to say to the existence of small industries which should have been grouped in bigger concentrations in order to reach competitive costs. This fractionation took place because the textile production was one of the first industrial activities to appear in Europe and it therefore preserved some of its traditional features overtime. Furthermore, the summary of Fabrizia highlighted also the element that the textile industries were mainly geographically concentrated in the European area and, therefore, the only way to find a solution to the unemployment of workers of this sector was to intervene through an *ad hoc* regional policy of European coordination or through the use of the European Social Fund, which should have had supported the requalification of these workers and helped them in keeping stable the income levels during their period of unemployment.

*e) Report on the TUAC of the OCSE*

The last report written by Fabrizia which captured my attention was focused on the development of the *Trade Unions Advisory Committee* (TUAC) of the OCSE and the work Fabrizia performed in such an organism<sup>127</sup>, since she was one of its members from 1953 to 1978, as representative of the CISL<sup>128</sup>. She recalled in this short report how this opportunity she had of participating in the TUAC gave her the possibility to meet all the most relevant syndicalist representatives of the western nations, including USA, Canada, and Japan. Moreover, she pointed out how things inside the TUAC were peculiar in those years, since this organism was directly born from an emanation of the Marshall plan, therefore based on

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<sup>127</sup> HAUE, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-65, *The TUAC of the OCSE*, n.d.

<sup>128</sup> Della Chiesa was also a member but representing the UIL.

the direct exclusion of socialist and communist forces. Besides, her opinion comes out when she starts commenting on the application the CGIL made to enter the TUA, which Fabrizia herself defined as “grotesque”, and underling how in her opinion every effort of the CGIL was meant to fail loudly. Finally, she engages in the document in telling an interesting anecdote which revealed the strict and polarized attitude of the TUAC and of Fabrizia herself. The story is linked to the years in which Spain entered officially into the OCSE at the end of the 50s. In particular, on the occasion of a meeting of the same organization, the TUAC was warned of the presence of fascist officials representing Spain and Portugal, seated at the beginning right near Fabrizia. She soon asked for the suspension of the meeting, in accordance with other members, and they communicated to the OCSE Secretary, following Fabrizia’s proposal, that they would have abandoned the reunion if the two fascist officials were to be allowed to keep participating. However, Fabrizia and the others were not taken seriously, and it was decided that the two fascists were to be moved near the leaders of the OCSE when the reunion would have re-started. However, once Fabrizia and the others realized what was happening they stood up and left the room by declaring that the OCSE needed to make a choice: *us or them*. Because of this event, the relations between the TUAC and the OCSE were suspended for almost seventeen months, and when they came back in the reunion room the Spanish and Portuguese officials were not there anymore.

## CHAPTER III:

### FABRIZIA'S EXPERIENCE AS PRESIDENT OF THE EESC

#### I. THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE (EESC)

We partially saw in the previous chapter how the European integration process, already with the proposition of the Schuman Plan and even before, was characterized by the efforts of European trade union forces to play a part in the economic and monetary process of unification which was gradually developing in those years<sup>129</sup>. The hope of a reality of European integration which foreseen forms of guarantees for workers and the possibility of a policy of economic development shaped during the years of the ECSC<sup>130</sup>. However, this hope was in part undermined by the negotiations for the Treaties of Rome of 1957, during which not only some perplexities arose as far as the project of a European Common Market was concerned, but above all no space was left for trade unionist forces. As a matter of fact, Ciampani talks of marginalization of social forces in this process, a thesis also confirmed by the lack of a real negotiation involving governmental delegations and trade unions<sup>131</sup>. Nonetheless, these obstacles did not represent a reason for trade unions to change their attitude towards the European integration process, since the non-communist syndicalist organizations of the six countries of the ECSC all confirmed their Europeanist choices.

Moreover, in a second phase of relaunch of the European integration process, the creation of the EEC and EURATOM fostered new developments in the field of Social Europe. One of these was surely the *European Social Fund*, instituted through the articles

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<sup>129</sup> Andry, A., *Social Europe, the Road not taken: The Left and European Integration in the Long 1970s*, Oxford, OUP, 2022.

<sup>130</sup> Ciampani, A., *L'Europa Sociale e la Confederazione Europea dei Sindacati*, op. cit., p.48.

<sup>131</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 48-49.

123-126 of the Treaty, with the goal of “rendering the employment of workers easier and of increasing their geographical and occupational mobility within the Community”<sup>132</sup>. Besides, it is interesting to notice that only during the final phase of the negotiations, at the end of the year 1956, the possibility of structuring an institution able to empower the social forces and promote their interests was advanced<sup>133</sup>. To this end, another positive development from the viewpoint of European trade union forces was the creation of the *European Economic and Social Committee* (EESC).

The birth of the EESC was achieved not without great efforts, largely thanks to the will of some members, despite the reticence of some others and the opposition of just one extremely relevant nation. Indeed, until at least April 1956 no real prevision of the constitution of such an organism was advanced in the framework of the negotiations. This tendency of course was extremely surprising if one considers the experience of the ECSC and the element of the presence of national Economic and Labor Councils in five of the member states, or to say Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. However, the Federal Republic of Germany represented the only member in opposition to this project, linking his opinion to the negative experience of the Republic of Weimar and its Economic Council created in 1919, later abolished in 1934. In particular, the FRG was worried that the Committee may possibly represent a useless organism threatening the liberal character of the Community<sup>134</sup>. Additionally, the Italian delegation had some doubts at the beginning, but mainly related to politically precise reasons concerning the fear of the presence of exponents of the PCI among the workers’ forces or among the group of the “different interests”.

However, for the Benelux countries the logic was very different, since their experience linked to the Economic and Labor Council was extremely positive. Therefore, it was only in the last phase of the negotiations for the EEC construction in Val Duchesse that,

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<sup>132</sup> *Treaty of Rome*, 25th March 1957, Chapter 2, Article 123.

<sup>133</sup> Varsori, A. (ed.), *Il Comitato Economico e Sociale nella costruzione europea.*, Venice, Marsilio, 2000, p.6.

<sup>134</sup> *Ivi*, p.7.

in September 1956, the Belgium delegation passed a note to the representatives of the other member states hastening for a greater participation of the economic and social forces to the communitarian activity. Indeed, it was in November 1957 that the Belgium Delegation promoted the creation of a consultative Committee composed of the representatives of the respective economic national consultative organs. However, this first proposal was rejected since the other four members were distrustful towards the possibility of creating a sort of “fourth institutional force” in the EEC framework. Ultimately, the governments decided for the creation of a committee in common to the EEC and the EURATOM, as specified by the Treaties. As we already anticipated, not all the delegations agreed on the utility of this organism, and this partially explains why its function was originally conceived as extremely reductive, in such a manner to prevent the EESC from becoming a fundamental subject in the context of the Communities.

The EESC has been instituted through the Treaty of Rome, as stated by article 4 subparagraph 2 and articles 193-198 of the Treaty of the EEC<sup>135</sup>. What distinguishes these articles from those of the other European institutions is the fact that this Committee somehow appears almost set apart or marginalized.

#### **ARTICLE 4**

1. The tasks entrusted to the Community shall be carried out by the following institutions: an ASSEMBLY [EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT], a COUNCIL, a COMMISSION, a COURT OF JUSTICE. Each institution shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this Treaty.

2. The Council and the Commission shall be assisted by an Economic and Social Committee acting in an advisory capacity.

By looking at article 4, indeed, we can notice how the Committee has a separated subparagraph if compared to the other European institutions. The same happens with the

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<sup>135</sup> Besides the Treaty of the EEC, also article 3 and articles 165-170 of the Treaty of the EURATOM deal with the EESC.

articles 193-193<sup>136</sup>. Therefore, one could easily understand how the EESC did not occupy a particularly considerable place in the framework of the EEC since its very birth, almost as if it was not seen as a full institution to be intended in the same way as the other four principal ones. Nonetheless, long time has passed since the Treaty of Rome, things have changed, and of course the Committee has expanded and has achieved a more “respectable and independent place” in the context of the Community’s decision-making process<sup>137</sup>. The most relevant development in this sense was represented by the summit of October 1972 in Paris with which the so defined “right to initiative”<sup>138</sup> was granted to this body. However, before that period, the Committee has often found its path being impeached by other consultative bodies to the extent it started to ask itself whether it was being underestimated and superseded by them<sup>139</sup>. Nevertheless, the coexistence of several institutions tasked with the same goals was the ultimate proof of the tendency of the Community to experiment in the social field, but most importantly proved the necessity that the Union felt at the time of having to win popular acceptance for the policies it pursued in a wide range of concerns.<sup>140</sup>

As far as membership was concerned, the Committee, at its birth, presented itself as an organism composed of 101 members and representatives of various categories of the economic and social environment. However, after the enlargement of the community in the 70s, the membership number rose to 144, later to 156, and today it counts 329 members from

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<sup>136</sup> Part 5 Title 1 of the Rome Treaty is divided into three chapters, the first dedicated to the Parliament, the Council, the Commission, and the Court of Justice, the second chapter focused on the common provisions to all the institutions, while the third deals specifically with the Economic and Social Committee.

<sup>137</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *The works and aims of the Economic and Social Committee of the EEC and EURATOM*, 16 January 1976.

<sup>138</sup> This principle implies that the Committee has the right to produce opinions on its own initiative in every question which concerns the fate of the Community.

<sup>139</sup> European Commission, Dumoulin, M., *The European Commission, 1958-1972: history and memories of an institution*, Publications Office, 2007.

European Commission, Dumoulin, M., Palmero, É., Dujardin, V., Bussière, É., Ludlow, P., Brouwer, J., *The European Commission 1973-86: history and memories of an institution.*, Office Publications, 2014.

European Commission, Bussière, É., Ludlow, P., Romero, F., Schlenker, D., Dujardin, V., Varsori, A., *The European Commission 1986-2000: history and memories of an institution.*, Publications Office of the European Union, 2019.

<sup>140</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *The works and aims of the Economic and Social Committee of the EEC and EURATOM*, 16 January 1976.



all the nations of the EU, appointable on an office lasting five years. Moreover, following the treaty, the representation inside the EESC is not just restricted to social partners but it is rather open to representatives “of the various categories of economic and social activity, in particular, representatives of producers, farmers, carriers, workers, dealers, craftsmen, professional occupations and representatives of the general public”<sup>141</sup>. Indeed, the structure of the Committee membership was originally tripartite<sup>142</sup>, meaning that it was organized, and still is, in three Groups:

1. Group I composed of the employers of the private and public industry;
2. Group II, which was defined as the group of workers, and to which all syndicates adhered;
3. Group III, known as the independents, which can be identified as “representatives, broadly defined, of the general interest”<sup>143</sup>.

Besides, no real rule existed as far as adherence to one group was concerned. Basically, the reason behind the division in three groups was proposed to respect as much as possible the wording of the Treaty, which specified that “the composition of the Committee shall take account of the need to ensure adequate representation of the various categories of economic and social activity”<sup>144</sup>. Therefore, in 1958 when the Committee was created, a working group of the six founding governments decided the first division as follows: 31 members for the Group I, 31 for the Group II and 39 for the last Group, equally assigned among the six member states. If we look closely to the scheme, and as also Fabrizia suggests in one of her

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<sup>141</sup> *Treaty of Rome*, 25 March 1957, Chapter 2, Article 193.

<sup>142</sup> Today it still is a tripartite organization, differentiated in Group I of the “Employers”, Group II of the “Workers” and Group III of the “Civil Society Organisations” (farmers, the professions, and consumers etc). It is up to each member of the Committee which group to join.

<sup>143</sup> HAUE, *Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, The works and aims of the Economic and Social Committee of the EEC and EURATOM*, 16 January 1976.

<sup>144</sup> *Treaty of Rome*, 25 March 1957, Chapter 2, Article 195.

study on the EESC<sup>145</sup>, the intention behind the tripartition for the founding governments was linked to the will of fostering the traditional dialogue between employers and employees, with the majority of the forces of Group III which should have functioned as ponderers between the other two groups. Therefore, the role of the Group III was originally that of representing the force able to move the majority.

Furthermore, the Committee is what can be defined as a *consultative body*, acting only partially to the law-making process of the Community, since it has the authority of consulting on specific proposals by the Commission. However, consultations coming from the EESC are mandatory only in a small number of cases as indicated by the Treaty. Obviously, consultation of the Committee can happen in any case the Commission judges adequate to do so, also in instances not foreseen by the treaty. Furthermore, as far as the effectiveness of the EESC's opinions is concerned, a lot can be said, and perhaps giving a simple answer would be impossible.

If we speak of internal functioning, this body meets in Plenary Sessions at least nine times a year, sometimes even more, which used to take place at the end of the month and last one or two days. Usually, the management of time dedicated to the speakers is organized on the base of the tripartite division, trying to allocate to each group the same amount of time. Besides, the EESC has the right to call and involve experts of other fields in the session to get further details and clarify some of the proposals of the Commission. Once the members of the EESC were established, they met in the first official meeting on May 19th, 1958. The first President to be nominated was Roger de Staercke.

One of the questions that the members of the EESC tried to immediately solve concerned the lack of right to initiative of this body. Despite some attempts to raise the issue at the beginning of the 60s, after 1965 "every hypothesis of enlargement of the EESC

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<sup>145</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-82, *Study Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso. The level of representativeness and the composition of the Economic and Social Committee in the last four-year exercises and how to enlarge and strengthen this representativeness*, Rome, August 2nd, 1993.

competences”<sup>146</sup> was refused. This lack of drive for changes can be connected to a general attitude, which characterized the 60s, and involved a “phase of stalemate”<sup>147</sup> as far as the European integration process was concerned. Things changed with the French Presidential elections being won by Pompidou at the end of the ‘60s who soon became the promoter of a relaunch of the Europeanist action. Indeed, part of his plan involved a policy of enlargement, realization and deepening<sup>148</sup> of the European Communities. It was exactly at this moment, therefore, that the EESC started to think about the possibility of conquering a greater margin of power and independence and indeed it obtained, as already anticipated, a right to initiative in 1972. Furthermore, the beginning of the ‘70s were characterized by great fervour in the framework of the Committee, which was however destined to disappear in response to the economic crisis due to the oil shock of 1973<sup>149</sup>. Indeed, the consultative role of the EESC as part of the lawmaking process of the Community was often marginalized during this period, and numerous interest groups opted for different types of channels to take part in the evolution process of the EEC<sup>150</sup>. However, the members of the Committee in the middle of the ‘70s were all distinguished by the general awareness that this body was meant to play a great role in the community and many of them attempted to work in order to fix the “pitfalls” affecting the EESC at the time.

## **II. HER CANDIDATURE AS PRESIDENT OF THE EESC**

The candidature of Fabrizia to the presidency of the EESC came at least after 8 years of participation in the same body (she joined approximately in 1970). Among the documents that Fabrizia donated to the Historical Archives of the European Union I was able to identify

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<sup>146</sup> Varsori, A., *Il Comitato Economico e Sociale nella costruzione europea.*, op. cit., p.11.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>148</sup> *Ivi*, p.12.

<sup>149</sup> *Ivi*, p.14.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibidem.*

the proposal of the candidature of Fabrizia by the CISL<sup>151</sup>. By reading this document the first feature to underline is the strict relationship of trust linking Fabrizia to her trade union of affiliation, the CISL. I quote:

“All of you know and I know the colleague Baduel, the work she performed in this Committee in the last eight years or to say since when she is part of it. It is useless therefore to talk long of her work: in the study groups, in the sections of which she has been a member, in the bureau, but above all in the Plenary Assembly where she often presented and supported the viewpoint of our Group.”<sup>152</sup>

As a matter of fact, Fabrizia had been a member of the CISL from more than 25 years at the time of its candidature as President and she had been for two turns, and therefore during eight years, the only women part of the Italian delegation in the EESC. What the author of this document also carefully points out is how the Italians workers, or members of the Group II, never occupied a relevant position in the management of the Committee in question, nor did they occupy the position of President or of Vice-President, differently from the representatives of other nations, like the Danish or English workers. Moreover, the candidature of Fabrizia was not only supported by the CISL but also by the CGIL and the UIL. Furthermore, also the position of the Italian CISL was decisively clear in relation to the candidature of Fabrizia. As already explained in the previous chapter, the beginning of the ‘70s marked the relaunch of the unitary experience on the Italian trade union scene, with the beginning of the Federation CGIL-CISL-UIL. It was exactly in this context that the candidature of Fabrizia as President of the EESC was raised. To this end, a document contained in her fund at the Historical Archives of the EU, specifically a letter from the Secretariat of the CISL to Luigi Macario and Pierre Carniti, revealed the position of the CISL in relation to this event<sup>153</sup>. As a matter of fact, it appeared that the CISL was supporting the candidature of another member, Mario Didò, but met the opposition from the part of the UIL,

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<sup>151</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-70, *Presentation Candidature Baduel*, n.d.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>153</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-70, *Letter from the Secretariat of the CISL to Luigi Macario and Pierre Carniti*, October 2nd, 1978.

while according to the letter the attitude of the CGIL “was decisively more open, but not sufficiently linear and conclusive”<sup>154</sup>. This led the CISL to retreat the candidature of Didò and left it with the urgency of choosing a new candidate. Moreover, the candidature of Fabrizia obviously came with some problems in relation to the three parties involved in the federation. Nevertheless, since no real agreement was found the CISL, concerned with the need to assure an Italian Presidency into the EESC, proposed the election of Baduel Glorioso, which ended up being generally supported. Indeed, it would seem like an agreement was reached thanks to the tireless insistence of the CGIL colleague Renato Bonaccini and thanks to the support of the famous Giulio Andreotti<sup>155</sup>. Eventually, the informative letter in question<sup>156</sup> closes up with a brief paragraph where the Secretariat of the CISL, composed by Lama and Marianotti at the time, urged to the need to reflect on the event and to work on achieving a more unitary character among the three forces when it comes to take initiatives in the framework of the international appointments that fall in the sphere of action of the Italian trade union movement.

Moreover, Fabrizia was not only the first candidate for the Italian workers<sup>157</sup> to be elected, but most importantly the first time a woman and a syndicalist occupied the role of President of the European Economic and Social Committee. Exactly for these reasons her candidature did not pass unobserved. Several newspapers indeed published articles underlying the unprecedented character of her candidature. For instance, *The Market Place* published an article in 1978 raising the issue of the Presidency of a body that is defined in the article itself as “august and toothless”<sup>158</sup>. The choice, according to this newspaper, was between an Italian candidate, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso precisely, and an Irish candidate, John

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<sup>154</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>155</sup> Becherucci, A., *L'Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p.293.

<sup>156</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-70, *Letter from the Secretariat of the CISL to Luigi Macario and Pierre Carniti*, October 2nd, 1978

<sup>157</sup> Indeed, with Fabrizia the Group II, or the one representing workers, was for the first time at the guide of the EESC.

<sup>158</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-71, *Market Place*, 1978.

Caroll. Even in this case, the special character of the potential election of Fabrizia was underlined. I quote:

“Ms. Baduel-Glorioso, if elected, would be the first woman to head any of the European Community institutions since they were founded a quarter of a century ago. That she comes from Italy, where male chauvinism is said not to have died out entirely (and may account for reticence about backing her from other unions), would make it all the more striking. But feminists who keep an eye on these things say they cannot count her in their ranks. She talks and votes like main-stream union representative.”<sup>159</sup>

Moreover, the satisfaction which accompanied this designation was expressed at Brussels in 1978 during a meeting of the *International Council of Women*<sup>160</sup>, which used to represent the feminist associations of sixteen different European countries. Furthermore, her candidature was also strongly supported by the *National Council of Italian Women*<sup>161</sup>, as indicated on a document part of Fabrizia’s Fund written by Sofia Lanza Spagnoletti, the president of the same association, on 28th July 1978.

However, we should pay attention in believing that her candidature was warmly welcomed by everyone in the European framework. For instance, some groups and associations expressed their despair with her candidature, as in the case of the *European Women’s Movement of Ecological Europe*. Indeed, in an open letter to Fabrizia<sup>162</sup> the representatives of this movement expressed their disappointment in relation to some statements underlying the support coming from the European Women’s movement to the achievement of Fabrizia. Basically, in a sort of accusatory letter they almost advanced the opinion that Fabrizia was promoting the wrong ideals in the European framework, ideals too conservative and almost violent. I quote:

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<sup>159</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>160</sup> The International Council of Women (ICW) was and still is an international women's organization working for the common cause of ensuring human rights for women.

<sup>161</sup> The National Council of Italian Women is an Italian federation of women focused on improving conditions and maximizing opportunities for women. This organization was founded in 1903 as the Italian branch of the International Council of Women.

<sup>162</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-72, *Open Letter to Ms. Baduel Glorioso. The European Women’s Movement - Ecological Europe*, October 6th, 1978.

“We women in Europe who have been part of the struggle to make Europe human and non-violent and non-military do not see how you can be our ally when you have been arguing like a male trade unionist from Italy”<sup>163</sup>.

Fabrizia was accused of having supported the implementation of a nuclear and military Europe, taking a passive stand on these questions, rather than strongly opposing any kind of peaceful and military uses of nuclear energy. Besides, she was also accused of having accepted discrimination against female workers at the national level and at the European one. In conclusion, the position of the organization was evidently extremely radical and clear cut but strongly in opposition to Fabrizia’s election. I quote once again:

“We DO NOT WANT THIS KIND OF EUROPE! Even if it is to be headed by a woman! Not a woman at any price.”<sup>164</sup>

Nevertheless, one of the Associations which deeply supported the election and candidature of Fabrizia was the Organization of *Femmes d’Europe*, which happened to be considered the first official bulletin released by the Community, entirely dedicated to women, which enjoyed the contribution of great personalities<sup>165</sup> who played essential roles in the European framework, such as Fausta La Valle Deshormes and Beatrice Rangoni Machiavelli. Indeed, in the Fabrizia Glorioso Fund one of these publications by Femmes d’Europe was preserved, specifically the n°5/78 of September/October 1978, which focused obviously on the election of Fabrizia<sup>166</sup>. The satisfaction in reaction to the first election of a woman as leader of one of the European institutional organisms is clearly expressed in this edition of the bulletin. Moreover, the election of Fabrizia was a matter of hope for a lot of women in Europe. As a matter of fact, as written in the bulletin, Fabrizia’s achievement was a significant change in the evolution of the mentalities in the Community area, and a symptom

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<sup>163</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>165</sup> Becherucci, A., *L’Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p.293.

<sup>166</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-72, *Femmes d’Europe. Une Présidente pour le Comité Économique et Social.*, Brussels, September/October 1978 - n° 5/78.

of the beginning of the era of *Europe 2* of which Fabrizia herself spoke in her inaugural speech at the EESC, as we will see in a bit.

### III. THE PRESIDENCY OF FABRIZIA BADUEL GLORIOSO

Now that we discovered how the EESC originated and that we examined the reactions to Fabrizia's candidature as President of the EESC, it is time to introduce the meaning of her presidency and the actual activities she supported and performed as leader of the Committee. Just to clarify, the following table will resume all the Presidents of the Committee that were nominated starting from the creation of the EESC until the 1978-1980 mandate in which the Presidency of Fabrizia can be included.

<b><i>THE EESC PRESIDENTS FROM ITS FOUNDATION UNTIL 1978</i></b>	
Roger De Staercke	1958-1960
Ludwig Rosenberg	1960-1962
Emile Roche	1962-1964
Piero Giustiniani	1964-1966
Louis Major	1966-1968
Mathias Berns	1968-1970
J.D. Kuipers	1970-1972
Alfons Lappas	1972-1974
Henri Canonge	1974-1976
Basil de Ferranti	1976-1978
<b>Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso</b>	<b>1978-1979</b>
Raffaele Vanni	1979-1980

*Table 1. The EESC Presidents from its foundation until 1978.*



By looking at this table presenting a summary of all the EESC Presidents we can notice that her mandate was shorter when compared to those of her colleagues. Generally, each President was meant to hold Presidential office for a total of two years. Nevertheless, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso was obliged to abandon the office of President in July 1979, and was Replaced by Vanni, the Confederal Secretary of the UIL, when she officially accepted her nomination in the Communist lists to become a member in the first universal and direct elected European Parliament, but we will deal in depth with this topic in the next chapter.

#### **IV. THE ELECTION SPEECH OF FABRIZIA BADUEL GLORIOSO**

Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso was officially elected President of the European Economic and Social Committee on October 18th, 1978. Her inaugural speech opens up by thanking her colleague for the trust and the votes and her pledge to perform her duties as leader of the Committee in her best capabilities. Furthermore, a special thanks was dedicated at the beginning of the speech to Roger Louet who was elected as Secretary General side by side with Fabrizia and who will represent a very important point of reference during the entirety of her presidency. Furthermore, Fabrizia goes on by recalling the work of the last three presidents which were particularly significant in relaunching the activity and role of the EESC. Basically, she was referring to the work performed by President Lappas, with whom the Committee was able to finally obtain the “right of initiative” in 1972, of which we already spoke. Moreover, she also quotes two other Presidents, Canonge and Ferranti.

One of the interesting aspects that in my opinion comes out from the speech is the awareness of Fabrizia herself in relation to the unprecedented character of her election. However, even if Fabrizia recognized that her being a woman was going to have an impact on her work and reputation, she still chose not to focus only on this feature. I quote:

**“I thank you as an Italian woman trade unionist”<sup>167</sup>.**

This sentence, inserted in her speech, clearly summarizes all the attributes of Fabrizia, a woman, an Italian and syndicalist. By speaking as an Italian, she expressed all her pride to be the first Italian President of the EESC pertaining to the Group II, and to be tasked with the privileged goal of representing one of the founding members of the EEC, whose influence was massively growing in the ‘70s. Indeed, she carefully pointed out in her speech the great engagement shown by the Italian government towards the European framework. In particular, she referred to the newly elected President of the Republic Sandro Pertini, who openly expressed in his settlement speech in July 1978 the necessity to maintain a high degree of engagement of Italy towards Europe. Furthermore, she also recalled the significant efforts that Italian workers were doing at the time, underlying the effort they were carrying out in constituting a sort of union of Italian social forces<sup>168</sup> in the ‘70s, after the split of 1948. Moreover, she deeply highlighted the significance of her achievement as a woman, recalling not only the relevance of the functions played by women in the society of the ‘70s but also referring to the relevance occupied by the women’s liberation movement.

Apart from this more sentimental part of her discourse, the rest of it is pretty much dedicated to the topic of the Community, the analysis of the phase Europe was facing at the time and the changes that she could have potentially brought as new President of the EESC. As a matter of fact, her election came at a moment not at all easy for the EEC, which was indeed handling a great deal of problems. There was a lot of work to carry on, starting with the strengthening of the internal functioning of the Community, to the enlargement towards three new nations, to the need for renewal of the Lomé Accord and the relationship with the Mediterranean, arriving to the greatest challenge of the first direct suffrage of the European

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<sup>167</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-73, *Speech of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso to the Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities*, Constituent Session, 17-18 October 1978.

<sup>168</sup> She is obviously referring to the creation in 1972 of the Federation CGIL-CISL-UIL.

Parliament expected in 1979. Clearly all these issues and questions led Fabrizia to reflect upon the role of the Committee, and on the subsequent necessity to improve its *activity* and *incisiveness*. When she talked about activities, she was referring in her mind to the idea of maximizing the EESC interventions, trying to make use as much as possible of its right to initiative, gained in 1972, which allowed the Committee to be finally free of expressing its own opinion. Instead, incisiveness referred rather to the rapidity of expressing opinions and ideas and on the improvement of the relations between the Committee and other bodies such as the Commission and the European Parliament<sup>169</sup>. Indeed, she interestingly talked about ‘a new generation of opinions’ to be issued by the Committee, which would have represented in her idea the maximum effort of existent compromise between social and national forces represented in the EESC, also allowing minorities groups to express their positions. In particular, she advocated for the need to make the opinions clearer, in order to improve the concreteness and effectiveness of the Committee’s work.

Moreover, her opinion contained in her first speech as President of the EESC was extremely strong. She proved indeed to be aware of all the consequences of the economic crisis which was involving Europe at the time, and which had the effect of increasing the number of unemployed, likely to become in the future the cause for political and social instability in Europe. Even more interesting was her referring to the question of young workers, who found themselves often unemployed and therefore forced to be excluded from the labor market. Therefore, to try and solve the situation she advanced the proposal of supporting the monetary union of Europe while improving its social shield. The responsibility, according to her idea, was in the hands of the Community and the member states that needed to act in a coordinated way, based on a rational scheme of choices, opinions, and interventions.

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<sup>169</sup> It would be useful to note that Fabrizia will subsequently dedicate a lot of space in her work to the issue of improving the relationship between the Economic and Social Committee and the European Parliament. We will see why and how in the rest of the thesis.

Eventually, she concluded her speech by recalling the greatness of the western European area, characterized by a great productive potential and by an even greater workforce. The European Community at the time of her election was enjoying a moment of peace after centuries of destructive wars among its nations, experiencing therefore a political climate conducive for social and economic reforms. Therefore, according to her idea, that precise period could have represented the right moment to engage in changing the face of Europe, and to work even more in the hope of preserving its autonomy and democratic features.

## **V. THE MEDIATIC REACTION TO HER ELECTION**

I am now going to expose the most interesting press articles, starting from the Italian press, and then spacing to the international one, which were published during the one year and a half of presidency of the EESC of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso. Therefore, through these articles we will get the opportunities of not only understanding the weight of the mediatic reaction to the election of Fabrizia, but also discovering some of Fabrizia's opinions and ideas linked to the European framework at the time she occupied the office of President of the EESC.

### **V.I Italian Press**

#### *a) Amica - November 30th, 1978*

This extremely interesting article entitled "The Italian called to make Europe" and written by Arturo Gustelli<sup>170</sup> opens with one of Fabrizia's statements: "I am proud in the name of all women. We became protagonists and we are going to be even more in the future". This article offers a very different viewpoint on her nomination as President of the EESC, claiming how this event passed unobserved in the Italian newspapers. According to Gustelli, some were shocked by the news of a woman holding such a great office, a lot of critiques

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<sup>170</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-74, *Amica. L'italiana Chiamata a Fare l'Europa.*, November 30th, 1978.

were raised, but no one really investigated the reason for Fabrizia's success. In this article, she is described as a President naturally holding the command with extreme confidence, perhaps because of her deep attachment to Europe, which the writer judged as her greatest passion. Fabrizia, who defeated other Italian syndicalist candidates, Didò for the CGIL and Vanni for the UIL, appears in the eyes of the author as extremely opposed to authoritarianism and strongly caring about others' opinions. Gustelli also highlights the awareness of Fabrizia of the weight of her election, mainly because of her being a woman, but he carefully pointed out how she appeared way more focused on the role of the EESC. Gustelli, finally, reports at the end of the article one of her quotes in which she claims this was the moment of truth for the Committee that must become aware of its fundamental role in relation to the Community, and act consequently or it will risk remaining a marginalized institution.

b) *Avvenire – March 21st, 1979*

The article by the Italian Catholic newspaper *Avvenire*<sup>171</sup>, opens by expressing the willingness of the Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities to quit playing a marginal role with respect to the Parliament and the Commission. Essentially, this first part of the article underlines the same concept that Fabrizia herself included and summarized in her inaugural speech as newly elected President: the need for the EESC to play a more effective and dynamic role making this body more active among all the single member states. This article goes on by analyzing the visit of Fabrizia, the Vice-President and the Secretary General of the EESC to Italy and affirming the new achievements sets by the current leaders of the Committee or to say the deepening of the relations between the EESC and the organization of social forces of the different nations. Furthermore, this article reports an interesting opinion of Fabrizia, according to which her idea to improve the Committee was

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<sup>171</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-74, *Avvenire. Più peso nella CEE alle forze sociali.*, March 21st, 1979.

to accentuate the debate among the social parties to reach majority opinions able to guide the communitarian economic policy of Europe, above all in view of a new wave of enlargement. Following the article by Barbara Scaramucci, the newly elected President Fabrizia was at the time indeed engaged in communicating with the Spanish and Portuguese governments, facing the issue of fostering the birth of social organizations, such as the CNEL, in those countries. According to the opinion of Fabrizia, reported in this press article, the issue was that of inserting the EESC in that process of approach of Europe to the citizen, a process that was setting off at the end of the '70s with the first direct elections of the European Parliament. The article concludes itself by underlining the only solution that Fabrizia and the other members of the EESC found to this economic crisis, or to say the need to ensure a European construction based not merely on formulas and great premises but on a concrete substance.

c) *Il Gazzettino* - January 22nd, 1979

Very interesting was the small article published in the Italian newspaper *Il Gazzettino* on January 22nd, 1979<sup>172</sup>. By the title “From the Europe of tomorrow women expect a participative space”, this article reports some feminist-based ideals of Fabrizia. One interesting statement concerned the problems affecting the European Community at that moment. Fabrizia underlined how the contribution to improve the European system must not have come mainly and only by women, but by everyone, since the expectations were those of solutioning problems which affected women as much as men. According to her idea, everyone should have worked to allow women to concretely participate in the Europe of tomorrow, in such a way to let them be free of choosing to work and following their own ambitions. To sum up, her ideal was mostly focused on how to build a better Europe for

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<sup>172</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-74, *Il Gazzettino. Dall'Europa di domani le donne attendono uno spazio partecipativo.*, January 2nd, 1979.

everyone, but of course she always kept a sort of eye of regard, as a woman herself, in relation to women and to the issue of creating equal opportunity.

*d) Il Messaggero - October 25th, 1978*

This article in *Il Messaggero* written by Carla Ravaoli<sup>173</sup> opens presenting Fabrizia and underlining her engagement in reference to the topic of Europe united, to which she dedicated a lot of attention already when she was part of the Studies and Research Office of the CISL during the '50s and later when she was Head of the International Office of the CISL from 1965. In particular, Fabrizia was depicted in the article as a woman strongly focused on the European reality, especially supporting the foundation of what she herself defined as “the only European Left” and for the enlargement of the Community, but strongly opposing to the entrance of authoritarian nations, following Fabrizia’s anti-fascist positions which characterized her political and social choices for the entirety of her life. Essentially, even sharing the awareness on the degree of crisis of the Community, Fabrizia still recalled the greatness of the European experience that put together different countries in the effort of overcoming nationalisms of very different countries, with completely different historical experiences, cultures, languages, levels of development, etc. In this framework, problems are foreseeable and inevitable at the same time, nevertheless, as Fabrizia points out something positive has been realized through the European framework. This topic links also to another opinion she expresses in the same interview, regarding the project of a monetary Europe. Indeed, she claimed how this vision could have been positive for the Community but also risky if it did not consider the different realities also considering the presence of economically weaker countries. One last opinion expressed in the same interview, concerned the attitude of the European citizens, which could have been almost judged as disinterested

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<sup>173</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-74, *Il Messaggero. Una donna a Bruxelles con qualche dubbio.*, October 25th, 1978.

towards the issues of the Community at the time. According to Fabrizia, this was because the Community was still considered an “abstract thing”, artificially built following leaders' directions and complex bureaucracies. Basically, also the elective method partially contributed to add distance between the EEC and its citizens, a problem that could find a first seed of solution, according to her opinion, in the next direct universal suffrage for the European Parliament, foreseen for the following year, and which represented, according to Fabrizia's words, a first step for the birth of what she defined *Europe 2*.

e) *Internazionale* - November 13th, 1978

Also, this article published in the newspaper *Internazionale*<sup>174</sup> contains an interview with Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso carried out by R. Wittenberg. Speaking about her election and describing the tasks of the Committee, Fabrizia ended up pointing out, when asked, her satisfaction with the degree of harmonization of the economic and social policies promoted in the EESC. Besides, she stated how rather than following national logics, the representatives inside the Committee were more united on the point of view of the tripartite structure<sup>175</sup>. According to her viewpoint, as a worker representative, this logic governing the EESC at the time allowed for the strengthening of all European workers, which represented the foundation to build a common strategy and allow for the victory of the Europe of workers. In one of the questions the interviewer asked her to summarize the type of impulse Fabrizia wanted to give to the Economic and Social Committee as its new President. Essentially, she started recalling the main challenges that the Community was meant to face in the next years, starting with the internal strengthening, which in her opinion meant engaging in the concretization of a monetary union through the coordination of economic policies and the engagement in the

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<sup>174</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-74, *Internazionale. Intervista con Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso.*, November 13th, 1978.

<sup>175</sup> Let's recall that at the time the EESC was organized into three main groups: 1) public and private employees; 2) workers; 3) representatives of various interests.



creation of a European currency. Furthermore, she affirmed her willingness to focus on the challenges posed by the enlargement through the admission of the three new candidate countries (Greece, Spain, and Portugal), with all the related consequences of inserting and homologating these nations to the economic and social footprint of the Community. Finally, facing the issue of the renewal of the Lomé Accords, she advanced the opinion concerning the need to establish a clearer relationship with developing countries, which translated according to her idea into an effective North-South cooperation to set a new labor division to substitute the old colonial logic. Finally, the article closes with Fabrizia clarifying what she meant with the expression 'Europe 2' she used during her inaugural speech as President of the EESC. She explained that the label Europe 2 indicated a new hypothetical European society which implied more austerity in equality, better public services, a more balanced development inside the Community area.

f) *La Stampa - February 7th, 1979*

The article, written by Joanne Roy<sup>176</sup> and which starts with a summary of the career and the competences of Fabrizia, reported an interview with Fabrizia focused on the topic of full employment. As far as the issue of the worrying unemployment levels in the European area was concerned, Fabrizia argued that the Community had carried an economic analysis of this phenomenon too superficial. Indeed, according to her opinion, the economic crisis in the Community started long before the oil shock and the dollar crisis, and in particular the Italian and French workers had been complaining about long time trying to explain their discomfort in this consumerist society. Her opinion shifted then to cultural issues, by stating that the problem was also linked to the fact that leaders in Europe were always reasoning with an old mindset, fixed on the ideal of deep trust towards the mechanisms of capitalism following

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<sup>176</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-74, *La Stampa. La piena occupazione non è un effetto naturale.*, February 7th, 1979.

which full employment is a natural effect. Moreover, she went on in the interview explaining the type of full employment she would like to realize. She spoke of “free choice for everyone”, accompanied by a democratic and flexible programming, dissimilar from that of Eastern European nations and which would involve the participation of all social components. Furthermore, another question posed to Fabrizia in the interview was focused on what the Committee could have done under her leadership in order to improve the situation. Basically, she starts by affirming that the consultative role of the EESC was well-functioning and what she underlined was the presence inside this body of different interlocutors, private and state businesses, farmers, traders, bankers, freelancers, but also all the trade unions. Besides, according to Fabrizia, this extremely diversified soul was to be considered the real strength behind the EESC. Of course, the presence of all these differences also translated into problems inside the EESC as far as reaching compromises and common solutions was concerned. To this end, her strategy was to keep pushing and be trustful of the force of dialogues, always believing in the possibility of an agreement between governments. She eventually advanced a very interesting opinion, stating that this confrontation between political powers and social forces was still based on the conviction that workers did hold only one type of power: that of opposition. Well, according to her point of view, this was the time of proposing to them to seriously divide responsibilities, allowing for a great participation of social forces in the context of the Community.

g) *Noi Donne* - January 24th, 1979

The article published in *Noi Donne* and written by Marisa Fumagalli<sup>177</sup> is particularly interesting, starting from its title: “Once in a while it helps to be a woman”. After a brief recap of the achievements which characterized Fabrizia’s career, the article proposes the

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<sup>177</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-74, *Noi Donne. Una volta tanto giova essere donna.*, January 24th, 1979.

summary of an interview with her. One interesting question posed concerned the topic of women discrimination in the working context. Her answer to this question is extremely relevant. Indeed, she affirmed that she never really realized having been discriminated against, she never really thought about it. “I always had the feeling I could reach, on an equal footing, the same masculine goals”<sup>178</sup> she added. Moreover, she also stated that it was possible she experienced some forms of discrimination, but she did not speak of great obstacles to overcome, this because in her opinion she always did everything by herself, therefore avoiding underlining the “weight” that being a woman could have represented at the time. Furthermore, she pointed out that of course she was facilitated in this process because she was not a mom, and she could be completely dedicated to work. Furthermore, speaking of her propositions as the new President of the EESC, she underlined her will to support the workers’ group in making it become a real innovational component. While, as far as the topic of women was concerned, her points of insistence were effective equality, renewal and creation of new social infrastructure, environment, and health advocacy, etc. Moreover, she declared her intention of supporting a sensibilization campaign to foster women’s participation in the Community, as they represented a big slice of the electorate.

## V.II International Press

### a) *Le figaro* - April 1979

In this brief article published in *Le Figaro* in April 1979<sup>179</sup> some of Fabrizia’s ideas were reported. In a framework of global reflection, Fabrizia advanced the idea that a European industrial policy was useless if not accompanied by measures guaranteeing the respect of the interests of the workers. However, the Community, following her reasoning, also needed to be strengthened since only a stable development and good financial conditions would have

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<sup>178</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>179</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-75, *Le Figaro. Vers un affrontement des partenaires sociaux à l’échelle des Neuf*, 28-29th April 1979.

fostered a growth in industrial investments which would have increased the total level of jobs. Indeed, according to Fabrizia, this was the strategy that the EESC was supporting in order to fight unemployment.

b) *Femmes - n.d.*

This article published in *Femmes*<sup>180</sup> in French is perhaps one of the most interesting ones. It refers to Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso as “*Madame Europe*”, and it celebrates the success of this woman in being elected leader of one of the European institutions in the framework of the EEC. After a brief introduction and a summary of her career, the article starts exposing her ideas. Starting with the statement declaring that her focus remained on the unity of workers, the article goes on explaining which were the aims she proposed to achieve with her Presidency to the EESC: first, overcoming the issue related to the consultative role of the Committee, allowing therefore the Committee to be known and not remaining simply accessible to national élites. Moreover, according to the article, her life motive was “le refus du train-train administratif”<sup>181</sup>. Furthermore, the article also underlined her success as a woman inside the EESC, being the first female President in a body of 144 representatives at the time and composed by only ten other women delegates. Finally, the article closes with a question posed to Fabrizia concerning her opinion on possible changes for women after her election. Obviously, she pointed out how she was partially facilitated by her not being a mom and having an *avant-gardiste* husband who supported all the way to her election. However, the rest of her answer to the question was emblematic and expressed all the hope that her election symbolized for women, of which she was obviously aware as she stated: “*Je suis là, donc tout est possible*”<sup>182</sup>.

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<sup>180</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-75, *Femmes. Madame Europe*, n.d.

<sup>181</sup> “The refusal of the administrative train-train”.

<sup>182</sup> “I am there, therefore everything is possible”.

c) *Le Soir* - November 27th, 1978

The article written by Patricia M. Colmant, published in the French newspaper *Le Soir* on the 25th of November 1978<sup>183</sup>, proposes a portrait of the new President of the EESC. Even this article, after a brief introduction presenting Fabrizia, is focused on considerations on feminism. Indeed, in the brief paragraph titled “Peu des Femmes au C.E.S”<sup>184</sup> Patricia takes stock of the situation pointing out the sub-representation of women in the Committee, therefore underlining the great achievement and satisfaction that comes with the election of a woman as its leader. However, the part I found most interesting about the article concerned the type of feminism associated with Fabrizia.

In particular, the last paragraph is entitled “Féminine mais pas féministe” and adds a particular consideration in relation to Fabrizia’s positions. Indeed, it reports a quote of Fabrizia herself which states that her election is a victory for the Italian trade union forces and not only of women. According to the article, the opinion of Fabrizia is clear cut, she didn’t want to be labelled a feminist, perhaps, as she suggests, it was due to generational differences. The article closes with a last advice by Fabrizia to women: “c’est à nous de nous intégrer plus dans la vie politique”<sup>185</sup>.

d) *Good Housekeeping* – n.d.

This article by Liz Forgan and published in the *Good Housekeeping*<sup>186</sup> also celebrated the election of Fabrizia as President of the EEC with a piece of purely feminist orientation. The article entitled “Fabrizia Glorioso: First Lady of Europe” offers us numerous insights about Fabrizia feminist beliefs and private life. The writer reports entirely some of her words.

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<sup>183</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-75, *Le Soir. Fabrizia Glorioso, présidente du Comité économique et social.*, November 27th, 1978.

<sup>184</sup> “Few women at the EESC”.

<sup>185</sup> “It is our job to insert ourselves in the political life”.

<sup>186</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-75, *Good Housekeeping. Fabrizia Glorioso: First Lady of Europe.*, n.d.

“I was very obstinate. Not so much arrogant, but being the eldest of three children gave me, I think, a certain masculinity... Oh dear, I shouldn't have said that, the feminists won't like it at all. As it is they call me an Uncle Tom, but I am not a feminist in that sense. I do my job in the place I think important - the trade union movement.”<sup>187</sup>

She declared, following the words of the article, that she admired those that participated in the political struggle of feminism, that she saw as logical, but she stated she could never participate in it. According to her opinion, all the work in supporting women that she could realize she did through the trade union environment and the international labor movement channels. Moreover, the article goes on expressing her idea according to which the issue with women was that they had less time, since society gave them little or no help and therefore they ended up being less ambitious. According to Fabrizia, women thought of work as being an extra at the time, something to subordinate to their family life. This means, according to Fabrizia, that society had the responsibility of doing more, of helping them, and partially this was also the work she hoped to realize as President of the Committee.

e) *Femmes d'Aujourd'hui* - January 1979

The article written by Geneviève Heco and published in *Femmes D'Aujourd'hui*, a French newspaper, in January 1979<sup>188</sup> offers a new viewpoint of Fabrizia on a different topic that none of the newspapers we analysed tackled so far: the new generations. Geneviève indeed reports a series of Fabrizia's opinions in which she highlighted the positive lessons that the new generations had given at the time to people of her generation by fostering an image of a democratic and pacific Europe. To this end, she recalled the experience of the 1968 Movement in Italy, but she still added that the young generations were not the only ones to bring insights for reflection in the current society. Indeed, she was referring to women workers in third world countries which were not really heard before the 1970s. Once again,

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<sup>187</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>188</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-75, *Femmes d'aujourd'hui*. Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso *Présidente du Comité économique et social des communautés européennes.*, January 1979.

also this article concludes by tackling the issue of the change that the election of Fabrizia could potentially bring among women. In this perspective, Geneviève highlights how the tendency of the new President is that of giving voice to the unprivileged, occupying the role of “partisane de l’émancipation de la femmes”<sup>189</sup> in the framework of the European institutions.

To conclude, these were only some of the Italian and international articles and newspapers that wrote articles in relation to Fabrizia Glorioso, her election and her position as President of the EESC. However, a lot of other relevant newspapers in the European framework and not actually dedicated space to this event, of course we cannot analyze all of them, but I will refer to some of them: Le Monde, Avanti, El País, Special, The Guardian, La Repubblica, The Times, etc.

## **VI. HER CONTRIBUTION AS PRESIDENT OF THE EESC**

As we previously explained, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso was a member of the Italian trade unionist delegation in the European Economic and Social Committee since 1970, but at the end of 1978 something changed. Indeed, she was a candidate for the position of President of the same body, which she officially became on October 18th, 1978. However, her contribution as President of the EESC was not as consistent as those of other Presidents because around April 1979 she was forced to leave the Presidency office since she decided to accept her candidature to the first universal suffrage elections of the European Parliament. In order to replace her, Vanni was elected the new President of the Committee. Nevertheless, on the basis of the documents preserved by the Historical Archives of the European Union, we will now try to retrace the contribution that Fabrizia gave to the EESC as its President and analyze the activity she carried out in that brief amount of time.

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<sup>189</sup> “Partisan of women’s emancipation”.

## VI.I The Year 1978

A month after Fabrizia's election as President of the EESC, and precisely on the 29th of November 1978, in a Plenary Session of the Committee, Fabrizia has pronounced a speech<sup>190</sup> summarizing all the activities carried out in her first month as President and anticipating some of the future interventions she pledged to perform. Firstly, she underlined her engagement in improving the dynamism of the EESC by recalling three protocolar visits which took place in the first month of her mandate, respectively with Ambassador Sigrist, President Jenkins and the President of the European Parliament Colombo. In addition, she recalled her engagement in trying to strengthen the consultative function of the EESC and in trying to analyze and improve the relations and the coordination of opinions between the Committee and European Parliament. Another important activity she carried out this month concerned the meeting with the President of the different groups and sections of the EESC to debate the role of the sections and other organizational topics. Finally, another interesting activity that can be linked to Fabrizia's presidency was the visit of the EESC delegation and of the new Greek SKOP in Paris where they were received by a mixed parliamentary commission composed of EEC and Greek representatives. To this end, we are now going to analyze in depth some of these activities, always basing our discourse on the primary sources contained in Fabrizia's Fund at the HAEU.

### *a) The Meeting between the EESC President and the President of the European Commission (27 October 1978)*

As specified by the correspondent Press Release of the EESC<sup>191</sup>, the President of the Committee went to visit the President of the European Commission Roy Jenkins at the end of October 1978. During this very important meeting, Fabrizia informed the President of the

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<sup>190</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-77, *President Discourse*, November 29th, 1978.

<sup>191</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 34/78 (1143)*, Brussels, 27 October 1978.



declarations she made at the EESC on the day of her election, and she also described the plans she made for her mandate, relative to the improvement of the work of the Committee, in particular through the improvement of the specificity and effectiveness of the opinions produced. Furthermore, on this occasion, she also met the Vice President Ortoli who had represented the Commission in the next Plenary Session of the Committee on November 30th, 1979. Indeed, as decided during the meeting, Vice President Ortoli held a speech on the economic situation and on the economic and monetary union of the Community. The meeting eventually revealed that the Commission would have very likely asked for an urgent opinion to the EESC regarding the monetary union to be discussed at the end of November as a way to allow the governments and state leaders to be informed on the position of the Economic and Social Committee.

*b) The Meeting of the EESC President with the President of the European Parliament (15 November 1978)*

This meeting between Fabrizia, as leader of the economic and Social Committee, and Emilio Colombo, the President of the European Parliament, happened on November 15th, 1979, in Strasbourg. As described in the official Press Release<sup>192</sup>, in this reunion the two Presidents mentioned the importance of the relationship between the two bodies they were respectively representing. However, further references were made to the possibility of deepening the already existent links and improving the reciprocal information. Furthermore, on the same visit to Strasbourg, Fabrizia also met the Secretary of the Council of Europe Ackermann and the Added Secretary General Adinolfi, with whom she exchanged opinions regarding the relations between the two institutions.

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<sup>192</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, EESC. *Press Release CS 35/78 (1144)*, Brussels, 15 October 1978.

c) *The Meeting between the President and the President of the COREPER (21 November 1978)*

A Press Release officially produced by the EESC<sup>193</sup> summarized the meeting that took place between the President of the Committee Baduel Glorioso and the President of the COREPER<sup>194</sup> Helmut Sigrist. The reunion has highlighted the optimal relationships linking the Council of the Community and the Committee, and the two parties also promised to make efforts in order to maintain them. Furthermore, Fabrizia has expressed the desire to renew the tradition introduced by the EESC President Lappas of organizing meetings between the President of the EESC and the COREPER. Besides, an interesting proposal was advanced in order to face the increasing amount of opinions and work commissioned to the Committee consisting in streamlining the procedure of transmission of consultations of the Council to allow the EESC to gain enough time to generate its opinions. Finally, in the same meeting other issues of general order have been discussed, such as the analysis of mechanisms of a monetary and economic system of the community and the problems linked to the adhesion of Greece, Spain, and Portugal, etc.

## **VI.II The Year 1979**

According to the EESC Annual Report of 1979<sup>195</sup>, during the first semester of 1979 the President Baduel Glorioso carried out some official visits, such as the ones to Paris, Bonn, Rome and Luxembourg, and many others. During these trips she respectively encountered the Prime Minister Barre in Paris; the Chancellor Schmidt in Bonn; some ministers and the President of the Republic Pertini in Rome and the President of the Council Thorn in Luxembourg. Moreover, she also conducted some visits in the countries that applied to

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<sup>193</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 38/78 (1147)*, Brussels, 21 November 1978.

<sup>194</sup> COREPER or *Committee of Permanent Representatives* (in French *Comité des représentants permanents*) is composed of the head or deputy head of mission from the EU member states in Brussels. Its main task is to organize and coordinate the works and meetings of the Council.

<sup>195</sup> HAEU, European Economic and Social Committee Fund, Dossier FBG.78, *EESC. Annual Report of the EESC*, Brussels, 1 August 1980.

achieve the membership of the EEC, respectively Portugal, Spain, and Greece. Moreover, all these official visits were further confirmed by Fabrizia herself in her speech during the first plenary session of 1979<sup>196</sup>, when she affirmed that in the next months following January 1979 several official visits were set: Paris, Dublin, Rome, Copenhagen, London, Bonn, Benelux countries but also Madrid, Greece, and Ankara.

*a) Fabrizia official visit to Ankara (11-13 January 1979)*

In the speech Fabrizia pronounced during the Plenary session of January 1979<sup>197</sup>, she summarized the activities and the scope of her trip to Lisbon, which took place between 11th and 13th January 1979, under invitation of the First Congress of the Portuguese Economic Activities. To this end, during this encounter among farmers and traders of the nation, a lot of problems and issues concerning the potential adhesion of Portugal to the EEC came out, which happened to be topics of great actuality for the imminent beginning of the negotiations. Moreover, as confirmed by a Press Release of January 16th, 1979<sup>198</sup>, she had the chance of meeting the President of the Republic Ramalho Eanes and its Vice-Prime Minister Jacinto Nunes. According to this source, Fabrizia played a fundamental role in this meeting by underlining the relevant role of the representatives of the social and economic forces, above all referring to the dimension of the EESC and highlighting the necessity of establishment of immediate contacts between social parties in the Committee and the Portuguese ones. As a matter of fact, according to Fabrizia's words, an official visit to Portugal by the President of the EESC was already set for the year 1979. Interesting enough, this was the first time a President of the EESC ever visited Portugal. Furthermore, as pointed out by the same Press

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<sup>196</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *President Discourse*, 29 January 1979.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>198</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 1/79 (1155)*, Brussels, 16 January 1979.

Release, a new official meeting was fixed in the next months to meet the representatives of the Portuguese economic and social forces.

*b) The President of the EESC visits Rome (16 January 1979 & 19-23 March 1979)*

Moreover, another point of the same speech<sup>199</sup> was dedicated to the description of a protocol visit to Rome, on 16th of January 1979, which aimed at organizing the future official visit by the President of the EESC happening in the month of March. During the first trip, Fabrizia had the chance of meeting the President of the Republic Sandro Pertini, who according to her words expressed the hope of seeing the social forces of the different nations cooperate actively together to build a new and more inclusive Europe. As far as the second visit to Rome is concerned, according to the official Press Release of the EESC of March 27th, 1979<sup>200</sup>, the visit of the President Baduel Glorioso to Rome took place between 19 and 23rd March 1979. On this occasion, the President Fabrizia met not only Pertini but also Ingrao, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and Tullia Romagnoli, Vice President of the Italian Senate. According to the official document of the EESC<sup>201</sup>, Pertini encouraged Fabrizia to carry on supporting the action of relaunching the Economic and Social Committee, also underlying the importance of the task performed by the unity of social and economic forces in the European integration and structuring phase. In this meeting she was also able to analyse the possibility of strengthening the links and contacts with the next Parliamentarians elected on the 10th of June 1979, who will be composing the first European Parliament to be elected with direct suffrage. Furthermore, the same Press Release<sup>202</sup> reveals another meeting she had with the Ministers Anselmi, Pandolfi, Scotti, Forlani and Foschi, with whom she deeply discussed the economic and social problems affecting the Community considered the

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<sup>199</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *President Discourse*, 29 January 1979.

<sup>200</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 30/79 (1184)*, Brussels, 19 March 1979.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibidem*.

most worrying sources of concerns for both the EESC and the Italian Government, such as the European Monetary System, the threat of the new wave of enlargement, issues regarding the working hours and the unemployment, the topic of the relations with ACP countries and so on and so forth. Furthermore, during this visit, a very important meeting happened at the Economic and Labor National Council between its leader Bruno Storti and the delegation of the EESC with the presence of the Presidents and General Secretaries of the several Economic and Social countries existent in the various countries of the EEC, including the newly formed Greek council, invited as an observer. This was a second meeting, the first one being carried out during 1978 in Brussels, allowing the different parties to exchange opinions and debates trying to highlight the results stemming from the consultative function of the Committee in the different nations. Finally, during the same trip she was received, jointly with the other EESC delegations' representatives, by the Pope Giovanni Paolo II. To conclude, the last event of this trip was a meeting between the President Fabrizia and various executives of the European University Institute.

*c) The meeting of the President with the President of the European Bank of Investments (18 January 1979)*

On January 18th, 1979, as stated by the specific Press Release of the Committee<sup>203</sup>, the President Fabrizia met in Luxembourg the President of the European Investments Bank<sup>204</sup>, Le Portz, and some other members of the Executive Committee. During the gathering, Le Portz underlined the actions taken by the EIB in the field of investments to generate job places and the support given in relation to the issues of enlargement of Mediterranean policy and of the Lomé Convention. On her side, Fabrizia highlighted the necessity to better coordinate the

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<sup>203</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 4/79 (1158)*, Brussels, 22 January 1979.

<sup>204</sup> The *European Investment Bank* or EIB (in French *Banque Européenne d'Investissement*) was officially created in 1957 and instituted subsequently with the Rome Treaty. It is the financial institution and lending arm of the Union.

financial efforts of the different European institutions and to increase their volume in order to contrast concretely the effects of the economic crisis, especially with reference to unemployment and regional imbalances, trying also to strengthen the EEC contacts with developing nations. Finally, the President Baduel Glorioso invited Le Portz to hold a lesson on the EIB's activity in the next Plenary Session of the EESC.

*d) The Visit of the President to the European Court of Justice (January 1979)*

According to the official Press Release of the EESC<sup>205</sup>, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso as the leader of the Committee, met the President Hans Kutscher, the members, and the Chancellor of the European Court of Justice<sup>206</sup> in Luxembourg. Fabrizia, accompanied by Roger Louet and Giovanni Muro<sup>207</sup>, underlined the relevant role played by the ECJ in the process of formation of the Community's law. Furthermore, the President recalled the necessity to let European citizens, and economic and social forces, deepen their knowledge of the Court and its work above all in relation to the defence of individual rights of citizens, which represented a fundamental aspect of European democracy. Finally, the President invited a representative of the Court to participate in a session of the EESC in order to expose its work and illustrate the relevance of the ECJ role.

*e) The Meeting of the President with the "Committee of the Wise" (1 February 1979)*

According to an Official Press Release<sup>208</sup>, and following the speech Fabrizia pronounced during the EESC Plenary Session on 21-22 February 1979, the first day of the same month the President of the EESC met with the *Committee of the Three Wise*, composed by Barend

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<sup>205</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 5/79 (1159)*, Brussels, 22 January 1979.

<sup>206</sup> The *European Court of Justice* or ECJ (in French *Cour de Justice des Communautés européennes*) created in 1952 is considered the Supreme Court of the Union with jurisdiction in matters of EU law.

<sup>207</sup> Respectively General Secretary and the Chief of the Cabinet of the EESC.

<sup>208</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 11/79*, Brussels, 31 January 1979.

Biesheuvel, Edmond Dell and Robert Marjolin. This meeting, which happened also to be the first visit of the three to a European institution, gave the opportunity to examine the issue related to the functioning of the European organisms and the topic of concretization of an economic and monetary union of the Community. Another Press Release<sup>209</sup> summarized the content of the meeting, in particular revolving around the analysis of the economic crisis affecting Europe at the time and how these persistent economic conditions changed the balance of the European institutions pushing for the identification of new decisional organisms able to face the present issues. This process, according to the opinions shared in the meeting, had of course increased the significance of the role of the EESC, above all considering its effort in reaching a greater degree of democracy in community decisions.

*f) The visit to Paris (5-7 February 1979 & 27-28 February 1979)*

Moreover, as reported by a publication of the *Euro Politique* n°578 of March 1979<sup>210</sup>, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso as President of the EESC officially visited Paris a first time between 5th and 7th February 1979 and later a second time at the end of February. During the first official visit, as stated by the official Press Release of February 12th, 1979<sup>211</sup>, she met the French Prime Minister Barre and later the Minister of Labor Robert Boulin, who pledged to engage, as rotating President of the Council of the Communities, to analyse the opportunity of consulting the Committee in relation to possible solutions to the issue of unemployment. In the second trip, instead, Fabrizia encountered the Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council of the Communities Jean Francois-Poncet. The meeting between the two concerned the activities of the EESC in the field of foreign politics of the Community, the

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<sup>209</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 13/79 (1167)*, Brussels, 5th February 1979.

<sup>210</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-81, *Europolitique n°578. EESC: Visit of the President to Paris*, March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1979.

<sup>211</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 12/79 (1166)*, Brussels, 31st January 1979.

potential enlargement of the EEC toward Greece, Portugal and Spain, and the necessity of strengthening the link between the EESC and the French Council to cooperate and try to find a solution to the economic crisis in the Community. Furthermore, on the occasion of the second visit to Paris, which took place between 27 and 28 February 1979, she had the opportunity of meeting the President of the Senate Alain Poher, as highlighted by the official Press Release<sup>212</sup>, who happened to be an ancient European Parliamentarian, and with whom she was therefore able to discuss the nature of the relationship linking the European Parliament to the European Economic and Social Committee. Poher was indeed of the opinion that a greater degree of cooperation between these institutions was needed. Eventually, she had a meeting including the French trade unionist personnel, among whom Nicole Pasquier, Secretary of State at the women employment and Lionel Stoleru, Secretary of State in charge of the manual work. This meeting faced the issues of the feminine unemployment and the necessity of application of the equality principle of treatment between women and men. Eventually, as recalled by official documents, the Committee representatives with Fabrizia had the chance of meeting the leaders of several French professional and trade unionist organizations and they participated in the Convention on the enlargement of the community that took place in the French Economic and Social Council and was directed by its own president Ventejol.

*g) Meeting of the President with a delegation of the Italian Communist Party (8 February 1979)*

As stated in the respective Press Release<sup>213</sup>, on 8 February 1979, the President of the EESC Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso met with an Italian delegation, composed by some

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<sup>212</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 24/79 (1178)*, Brussels, 26 February 1979.

<sup>213</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 15/79 (1169)*, Brussels, 12 February 1979.



parliamentarians, members of the PCI, among whom Napolitano, Macaluso, Colajanni, Peggio plus Barbarella, who was visiting the Commission and the other European institutions. The meeting between Fabrizia and the Italian delegation was focused on the debate regarding the problematic situation of employment in Europe but also the means to support a relaunch of the Community economy and the restructuring of the industrial sector in the area.

*h) The meeting of the President with the Italian Labor Minister Scotti (9 February 1979)*

An official Press Release of the EESC<sup>214</sup> has revealed a visit by the Italian Minister of Labor and Social Security to the President of the Committee happened on February 9th, 1979. The focus of the visit was the question of the repartition of work and the possible solutions to the issue of unemployment. According to Minister Scotti, indeed, the European Economic and Social Committee could have played an extremely useful role in the search for remedies to these problems using dialogue and debate among the representatives of the social and economic forces of the member states.

*i) The Visit of the President to Madrid (12 and 13 February 1979)*

Another Press Release of the EESC<sup>215</sup> has revealed the visit of its President, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, to Madrid between 12 and 13 February 1979 under the invitation of the Spanish Trade Union Confederation UGTE to examine the problems created by the future premises of enlargement of the Community. On this occasion, Fabrizia met the Secretary General of the UGTE Redondo and other executives of the organization. Moreover, she also met Calvo Sotelo, the Minister, who was responsible for the enlargement of the Community, with whom

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<sup>214</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 14/79 (1168)*, Brussels, 9 February 1979.

<sup>215</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 18/79 (1172)*, Brussels, 15 February 1979.

she debated the possibility of having contacts with the Spanish economic and social forces to prepare them for entrance in the Committee. During this meeting it was decided that in the next months a new Committee representing employees, employers and farmers and the other groups needed to be created in Spain, which would have played the role of interlocutor of Sotelo and of the EESC. Finally, the President Baduel Glorioso also met with the Under Secretary of Labor Harguindey, with whom she discussed the problems Spain had to face in relation to free circulations of workers and to the adjustment of Spanish social legislation to the Community's norms. Moreover, this brief trip was also summarized in a letter that Fabrizia herself sent to Angel Otero<sup>216</sup>, the Confederal Secretary of the *Union Sindical Obrera*, on March 2nd, 1979. In this letter she underlined the extreme brevity of the trip which did not allow her to carry on all the engagements she had foreseen. However, she recalled in the same letter that a next official visit was about to be planned, and it would have given her the chance to meet the representatives of all the trade unionist and professional organizations in Spain, and therefore to engage in a great debate on the socio-economic problems relevant for both Spain and Europe.

j) *The Meeting of the President with Basque Parliamentarians (15 February 1979)*

The analysis of official Press Releases of the EESC<sup>217</sup> has revealed a meeting, which took place on 15 February 1979, between the President Fabrizia and a delegation of Parliamentarians of the Basque National Party which were visiting Brussels. This delegation was composed of the following deputies: Inigo Aguirre, Marcos Vizcaya, and an exponent of the BNP responsible for external relations, Gorka Aguirre. On this occasion, the President of the EESC exposed the programme she intended to develop during her mandate, illustrating the several initiatives already performed by the Committee in relation to the question of

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<sup>216</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-81, *Letter to Angel Otero*, Brussels, March 2nd, 1979.

<sup>217</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 20/79 (1174)*, Brussels, 19 February 1979.

enlargement. During the meeting, the two parties also analysed problems related to the economic crisis and employment. Finally, the Basque delegation highlighted the relevance of the role that the founding members of the EEC needed to play in the process of future enlargement of the Community.

*k) The visit of the President to Bonn (8 March 1979)*

At the beginning of March, the then President of the EESC Baduel Glorioso had the opportunity of meeting the German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, precisely on March 8th, 1979, during her official visit to Bonn. In the meeting, as highlighted by an official Press Release of the Committee<sup>218</sup>, they had the chance to deepen some of the issues of actuality of European policy. Indeed, she briefly illustrated to him the work of the Committee in particular by mentioning the preparatory works that the EESC was elaborating on its own and were destined to communitarian institutions such as the Permanent Committee of employment and the tripartite conference. Moreover, the reunion was also focused on the analysis of the crisis which was hitting the European Community and to the analysis of the potential solutions. In particular, Schmidt underlined the fundamental role of national government and social forces in this process, while the President Baduel Glorioso underlined the need for the economic and social parties represented in the EESC to engage more to find concrete and specific solutions above all to the issue of unemployment. Furthermore, the Chancellor pointed out the positive role played by the EESC as it represented a platform to foster dialogue and confrontation among the social and economic forces of the member states.

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<sup>218</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 25/79 (1179)*, Brussels, March 2nd, 1979.

*l) The President of the EESC visits Athens (12-14 March 1979)*

During the month of March, according to a Press Release of the EESC<sup>219</sup>, in addition to the visit to Rome, the President Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso went to Athens, in particular from 12 to 14 March 1979 to participate in the reunion of the Executive Committee of the Economic and Social Council of Greece, during which she advocated for the need to improve the communications and cooperation between the Greek Council and the European Committee. In addition, she invited the President of the Council Mitsotakis and its Secretary General Stephanopoulos to participate in the meeting with the President of the national Economic and Social Councils of the EEC countries foreseen in Rome at the end of March. Moreover, on this occasion she was able to meet and confront the President of the Republic Constantin Tsatsos, who underlined the Europeanist tendency of Greece. Furthermore, in this meeting the President of the EESC recalled the favourable position of the Committee towards the perspective of adhesion of Greece to the Common Market. In addition, the same Press Release highlighted another meeting Fabrizia had with the President of the Council Konstantinos Karamanlis, during which she wished him to play for Greece the same role Alcide De Gasperi played on the adhesion of Italy to the Community.

**VI.III The opinion of the EESC on the adhesion of Greece to the EEC**

Even though Fabrizia occupied the position of President for relatively a small amount of time if compared to her colleagues, she ended up representing the leadership of this body in an extremely significant period for the European Community. In particular, at the end of the '70s the EEC was dealing with the issue of enlargement of membership and was mainly looking at countries such as Greece, Spain and Portugal. Of course, considering the political features of Spain and Portugal, adhesion to the Community was way more complicated to achieve, while for Greece the reality was somehow different, indeed Greece was the first to join at the

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<sup>219</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-78, *EESC. Press Release CS 27/79 (1181)*, Brussels, 8 March 1979.

beginning of the '80s<sup>220</sup>. Nonetheless, the accession of Greece can be associated to that wave of enlargement that involved what at the time were ex authoritarian nations, recently freed from dictators, and which aside from the economic benefits were trying to access the Community to get a sort of formal recognition in the European space or to strengthen their image of democratic powers. However, these countries represented a source of problem for the Community, divided between the will to expand and open their membership but limited by the potential threat of allowing the entrance into the Community of countries so extraneous to democratic logics. Therefore, in the middle of the '70s the adhesion of Greece became a hot topic among the European institutions and leaders, which were trying to understand if it was possible to achieve this enlargement and at what cost.

Greece officially joined the EEC in 1981. Of course, its adhesion did not come without deep and extensive discussions in the European context. Indeed, the Fabrizio Baduel Glorioso Fund contained an interesting official dossier regarding an opinion on the adhesion of this country to the Community, which was produced by the EESC on November 29th, 1978, precisely when Fabrizio was holding the position of its President<sup>221</sup>. The dossier EXT/20 opens up by stating that based on the favor of 48 voices against 2, plus 9 abstentions, the opinion of the EESC was that the adhesion on Greece would have constituted a positive development at the political level for Greece as much as for the Community. According to the ideas of the representatives of the Committee, indeed, this adhesion would have contributed to the consolidation of the democratic economic and social policy in this country. In particular, the same dossier revealed how the EESC had already faced the analysis of the relationships between Greece and the Community, by considering the repercussions on the agriculture sector of the Mediterranean regions of the Community. What the EESC was

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<sup>220</sup> Karamouzi, E., *Greece, the EEC and the Cold War 1974-1979: The Second Enlargement*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

<sup>221</sup> HAEU, Fabrizio Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-82, *EESC. Dossier: EXT/20 "Adhesion of Greece"*, Brussels, 29 November 1978.

fearing was that the entrance of Greece in the common market could have had a negative impact on the rest of the European southern countries whose economic advantage relied on the agricultural products. However, Greece was not the only worrying change that the Committee was foreseeing but also the enlargement in relations to other countries such as Spain and Portugal represented a source of problems. Furthermore, in all this discourse the Committee also underlined the necessity of always considering the opinion of those countries already members of the EEC and with which the Community had already established economic agreements and reached an enduring balance. The opinion of the Committee, despite remaining very general, deeply underlined however the necessity for sufficiently flexible provisions together with effective transitional arrangements to be established as a way to achieve a harmonious adaptation of Greece to the communitarian culture and traditions.

Furthermore, the opinion of the EESC also touched on the issue of the custom unions, stating how the Association Agreement established between the two parties in 1962 was of course beneficial and had positive effects, but as much as it had negative ones that of course needed to find a solution during the transitional period of accession of Greece. In particular, for what concerned the other industrial sector, the EESC was of the opinion that a very broad schedule and calendar was needed. Furthermore, another interesting point included in the Committee's opinion concerned the necessity of inclusion of a safeguard clause in the adhesion treaty, as it happened in the case of Denmark, Great Britain, and Ireland entrance in the EEC, which should have represented a sort of guarantee in both senses in the case of unexpected developments or an anomalous concurrence threatening the balance of certain sectors or of the European labor market. Furthermore, the Committee shifted the attention on the need to establish specific arrangements to support the transitional provisions in order to avoid any distortion of the competition between the Nine and Greece by artificial advantages,

such as subsidies for the transport of agricultural or export subsidies for industrial products. Besides, also the topic of free circulation of workers arose. Indeed, the Committee underlined the necessity of inserting a sort of safeguard regarding the equal treatment of Greek workers in respect to those of the already members, even though the road which took the first six founder countries to achieve free movements of workers was very long and it involved an effort lasting almost ten years.

Finally, a social parenthesis was opened in the EESC written opinion. Indeed, it was stated that “social harmonization” with Greece was needed in case of adhesion, regarding the workers’ conditions, the remuneration, and other social fields. Besides, the Committee required this action to be rapid and it also advanced the idea that Greece could benefit, since from the very beginning of the entry into force of the adhesion Treaty, of an appropriate contribution by the European Social Fund. This contribution, in addition, should have allowed, according to the Committee's idea, Greece to finance social measures in the field of professional training which aimed at facilitating the restructuring of the Greek industry. Besides, what the Committee believed was that the management of the accession consequences should not just have had repercussions on a few sectors or regions in difficulty, but they should have been borne by the entire Community as a whole. Therefore, a preventive analysis was needed, following their opinion, in order to estimate what kind of repercussions would this enlargement bring about. Eventually, the last sentence of the dossier contains the hope expressed by the Committee that the adhesion of this country, in which the occidental and democratic civilization was born, would have contributed to the progress of an enlarged Community towards its political, economic, and social ends.

#### **VI.IV The study of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso on the EESC**

It is interesting to mention that the attention Fabrizia dedicated to the Economic and Social Committee did not die with the end of her presidency and her election to the European

Parliament. Indeed, among the numerous documents contained in her fund I was able to trace back two studies that she conducted concerning the EESC, which were written years after her presidency, and one of which we will partially analyse in this chapter<sup>222</sup>. The first study I wish to mention in this chapter was focused on the level of representation and the composition of the EESC from its creation in 1958 until 1993<sup>223</sup>, the year in which this work was commissioned by the General Secretariat of the EESC, represented by its Secretary General Nothomb<sup>224</sup>. Obviously, we cannot analyse the scheme of representation in each Presidential mandate of the EESC between 1958 and 1993, but I would like to examine specifically two mandates, the sixth mandate, involving the Presidency of Fabrizia, and the seventh mandate, which is interesting to analyse since it was precisely when Greece entered the Community and therefore the Greek social forces joined the Committee.

The sixth mandate, which lasted from 1978 until 1982, was characterized by the presence of three Presidents of the EESC. The first one was of course the Italian Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, a CISL representative as we already know, pertaining to the Group II, who was later substituted by Raffaele Vanni, also part of the Group II but a representative of the UIL. After the Italian Presidency, the mandate passed in the hands of the Irish Thomas Roseingrave, a representative of the Group III who happened to be the Vice-President in the previous two years together with Renault, a French representative of the Group I. Moreover, during this mandate, the total membership amounted to 144 representatives divided in: 12 representatives for Belgium, 9 for Denmark, 24 for France, 9 for Ireland, 24 for Italy, 6 for Luxembourg, 12 for Holland, 24 for the Federal Republic of Germany and 24 for Great

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<sup>222</sup> The second study will concern the relationship between the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee, that is why we will deal with it in the next chapter when we consider the activity of Fabrizia in the Parliament.

<sup>223</sup> HAEU, *Study: The levels of representativeness and the Composition of the Economic and Social Committee on the last four-yearly exercises and how to enlarge and strengthen this representativeness.*, 1993.

<sup>224</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-82, *Contract on the Study*, Brussels, May 1st, 1993.



Britain. Moreover, of these 144, 42 were part of Group I, 51 of the Group II and other 51 for the last Group.

The seventh mandate, which went from 1982 until 1986, was extremely interesting since it was in 1981 that Greece entered the Communities, therefore it would be useful to understand how the representation inside the EESC changed according to Fabrizia's reconstruction. As a matter of fact, in her study she underlined that Greece entered in the EESC with 12 members, therefore the total number of the representatives in the Committee increased from 144 to 156. The internal division according to nationality did not change of course, as established by the Rome Treaty, indeed only 12 Greek counsellors were added, while as far as the division according groups was concerned, there was a certain degree of change: 43 representatives pertained to Group I, 57 to Group II and 54 to Group III, therefore bringing the group of workers in determinate advantage in respect to the others, concretising also that expectation of maximizing the power of the European workers that Fabrizia grew during her presidency.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **FABRIZIA'S EXPERIENCE AS MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

#### **I. THE RELEVANCE OF THE FIRST EUROPEAN ELECTIONS**

As we already anticipated in the previous chapters, Fabrizia was elected member of the European Parliament in the legislature of June 1979-1984, the first European elections to be carried out through universal direct suffrage of the European citizens. To this end, I think it would be useful to underline the importance of such a step being taken by the Community. As a matter of fact, the first elections of the European Parliament represented the attempt at putting an end to the numerous ambiguities too often associated with the field of European construction.

The aim at stake was that of building a truthful Community of peoples, based on a political, economic, and social common organization, and speaking with a single voice. Therefore, to reach such an imaginary European structure, there was the need of creating stable institutions entitled with the necessary powers and of ensuring the total respect of the differences characterizing the European civilizations. Of course, this process of “making Europe” required a “sovereignty sacrifice”, meaning that governments needed to agree on giving away a share of their powers to the Common European Institutions. Of course, what was in the minds of the creators of Europe at the time was the progression and evolution, in the framework of a single union, of that portion of European institutions already established. In this context, there was no space for those who used to oppose the necessary transfers of powers needed for the progression of these same institutions. To this end, the building up of the new European Society, marked by the relaunch of the scrutiny of June 1979, required the

active participation of everyone, even starting all the basic cells of democracy, and all the territorial collectivities intermediaries characterized by their own autonomies.

## II. HER CANDIDATURE TO THE EP IN THE PCI LISTS

At the moment of her candidature for the PCI at the European Parliament Fabrizia was still President of the EESC, as we have already anticipated in the previous chapter. In particular, it was on the occasion of the XV congress of the communist party, held in Rome from March 30th to April 3rd, 1979, that Fabrizia, invited as President of the Committee, received from Giancarlo Pajetta the proposition of a seat as an independent in the first elected European Parliament. Giancarlo Pajetta was of course astonished by the curriculum of Fabrizia and wanted at all costs to put its “seal” on her candidature<sup>225</sup>. Besides, he was not the only one to agree with her candidature, but also Altiero Spinelli himself, one of the most relevant voices in the Europeanist *milieu*, was favorable too. As a matter of fact, in his diary he reports part of a conversation had in an interview with Amendola. I quote:

“He would like to put 4 independents. Who other than me? He advances the name of Baduel Glorioso, that I accept.”<sup>226</sup>

Eventually, Fabrizia accepted the candidature and was listed in the northeastern district (Emilia Romagna and Triveneto). Her electoral campaign based in Bologna took place in Emilia-Romagna and between May and June 1979 she presided over debates and participated in rallies in Imola, in Collecchio, in Carpi, in Fossoli, and in Sassuolo. Others will be held in Bologna, Treviso, Venice, Parma, Ferrara, Faenza, Modena, and Rimini. Many were the arguments she focused on during these public gatherings with the electorate, starting from the struggle against the use of the atomic energy, to the fight for the defense of the right of self-determination of people, and to more specific actions dedicated to the safeguarding of the right to work, and of social and family rights. As Becherucci recalls in his

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<sup>225</sup> Becherucci, A., *L'Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p.300.

<sup>226</sup> Spinelli, A., Paolini, E. (ed.), *Diario europeo 1976-1986*, vol. III, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1992, p.277.

chapter, the task to which Fabrizia mostly dedicated was that of “making the Emilians become pro-Europeans”<sup>227</sup> and at the same time she focused on the threats linked to the decision of European nations to establish missiles on their territory as a sort of backlash to the setting up of the SS 20 by the Soviets. Once again it would be interesting to notice, as also Becherucci underlines<sup>228</sup>, that the focus of Fabrizia during her campaign did not limit to just women’s situation and their fight for greater rights, as some of her colleagues did. Instead, following the logic she always shared during her career, she preferred dedicating attention to a series of other themes she deemed more relevant, such as the denouncement of the arms race, the fight to unemployment and the struggle for the conquest of rights for less developed nations.

Moreover, I think it would be important to add a few considerations in relation to the Communist Party, in whose lists Fabrizia accepted her candidature. As a matter of fact, the PCI presented itself as a deeply evolved political organism in this period, in particular by invalidating that traditional line of thought which had long opposed it to the plan for European integration. As a matter of fact, also Enrico Berlinguer started to openly share interest for the Europeanist cause, also thanks to the personal influence exercised by Altiero Spinelli, which in this period was extremely supported by the communists. In this regard, it may be useful to recall how in 1969 the CGIL had eventually distanced itself from the World Trade Union Federation to undertake a new path that would have led it to join the European Confederation of Trade Unions. Moreover, the Communist party opened towards cooperation with social democratic forces in Western Europe<sup>229</sup>. To this end, it would be useful to analyze and refer to a special release of *Rinascita*<sup>230</sup> dedicated to the forthcoming political elections

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<sup>227</sup> Becherucci, A., *L'Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p.302.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>229</sup> *Ivi*, 299-300.

<sup>230</sup> *Rinascita* was a political and cultural magazine that was published in Rome, Italy. It had a long history, being in circulation from 1944 until March 1991. The publication was closely aligned with the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and served as one of its media outlets. *Rinascita* played a role in disseminating the party's

of 3 June 1979 and to the elections of the European Parliament, set for 10 June<sup>231</sup>. As a matter of fact, there are several articles in this special edition in particular focused on the new approach of the Communist Party towards women, which subsequently explain also why Pajetta and other communists were convinced of the validity of Fabrizia's candidature.

A first relevant article was written by Marcella Ferrara and was entitled "To change the society with women"<sup>232</sup>. It was focused on underlining the future of the project-women that the PCI started to insert into its general political design of society. As Marcella Ferrara highlights indeed, the viewpoint of women became at that moment the right measure to judge what goals had been achieved and which remained still to conquer. However, what she underlines in the article is how an extremely significant social turning point was deeply influencing the PCI calendar, or to say the fact that women started to become more aware of their condition and of the role they wanted to play in the society. Indeed, this is the period in which women's aspirations changed, they started to feel the need to count and to be relevant and to have a say in those decisions that, according to the new communist viewpoint, could not be taken against them but only with them. In this regard, Marcella proceeds in underlining the difference of the role of the Communist Party in this fight, when compared to other political parties, which engaged in fighting for women's rights only through smoky words and unfulfilled promises.

Moreover, numerous articles published in this special number of *Rinascita* were focused on the relationship between PCI and women, probably in the hope of winning as much support as possible in view of the next elections. For instance, another article was entitled "Workers Movement and Women's Masses: The Reasons for an Alliance"<sup>233</sup> and was written by Aldo Tortorella or the article by Maura Vagli with the title "The Women's

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ideologies, promoting its policies, and providing a platform for discussion and debate within the Communist Party and its supporters.

<sup>231</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-50, "*Rinascita*", N. 17, May 4th, 1979.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibidem*.

Question is no longer a Separate Chapter”<sup>234</sup>. Furthermore, this topic was also treated by Vera Squarcialupi, the other candidate proposed as independent in the Communist Party's lists, in her brief article “Women in Europe” focused on underlining the relevance of the first direct elections in the context of the Communities as a tool to allow women to create a single united front. I quote:

“In the twenty years that have passed since the establishment of the European Economic Community up until today, women have lost many opportunities to present themselves united, as the working class has instead done in its contacts with the Community institutions. A favorable opportunity to relaunch women's potential to fight is presented with the first act of democratic involvement of the citizens of the European Community, which takes place with the direct elections by universal suffrage of the European Parliament.”<sup>235</sup>

### III. THE CONSEQUENCE OF HER CANDIDATURE

However, we should not think that this new professional and political engagement of Fabrizia came without opposition. The greatest degree of opposition came nonetheless from the part of the CISL, to which Fabrizia had been linked her entire life. A first proof of the deterioration of relations that gradually took shape between Fabrizia and her historic trade union comes from a letter that Fabrizia herself sent to the General Secretary of the CSIL, at the time Luigi Macario<sup>236</sup>. As a matter of fact, the letter was written soon after the publication of the official candidatures of the PCI for the new electable Parliamentarians and the name of Fabrizia was indicated in it. This letter, however, proves the degree of discontent from the part of the leaders of the CISL, to which Fabrizia answers in a very concise and clear-cut way. I quote:

“I choose the PCI because I am convinced of the deep commitment to these goals of this great party of the Italian working class. And of his equally serious commitment to the relaunch and transformation of Europe. I would like to be respectful of the rules of autonomy that we have given ourselves to guarantee unity despite political diversity.”<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>235</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>236</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-84, *Letter to Luigi Macario*, April 30th, 1979.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibidem.*

Furthermore, in this long letter Fabrizia also recalls her responsibility as President of the EESC and declares with conviction that she would have followed the procedure established by the European guidelines for the candidates to the political elections, which had been observed by a series of other candidates such as Malfatti, Spinelli, Caron, Deniau and Marjolin. She recalls however that according to the same rules one can proceed with the official resignation once the person in question is validated by the parliament.

Moreover, I found it particularly interesting also to report the end of the letter, which appears almost like a sort of justification that Fabrizia provides to Macario, and which also proves the existence of frictions between her and the leaders of the CISL. As a matter of fact, not only does Fabrizia recall to Macario that she didn't inform neither the CISL nor him as General Secretary because she judged her decision to accept the candidature as "personal", and in her opinion it would have created much more problems if this information were to be known before its officiality rather than in the aftermath. Moreover, she also adds considerations regarding the interpersonal relations linking her to Macario, underlining how their relationship had been already deteriorating, and not for her intention she adds. Probably, one of the reasons which explains this worsening of their relations was the fact that the leaders of the CISL were asking for the resignation of Fabrizia from the syndicate since the very first day of her election as President of the EESC, something which appeared bizarre and was not shared by her and lots of other European trade unions. I found particularly relevant to quote the end of the letter:

"I hope that this letter of mine will clear up any misunderstandings and dampen the controversy and above all I ask to the CISL not to forget the work carried out in 25 years with undisputed honesty and loyalty, above all for the defense of unity in Europe and for the unity of European trade unions."<sup>238</sup>

Furthermore, testimony of problems in the relationship between Fabrizia and some of the leaders of the CISL is contained by another letter, sent the month before, at the beginning

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<sup>238</sup> *Ibidem*.

of March 1979, always to Macario<sup>239</sup>. In particular, this letter sums up the dissatisfaction of Fabrizia with the treatment that the CISL was reserving for her. Indeed, despite her honorable election as President of the European Economic and Social Committee, it seemed as though the CISL was still unhappy and refusing to pay Fabrizia, as reported in the above-mentioned letter. Her effort, however, appeared as the truest since she declared in the same letter, she was trying to maintain friendly relationship with the trade union and she also proposed an agreement, offering to renounce to the allowance of representativeness of President of the EESC in an effort to heal her relationship with the CISL. Furthermore, she concludes the letter by underlining her openness to find any other solution to preserve her affiliation to the CISL:

“In any case, I remain open to any other proposal, as I have already told Carniti, as long as it complies with the legislation and is morally acceptable on my part, given that in twenty-five years of work at CISL I can frankly say that I have accomplished my duty and often much more in a position of great and delicate responsibility for the organization.”<sup>240</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the great efforts of Fabrizia to preserve her engagement in the CISL, her relations with the trade union under question, to which she dedicated a great portion of her life, eventually ceased to exist. As confirmed by a telegram sent by Macario to Debunne, M. Loft, and probably to others, on May 5th, 1979<sup>241</sup>. I quote:

“We strongly regret informing you where Mrs. Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, having failed in fulfilling the obligations freely taken with the Italian CISL and the unitary federation when she was appointed President of the EESC has been exempted from any office in the organization. She cannot therefore represent the CISL in any place and in any way. Cordially, Luigi Macario!”<sup>242</sup>

However, even after being excluded from the CISL the effort of Fabrizia did not exhaust, as proven by interesting correspondence directed to Debunne, at the time he was the

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<sup>239</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-84, *Letter to Luigi Macario*, March 4th, 1979

<sup>240</sup> *Ivi*, p.2.

<sup>241</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-84, *Telegram by Macario*, May 5th, 1979.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibidem*.



Secretary of the FGTB<sup>243</sup>. With a letter written on May 8th, 1979, Fabrizia communicated to Georges Debunne her resignation from any official activity as President of the EESC during the electoral campaign for the first elected European Parliament, despite her awareness of the problems linked to this candidature. As expressed in this letter, Fabrizia intended to use her candidature at the EP, as proven also by all her public declarations and the public positions she took, in order to insist on the necessity to build an “acceptable Europe” for the workers and to support the strengthening of the relevance of the Committee in the communitarian context. Furthermore, even more interesting was the intention of Fabrizia expressed in the same letter to Debunne to show him the correspondences with Macario in an effort to “put an end to attempts of denigration based on a regrettable and unjustified confusion between the conflict which opposed me to the CISL and my decision”<sup>244</sup>.

Of course, this struggle inside the CISL did not pass unobserved and represented the focus of several newspaper articles. As a matter of fact, the newspaper *Il Sole D'Italia* published on May 5th, 1979, an article entitled “Earthquake in house CISL. Macario candidated Baduel expelled”<sup>245</sup>. In this brief article indeed, the writer describes how the CISL was shaken in 1979 by different events. First, the change of Secretary General that passed from Luigi Macario to Pierre Carniti since Macario had accepted the proposal of the Christian Democracy to be presented as candidate for the elections of the European Parliament in Rome. Moreover, the CISL, according to the writer’s words, had also lost “its most representative figure in the institutions of the European Community”<sup>246</sup>, referring to Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso. The article indeed describes the expulsion of Fabrizia as Head of the International Relations Office, now led by Gabaglio, after her decision of accepting the

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<sup>243</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-84, *Letter to Georges Debunne*, May 8h, 1979.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>245</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-65, *Article by Sole d'Italia*, May 5th, 1979.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibidem*.

proposal of the communist party to candidate as independent in its lists for the European elections.

#### **IV. HER ACTIVITY IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

The elections of June 10th, 1979 were a success for the Communist Party which registered a percentage of 24.57% votes and gained 24 seats in total. The candidates elected were Giorgio Amendola, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, Carla Barbarella, Enrico Berlinguer, Aldo Bonaccini, Umberto Cardia, Tullia Caretoni Romagnoli, Angelo Carossino, Domenico Ceravolo, Marisa Cinciari Rodano, Francescopaolo D'Angelosante, Pancrazio De Pasquale, Guido Fanti, Bruno Ferrero, Carlo Alberto Galluzzi, Anselmo Gouthier, Nilde Iotti, Felice Ippolito, Giancarlo Pajetta, Giovanni Papapietro, Sergio Segre, Altiero Spinelli, Vera Squarcialupi, Protogene Veronesi. Fabrizia was elected as an independent together with Caretoni Romagnoli, Ippolito, Spinelli and Squarcialupi. In addition, other than Fabrizia there were three other notable individuals who happened to be relevant union members in Italy: Aldo Bonaccini, for instance, was elected on the lists of the Communist Party, Mario Didò was associated with the Socialist Party, and Luigi Macario was elected on the Christian Democrat lists. She was elected in Emilia Romagna.

In particular, as member of the Parliament in the 1979-1984 legislature, she carried out most of the activity in Italy, in the Region, where she took part to over 200 events (debates, Festivals of Unity, meetings with young people, women, artisans and cooperators, workers, etc.) in particular in Bologna, Parma, Fidenza, in Romagna, in the Modena area, in the Reggio area, etc. The main themes to which she dedicated her attention to were peace or the international situation, the Euromissiles and the Geneva negotiations, the arms production and trade, the *détente*, the movement for peace in Europe and in the USA, and the changing role of Europe.

Essentially, when she was elected, she soon joined the Social Commission and the Political Commission, while later, starting from January 1982 she participated in the Commission for the Economic External Relations. Furthermore, she also shortly joined and worked for the Legal Commission and the Economic one.

#### **IV.I In the Political Commission**

We should not forget that at the time of her candidacy for the EP, Fabrizia was President of the Economic and Social Committee, an organism to which birth she participated and to which she always felt deeply connected considering her social and trade unionist interests. As a matter of fact, during the first months of her mandate she had been able to ascertain and to take awareness of the degree of difficulty of establishing good working relationships with the European Parliament, or better useful relationships for both institutions that could guarantee the expression of very different voices. That is exactly the reason why, once she became a European Parliamentarian, her first concern was that of attempting to reshape, with a parliamentary resolution, the stability and correctness of the relationships linking the two institutions, in an effort to make their works complementary.

Furthermore, always in the Political Commission, she dealt with the topic of human rights in Latin America, with particular reference to Chile and Uruguay, and with the liberation movements, especially focusing on the Polisario Front. Furthermore, she participated in the debates at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

##### *a) The Resolution on the relations between EESC and EP*

On March 25th, 1980, the Political Commission of the European Parliament was authorized by the same body to elaborate a Report of initiative on the relations between the EP and the EESC<sup>247</sup>. The rapporteur nominated in January of the same year was Fabrizia Baduel

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<sup>247</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-36, *Document 1-226/81*, May 27th, 1981.

Glorioso. This project has been realized mainly by the *Sub-commission for Institutional Problems*, which approved it on February 17th, 1981. Subsequently, the Political Commission analyzed and approved the Report with 23 votes in favor and 3 against. In addition, the Report contained a Proposal of Resolution directed to the vote of the European Parliament. The Proposal of Resolution under question was based on the premises of giving more and more relevance to the voices and the positions taken by the economic and social forces in their permanent debate inside the European Economic and Social Committee concerning all the activities of the EEC. Moreover, the resolution takes under consideration the differentiated composition and the goals attributed to the EESC by the Treaties, and the right to initiative conquered by the same organism in 1972, allowing it to autonomously tackle the most relevant topics linked to the internal and external dynamics of the EEC. In addition, Fabrizia in writing this Report takes into account also the opinion shared by the *Committee of the Three Wise*, and many others, according to which since the EESC was an institution created by the Treaties it should have had occupied a special position among the consultative European organisms dealing with socio-economic subjects of the Community, and therefore it should have had also made a consistent effort in collaborating with the Parliament not only on a general political level but also on topics of particular character<sup>248</sup>. Furthermore, another interesting point considered in the proposal for resolution was the willingness on the part of the EESC to mark an evolution of its activity towards broader prerogatives and a more clear-cut transparency in the debate, the same initiative shared by Fabrizia during her time as President of the EESC.

As far as the propositions were concerned, the first one foreseen that the Parliamentarians were to be informed systematically of the opinions and studies of the EESC

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<sup>248</sup> European Commission, *The European Commission, 1958-1972: history and memories of an institution*, op. cit.

European Commission, *The European Commission 1973-86: history and memories of an institution.*, op. cit.

European Commission, *The European Commission 1986-2000: history and memories of an institution.*, op. cit.

for every issue of their competence. Furthermore, the resolution contained in the Report of Fabrizia proposed to intensify the procedure of hearing of rapporteurs on the issues of competence of the sections of the EESC and the EP Commissions in agreement with their Presidents. Moreover, another proposal was that according to which in the future the members of the EP were to be invited to actively participate in the special initiatives of the Committee in order to dedicate an adequate degree of consideration to the social issues dealt by the EESC, to the concerns of its members and to their positions. In conclusion, the general idea was that of pushing the two institutions to agree on an annual program of contacts and consultations to intensify the reciprocal collaboration.

#### **IV.II In the Social Commission**

During her time of work for the Social Commission of the European Parliament, Fabrizia was rapporteur, upon proposal of the Socialist Group, for the crisis of the iron and steel complex of Consett<sup>249</sup>, dismantled in 1980<sup>250</sup>. This resolution was urged by the British Labor Party, following the logic according to which the European Left should have worked together in the face of common problems such as unemployment, factory closures, and so on and so forth. Besides, the resolution which was in favor of a comprehensive restructuring of the European steel industry passed unanimously. As a matter of fact, gathering favor on this issue was particularly easy for Fabrizia who already had dealt with the theme of the steel industry as president of the EESC. To this end, it would be interesting to recall that she also had a very tough debate on Belgian television with Commissioner Davignon concerning the steel crisis and the threats of closure of plants in Lorraine.

Always during her time in the Social Commission she had the opportunity of being the rapporteur for the cooperatives in Europe, with a Resolution, or rather an Opinion of the Social Commission which unanimously voted on the definition of the cooperative sector as a

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<sup>249</sup> Fabrizia herself visited the Consett plant.

<sup>250</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-36, *Document 1-463/80*, October 13th, 1980.

third economic sector (in addition to the private and public sector) and in favor of a European coordination of all cooperative activities, in order to overcome the discriminations that were still in place<sup>251</sup>.

a) *Report on the closure of the steelworks of Consett*

During her time in the Social Commission Fabrizia was assigned to the first relevant task of her career, being nominated rapporteur for the closure of the steel industries of Consett, in the United Kingdom. In particular, this industry situated in Devonshire was shut down in September 1980 as ordered by the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. However, the crisis of the steel industry was not at all a novelty in the Community framework. Indeed, a crisis of the supply sector had already hit other steel industries, such as the one in Loraine, France. In the case of the steel works of Consett, its closure was particularly dangerous since this was an area in which unemployment was already high, and obviously this event would have translated into a deep increase of the unemployment rate. As a matter of fact, according to her opinion expressed during a session of the EP that took place in October 1980<sup>252</sup>, the unemployment level reached 16,6 % in that area as a consequence of this decision and Fabrizia added that some experts had estimated that this tax would have reached 50% by 1981 since all the other industries in the area depended on steel production. Furthermore, according to the opinion of the MEPs, these numbers as the 10 million unemployed foreseen for 1985 in the Community were judged unsustainable numbers which may have caused enormous tensions at the time<sup>253</sup>. To this regard, in order to fight those tensions, the EEC needed to intervene with social measures, essentially through the creation of new job

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<sup>251</sup> European Commission, *The European Commission, 1958-1972: history and memories of an institution*, op. cit.

European Commission, *The European Commission 1973-86: history and memories of an institution.*, op. cit.

European Commission, *The European Commission 1986-2000: history and memories of an institution.*, op. cit.

<sup>252</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-69, *European Parliament - Diary*, Strasbourg, November 18th, 1980.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibidem*.

opportunities. In addition, among the most important causes placed at the base of this crisis it was mainly identified the anarchical competitiveness, joint to the dangerous protectionist measures of the USA and the entrance of new producers in the market, mainly third world countries<sup>254</sup>.

To this regard, the report presented by Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso on October 13th, 1980, considered of a motion for resolution presented by Roland Boyes on June 17th, 1980, pursuant to rule 14 of the Rules of the Procedure on the closure of Consett steel works<sup>255</sup>. On June 9th, 1980, the European Parliament rejected the request for urgent debate and the motion for a resolution was referred to the Committee of Social Affairs and Employment. Afterward, on July 16th, 1980, the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment appointed Fabrizia rapporteur. Subsequently, in September Roland Boyes tabled a new motion for resolution<sup>256</sup> pursuant Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure on the closure of the steelworks of Consett. As a consequence, the Parliament referred this motion to the Committee that at its gathering on September 30th chose to extend the rapporteur's mandate given to Fabrizia to July 16th, 1980, in order to also cover the second motion. At the same meeting of September 30th, 1980, the Committee of Social Affairs and Employment considered the draft of the report and adopted the motion for a resolution unanimously and with two abstentions.

The final motion for resolution adopted in Fabrizia's Report<sup>257</sup> emphasized, under the light of the precedent motions for resolutions by Boyes, the seriousness that the effect the restructuring of the steel industry in the EEC countries was having on employment, on the social and economic conditions of the area of the EEC, especially those lacking a diversified industrial and economic structures. The resolution under question proposed to the governments of members of the Community to ensure the association of lay-offs, due to run-

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<sup>254</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>255</sup> (Doc. 1-247/80).

<sup>256</sup> (Doc. 1-408/80).

<sup>257</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-36, *Document 1-463/80*, October 13th, 1980.

down of activities or work closures, to the establishment of economic reconversion plans in order to ensure the creation of new jobs. Furthermore, another point of the resolution was a request to the Commission of the Community to advance concrete proposals for a harmonized use of the financial instruments, available to the member states and the Community, in order to be able to help, together with national forms of support, those regions affected by socio-economic difficulties and by the crises of the iron and steel industries. Finally, another request was directed to the Council of Ministers of the Community to propose and establish programs to stimulate the development of advanced technology sectors and of those economic sectors that met the real market needs, bearing in mind the pull they exerted on other industries, always following the idea of the need for more jobs to be generated.

Furthermore, when Fabrizia Baduel delivered her Report during the EP's plenary session<sup>258</sup>, she requested, clearly considering the narrative of unemployment characterizing the Community at the time, to intervene through cyclical measures appropriate for easing the challenges of individuals who have lost their jobs, while in the meantime generating new ones. As the *Corriere della Sera* correctly pointed out in an article of November 1980<sup>259</sup>, Fabrizia Baduel's story on the closing of the Consett steelworks was part of the debate that Baduel had previously initiated with the commissioner in charge of economic matters, Etienne Davignon. As a matter of fact, Baduel had sharply criticized Commissioner Davignon during a televised discussion about the Commission's poor response to the steel crisis in Lorraine, when she was still President of the Economic and Social Committee. In

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<sup>258</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-69, *European Parliament - Diary*, Strasbourg, November 18th, 1980.

<sup>259</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-69, *Corriere della Sera - Article*, November 19th, 1980.



particular, their opposition reappeared again in the case of the discussion of the events happening in Consett and the *Corriere della Sera* pictured this struggle right away<sup>260</sup>. I quote:

“The dimension of industrial problems, which is always regional, increases in Strasbourg where it finds an adequate sounding board. It becomes de-provincial and takes on European characteristics. It’s no casualty that Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso speak on Consett and not the usual Labor representative who has the constituency in Derwentside. It is no coincidence that the resolution was signed by all or almost all of the political groups. An objective achieved not only thanks to the convincing words of Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso, but thanks to the awareness of the European Parliament which now tends to internationalize even "micro-economic cases.”<sup>261</sup>

In addition, besides the *Corriere della Sera*, news regarding the report of Fabrizia were published in a series of other famous newspaper such as “L’Agence Europe”, “Le Monde”, “L’Unità”, “Il Messaggero”, “La Stampa”, “The Times”, “The Guardian”, “Morning Star”, etc.

#### **IV.III In the Economic Commission**

During the few months of her presence in the Economic Commission she has mainly focused on the industrial sector. As a matter of fact, her only contribution concerned the writing of a report focused on the free circulation of goods in Europe.

#### **IV.IV In the Legal Commission**

Her contribution in the Legal Commission concerned the writing of an opinion concerning the safeguard of the rights of the citizens facing the development of technology and databases, in order to support the general right to access and check of everyone to the processes involving the treatment of individual data. The opinion was not approved during a Plenary Session.

#### **IV.V In the External Economic Relations Commission**

In the External Economic Relations Commission (REX), where she entered at the beginning of 1982, she carried out most of her parliamentary work in the last two years. In particular,

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<sup>260</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>261</sup> *Ibidem.*

there have been many interesting debates under the initiative of the Parliament, relating to commercial relationships, financial and technological cooperation with other countries and other areas in the world and for various sectors. Particularly interesting was a work regarding the economic relations with the United States, with newly industrialized countries, on the Multifiber Agreement<sup>262</sup>, on the world monetary and financial system, with the Mediterranean countries.

Furthermore, Fabrizia was the rapporteur for the modest problem of cassava. Essentially, cassava was a product imported from the Third World in small quantities, contraposed to the fodders imported from the United States in always greater quantities and to which no tariffs or foreseen limits were usually applied. To this regard, after the unanimously voted resolution, approved in September '82, the EEC opened for the first time a dispute within the GATT to try to control and, if possible, to limit the absolute dependence, in the field of fodder, of the European agricultural sector upon the United States.

As far as the Mediterranean area is concerned, three Reports on commercial and financial relations with Cyprus were written by Fabrizia. All these resolutions were voted unanimously, obviously also due to the support of the Greek parliamentarians of all groups and of the entire left, united against the pro-Turkish lobby. In this regard, the debate was particularly heated for the last Resolution, approved in January 1984 after the declaration of independence of the North of the Island; a Resolution clearly in favor of the legal Government of the Island, which supported the use of loans and non-refundable aid foreseen by the second financial Protocol established with the EEC. In particular, great prominence was given to this Resolution in Greece.

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<sup>262</sup> The *Multifiber Arrangement* (MFA) was an international trade agreement that regulated the global trade of textiles and garments from 1974 to 1994. This agreement imposed quotas on developing countries, limiting the amount they could export to developed countries. These restrictions aimed to protect the textile industries of developed countries by preventing an influx of competitive products from developing nations. The MFA was eventually succeeded by the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC), which came into effect on 1 January 1995 and expired on 1 January 2005.

Furthermore, another resolution to which Fabrizia contributed was that concerning Malta and finalized to the establishment of effective trade cooperative relations, in occasion for the renewal of the Financial Protocol with the Government of the Island. In this context, a very harsh struggle developed with the Demo Christian Group and the Conservatives which were extremely opposed to the relations between the EEC and Malta. Fabrizia's relation tended however to re-establish the criteria of justice in the amount of loans and in facilitating their use from the part of the Government of Malta, with the support of the Communist and Socialist Groups.

Finally, in the EEC-ACP Committee, Fabrizia has performed political work especially in fighting the phenomenon of apartheid.

*a) The three reports on Cyprus*

The Republic of Cyprus arose in 1960 with the approval, acceptance, and ratification by the Anglo-Greek-Turkish side of a special international-national status for Cyprus. It was therefore created not only to serve the interests of the two communities of the island, the Turkish one and the Greek one, but also to reconcile the conflicting interests of Great Britain, Greece and Turkey and serve their common interests. The compromise solution reached with the Zurich and London agreements in February-March 1959 constituted the basis for a binational independence based on political equality and administrative collaboration between the two communities, which were granted full autonomy for matters strictly pertaining to individual communities. Furthermore, it was believed by the Turkish side that this system, which in practice had a confederation essence, would have eliminated discrimination, and removed all the causes of friction between the two communities. However, shortly after the foundation of the Republic serious differences arose on how to interpret and implement the Constitution. Indeed, problems arose over the organization of the national armed forces, the

distribution of public offices, and the legislation on customs duties and income taxes. In December 1963 the Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the central government. Internal discussions aimed at solving these differences ended up stalling in mid-1963 and the clashes between the two communities continued for a good part of 1964, accompanied by the imminent risk of serious friction. In 1964 the Security Council of the United Nations examined the question and with a resolution adopted on 4 March 1964 established the "United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus" (UNFICYP)<sup>263</sup>.

The turning point took place on July 15th, 1974, when the 650 Greek officers "lent" by Greece to Cyprus to train the National Guard militias staged a coup. Turkey reacted violently to the coup: in July 1974 news came that invasion forces were gathering in southern Turkish ports opposite Cyprus, and that Turkey was therefore preparing to intervene as one of the three powers guarantors of the Cypriot Constitution of 1960. On 20 July the Turkish troops landed on the northern coast of Cyprus, near Kyrenia. After fierce fighting, a ceasefire was negotiated on 22 July. Furthermore, tripartite negotiations between Britain, Greece and Turkey were initiated in Geneva on 25 July and an agreed ceasefire declaration was signed on 30 July. However, tension on the island remained strong and a new round of negotiations was started in Geneva on 8 August with the participation of the Cypriot government. On 9 August military representatives of Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain, together with United Nations officials, signed an agreement freezing the division of the island at the ceasefire line. Eventually, in February 1975 the Turks proclaimed the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus whose Constitution was approved on July 8th, 1973, from the Turk Cypriots. However, this state has never asked for, nor received, international recognition of the independent State and in March 1975, indeed, the Security Council of the United Nations passed a resolution deploring its creation. Negotiations between the two communities to reach long-term

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<sup>263</sup> Gaudissart, M.A., Cyprus and the European Union the Long Road to Accession, *The Cyprus Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1996.

institutional arrangements in Cyprus, acceptable to both communities and capable of permitting a stable and effective government, have been accomplished practically since the foundation of the Republic or, at least, since the crisis of 1963-64. In June 1968, under the control of the United Nations, official negotiations between the two communities began, the meetings of which, however, were sporadic and gave rise to little progress before the 1974 crisis. Talks resumed with greater intensity at the beginning of 1975 without, however, the two sides making substantial progress.

As far as the relationships between the European Community and the Republic of Cyprus, they were bound by an Association Agreement which was signed on December 19th, 1972, and entered into force on June 1st, 1973<sup>264</sup>. The Accord provided for the gradual establishment of a customs union between the two parties in two stages. The first expired on 30 June 1977 and was extended until 31 December 1980 in successive stages. The EEC-Cyprus Association Council<sup>265</sup> at its meeting on 24 November 1980 established that as from 1 January 1981 the second stage should be entered in its second stage. However, the Council was unable to mandate the commission for such negotiations and, in the meantime, to guarantee the continuity of relations between the two parties. Moreover, the Association Agreement with Cyprus signed on December 19th, 1972, like the one with Malta, had the goal of creating a customs union. Indeed, the Agreement was comprehensive of tariffs

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<sup>264</sup> Until 1960, Cyprus enjoyed a favorable position within the British empire, which allowed it to have preferential treatment within the Commonwealth. This meant that Cyprus could readily export its products, under attractive conditions, to the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries. Given this arrangement, there was no immediate need for Cyprus to actively seek a close relationship with the European Economic Community (EEC) as a whole. However, significant changes occurred in 1960 with the ratification of the Zurich and London Agreements and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. These events marked a turning point in the relationship between the EEC and Cyprus. The newly formed Republic demonstrated an early interest in establishing strong ties with the international community, driven by both economic and political considerations.

<sup>265</sup> Similar to the agreement with Malta in December 1970, the EEC-Cyprus agreement is divided into two sections: Title I (Articles 3-11) and Title 2 (Articles 12-19). Article 12 specifically outlines the creation of an Association Council responsible for overseeing the implementation of the agreement. This Council was intended to include members from both the EEC Council and Commission, as well as members of the Cyprus government. However, despite the potentially significant role that the Association Council might have played in the development of EEC-Cyprus relations, it did not possess substantial decision-making power. This was primarily due to the limited resources and authority granted to the Council. As a result, its impact on the advancement of the EEC-Cyprus relationship was relatively minimal.

reduction for numerous products and implied clauses destined to realize technical and industrial cooperation. It should also be noted that this union, which has always presented itself in a problematic way, risked creating serious problems for the fragile Cypriot economy. However, to get to that established goal, a gradual elimination of trade barriers was envisaged and in 1978 it was not considered appropriate to move to the second stage of the agreement mainly for political reasons. Subsequently, on November 24th, 1980, the Council arrived at a compromise aimed at initiating the process of transition to this second stage, also establishing the criterion that the benefits of the agreement should equally go to the entire population of the island. Later, the Council, after a long negotiation, gave a mandate to the Commission in June 1982 to negotiate further with Cyprus, envisaging non-substantial improvements for the island.

The first Report Fabrizioa produced on July 7th, 1983, was deposited on June 9th, 1983<sup>266</sup>. The Report declared how the Committee on External Economic Relations, based on the justification given, submitted to the vote of the European Parliament a motion for a resolution concerning EEC-Cyprus economic and trade relations. In particular, the Report suggested that the EP should have enforced both the words and the spirit of the Agreement EEC-Cyprus, and considering the improvement of economic and trade relations between the Community and the Republic of Cyprus it should have facilitated the search for a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem, always in guarantee of the unity and integrity of the island, and in accordance with the adopted resolution by the United Nations General Assembly on 13 May 1983<sup>267</sup>. Furthermore, taking into account the importance and leading role of the Republic of Cyprus in international relations, especially due to the complex establishment of the political balance in the eastern Mediterranean, and considering that the

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<sup>266</sup> HAEU, Fabrizioa Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Document 1-501/83*, July 7th, 1983.

<sup>267</sup> In November 1983, the United Nations Security Council passed resolution 541, which addressed the issue of Northern Cyprus' declaration of independence. This resolution built upon previous resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) that had already addressed the situation in Cyprus. Resolution 541 declared that Northern Cyprus' decision to declare independence was legally invalid.

establishment of cooperation relations between the Community and the countries bordering the Mediterranean would have implied concessions on the part of the Mediterranean countries of the Community, the resolution proposed that EP opted for the necessity of consolidating economic and commercial relations with the Republic of Cyprus. Furthermore, the Report of Fabrizio specified that the Parliament should have had welcomed the decision of the Council of Ministers to give the European Commission the mandate to negotiate the second Financial Protocol and noted that the Government of Cyprus had acted in such a way as to make both sides of the Island benefit from the advantages of the first Financial Protocol. Eventually, the EP, according to Fabrizio's Report, needed to dedicate attention to the need to pursue a Community Mediterranean policy which should have considered the interests of all the countries of the Mediterranean shores, in the perspective of a next wave of enlargement.

Furthermore, the Report written by Fabrizio contained a section summarizing some considerations concerning the motivation that brought to the proposition of this resolution. In particular, the Agreement which the Community concluded with Cyprus was conceived in the general perspective of the "global Mediterranean policy". In this framework, the Community had entered into agreements with most of the countries of the Mediterranean basin taking into account, from time to time, the specific interests existing between its partners and at the same time calibrating the concessions, financial aids, tariff abatement customs, etc. from an overall point of view, with a view to guaranteeing a global balance of the economic and political relations which it previously had established. Moreover, the agreement that the Community established with Cyprus was an Association Agreement aimed at the gradual creation of a customs union. It was therefore intended to create particularly deep economic ties between the two parties which followed of course a wider political scope rather than the commercial, industrial, technical, and financial cooperation agreements which the Community had instead concluded with the other countries of the Mediterranean basin, such as the Maghreb

countries, Israel, and Yugoslavia. The very nature of the EEC-Cyprus Association Agreement showed, according to the Report, that the Community was aware of the political and strategic importance of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean region. However, the way in which the progressive implementation of the Agreement took place in its various phases seemed to prove the inability of the Community to realize, through his political will, particularly detailed economic relations with Cyprus in coherence with the political motivations which, recognized and affirmed by the Community, had prompted the latter to stipulate an Association Agreement with this eastern Mediterranean country. However, Fabrizio's Report points out that some contradictions existed between the vastness of the political reasons and the relative inadequacy of financial aids and trade concessions engaged in this process. The Report then goes on adding detailed considerations in relation to the economic, social, and political context of Cyprus.

Furthermore, after this very detailed analysis of the context in which the EEC-Cyprus Association Agreement was born and summarized by Fabrizio, the Report proposed the EP to support the respect of the spirit of the agreement EEC-Cyprus, but always taking in mind that this enforcement may not take place in the part of the island under the Turkish control. Indeed, the EP considered not only that the existent divisions inside the island should have not prevented the Community from establishing its original goal of achieving an agreement with the Republic of Cyprus. Furthermore, the Parliament also feared the possibility that these "conditions" would have endured and eventually created negative effects on the economic development of the entire Cyprus community, therefore contributing to its economic instability. Nevertheless, the Report expressed the decision of the Parliament to exhort the commission to immediately start an investigation, also concerning the economic block of the northern region of the island, to communicate the results with the EP, and in the meantime to ask for the total collaboration of the Greek Government.



A second Report, written by Fabrizio was published on November 8th, 1983<sup>268</sup> always concerning the Cyprus situation and more in dept the rules and the protocol to apply, after the decision taken by the EEC-Cyprus Association Council on November 24th, 1980, which had foreseen the process of passage to the second stage of the Association agreement between the Republic of Cyprus and the EEC. On August 3rd, 1983, the President of the Council asked the European Parliament for its opinion. A month later the EP referred the question to the Commission for Economic External Relations, and at the end of September Fabrizio was nominated rapporteur.

The Report contains first a resolution on the declaration of independence from the part of the Turk Cypriots in Cyprus. In relation to this event, and considering the delicate situation, the critical position of the UN and the choice of its Secretary General to solve the issue via a dialogue between the two communities, the resolution exhorted the EP to condemn the actions of the Turk-Cypriot community. Furthermore, according to the same resolution, the EP should have asked the Community to uphold the initiatives promoted by the UN and its Secretary General and invited the Council of Ministers to take all necessary measures to block the effects of the actions of the Turk-Cypriot community. Eventually, this resolution was approved with 87 representatives in favor, 3 against and 2 abstentions. Moreover, the same Report of Fabrizio contained a second Proposal for Resolution on the closing of the consultative procedure of the European Parliament on the recommendation from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council, concerning a regulation on the conclusion of the protocol relative to the arrangements to be applied in 1983 in the framework of the decision adopted by the EEC-Cyprus Association Council, the 24 November 1980, providing for the transition process to the second stage of the Association Agreement between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Cyprus. In this

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<sup>268</sup> HAEU, Fabrizio Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Document 1-978/83*, November 8th, 1983.

specific case, the Report, after considering the precedent resolutions and the improvements of the economic and trade relations between Cyprus and the Community, supported the idea that a deepening of contacts would have facilitated the research of an equal and long-lasting solution to the issues of Cyprus, guaranteeing peace and unity of the island. Furthermore, considering the relevance of the Republic of Cyprus in ensuring the balance of the Oriental Mediterranean area and also taking note of the necessity of the Mediterranean nations members of the EEC to allow for concessions, the Resolution suggested that the EP decided to uphold the need of the Community to consolidate the economic and trade links with Cyprus. Furthermore, according to the same Resolution, the EP should have recalled the necessity of the engagement on the part of the Community to set off before the end of 1983 the negotiations for the concretization of a custom union between the two parties. Eventually, it also underlined the urgency to promote a common Mediterranean policy to respect the interests of the Mediterranean regions part of the EEC and those nations which are not part of it, also in view of the next enlargement. The Report then goes on, in a very similar way as the precedent one, analyzing the reasons behind the above-mentioned attitude of the Parliament and more in general the economic and financial situation of Cyprus.

The third and last Report redacted by Fabrizia was published officially on February 1st, 1984<sup>269</sup> concerning the recommendation from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council for a regulation on the conclusion of a protocol on financial and technical cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Cyprus. After that the President of the Council of the Communities consulted the EP in relation to the conclusion of a Protocol concerning the technical and financial cooperation between the EEC and the Republic of Cyprus, it then transferred the proposal to the Commission for Economic External Relations and Fabrizia was once again nominated

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<sup>269</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Document 1-1337/83*, February 1st, 1984.

rappporteur. Later, the Commission examined the proposal of the Commission of the Communities and the Report on the reunions of November 24th, 1983, and January 25th, 1984. Furthermore, in the last gathering of the EP of January 25th, 1984, the Commission decided unanimously to recommend to the Parliament the approval of the Commission's proposal without any modification.

This third Report expresses the will of the Commission for Economic External Relations to propose to the Parliament a Resolution. Indeed, the Resolution considered that the improvement of economic and technological links between the two parties would have fostered the research for a more equal and long-lasting solution to the issues of Cyprus. Furthermore, on the basis of the previous two reports of Fabrizia and considering that technical and economic collaboration would have contributed to the socio-economic development of the entire population of Cyprus, as foreseen by the Association Agreement, the Resolution proposed that the EP highlighted the importance of this type of cooperation. Furthermore, according to the same Proposal of Resolution the Parliament should have condemned the Northern part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey that consequently was not to benefit from the financial help until the situation would have changed. Moreover, the same Report ends with consideration linked to the reasons that brought to this proposal for resolution. Differently from the others, this Report was characterized by an attached document concerning instead the opinion from the Committee on Budgets<sup>270</sup>.

To this regard, the Fund of Fabrizia preserved at the Historical Archives contains an interesting letter written by Fabrizia to Antonio Rubbi, an executive and director of External Relations for the PCI<sup>271</sup>. In this letter, Fabrizia summarized the content of the third report she wrote for the EP. She described it as an uneasy job, supported by most of the Greek delegation at the Parliament but opposed by a pro-Turkish lobby which created some

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<sup>270</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Document 1-1337/84/ALLEGATO*, February 2nd, 1984.

<sup>271</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Letter to Antonio Rubbi*, February 26th, 1984.

obstacles. She adds that also the Executive Commission of the EEC was not entirely in agreement with her resolution, and neither was the Italian delegation in Brussels. Eventually, she defined the adoption of the resolution as a great satisfaction for her and the Parliament, defining it an “act of justice” of the Parliament, in the attempt to contrast the Commission and Council unjust actions, which were indeed used to put adequate financial sums at disposal for these countries but often linked their use to exaggerated constraints, always not easy to respect.

## V. THE CLASHES WITH SPINELLI AND THE PCI

Fabrizia’s role in the Political Commission started to be questioned by the PCI and by one of the most authoritative voices on the Italian political scene, that of Altiero Spinelli<sup>272</sup>. We could affirm that the relationship between Spinelli and Baduel Glorioso started on the right foot, as confirmed by a note of Altiero written in his diary on April 30th, 1979, which also testifies the bad treatment that the CISL reserved to Fabrizia once it realized she was included in the lists of the PCI for the election of the Parliament in 1979. I quote:

“Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso comes to visit me in the office. She was treated very badly by the CISL because she entered the Communist list. I encouraged her.”<sup>273</sup>

The first signal of friction between the two is dated back to October 17th, 1979, when Spinelli realized, and consequently wrote in his diary, that he needed to substitute Fabrizia in the Political Commission and move her to the Economic one<sup>274</sup>. Few days later, in particular on October 22nd, 1979, Spinelli and Fabrizia met and discussed exactly this intention of Spinelli. However, it appeared like Fabrizia was not so much available to accommodate Spinelli’s request. I quote:

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<sup>272</sup> Graglia, P., *Altiero Spinelli*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2008.

Pasquinucci, D., *Altiero Spinelli e la sinistra italiana: dal centro sinistra al compromesso storico*, Siena, Siena Copinfax, 1998.

<sup>273</sup> Spinelli, A., *Diario europeo 1976-1986*, op. cit., p. 291.

<sup>274</sup> *Ivi*, p.352.

“In the evening, after dinner, I have a long conversation with Fabrizia to convince her to give me her place on the political commission and take mine on the economic-monetary one. I have been fatherly and kind, but she resists. She asked me to think about it again. I couldn't tell her that everyone is worried about her imaginative and empty agitation. We parted with the promise to think about it again. If she holds out, I will hold the independents' meeting as a second attack and if she still holds out, I will ask Fanti to intervene on behalf of the party.”<sup>275</sup>

Furthermore, this necessity for a substitution was also repeated on December 19th, 1979, always according to Spinelli's words, who this time decided to call for the intervention of the party in order to replace Baduel with Galluzzi in the Political Commission<sup>276</sup>. Moreover, in January 1980 Spinelli insisted once again with Fanti to proceed with the substitution, and Fanti promised he would have talked to Berlinguer<sup>277</sup>.

Nevertheless, the real opposition between the two became reality only in occasion of a meeting of the communist group, in March 1980, when Spinelli accused Fabrizia of not being able and competent enough to discuss the topic linked to the Rey Report<sup>278</sup>. Some of the people present, such as Fabrizia herself, Fanti and Leonardi, tried to convince him that there was no need for a substitution. However, as a response, Spinelli, enraged, took his things and left, not agreeing with the idea that such relevant political operations would have been destined to be discussed by Demo-Christians. Moreover, as Spinelli wrote in his diary, the reunion went over by discussing the act of prepotency made by him towards Fabrizia, who would have acted as follows. I quote:

“Fabrizia told Francesca that she wasn't angry with them, but that I had offended the ex-president of the CES and that if I hadn't publicly taken back what I had said about her, it would have made a scandal in the press, she would have made me pay dearly. [...] But I did everything I could to convince her not to take on a task that was too serious for her. The first person I proposed to give up his job to me was her, many months ago. And again during the penultimate session in Strasbourg, in a dinner with her, I proposed that she gave way to Galluzzi or me. It was all in vain.”<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> *Ivi*, pp.354-355.

<sup>276</sup> *Ivi*, p.398.

<sup>277</sup> *Ivi*, p.405.

<sup>278</sup> *Ivi*, p.439-441.

<sup>279</sup> *Ivi*, p.441.

Eventually, Spinelli supported Segre and Baduel in the discussion of the Report Rey at the Political Commission, but even though the incident seemed solved, the animosity between the two was indeed not.

Subsequently, in 1980 Fanti decided to personally ask Fabrizia to give up her place in the Political Commission to another Parliamentarian and her reaction was extremely emblematic of her strong beliefs and of her indomitable character. Indeed, a first letter of “complaint” was written by Fabrizia on March 30th, 1980<sup>280</sup>. The letter contains an interesting reference to the friction with Spinelli described by her words as a “permanent attack to her work”<sup>281</sup> in the Political Commission. Furthermore, after thanking Fanti and the Group for their solidarity proved in relation to the unethical attitude shown by Spinelli in her regards, she engaged in a summary of the most relevant steps of her career, but she also pointed out her embarrassment in having to underline the relevance of her work as a way to attempt preserving her place in the Political Commission. I quote:

“You must believe me if I tell you once again how embarrassed I am by this kind of self-propaganda (it's no coincidence that I've never mentioned it until now). But I am convinced that in the Party, apart from a few (among whom I think Berlinguer), and even more so in the group, no one is aware of this. Italians are little interested in "European cuisine" and you yourself will already have realized that even what we do in Strasbourg is followed distractedly and with distrust.”<sup>282</sup>

Furthermore, the letter concludes with her formal request to remain in the Political Commission, also by declaring that she would accept to stay in the Commission as substitute, even if it would have negatively influenced the effectiveness of her activities.

Later, Fabrizia wrote to Fanti another letter, on October 31st, 1980<sup>283</sup>, declaring her tendency toward the refusal of Fanti's proposal to leave the Political Commission. In the letter, Fabrizia made a sort of list of the reasons why she did not accept the order of Fanti to be removed from the Commission in question. First, because as she expressed, the Group had

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<sup>280</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Letter to Guido Fanti*, March 30th, 1980.

<sup>281</sup> *Ivi*, p.1.

<sup>282</sup> *Ivi*, p.3.

<sup>283</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Letter to Guido Fanti*, October 31st, 1980.

no real reason to complain for the work she performed in the year 1980 at the Political Commission and, in addition, because she would not have been the only one in the party to not understand this substitution, easily interpretable as a "political punishment" against a parliamentarian who, although independent, always shared and supported the line of conduct of the PCI. She concluded the letter by underlining her surprise for the method used by Fanti to carry on this substitution, presenting this decision as already established without even discussing it with the interested one and the other colleagues of the Commission, namely Segre, Galluzzi, and Berlinguer. As a matter of fact, her last statement communicated her will to not consider this decision executive before a real formal meeting with him and the other representatives of the PCI in the Political Commission did not take place.

Nevertheless, the question was far from solved as shown by another letter presented by Fabrizia a month later and always directed to Fanti<sup>284</sup>, and in which Fabrizia re-affirmed the position taken in the letter sent to him on October 31st of the same year. However, in this case Fabrizia also added her amazement since she believed that after the last written communication to Fanti, he would have provided her some more clarifications or coherent explanations in relation to what was happening. Moreover, the animosity between Fabrizia and Fanti, as representative of the PCI, clearly was stronger than ever at this moment, as proved by the tone she used in the letter under question. I quote:

“I must say that I expected you to have more information on my activity and past experience: in any case it was enough to read the French, German and English newspapers to find out about it.”<sup>285</sup>

Eventually, despite the efforts of Fabrizia the frictions between Spinelli and Baduel Glorioso solved with the public presentation of the Resolution of the Club of the Crocodile

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<sup>284</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-68, *Letter to Guido Fanti*, November 25th, 1980.

<sup>285</sup> *Ivi*, p.2.

which will allow Spinelli to gain privilege in the European Parliament and finally conquer the lead of the Political Commission<sup>286</sup>.

## **VI. HER ENGAGEMENT FOR PEACE**

The summary of Fabrizia's curriculum contained in her fund at the Historical Archives of the EU<sup>287</sup> revealed the engagements she carried out in the field of peace and nuclear disarmament, a very relevant topic in the '80s of the previous century. Indeed, according to the information provided, in May 1981 Fabrizia formed an informal group of "European Parliamentarians for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament" with four other colleagues of her, three from the Socialist Group (English Labour, Belgian and Dutch Socialist) and one coming from the Danish Communist Group. The movement, born sometime before, had regular monthly meetings. Furthermore, Baduel was also working alongside the European Parliament President Dankert to secure official recognition for this group. However, Fabrizia acknowledged a limitation in the composition of the group, as it solely consisted of representatives from selected Italian leftist parties, such as the communists and the independents, and any attempt at expanding the group's membership and including representatives from other political organizations proved challenging. Nonetheless, she remained hopeful that Christian and Liberal representatives from Belgium and the Netherlands, who were engaged in anti-nuclear struggles in their respective countries, could be integrated into the group. As a matter of fact, the numbers in the Group grew gradually, for instance in 1984 they were 35, but its representativeness always counted mainly members of all the communist parties in the EP and of all the parties of the Socialist Group, except the Italians and the French, of the EEC countries. Moreover, Fabrizia was nominated vice president of this informal group, while its President was the Laborist Roland Boyes. Basically, the Group carried out systematic work, inviting pacifists from all the European

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<sup>286</sup> Spinelli, A., *Diario europeo 1976-1986*, op. cit., p.598-602.

<sup>287</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-37, *Fabrizia's Curriculum*, n.d.



countries and political and military experts from the UN, the Swedish SIPRI, the Institute for Strategic Studies in London, etc. Furthermore, the Group presented different Resolutions for peace and intervened in the debates on European security, on the production and trade of arms in Europe, in the debate on missiles in November 1983, presenting their own amendments, and with their Resolution, as a joint action of response of this united Group of the European left to the Resolutions in favor of peace presented by other the political groups. Moreover, one of the first initiatives manifested by this Group was the participation of the Seven European Parliamentarians of the Socialist Group in the Perugia-Assisi march in September. In addition, the Group decided later to go to Geneva on November 30th, to speak with the two delegations, the American and the Soviet one, the same day as the opening of the negotiations. Since then, the Group exchanged speakers in the various initiatives promoted by peace movements in various countries, succeeding in the attempt to create, as committed European parliamentarians in the peace movement, an original network of connections that ensured the presence of European parliamentarians in peace demonstrations (for example at the Festival of the Unity, starting from the one in Bologna in 1982).

Besides, as a representative of the informal group Fabrizia participated since the beginning and since November 1981 to the works of the *Comité de Liaison*, which prepared based on the Bertrand Russel appeal, the meetings of the European peace movements, namely the European Conventions, such as the ones of Brussels in July '82, Berlin in May '83, and Perugia in July '84. In the Conventions, on the Group's initiative, a debate has always taken place between national and European parliamentarians on the problems of peace<sup>288</sup>. In addition, Fabrizia participated in the Vienna Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe in May 1982 and in the Prague Conference promoted by the World Peace Council in June 1983, where one of her amendments presenting the positions of the Group on the

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<sup>288</sup> The great inspirator of all these initiatives was Lucio Lombardo Radice.

Euromissiles was adopted. Moreover, Fabrizia always participated in debates on the problems of peace, in the Federal Republic of Germany, at the meeting of European Women Parliamentarians promoted by the German peace movement, to that of the French Women's Union (UFF) in Paris in October 1983. Moreover, in Bern there was a demonstration for peace at the beginning of November, where a French-speaking speaker, a German-speaking one, a representative of the American peace movement, and an Italian speaker, who was exactly Fabrizia, got the chance to express their points of view.

Furthermore, the American pacifist organization UCAM invited Fabrizia in November 1982 to participate in two debates at the Columbia University in New York and to talk about the peace movement in Europe. On that occasion, she made contact and established relationships with representatives of the various peace movements in New York. Besides, Fabrizia also participated in the DSA (Democratic Socialists of America) Conference in mid-April, to which representatives of the European left and peace movements were invited. In addition, she also took part in the peace marches in Rome (October '81, May '82, October '83), in the actions in Comiso between August and September 1983, at the National Festival of women in Viareggio in July '83, and in Reggio Emilia, at the National Festival of Unity of September 1983. Another key aspect of Baduel's strategy to combat nuclear rearmament is his collaboration with the American Nuclear Freeze Movement, guided by activist Randall Forsberg<sup>289</sup>.

Finally, it would be particularly important to underline how this pacifist commitment of Fabrizia was strongly linked to left-wing circles, of course, and further recalls the ideological turn towards the left that involved her career in those years. In fact, we remember that Fabrizia herself had been linked to the Catholic and Christian Democrat world since her

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<sup>289</sup> Becherucci, A., *L'Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit, p.318.

origins, however she will conclude her career being associated with the Italian Communist Party and in general with the European Left movement.

## **VII. HER ACTIVITY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EUROPEAN LEFT**

According to the curriculum of Fabrizia, she was extremely active also in the context of the European Left movement<sup>290</sup>. Indeed, on the base of Fabrizia's precedent relations with syndicates and parties of the European Left, she worked hard to establish good relationships and common positions with all the parties of the Left in the European area, represented in the EP, by the Communist group and by the socialist one, especially the SPD. To this regard, the European Left has acted with progressive unity on employment issues, for the support of the liberation movements, for women's issues and for peace (always excluding the Italian and French socialist parties). Moreover, Fabrizia has been spokesperson, for the Italian Communist and Allies Group, on these issues several times during the plenary assemblies.

Furthermore, Fabrizia directly followed the interesting development of the SPD on the problem of Euromissiles, parallel in a certain sense to that of the PCI, also participating - as an observer - in the three extraordinary Congresses of the SPD, explicitly dedicated to this problem, respectively in Berlin in November '79, in Munich in May '82 and in Cologne in November '83.

Furthermore, Fabrizia contributed to publish a dossier, signed by a group of parliamentarians from the European Left, which affirmed their position against a Resolution of the European Parliament opposed to the Vredeling proposal. The Proposal by the former Dutch Commissioner for Social Problems was that of increasing the right to information of workers with particular reference to those working in European branches of American multinationals, used to deciding to close down companies without having discussed or informed the workers and the trade unions involved.

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<sup>290</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-37, *Fabrizia's Curriculum*, n.d.

In addition, during September 1988, the European Left signed Fabrizia's proposal for a Resolution against the police intervention in Comiso on 8 August. Of the 33 signatures, nine were Italians (PCI, Independent Left, PDUP), one was Greek, one was of a French communist, and twenty-one were of parliamentarians from the Socialist Group (8 Labour, 6 SPD, 3 Belgian socialists, 3 Dutch, and one French socialist).

Interestingly enough, an undated document related to the description of the European Parliament's first year of work<sup>291</sup> sheds light on Fabrizia Baduel's feelings and opinions after this initial experience. In her reflections, she expressed a moderate but deep disappointment, as she realizes the limitations of the European Parliament. As a matter of fact, she identified the challenges of operating in a forum characterized by divisions based on country and political groups, which often led to a mixture of different interests and unpredictable alignments rather than productive dialectical mechanisms. Additionally, Fabrizia highlighted another significant fault line within the parties in Strasbourg - the divide between pro-European forces and those who supported a simpler European collateral policy. Through her words, Baduel emphasized the importance of rallying various forces in order to achieve common goals within the European left. Specifically, she believed that by joining efforts, individual parliamentarians from the popular and liberal coalition could have achieved fixed objectives, such as fighting unemployment and fostering cooperation between industrialized Western European countries and developing nations.

Additionally, Fabrizia underlined her involvement in the Commission for External Economic Relations, which she joined in 1982. Indeed, in a letter directed to Giancarlo Pajetta<sup>292</sup>, she acknowledged the significance of this commission, which dealt with economic and commercial relations with third countries, and its connection to political cooperation carried out by foreign affairs ministers. However, she also underlined how Italians were at the

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<sup>291</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-50, *Typescript*, n.d., p. 1.

<sup>292</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-50, *Letter from Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso to Giancarlo Pajetta*, 23 August 1982.

time underrepresented in the commission, exception made for the Communist Party. Furthermore, Baduel criticized the European Left for lacking a comprehensive vision inside the Commission and accused it of dealing with issues without often considering their real broader implications. I quote:

“I believe, and I will not tire of repeating it, that the European Parliament is used too little by the European left as a political forum in which the European left can gain experience, establish convergences on concrete facts and principles, and reach, as often happens, a united position. Too often the left of the European Parliament seems resigned to division and minority rather than working towards convergence.”<sup>293</sup>

### **VIII. HER ENGAGEMENT FOR THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE**

Always Fabrizia’s curriculum<sup>294</sup> revealed a series of initiatives in which Fabrizia participated aiming at fostering the Euro-Arab dialogue. Indeed, in May '81 an informal group of parliamentarians for the “Euro-Arab” dialogue was formed as a “section” of the parliamentary association of the European Union, based in Paris. In particular, according to Fabrizia’s words contained in the above-mentioned letter to Pajetta<sup>295</sup>, in April 1981, a group of twenty-five Members of the EP interested in the question met in a restaurant in Strasbourg. This group consisted of representatives from various political groups including Conservatives, Socialists, Gaullists, Liberals, Christian Democrats, and some Communists, and among them Fabrizia Baduel herself. In particular, the executive committee of the project included the socialist Michele Achilli representing the Italian left, and Fabrizia Baduel representing the communists. Despite facing numerous challenges, such as language barriers, as discussions were primarily conducted in English, and limited meeting spaces (the group often relied on the hospitality of the socialist and communist groups), the project persevered. Furthermore, it was difficult to include right-wing elements in the representation, although a few liberals and Christian Democrats were present. At the beginning this group counted a few

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<sup>293</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>294</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-37, *Fabrizia’s Curriculum*, n.d.

<sup>295</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-50, *Letter from Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso to Giancarlo Pajetta*, 23 August 1982.

representatives, but its numbers grew consistently with time. This group, of which Fabrizia made part, met monthly on occasion of the Plenary Assembly in Strasbourg, with the aim of deciding the attitude and the common resolutions to be presented.

Furthermore, one of Fabrizia's request, shared by the group, was that for formal contacts between the intergroup and the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union, a request that unfortunately was denied by the European Parliament under the pretext that there were already three inter-parliamentary delegations handling relations with Arab countries, respectively the Maghreb, Mashriq, and Gulf states. Unfortunately, following Baduel's judgment, all three delegations were largely inactive. In light of this, Fabrizia stated that the Euro-Arab dialogue in the EP was only supported by a small group of parliamentarians largely representatives of the European left.

In addition, the group received several times representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and it was also in close contact with the directors of the Arab League in Brussels. Moreover, in November 1983 monthly meetings between European parliamentarians and the ambassadors of the Euro-Arab League (with the participation of the PLO representative in Brussels) were fixed, to examine political problems concerning the Middle East, in an attempt to individuate and support an autonomous role of Europe in the peace of the Middle East. Furthermore, the group presented a Resolution, requested by the countries of the Arab League, for the defense of workers' rights, Arabs and foreigners in general, who worked in Europe, who were victims of a new wave of racism and discrimination. To this regard, the group met the Arab ambassadors regularly.

Furthermore, the group also participated in the Palestine Conference promoted by the UN in Geneva in September 1983, and at the annual Conferences organized by the European Association and the Parliamentary League of the Arab Countries.

## **IX. HER RE-NOMINATION TO THE EP IN 1984**

The collaboration between Fabrizia and the Communist Party became increasingly strained to the point where her chances of being re-nominated to the Parliament in 1984 were jeopardized. It is worth noting that Fabrizia maintained a close relationship with Arrigo Boldrini, a communist senator and legendary resistance fighter, as evidenced by a lengthy letter she wrote to him<sup>296</sup>. In particular, this document detailed the breakdown of trust and collaboration between Fabrizia and the Communist Party.

Indeed, according to Fabrizia's words in the above-mentioned letter, in November 1983 seven Fabrizia's colleagues of the Communist and Allies Group at the EP were noticed, probably from Fanti, that they would not have been re-elected or re-candidated for the 1984 elections, respectively Cardia, Caretoni-Romagnoli, Ceravolo, D'Angelosante, Leonardi, Veronesi, and Vitale. Moreover, Fabrizia herself was subsequently informed by Tullia Carrettoni that the leaders of the party had previously decided not to renew the seats of the three independents, or to say Caretoni, Squarcialupi and Fabrizia herself. A first proof was, according to Fabrizia, when at the Congress of the Communist Women, that took place in Rome, her place in the list of interventions was the last one, and indeed Fabrizia almost risked not to be heard in the Conference if it was not for the will of her colleagues which insisted to hear her words. Eventually, only in mid-April 1984 she started realizing that she would have been replaced by somebody else in the lists, and this fear was also confirmed by various newspaper articles. For instance, *La Repubblica* published in the Bologna page an article stating that Fabrizia's place could have been sacrificed on the table of the accords with the PDUP<sup>297</sup>.

Moreover, always following the reconstruction Fabrizia included in the letter to Boldrini, she experienced a hard time in July 1984 for both personal and professional reasons.

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<sup>296</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-50, *Letter from Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso to Arrigo Boldrini*, 16 January 1986.

<sup>297</sup> *Ivi*, p.6.

Indeed, she was in a less than ideal financial condition as a result of the combination of these issues. Fabrizia tried to inform the party of these difficulties in the hope that they, along with the work done in the previous legislature, would have contributed to favoring his re-nomination. To this regard, as a candidate in the 1984 elections, Baduel argued that the party had denied her the opportunity to collect 90 million lire in compensation and given her instead a considerably smaller amount of money, and that this decision made her financial condition worse.

Furthermore, as Fabrizia adds in the letter that when Tortorella proposed her, or better imposed her, on May 1st, 1984, to leave her third place to Castellina and to become the seventh in the list she knew she would not have had any alternatives, and she answered him that only the government Andreotti could have provided for her. Eventually, she never addressed him because she saw it as a betrayal to the PCI.

However, a subsequent phone call by Guerozzi, the Regional Secretary of the PCI-Emilia Romagna, informed Fabrizia that she was not going to be the seventh in the list but the eighth candidate, as she was to be preceded by Anselmo Gouthier. This decision came after a voting round, as suggested by Segre to Fabrizia during an informal meeting, during which the PCI leadership voted, and with a result of 25 against 25 it was decided to move her to the eighth place. Upon facing disappointment, Fabrizia was presented with the opportunity to work either at the League of Cooperatives or at the Center for International Political Studies in exchange for something. However, she rejected these offers due to her belief that these positions did not align with her skillset. Frustrated, she attempted to find a solution to her problem through personal connections with various individuals, such as Renato Sandri, Antonio Tatò, Bruno Storti, and Renato Ruggiero. Unfortunately, these attempts proved to be fruitless. Notwithstanding her frustration, Fabrizia decided still to carry on her electoral



campaign and her engagement for the PCI on the line of the Party described by Berlinguer at the time. I quote:

“The evening before the start of the electoral campaign in Bologna, Lalla Trupia tried to convince me to give up, claiming that I wouldn't have been elected anyway. I worked a lot, like everyone else, and maybe a little more. I didn't have the squares as in 1979, but listeners or voters in small groups, closed rooms, town squares.”<sup>298</sup>

Eventually, the results were in part even positive for her, who collected 28,000 preferences, while Gouthier, who preceded her on the list, had only 23,000. However, she was still defeated, and she eventually found herself in a very negative economic situation. To this end, the letter to Boldrini proves all her regret for the treatment the party reserved to her.

I quote:

“I wanted to tell you all this only because I would like you to know how bitter my story has been in the last few months in the European Parliament. Which was followed by months of absolute solitude since no one, I mean no one, from my Group came in contact with me in the months following the June '84 elections.”<sup>299</sup>

Furthermore, different positions were offered to her and even Luciana Castellana suggested she ask for her disability pension, in order to improve her bad economic conditions. However, she refused since this would have meant the end of her chance to get back to Strasbourg, a chance that would have lasted another three years and a half in her case. To better understand the sadness of Fabrizia after this unhappy adventure, I will quote the last of her words contained in the letter to Boldrini:

“As you may have understood, I spent 18 months in a labyrinth and what I blame myself for is not having been able to find that "famous Ariadne's thread" to get out of it. [...] Forgive me for this long letter, but in my opinion and as far as I'm concerned, this is a miserable affair and a bad news story for the great Italian Communist Party.”<sup>300</sup>

After the career in the EP, Fabrizia devoted her time to several organizations, including the *Institute for International Affairs* and the *Institute for Relations between Italy and the Countries of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East*. Furthermore, in 1988 she

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<sup>298</sup> *Ivi*, pp.7-8.

<sup>299</sup> *Ivi*, p.10.

<sup>300</sup> *Ivi*, pp.10-11.

carried out an investigation for the Senate Labor Commission on the labor market in the EEC and since 1990 she has held an annual course at the S.B.U. (Europe-Umbria Service) in Perugia for scholarship graduates on social policy and trade union issues. Eventually, she saw her death on the April 8th, 2017, in Perugia<sup>301</sup>.

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<sup>301</sup> Becherucci, A., *L'Esperienza di Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso al Parlamento europeo*, op. cit., p.324.

## CONCLUSIONS

As specified at the beginning of this thesis the general aim of my work was that of trying to give the most comprehensive and detailed description of Fabrizia's life and experiences. I tried to analyze the papers contained in her fund in the attempt of discovering who Fabrizia really was and what she believed in. Essentially, we started from a first chapter focused on the youth phase of Fabrizia's life. We understood her origins, something about her family and even her university choices. This first chapter was indeed fundamental in reconstructing the first approaches that Fabrizia had with the political and the trade unionist environment. This is the moment in which her indecisiveness arose as far as her political affiliation was concerned, and in particular her ambiguity between the Communist and the Christian Democracy party was emblematic of her path. As a matter of fact, this is exactly the moment in which she joined the CISL, in the '50s, a trade union of a more centrist tendency if compared to the CGIL, but she will never be entirely limited by this choice of affiliation, considering that she will finish her career being associated with a leftist party, the PCI. However, her first activities in the CISL allowed her to discover the trade unionist dimension, and her interest in it, which would inspire her work during the entirety of her life.

Later, her career took a significant shift in the '70s when the Italian and European trade unions started to engage jointly for the construction of a new social and economic organism to insert in the framework of the EEC, able to represent the entirety of trade unionist forces of the member states. Fabrizia was at that moment the Head of the International Relations Office of the CISL and soon became a constant presence in this process of building a Social Europe. Indeed, she took part in most of the conferences and

gatherings of social European forces that took place at the beginning of the 70s, she got the chance to confront some of the most relevant personalities in this context and she was able to actively participate in the process of creation of the ETUC. Most importantly, she was one of the few women to be involved. This chapter was significant in the degree in which it exemplified how Fabrizia's interest was really centered around social and economic issues. Of course, she also dedicated some attention to gender issues, but her concerns in this first phase of her life were without any doubts those of a trade unionist.

In 1978 her career radically changed. Indeed, Fabrizia was the first woman to be elected leader of a European institution. She soon became a symbol and her name appeared on all the most famous newspapers in Europe and around the world, to the point of being defined as *Madame Europe*. Essentially, this may be easily considered the climax of her career. Moreover, being the leader of the EESC meant for Fabrizia having the opportunity of representing a driver for change in two fields to which she felt deeply attached to, respectively the socio-economic field and the European one. However, as much as the chapter highlights the significance of her election as a woman, it also points out the will of Fabrizia not to be remembered only for this reason. As we saw, indeed, she did acknowledge women's difficulties at the time and tried to work in order to reduce inequalities, but her engagement never limited merely to the gender field. Proud to be a woman, she also appeared to be aware of being way more than that, as she always tried to underline on every occasion. Unfortunately, her Presidency lasted less than foreseen due to her candidature in the PCI lists for the first elected European Parliament of 1979.

Indeed, the last chapter of this thesis was dedicated to her candidature and election as MEP in the 1979-1984 legislature. This chapter adequately underlined the serious consequences of the decision she took of accepting to be inserted in the PCI lists. Indeed, as a consequence of this 'personal choice' her links with the CISL started seriously deteriorating

and eventually ceased to exist. Nevertheless, despite the bitterness of the event, Fabrizia was elected member of the Parliament, as independent in the Communist lists, and her work inside the European Parliament began. Her activities were quite disparate as we saw, she dealt with the question of the economic relations between the EEC and Cyprus, the closure of the steel works in Consett, the relationship between the Parliament and the Social and Economic Committee, and so on and so forth. However, at a certain point also her work in the Parliament started to be challenged, first by Spinelli, who asked numerous times for her replacement in the Political Commission and later by Fanti. But this was only the beginning. Indeed, in 1984 the attempt of Fabrizia to be renominated for the EP was not at all welcomed by the leaders of the PCI who tried instead to oppose her. She had conflicts inside the party, and she started to accuse most of the group not to recognize her work. She spent a lot of words trying to oppose the decisions of the leaders, but eventually nobody really listened to her. The rest of her career, briefly described in the last chapter, represents probably the darkest parentheses of her working life.

Additionally, I consider important to briefly summarize the most relevant steps of Fabrizia's ideological evolution. Despite her youthful indecisions regarding her political affiliation, Fabrizia became soon close to the Catholic and Demo-Christian world from the very beginning of her career. Indeed, irrefutable proof of her closeness to the ideals of the DC was evidently her more than consistent contribution within the CISL. However, at the end of the *Hot Autumn* (1969-1970) the Italian Catholic forces became the protagonists of an interesting evolution which mainly consisted of a radical shift towards the left. At this point, according to Fabrizia's political experience, it could clearly be stated that she is the emblem of this trend. Indeed, her relations with the CISL, and her association with the catholic world, ended with her decision to be elected to the European Parliament via the communist lists, even if as an independent, and her commitment to the left extended well beyond

parliamentary borders, as we were able to see in the fourth chapter. The Italian Communist Party, for its part, confirmed itself in this narrative as a clever and powerful political actor, determined to exploit the names and connections of the independents included in its lists but too soon ready to get rid of them once its purpose had been achieved.

To conclude, I believe some considerations concerning Fabrizia are needed. Through this thesis we got the pleasure of knowing something more about this woman, one of the few women that was able to make her voice heard in the European and Italian socio-political environment in the second half of last century. I think this work celebrates her contribution not simply as far as her gender is concerned, but rather as far as the great work she performed. As a matter of fact, Fabrizia tried to distinguish herself from other feminist representatives and to participate in the political and social *milieu* not only as a woman, but as an Italian trade unionist. I think this is partially the lesson she indirectly taught: she acknowledged her being a woman in a predominantly masculine environment, but she never really wanted to be limited to and by it. Her struggle was in name of workers in general, without distinction of gender. Her ideas were inspired by the hope of improving the European Community, to make “trade unions a bridge between the countries of Europe”<sup>302</sup> and eventually her beliefs, her boldness and her courage brought her to act in the most prestigious international working environments, until the point of being recognized as the first woman to become leader of a European institution.

I would like to conclude this thesis by quoting some of Fabrizia’s words in the article entitled “Fabrizia Glorioso: First Lady of Europe”:

“There is no ‘*rôle de femme*’; there is only the ‘*rôle de citoyen*’” she says. “Women must not hang back, they have to join in like everyone else and help to change Europe, to put an end to the stupidities.”<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> HAEU, Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso Fund, Dossier FBG-75, *Good Housekeeping. Fabrizia Glorioso: First Lady of Europe.*, n.d.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibidem.*

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