

You don't see what you don't know.
Official image from the Commission through videos.
Provisional Text (not to quote)

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Introduction_

On the steps of Jean-Baptiste Duroselle and his *L'Europe: Histoire de ses peuples*, Perrin, 1990, of Dominique Wolton and his *La dernière utopie. Naissance de l'Europe démocratique* (Flammarion, 1993), of Robert Picht and his *L'identité européenne. Analyses & propositions pour le renforcement d'une Europe pluraliste* (PIE, 1994), of Mireille Pongy and Guy Saez and their *Politiques culturelles et régions en Europe* (L'Harmattan, 1994), of Aleksandra Ålund and Raoul Granqvist and their *Negotiating Identities. Essays on Immigration and Culture in Present-Day Europe*, we attempt to focus on a specific comprehension of a potential European identity (ies). From the official launching of the symbols of the EC in 1986, there has been a prolific literature on identity, imaginary, culture related to other aspects such as citizenship and immigration. Besides the economic, legal and political considerations, we did not find, from what was available in Europe, mainly in French and English, coherent analysis of the legitimating process underlying these analyses and their use in the political sphere.

Therefore, from the beginning of the '90's, most probably as an answer to the challenge and to the equilibrium shift arisen from the end of the geopolitical

configuration that lasted for almost 40 years, a specific research project was drawn by a team of the Institut d'études européennes in Louvain-la-Neuve, led by Professor and historian Michel Dumoulin. In this specific project, I do deal with the historical part and with the computer-assisted content analysis of the Presidency speeches (1985 -) runned by Dr. Robert Hogenraad. From this very textual approach, I developped in the logics of my Ph.D. thesis specific analysis of the video material available on European integration history.

I relied, for this paper and first stage of the research, on the video catalogue, listing the material available. Its introduction specifies the objective of this peculiar production :

"This catalogue (part of the Office for Official Publications of the European Communities) lists films and videos produced by the European institutions or agencies.

These audiovisual productions illustrate the different activities – and the objectives – of the European Union, as well as the changes brought about in our continent by the process of European unification." (1996 ed. / 1997 ed.)

Possible paths to give the European Union a soul ?

As the selection was made only on the criteria of what was available easily, to a large audience which can buy (easily and costly, list of addresses in the world ; 20 ECU for less than 20 minutes up to 60 ECU to more than 60 minutes, shortly 1 minute costs 1 ECU) or loan (I did not figured out how, but the catalogue suggests the possibility exists), we didn't consider videos produced and broadcasted by national televisions (such as ARTE did with a 3 video series devoted to European integration) or other non EU institutions.

We did not include all the broadcasting via satellite that the Commission does.

A possible justification of this selection is that when the Commission, via its programmes and DG X, finances a supplier and acts as a co-producer, there might be a "droit de regard" on the content. That is of course trivial, but for our purpose to further comparative analysis with was left aside, we need to set a basis, still to enlarge and to reinforce with more videos, eventually why not consider every video mentioned in the catalogue (from, e.g. extreme cases, One currency for Europe (P 631) to Slaughter of pigs (P 581) or The Community in concert (P 512), just to illustrate the wide range of subjects available). This could be the official line about European integration as proposed by the European Commission through videos. There should be an European Union way of representing the reality.

This assumption relies on previous research on the inventing and the commemorating trends observed for other historical backgrounds, such as African studies and World War II history.

Richard Handler suggests to be suspicious with the concept of « identity » :

« Identity has become a salient scholarly and cultural construct in the mid-twentieth century, particularly in social-scientific scholarship in the United States. Its

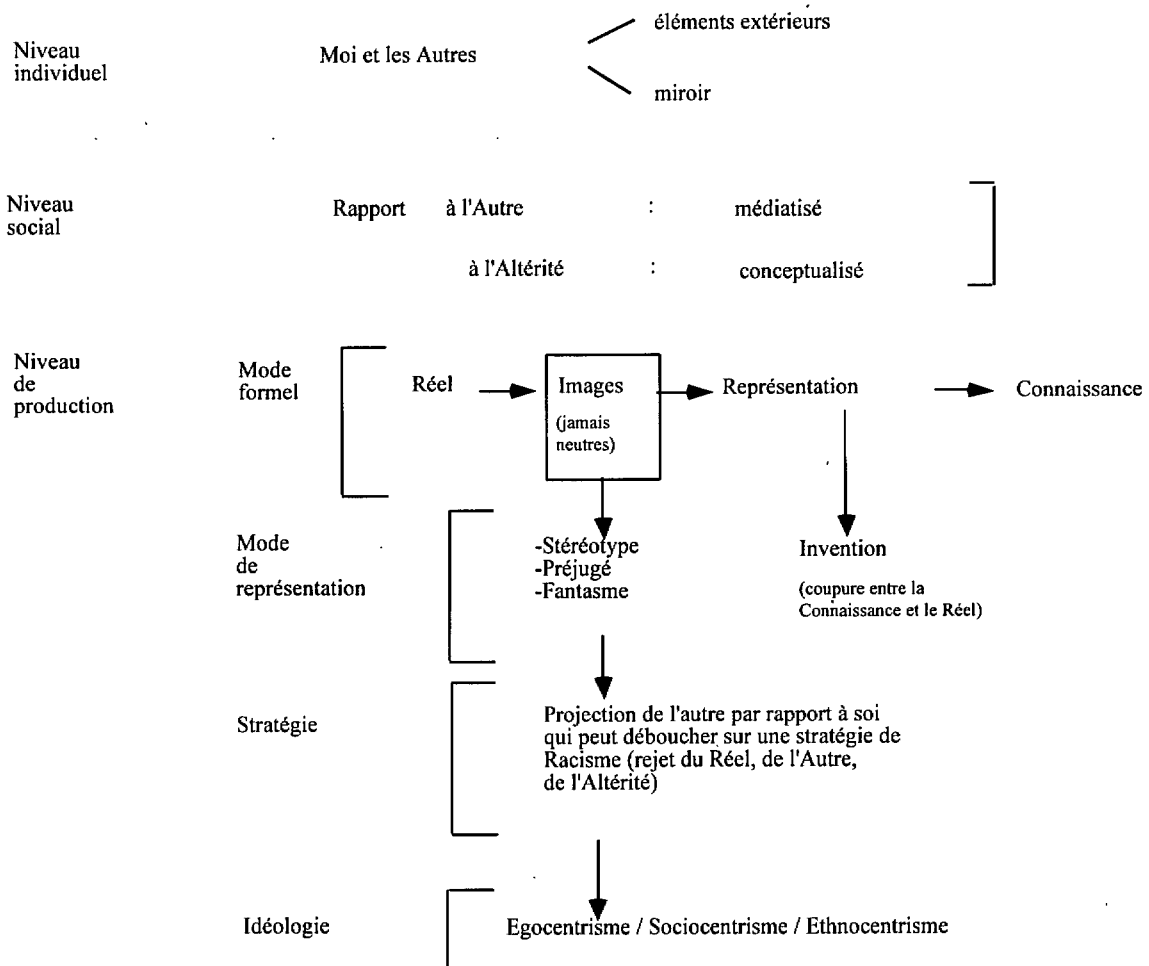
prominence in that context, however, does not mean that the concept can be applied unthinkingly to other places and times. To the contrary, its use as a cross-culturally neutral conceptual tool should be avoided, for, as historical analysis and ethnographic data suggest, the concept of « identity » is peculiar to the modern Western world. » (R. Handler, *Is « identity » a useful cross-cultural concept ?*, in John R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations : the politics of national identity*, Princeton, 1994, p. 27).

David Lowenthal precises the intervention of history in the linkage between identity, heritage and history : Historical texts embellish all heritage. And histories do not merely illustrate or eulogize but explain a people's special genius. (...) History co-opted by heritage exaggerates or denies accepted fact to assert a primacy, an ancestry, a continuity ». (D. Lowenthal, « Identity, heritage, and history », in John R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations : the politics of national identity*, Princeton, 1994, p. 53).

What I suggest as a hypothesis, is that the Commission produces videos that contain structured messages, metaphoric messages on the European integration and that people who view them don't have either the specific knowledge or the symbolic reference network to deconstruct them at the supranational level, the European level as the Commission might have suggested it, in its intentions. This doesn't mean that the perception, the reception and the deconstruction would not take place. I suppose here that the viewer, no matter his profile, will find a message in the videos. But it has to be demonstrated that this viewer will identify, recognize the European content and its links to European integration. So, to summarize, the viewer can't see what he doesn't know or what he isn't aware of. The Commission (DGX) functions with a set of symbolic references, that are supposed to be common and shared by all European citizens.

This also challenges the common view of Europe identity or Europes identities (though the plural is incorrect in written English, it suggests the multiplicity, the heterogeneity rather than a unicity, a homogeneity. Once again, it does reflect the ambivalence of the EU situation and the multilinkage among local, regional, national and supranational levels). Here, how do we define « identity » ? Referring to which Europe ? These are very basic questions that have to be addressed. Is there any political ambition when using Europe to design only a part of it, 15 Member States ? This englobing use of a concept can refer to a restricting conception of the continent, when Europe has to be understood as a synonym to the European Union. It might be more familiar to Americans to consider the situation in North America (America often designs only United States of America, Americans its citizens ; what about Mexicans and Canadians ? It's more than a question of words). How do we use the notion of « identity » ? As it could be observed from the diversity of this panel and of the presentations dealing with this notion, there is no common definition of « identity ». From my point of view, I consider « identity » with a reference to personal identity as used in psychology for the individual level to be transferred to the social level, with a permanent reference to alterity to define the « we » and the « us ». Therefore, from the European Union, to give a soul, a strong commitment to the political project of integration, it means that such a « we » and a « us » exist. Why ? For what purposes ? For which actors ? Abruptly speaking, who, in the EU, needs a European identity ?

Concepts related to the notion of imaginary



When the society intervenes in the management of relations to the Other, two interfaces are set up : the medias and the concepts. In fact, at this specific level of the imaginary, the links between individuals or between social groups are created in two different ways. The « other » and the « otherness » refer to different kinds of contacts. In the specific cas of social groups, the imaginary is mediatised, nurished by various images which illustrate stereotypes, prejudices or fantasies, associated in the figure to the production level. The distinction introduced between mediatised imaginery and conceptualised imaginery relies essentially on the systematisation of images. In the mediatised imaginery, images, socially produced, could be ponctual units, random units. It is difficult to identify an organisation of these images or some kind of a network among them. By contrast, the conceptualised imaginery does have an ordonnal principle. The society then constructs and coordinates specific images on one group. To illustrate, just compare two different situations : imaginery as boradcasted by the German society under the nazi regime about Jews and imaginery as boradcasted by the now-adays Quebecer society about Black people. There is a difference between those images produced in those specific contexts. The first are integrated in an ideology as the seconds are part of a strategy.

That's why images are so important in the EU context. Images are central to the setting up of knowledge and to the interactions between knowledge and reality. Images are never neutral and are not the reality. Therefore, the gap between reality and images increases. The more distorsion, distanciation there is, the more images are moving away

from reality. Images become stereotype (generalized from punctual units), prejudice (preexisted before any contact), fantasy (when imagination is substituted to senses in the interaction with reality). These are all bias interfering with the perception of the context.

There is a break between reality and knowledge when representations are constructed only with prejudices, stereotypes and fantasies, neglecting reality and other images. That's what I call « invention ». Thereon, knowledge functions only with these specific representations, closed circuit. To the limit, all the contacts with reality are managed with this framework, eliminating any information that doesn't fit and interpreting everything from this perception.

Strategy and ideology refer to a systematic, almost paradigmatic framework of all images. Ideology is defined as a system embracing all the reel world and giving a infallible knowledge. The reference stated by ideology is the personne, the ethnic or the society who creates the norm.

Referring once again to what had been analyzed by anthropologists in the specific colonial context, we can assume that there could be an attempt by EU authorities (as the metropolis authorities did) to create a European ethnic (From African studies, J.L. Amselle. *Au coeur de l'ethnie. Ethnies, tribalismes et état en Afrique*. La Découverte, 1985 and *Logiques métisses. Anthropologie de l'identité en Afrique et ailleurs*. Payot, 1990).

Through the literature on European identity, from Denis de Rougemont (*Vingt-huit siècles d'Europe : la conscience européenne à travers les textes d'Hésiode à nos jours*. De Bartillat, 1990 (1961) ; *Les chances de l'Europe*. Ed. de la Baconnière, 1962 ; *Le cheminement des esprits*. Bulletin du centre européen de la culture, Summer 1970 ; *Lettre ouverte aux Européens*. Albin Michel, 1970.) to Edgar Morin (*Penser l'Europe*. Gallimard, 1990 (1987)), three common ideas can summarize the European identity (which can be overtime restricted to the European Union/Communities). First, the idea of a common heritage through the European continent. Second, the common heritage through diversity : nations, religions, languages, cultures, law, institutions, social structures, political structure, etc. (E. Todd. *L'invention de l'Europe*. Seuil, 1990). Third, the same coming origins from Near East, Greece and Antic Rome. This is taken for granted. No discussion. This is common, implicit, unconsciously known, shared, even active and participating into the European citizen mind. So, to make the European see, feel and act as a European, it is necessary to make him aware of his identity. The political objective of the symbols such as the flag, the anthem and the money is to create a « we » and a « us » with a specific reference to these (C. Lager. *L'Europe en quête de ses symboles*. Peter Lang, 1995 ; proceedings of the conference held in Paris, July 3-6 1996, « Collective Identity and Symbolic Representation », organised by the European Association for the Advancement of Social Sciences and the Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences). Here, it is a reference to past, memory, history to build a common « lieu de mémoire » (Pierre Nora. « Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problématique des lieux », *Les lieux de mémoire. I. La République.*, Gallimard, 1984, p. XV-XLII) and to question its legitimacy.

The three paths I now suggest did not clearly appear when I made the first selection. The first set of criteria was that through, for example, a presentation of the EC institutions and the enlargement process, I may find some references, maybe allusive, to the necessity for European integration, to a common European identity. What was more

challenging was to identify the justification and, ultimately, the legitimation of those. As a political body, the Commission, I suppose, would justify its reason of being, of acting, of developing.

The videos constitute a triad of potential legitimation :

1. The Founding Fathers

as a way of rooting the legitimacy of the EU ;

2. The perspective of the Great Market 1993 and of enlargement
concrete achievements as proofs of efficiency of the EU ;

3. National self-representation and fundamental/typical European values
the metaphoric approach of the EU identity.

Founding Fathers as a way of rooting the legitimacy of the EU

1. The notion of founding fathers

2. Father or fathers of Europe ? No woman ?

3. Who should be considered as founding fathers ?

4. What makes a founding father ?

5. Why inventing/promoting founding fathers ?

In the first category, I selected four documents. The first 3 were available on the 1996 ed. and the remaining one was included on the 1997 ed.

1. Jean Monnet, 1980, 13 min, EN/F av.

supplier : EC, DG X

production : EC, DG X

"A tribute to one of the founding fathers of Europe, who devoted many years of his life to bringing the European countries ever closer together. The film outlines the main stages in European integration and also shows Jean Monnet in the intimacy of his tranquil home life in the Yvelines." (catalogue ed. 1996, p. 9, ref P262)

This video disappears in the 1997 edition

2. Jean Monnet, father of Europe, 1988, 11 min. 9 lang. av.

supplier : Daniel Wronecki

production : Association des amis de Jean Monnet

"Jean Monnet's life and work through archives and interviews. Produced for the Jean Monnet Year". (catalogue ed. 1996, p. 10, ref P387)

In the 1997 edition, the title slightly changed. They added a subtitle (Fathers of Europe, I) and the production now includes the EC DG X.

3. Paul Henri Spaak, père de l'Europe, 1991, 52 min. FR av.

supplier : RTBF Bruxelles

production : EC / RTBF

"This production is part of a serie dedicated to Statemen who contributed to the birth of Communautary Europe. It divides into four parts : memories from Belgium (biographic elements), Europe in exile (London, 1940-1944), after war : which Europe ? the revival of Europe (Messina conference and other milestones of European integration from its beginnings)." (catalogue ed. 1996, p. 11, ref. P 468 ; author's translation)

The video disappears in the 1997 edition.

4. Robert Schuman, le musicien de l'Europe, Les Pères de l'Europe III), 1996, 49 min. FR av.

supplier : Pierre De Greef and Malek Kellou

production : CE, France 3 LCA ; Claudine Winter

"With the declaration of May 9th 1950, Robert Schuman launched the beginning of the construction of Europe. Born in Luxembourg in 1889, he became French minister of foreign affairs and dedicated all his life to the unification of Europe. This documentary presents the significant steps of his political career." (catalogue, ed. 1997, p. 20, ref P 633 ; author's translation)

The version I used for this paper was videotaped when shown on the RTBF on May 9th 1996. It is only afterwards that I found out it figures in the new catalogue.

A brief note about the 1997 edition.

The oldest Monnet video and the Spaak one disappear. But Konrad Adenauer showed up, as founding father IV, available only in German, produced by the EC.

So, in the logic of 1997, 4 founding fathers : Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer and a fourth unidentified founding father (UFF).

Technically speaking, it represents 125 minutes of images, available only in French for the most of it (101 minutes). Those statements were French (Monnet and Schuman) and Belgian (Spaak). Schuman and Spaak were national ministers of foreign affairs then officials in the EEC institutions. Monnet was an independent civil servant. Note that only the videos about his achievement are available in languages other than French. Note also that not all the nationalities are represented, which could be easily understood (press coverage of the signature of the treaties of Rome, issued for the 40th anniversary in March 1997 ; countries first involved in the integration process. Konrad Adenauer is now considered and included as a founding father. But there is no Italian (why not de Gasperi, for example ?), no Dutch (why not Johann Beyen ?), no Luxemburger (Joseph Bech ?) to consider the E-6, and obviously no British (Churchill ?).

Founding fathers ? What does it mean ? What makes a founding father ?

If, for example, Europe would like to have the equivalent of Rushmore in the Alps, what could be statements (as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln or Theodore Roosevelt) to symbolize European integration ? This is a tricky question and maybe an irrelevant one. Does it make sense ? For whom ?

Aware and Europe focused people will suggest Jean Monnet as the founding father, the inspirer. They may also suggest Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer, as political actors who took the risk to concretize Monnet ECSC as the beginning of European integration. Some might suggest Aristide Briand, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi or Denis de Rougemont. Some might be provocative by suggesting Hitler, Mussolini or Staline. For the relaunching of the Community with the Messina Conference, the name of the Benelux ministers of foreign affairs might be mentioned.

Five elements could be considered : the clash of both World Wars and the role played by some politicians or civil servants in these circumstances ; the success of these politicians or civil servants ; the political risk involved in their action ; the long-lasting commitment for European integration ; the European consciousness merged through the

personal experience of war and disasters, for example.

This is a never ending debate, which doesn't make sense, if there is no political use of such an argument of rooting, grounding in a long lasting process the march toward United States of Europe, a federal Europe or a real supranational government.

Why promoting (inventing, in some cases ?) founding fathers ? Two possible answers : the necessity of *longue durée* as historical legitimacy and the necessity of myths as political argument.

In this perspective, the four videos presenting three founding fathers propose a sense to individual action in a lecture of supranational construction.

The general treatment looks like a hagiographic recit, as developed e.g. during the 11th-12th centuries in European monasteries. They were born, they were raised and educated. Then, a first traumatic event : the lost of a mother (Schuman), worldwide travels as a Cognac salesman (Monnet). Then WWI : Monnet active on pragmatic issues, Schuman favorable to peace.

Both videos set clearly the ambiance : canons, film archives and testimony from the founding father :

Jean Monnet during an filmed interview declares :

"Il s'est trouvé que j'ai joué un rôle important dans la Première guerre. Pourquoi ? Parce qu'il m'était apparu clairement que la France ne pouvait pas faire sa guerre toute seule, que l'Angleterre ne pouvait pas faire sa guerre toute seule. Il fallait qu'ils s'unissent. Et c'est cette idée fondamentale de l'union entre les hommes qui m'a poursuivi toute ma vie"

Robert Schuman in a letter written in 1915:

"Tout dans la création s'articule autour de l'homme. C'est à cette vérité qu'il faut se référer, surtout aujourd'hui que tout humaniste en arrive à douter de l'humanité. Voilà pourquoi on s'accroche aux bons, à ceux qui surnagent dans ce tourbillon d'égoïsme et d'instincts primaires, à ceux dont l'exemple nous transmet une confiance nouvelle dans l'avenir"

Paul Henri Spaak (1899), who was too young to be as active as Monnet (1888) and Schuman (1886) declares during an interview that he was European since the end of WWI, still to be demonstrated.

Action during the next decade : Monnet at the League of Nations, Schuman as a representative of Moselle at the French Parliament, Spaak as a extreme-left lawyer (POB) and as a minister in 1935.

Then WWII : Spaak in exile in London with some members of the Belgian government, Schuman prisoner (1941) and escaped (1942), Monnet in London, Washington, Algiers and Paris.

Finally, the European specific action.

Throughout the videos, some common characteristics designate a founding father.

A founding father is the man who acts, while others wait, hesitate. A founding father never hesitates, convinced of his choice, that he is doing the right thing, no matter he is isolated, counter the general movement.

Even before the end of WWII, a founding father knew that European integration was the solution. And it is possible to connect all moves he made to this profound belief.

A founding father is a model, even a saint.

A founding father excels to negotiate, to convince his surroundings.

A founding father is a human being.

A founding father relaxes and finds peace, meditation with a permanent contact with nature, rurality where he owes a property.

When a founding father dies, national funerals are organized.

The perspective of the Great Market 1993 and of enlargement : concrete achievements as proofs of efficiency of the EU

In the second category, I selected two documents.

1. Who runs the Community ?, 9 min., 1991, 9 lang. avai.

supplier: EC, DG X

production : EC

"There are 350 million citizens of the European Community. We are building our future together, a Europe in the process of transforming itself. Our interests and our destinies are linked. The institutions of the EC guarantee its democratic organization. But how does the Communities work? This video sets out to make plain the workings and the part played by the various Community institutions : the Commission, the European Parliament, the Council, the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors." (ed. 1996, p. 13, ref P469, new version in preparation)

The new version, presented in the 1997 ed., has changed title "Who runs the European Union ?" and the summary doesn't outline the same ideological focus.

"How does the European Union work? That is what this short video (11 instead of 9 min) is about, by clearly showing the role and working methods of the different Community institutions : Commission, European Parliament, Council of Ministers, Court of Justice and Court of Auditors, together with the advisory bodies." (ed. 1997, p. 13, ref. P 635)

2. The new European visual encyclopedia (I+II), 47 min., 1992, 9 lang. avail.

supplier : Rome, Schema

production : EC

"A series of 12 videoclips, each section illustrating an aspect of the Community by means of computer graphics. The respective spots are : Europe of the 12, the institutions, the single market, green Europe, the ECU, the Lome Convention, the consumers, the environment, research and technology, people's Europe, senior citizens and regional policy". (ed.1996, p.15, ref. P510, new version in preparation)

The new version gives four videos with a specific mention of the title announced in the 1996 edition : The European ABC now focuses on the European Union (6 min., P 622), the external relations (4 min., P 624), the institutions (6 min., P 621) and the single currency (5 min., P 629).

Technically speaking, it represents 56 minutes of images, available in any of the then nine official languages of the EC. The videos were produced before the revision of the institutions by the Maastricht Treaty and the enlargement to Sweden, Finland and Austria. The mood with the perspective of the Single internal Market, this « Europe without frontiers » that will be enforced by January 1st 1993 may have influenced the

presentation (le ton) of the various components of the Community. The videos should contain « neutral » images, understood by the largest possible audience, avoiding any connotation, any reference to local, regional or national situations. The Member States are represented by their flag or by a specific color. The first video presents one male actor with off voices, pictures and figures. The second one uses computer graphics, with universal symbols, according to the speech developed by the male off-voice. These sets of images are then transferrable to any local, regional or national audience. Only the sound track has to be translated. A comparison of these translations could reveal some modifications.

After historical outstanding figures, economical performance and democratic institutions could also reflect a certain notion of the European identity and, in the Commission strategy

The first video on the institutions tends to explain, even demystify European Communities institutions often mis/un known by European citizens. It might have been conceived as a tool to counteract the so-called democratic deficit.

The opening offers a clear state :

"We are Spanish, French, British, Germans, Greeks or Dutch. We are Irish, Luxemburgers, Italians, Danish, Portuguese or Belgians. Yes, we are 350 million Europeans. (...) We belong to the European Community. (...) The institutions of the European Community guarantee its democratic organization. They are ours."

There on, follows a brief description of the three main institutions : Commission described as the animateur, the motor of the Community, Parliament described as the direct representative of each citizen (as we vote each 5 years to elect the European deputies) and the Council of Ministers described as the voice of governments of each country of the Community.

The use of "we" is restricted to the European Parliament.

The decision making is concisely presented as a consultation among the three institutions.

Only one advisory body is mentioned (Economic and Social Committee). The advisory act is identified with the democratic process, in which the Commission should be aware of the position of those organizations.

Court of Justice is described as independant from Member States governments and from the Commission. The Court decisions have a supremacy on national legislation.

The Court of Auditors is described as the one which controls all the expenses. The statement emphasize the normality of such a process : "Elle surveille tous les comptes. Oui, c'est cela la démocratie. Tout le monde doit rendre des comptes. C'est normal".

The closing statement is a reply to the opening statement :

"As we may see, there is a fair share of well-balanced powers between the Council of Ministers, the European Commission and the Parliament. There is the Court of Justice to settle lawsuits and the Court of Auditors to control the expenses. These are many ways for a European citizen to be represented at the European level. This balance, this division are the guarantee of the democratic functioning of the institutions. This has made the Community a democracy, freedom and peace island. A reference model in

the world that we can be proud of. We are Spanish, French, British, Germans, Greeks or Dutch. We are Belgians, Irish, Luxemburgers, Italians, Danish or Portuguese. And we are all Europeans." (author's translation)

The closing statement with images of a man picking up national flags on the Beethoven Symphony Ode of Joy (known as the European anthem) with a final superposition of the European flag 12 stars.

Here, there is no doubt : the identification is simple. We, as individuals, must identify as European citizens, thanks to our democratic institutions. Even with this emphasize of the democracy, the symbolic reflects also the attachment to a flag, to an anthem. However, this doesn't mean that the national identities, nationalities and flags disappear. They are part of the European Community.

In the series of clips presenting more the economical achievement and performance of the Common Market (with the perspective of the 1993 Single Market when it was produced), the stress is put on the results achieved, on the comparison with the United States and Japan, on the coming challenges for the Common Market, the Single Currency, the Lome Convention, the common policies such as the CAP, the environment.

Figures are put on rather plain images roughly representing the thematic (very low symbolic representation). Pictograms representing people have different colours (up to 12) to identify 12 different states. They may change colour when passing from a national level to the European level (blue).

Every clip begins with a firework of stars (many colors, finally yellow that become the ring of stars of the EU flag) on the Ode of Joy.

The principal message is implicitly : We need Europe to be the economic force that the numbers allow us to be. We have to take our place, among the World Powers (here USA and Japan). Together, we are stronger. We must continue on this way.

Besides the economic argument, there is the clip devoted to the citizenship. The clip was produced before Maastricht. It deals with the specific notion 'Europe des citoyens' (people's Europe). It presents the main mobility programmes and the policies affecting the citizen such as the environment, consumers. The conclusion reflects the ideology underlying this clip:

"La construction de l'Europe va de paire avec la nécessité pour les 340 millions de citoyens européens de prendre conscience de leur identité commune. Les nombreuses étapes de l'évolution vers l'Europe des citoyens ont ouvert la voie à l'idée d'une citoyenneté européenne qui comporte un ensemble de droits et de devoirs communs à tous. La citoyenneté européenne inscrite dans les textes constitue un des éléments de légitimité démocratique de la Communauté. De toute façon, elle complète, mais ne remplace pas la citoyenneté nationale. La citoyenneté européenne crée une plus grande solidarité entre tous les citoyens et donne au sentiment d'appartenance à l'Europe une base juridique et concrète à la veille de 1993."

Here, we find a possible answer to the preliminary questions : why a European identity ? Who needs a European identity ? In this specific clip dealing with citizenship, there is a summary of all the ideological stakes in the integration process. It is no more economic tools or arguments. It is a consequence of the evolution of Europe, where citizenship arises as a component, a legal one at first, but also as a commitment.

Citizen/Citizenship is connected with Common identity, Rights and Duties, Democratic legitimacy, Solidarity, Belonging. The relation with national citizenship is explicite : to supplement not to replace.

Even on technical aspects, the commentary enhances the contribution of the EC to preexisting situations.

The EC is often compared to the United States and Japan, by the commentary but also by visual components such as the flag, the colors or the sign of their money. For statistics such as the population, the surface, the income or the international exchanges, the comparison is set up. Why ? Two reasons. First, to set up the international context in which the EC wants to compete. Second, to shatter once forever the common perception of the American economic hegemony and of the omnipresence of Japan. This, from the Commission point of view, fails, when considering facts and figures. EC has a economic weight and has to take its place.

Institutional modification, such as the extension of majority voting, is related to the necessity to prepare and to implement the Single Market. This Single Market and then the ECU are part of a strategy to achieve an area without frontiers, where exchanges are facilitated for the sake of millions of jobs created and substantial reductions of costs.

The CAP is presented as a way to preserve a certain rurality and to allow farmers and their families to live decently from agriculture. It is also a factor to promote financial solidarity, where everyone shares the expenses of the CAP. Once again, there is an attempt to deconstruct a common idea about Europe as a fortress, with figures : Europe is the first importer of agro-alimentary products and the second exporter. Sufficient to say that the claims of United States to the GATT are irrelevant.

The same kind of insinuations can be found in the presentation of the Lome Convention where the EC is depicted as having developped, in the framework of the Convention, a set of arrangements to encourage development of 69 countries (the ACP countries) while respecting their autonomy and their national identity. So, all the technical aspects such as the STABEX, the SYSMIN or the EDF can be connected to this respectfull sauvegarde of economic relations.

No matter in what field the EC acts, it does it its own way.

National self-representation and fundamental/typical European values : the metaphoric approach of the EU identity.

In the third category, two documents were chosen.

1. The return of Colombus, 1992, 25 min. music and effects
supplier : Thames Television
production : EC, DG X

"A film produced to mark the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. It takes us on a journey through today's Europe with typical scenes from each Member State of the European Community."

(ed.1996, p. 14, P 498)

The notice omits to mention that there is no presentation from the United Kingdom. The video is no more available in 1997.

2. The passion to be free, 1995, 16 min. 9 lang. av.
supplier: Windmill Lane Pictures, Dublin
production : EC

"Europe, in spite of the conflicts which have marked its history, remains a culture, a philosophy, an entrepreneurial spirit illustrating the differences to which we hold, the many things that we share and, most of all, the 'passion of freedom'. During this periode of major world crises, we turn to this source to find the will and capacity to make a success of the Europe union."

'This has won the Silver Medal at the New York Festival's International Non-Broadcast Media Competition 1996'
(ed. 1996, p. 17, P590)

Technically speaking, it represents 41 minutes of images, available in nine languages for « The passion to be free ». Here, the content of images is very important. It has to be explicite, understood by any viewer from any peculiar background.

While these two videos are less technical then the two previous dealing with institutions and economic performance, they are also confronted to the necessity to spread one, simple, straight message. Here, the impact of photos, pictures, the codification, the symbolization play a decisive role in the reception. Are they performant ? Let's see.

The first movie still puzzles me.

Christopher Columbus travels by balloon over Europe. Landscapes from different European regions pass by. He lands somewhere, probably in the United Kingdom. Children, wearing a sweatshirt with the European flag, host him. Then, a female ice-skater enters. The show begins. Then, for almost 20 minutes, eleven countries present themselves. Great Britain hosts the event with Columbus and the ice-skater representing Europe. Honestly, I didn't find the logic, the coherence of this presentation. France : Versailles, with classic ballet and a transition to the Coñcord ; Luxembourg : Satellites from the Soci t  europ enne des satellites and its Salomon Ski team ; Netherlands : Vermeer paintings ; Germany : car industry (BMW) and classical music (baroque flute and clavecin) ; Greece : painted faience with Olymppic themes ; Ireland : Jewels created on a fiddler tune and worn by a Celtic/Irish woman ; Denmark : Porcelaine figurines and classic ballet ; Italy : Bel Canto and Italian medieval cities, Fashion and Cars (Lamborghini) ; Belgium : Breughel paintings (visible at the Prado) and the Atomium ; Portugal : Marie Jose Pires, pianist and maps ; Spain : flamenco, World Fair in Sevilla and Olymppic Games in Barcelona. Closing segment : anthem performes by the European Communities Youth Orchestra and flag. How did I identify some of these elements ? Because I read the final generic, not because it was obvious to me that those components refer to national or supranational cultures.

The national image is very stereotyped. It tends to evoke the past, the heritage, the tradition, but also the future, the present. Young people represent their country. Local, such as the fiddler or the flamenco guitar, but counter balanced by a world opening : the Irish girl leaving in a blue (EU blue ?) cloud and the Spanish girl visiting world sites (Barcelona and Seville). So, it clearly states that a local identity can easily cohabite with a European, world identity. The supranational identity doesn't replace the local or the national identity. It complements it.

The second one intends to demonstrate the permanence of the attachment to freedom of Europeans. Here, the identification process relies upon two strategies : history as the justification of *durée* and a moral value, freedom, as the focus point.

The first symbolic reference is to the European anthem, the Beethoven Ode of Joy. Then the opening statement from an off speaker :

« For us, freedom is an absolute right. In Western Europe, we consider it as a natural law. »

Follows an enumeration of the main freedoms : to establish, to associate, to express, to have access to health care and to wealth care, to sell/buy, to elect.

But, as the speaker warns the auditor, it hasn't been that way. Flashback to our ancestors to illustrate both the past comprehension of the notion of freedom and the European diversity. The historical background starts with Pericles and a quotation of the Greek statesman :

« A State is more beneficial when it succeeds as a whole than when it favors the individual instead the Community. »

Comment from the speaker : « Is it true ? We believe so ».

From this statement, where Greece is presented as the creator of democracy, follows a chronological presentation of the life of freedom through European history : « Barbarians », VIIIth century with Charlemagne and Carolingians, Renaissance in Italy and Portugal, Industrial Revolution, French Revolution, 1815, Colonization, Italian (Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour mentioned) and German (Bismarck) unifications.

Then, the 20th century. World Wars. Europe devastated, splitted at the Yalta conference (that's a historical myth : there were no split at Yalta) between Eastern Europe ruled by Soviet Union and Western Europe helped by American funds from the Marshall Plan. Major figures, the so-called founding fathers, appeared and suggested a European integration, cooperation process. Follows there a brief summary of forty years of Europe. Recent events such as the end of the Cold War, German reunification are presented as new challenges for freedom and for Europe.

In this presentation, we find a comprehension based on an attempt to tell almost twenty-eight centuries (as a reminder of de Rougemont essay) from a supranational point of view. There is no exaltation of national glory (military, for example) or of great national figures except for national leaders (Cavour, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Bismarck) presented as unifiers. There is some ambiguity about these four politicians as they promoted national unity. Are they positively considered ? Are they maybe indirectly related to the clash of WWI ? There is no ambiguity for Hitler and Mussolini designated as responsables for WWII. By contrast, personalities such as Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman are pointed as the creators of Europe. Their heirs, such as Margaret Thatcher or Helmut Kohl do not always agree on the way to manage the European integration process. But the closing statement is a quotation of Jean Monnet, the inspirer, « Rien n'est possible sans les hommes. Rien n'est possible sans les institutions ».

Conclusion

As is it often the case with European identities, there is no single answer, no unique approach to the problem. Obviously, the video material reflects also this

situation, maybe even emphasized. We can identify hesitations on the privileged way to tackle, to promote identity (ies). Symbols ? Yes, of course. The flag, the anthem. The institutions ? Sometime. How do they use the « we » and the « us » ? To refer to the citizen political/ democratic participation, to enhance the collective commitment to freedom. Founding fathers ? The most popular is Jean Monnet.

Finally, what makes the European identity(ies) ? The difficulty to define it, to give it some content. For Europeans, it is difficult to express concretely and positively their belonging. The use (overuse) of the otherness may reflect this situation. Europeans might perceive themselves as different from Americans or Japanese. But, why should they systematically, coherently build a European sense of belonging ? They are individuals, with a local, regional, national identity, part of an engrainage that tends to justify to them why they should say : I care about European integration and I am part of this process. Still in 1997, European inhabitants are largely passive in the integration process. The grounds are set up to go a step further, when economic integration might lead to political federation, as many politicians desire it.