

TOWARDS A EUROPEAN CULTURAL POLICY

Henri Brugmans

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**TOWARDS A EUROPEAN
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The European Community is one of the few international institutions to have considered itself, for some considerable time now, exempt from the need to take any action in the sphere of cultural affairs. A short time ago it did set up a special department to deal with such matters ; this, however, has only limited resources at its disposal. Does the topic of culture, then, deserve no more than a passing reference in Sunday sermons, and is it simply to be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders during the rest of the week ? The fact remains that this situation, which at first sight appears so bizarre, is unlikely to improve in the foreseeable future.

The first problem we must tackle is this : what explanations are there for this period of prolonged neglect, and how valid, in fact, are they ?

The reason, we are told, is that the Community is an "economic" entity. It was formed for the purpose of breaking down customs barriers between member countries, mapping out a free trade area and harmonising economic life within its territories. What role can culture play in all this ?

We have two replies to make to this question, which was intended to be rhetorical. Firstly, the word "culture" can be taken in either its narrow or its wider sense.

If we restrict the notion of culture to mean simply the fine arts, then the departments of the EEC can probably be cleared of blame. They are content with organising one or two concerts for colleagues and their families, or putting on the odd art exhibition. They may even go further and encourage language studies or set up discussion groups. While it is true that these activities are intended solely for employees of the Commission, they do at least prove that "cultural" does not necessarily mean "artistic".

However the "cultural" factor can equally well be taken in a far wider sense, in which case it becomes central to the notion of an "economic" Community, so closely bound up with human and social relations. Now any European civil

servant, Commissioner or parliamentarian who declared that he was only interested in "social matters" in terms of their effect on economic life would be called a barbarian. Yet what are human and social relations if they are not cultural phenomena? They belong to the qualitative rather than the quantitative sphere, and are therefore "cultural".

The next question we must ask is this: why was integration conceived of on a European scale, instead of in terms of a larger geographic community like that of the Atlantic countries or the OECD, which includes not only Canada and the U.S.A. but Japan as well? Why this emphasis on the specific factor of Europe? To answer this question we have only to look at the proclamations of the "founding fathers", and in particular the one made by Robert Schuman on May 9th, 1950. As he and his associates and colleagues saw it, the primary task was not to put agriculture, commerce, industry and finance to rights, but to revitalise an entire civilisation. The fact this ambitious project was later tackled from an economic standpoint can be explained by previous historical events, and in particular by the comparative failure of the Council of Europe and the rejection of the Defence Community.

The EEC came into being because of Europe, and Europe came into being because people saw it as a culture that was threatened from both without and within, and that therefore had to be defended and forced into some kind of regeneration. In other words, culture was to be the end, and economics the means to achieving that end. There is no doubt at all that the operation was initially conceived in this light; it is equally obvious that our scale of values has since shifted. Yet any attempt at this stage to retreat from the original position that inspired the idea of the Community would constitute a dramatic change of heart, a crucial decision involving a definitive renunciation of the European ideal — and this is doubtless something which certain political leaders would undertake with only the greatest reluctance.

Moreover, today we are faced with a recent decision that has been taken on this matter. We have seen that every economic policy presupposes a choice of society, and therefore of civilisation; we have also seen that the essential aims of the whole Community undertaking were cultural. Now the European Council intends to create a European Foundation with responsibility for cultural matters. This is, in fact, one of the few suggestions which was made by Mr. Leo Tindemans in his report and which his colleagues have decided to put into effect. It may have been that they felt the idea harmless enough; at any rate, the decision has been taken and a committee is now working out ways to implement it.

II

Before examining in more detail the cultural initiatives that the Community could take, there is one preliminary point that requires clarification, namely, does Europe constitute a culture in its own right, or is it rather an agglomeration of several national cultures? Accordingly, does there not exist a doctrinal objection to the very possibility of European action in cultural affairs? We cannot stress this point too heavily: either Europe is viewed as a diversified but nonetheless coherent civilisation, or it is nothing at all. It is a civilisation that is no better or worse than any other, but it does differ from those around it like, for example, the Arab or Buddhist countries. It is a civilisation that is singled out by its special geographical environment, by its basic values — which, though admittedly universal, are particularly highly developed in our countries — and lastly, by shared experiences. Let us now rapidly amplify these three factors.

To take the first point, Europe differs from other countries in that it has neither scorching deserts nor frozen wastes; neither has it practically untraversable mountains nor any of those vast plains which Wladimir Weidlé describes as being the origin of a “horizontal culture”. Then again, Europe’s shores are bathed by the sea as no other part of the world is; it offers within its borders a variety of landscapes that is reflected in turn in the range of its different life-styles — which, moreover, do not respect national boundaries. And yet this “many-splendoured” Europe remains a cultural unity, even if striking contrasts do exist between the Europe of the Mediterranean, the Baltic, the Atlantic and Scandinavia. Indeed a Scandinavian travelling from Port Said who arrives at Genoa cannot help but feel “at home”.

Secondly, Europe has been enriched by certain common cultural heritages in the North, South, East and West. Everywhere there are signs of the lasting influence of the freedoms enjoyed by the “barbarian” peoples, the Slavs, the Germans and, above all, the Celts. The influence of Roman law survives everywhere — a written law that condemns all that is arbitrary even if it does allow excessively narrow interpretations. All around us, too, the language we use is Greek, whether in the field of theatre, sport, science, literature, the plastic arts, philosophy, theology or medicine. We are reminded everywhere of the Old Testament and the great lessons of its prophets, both by the Scriptures and by the physical presence of the Jews in our midst. Everywhere, finally, the Christian heritage continues to occupy a fundamental place in the European ethos, despite the fact that many are no longer practising members of the church.

Thirdly, whenever certain historical terms are used a European understands them immediately, whereas the same words could not be employed in other parts of the world except by way of comparison. Thus when we talk of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, Humanism, the Reformation, Classicism, the Enlightenment, Romanticism, the Industrial Revolution, trade unionism, cooperatives or Marxist parties – Europe, and Europe alone, was the cradle of all these shared experiences, before they were partly exported abroad. These movements certainly arose in different regions of Europe – Romanesque art began in the Pyrénées, and Gothic art in the Ile de France ; the notion of human dignity was evolved in Italy by Pica de la Mirandola, while the idea of “le mal du siècle” was originated by Goethe in 1774 in Eastern Germany. Yet whatever the geographical origins, in every case the explosion of ideas crossed all frontiers. Even nationalism has been an international phenomenon in its way, and the banal egocentricity of almost all national anthems – sometimes bloody, and sometimes merely pompous – still denotes a common attitude representative of a particular epoch.

That is why it is essential for Europe to rediscover an inspirational idea that transcends national differences if it is to flourish again. This does not, of course, mean denying or denigrating national or regional differences (and the latter are often more significant than the former), but seeing them for what they really are, variations on a common theme.

And so whenever the question of European cultural policy arises, it is these historical realities which we must remember, for they continue to have a fruitful effect on present day Europe.

III

There is, however, a second preliminary question to be answered concerning culture, namely, whether it is too sensitive an issue to be dragged into the political arena, with all the harsh realities which that entails.

Our answer to this question is an equivocal “yes and no”. Yes, because any notion of a policy of centralisation with respect to culture must be discarded,

for the result would be a drab utopia. The idea of subjecting thinkers, scholars, *littérateurs* and artists to any form of political authority at all could only have disastrous consequences. When, for example, the government of Stalin decided to bring the "workers for culture" into line, all it succeeded in doing was to create a spirit of academicism. We have only to think of the terrible canvases of the period that depict Stalin surrounded by his beribboned marshals, pointing to the *n*th Five Year Plan, or Progress, or Communism, or some such idol of the time. Moreover, even those creative artists who were politically to the right (and there have been some great ones) have always been non-conformists in their own sphere of activity. What would Europe have been without its pioneers in new ways of thinking which, feared in their day by those in authority, were destined for subsequent glory ?

It is therefore understandable that actions in support of culture most often start with personal, or at any rate, private initiatives. Europe has had its share of great patrons, both secular and religious. In our own day there has been the European Cultural Centre which since 1950 has been under the direction of Denis de Rougemont, and, since 1954, the European Cultural Foundation (*Fondation Européenne de la Culture*). We must also mention the College of Europe in Bruges, which has been supported by official financial contributions without at any stage becoming an official "department", either at a national or a Community level. Lastly, the Centre for European Education, one of whose most important activities is the organisation of European Schools' Day, was similarly launched by the efforts of private individuals. We shall return later in this essay to the question of the conclusions that can be drawn from this fact. At least let no-one suspect us of wishing to recommend a bureaucratic or politicized form of culture !

And yet (to return to our original question) culture is *not* too sensitive a topic to involve in politics. For we believe that the indifference shown by the authorities towards any cultural activity (i.e. one that requires financial backing) is a symptom not of healthy libertarianism but of sterile scepticism. In today's world the major confrontations always take place against a background of cultural controversy, and to say that economics, in particular, is "neutral" is blatantly wrong. Why, in fact, do so many Third World countries still have illusions about the inaccurately-named "communist" regimes (which should more precisely be called "state monopolies") ? Is it perhaps because the subsidies they receive from Moscow or Peking are more substantial than those sent by the West ? Yet this is simply not the case, as the U.S.S.R. concentrates almost exclusively on exporting arms to these countries. Where, then, does its

illicit but nonetheless very real prestige come from ? Where else but from the fact that the so-called communist countries have succeeded in getting people to believe that they represent a more just social system, and therefore a more humane civilisation. If, in the face of this deception, we continue to proffer our technological skills as our only testimonial, we will lose the battle before it is begun.

In short, the "materialist" regimes have realised more clearly than the western governments with their "spiritual" approach the extent to which the really fundamental decisions are taken on the basis of moral (and therefore cultural) issues, rather than on statistical evidence.

Given this state of affairs Europe must avoid the twin dangers of the Scylla of a bureaucratized culture, and the Charybdis of polite official neglect. The only acceptable alternative is financial open-handedness with no strings attached. At least let us try to get away from the present situation we find ourselves in, which Jacques Pigaud described so well, alas, in his book "*La Culture pour Vivre*" :

"What is there to say about culture ? It has not only been "ignored by the Treaty of Rome and the institutions which it "has set up, but, worse still, nothing, practically speaking, has "been achieved in those areas where economics and culture "coincide — neither in the cinema, to which help of a purely "technical nature has been given, nor in publishing ; nor has "any attention been given to the problem of freedom of "establishment as it affects those professions engaged in "cultural activities. Some tentative measures have been taken "in the field of education, but as yet these have produced no "tangible results".

(Paris, Gallimard, 1975, p. 270) (European Cooperation Fund translation).

IV

Having said all this we are left with the following question, namely, what type of institution would make for the most free and effective cultural action at a European level? There already exist certain precedents with regard to this which we can usefully examine. At the time of the Renaissance, for example, the cultural impetus came from several towns in Italy at once. It was they who experienced this literary and artistic adventure before any other European centre, and with greater intensity. However the Renaissance was merely the forerunner of a more far-reaching process of cultural socialization. The Church was succeeded in its role as a patron of the arts by private individuals like the Medicis, who were both bankers and rulers. The reign of these private patrons lasted into the 19th century, and here and there villas commissioned by the wealthy of yeasteryear are still regrettably to be found — buildings in neo-Gothic or oriental style, according to the (bad) taste of the client.

At present a variety of causes, not the least of which is fiscal policy, have stifled private patronage, with the result that public authorities have now taken over their role. However, if the dangers of Charybdis are to be avoided (and according to Homer the monster could have swallowed up Ulysses' entire ship) highly flexible forms of subsidy must be devised. For this reason a European Ministry of Culture is out of the question. Moreover, even duly constituted Federal States like Switzerland or West Germany do not possess an administrative framework of this kind. We must think rather in terms of some intermediary body, since one of the basic tenets of a free political system is precisely that there should be no rigid separation between central and decentralized organs of power. On the one hand we cannot rely solely on initiatives from below, for this leads to fragmentation which is ultimately damaging. Yet on the other hand we have seen where complete harmonisation would lead us, with some central bureaucrat deciding what should be set up or not. What is needed, therefore, is a policy neither of "laissez faire" nor of government interference.

We might suggest as an alternative a coordinating body such as that which exists in the Federal German Republic under the title of the "Permanent Conference of Ministers for Culture" (and Education). A decrease of central control does not necessarily imply isolation in an area such as culture, where we all find ourselves faced with similar problems. A European Conference of this kind, under whatever title, ought to establish its permanent character by

setting up a centre for study and research on these lines. This centre would be at the disposal of all political and administrative bodies, though it would also be capable of undertaking research projects on its own behalf. Moreover, it would not be obliged to carry out everything itself, but could delegate study in a particular field to the appropriate academic institution (which would not necessarily be a university). This, for example, is how the Institute of Education works, which was set up in Paris by the European Cultural Foundation as a result of a study carried out on "Europe 2000". It is at the same time an independent and a publicly accountable institution.

As for the "Conference" itself, let us give an example of the type of possible research projects which it might undertake to finance in its capacity as a transnational organisation.

Our educational systems differ from one country to the next. Ideological struggles have left their mark on some and not on others, or at any rate to a much lesser extent. All of these systems, however, have to meet the demands of a process of cultural levelling that requires us to change our teaching methods. In recent times several innovators (for example Maria Montessori, Decroly, Dalton, Kees Boeke and Rudolf Steiner) have devised systems which, although differing in respect of many points of detail, all aim to develop the child's sense of responsibility both towards himself and towards the community at large.

Surely the time has come to find out how far we have moved beyond this experimental stage, and in what ways the majority of our schools could profit from the lessons learned so far? Such a step would be of undoubted benefit to all, and to accomplish it, of course, we should be able to call on the services of an official think-tank that is both independent, and informed on the subject.

However a better idea might well be to have a coordinated network of think-tanks of this type which the authorities could fuel with their requirements and their criticisms. At a time when the need not only for supranational organisations but for greater decentralisation is generally recognised, it would be counter-productive to place everything in the hands of a single organisation, even if it were an autonomous body.

V

Given this background, then, what political significance does the term "Europe" actually have? Outside our own continent, it is most often identified with the Community itself. The reasons for this are fairly obvious, since the only administrative bodies to have at their disposal a minimum amount of resources – albeit too limited – for initiating and implementing policies are those of the Community. However in the cultural sphere with which we are concerned here, the more or less fortuitous alliance of six States initially, and now nine (with three more likely to join in the near future) does not correspond to any definition of a civilisation. Are Austria, Switzerland and Sweden less "European" than the EEC countries? For reasons of political and military neutrality they are unable, or unwilling, to join the Community. Yet when dealing with matters of culture, how can we possibly think of excluding them, or allowing them at best a toehold in our Europe? To do so would be as ludicrous as it would be unjust.

This consideration applies equally to the so-called socialist countries from the Baltic to the Black Sea. How are we to decide whether Poland is more or less "European" than Portugal? Let us stick to the criteria for "Europeanness" laid down by the first post-war federalist conference at Hertenstein, namely "those countries which can demonstrate their European character and conform to the basic rules" (European Cooperation Fund translation). It is up to the European nations themselves to decide whether, and to what extent, they are willing to take part in the European venture. There must be no ostracism!

When we consider the problem from this point of view, our thoughts automatically turn to the Council of Europe. We said at an earlier point in this paper that the Council has been a partial failure. Its achievements in the political sphere have in fact been disappointing, and perhaps appear all the more so because the expectations we had of it in 1949 were too great. The area of culture could have provided an ideal ground for evolving and testing out new ideas, but here, too, promises have not been kept. This may be the result of a lack of imagination among those in charge of the Council, but the real cause seems far more likely to be indifference and reprehensible greed on the part of member governments.

Given this situation, then, nothing could be more unjustified than the criticism often made about the Community in non-member European countries, namely that it is "imperialist". It is, alas, only too easy to answer this charge by pointing out that the fact of not belonging to, or being unable to join, the EEC ought to have been viewed by the "outsiders" as a further reason for attending Strasbourg — and moreover in large numbers. This has happened, however, on all too few occasions. So if the members of the Community can be accused of paying too little attention to the Council, the other European nations can equally well be criticized for missing the opportunity to "get their own back" on the EEC by using the Council to represent their interests.

And yet though the Council of Europe could have accomplished more, it has exercised a by no means negligible influence on European affairs. Its former Secretary General, Peter Smithers, has described it as an ideal instrument for cooperation between governments. It did, in fact, establish an international link between cultural administrators, and it has also been responsible for publishing a very considerable number of reports on a wide range of topics of cultural interest.

We should also mention the International Institute of Schoolbooks (Internationales Schulbuch-Institut) in Brunswick which has carried out pioneering work in the field of the gradual Europeanisation of school textbooks in history and geography. (The Council is, in fact, its patron). Unfortunately the limited resources it has at its disposal have prevented it from exercising the influence it should. Too often its achievements have passed unnoticed, and most Europeans are unaware of the fact that it has discreetly established cooperative links with several eastern European countries.

In short, we can hope that one day Yugoslavia will take its seat as a member in Strasbourg. Let us therefore hold on to this valuable instrument which has proved itself to be one of the most effective paneuropean institutions, and entrust the task of developing it to those concerned with the formulation of cultural policy in Europe.

VI

Turning now to the different problems that we are faced with on our own home ground, we cannot help but be struck initially by the language question.

How many misunderstandings could, in fact, have been avoided both in the actual construction of Europe and in the daily lives of its citizens had we not come up against linguistic differences !

In dealing with this question we must draw a distinction between two aspects of the language problem which lead us along seemingly contradictory paths : for on the one hand we have the conduct of international affairs, while on the other there is man's sense of his national or regional identity. Then again, Europe is a terrible Tower of Babel ; against this, however, we must set the richness of its cultural heritage, which is reflected in the diversity of our languages and is one of our most valuable assets. The problem we must solve, therefore, is to find a way of imposing some kind of order on the "Tower" without destroying the thriving human roots at its base.

With regard to this we should take note of the difference between our own attempts at integration and the birth of the U.S.A. at the end of the 18th century. The Americans, who were all immigrants, already spoke English or rapidly adopted it as their lingua franca ; in our case, however, there will never be any question of a common European language. There are too many reasons against it, and even though these are often merely the result of an automatic reaction of chauvinist feeling the fact remains that the standardisation of language is out of the question. While it is certainly true that some languages have more widespread currency than others, if anyone tried to set them in competition with one another he would unleash a state of utter pandemonium in which every speaker would be loudly extolling the merits of his mother tongue.

However, eliminating one possible solution to a problem does not make it disappear. In any case, whether we have a European Federation in the near future or not, the realities of modern living inevitably mean increasingly close contacts between Europeans who hold different passports, and therefore belong to different linguistic backgrounds. What is to be done in this situation ?

In the day to day conduct of business affairs, English has become the most important vehicle of communication throughout the world. Indeed it has become increasingly common practice for Americans, Britons, Germans, Scandinavians and Dutch to discuss together in this language, even when talking to their French counterparts.

In contrast, French has rapidly acquired a dominant position among the Six, and has maintained it despite the entry into the Community of three countries that are either English-speaking or are, at least, remote from the Mediterranean world. Even the fact of having a British president of the Commission has not radically changed this state of affairs. Whether this will continue to be the case when new countries put themselves up for entry remains to be seen ; however it will become less and less likely that the Community will be able to afford the increasingly costly luxury of translating all its documents as a matter of course into a growing number of languages. Moreover, where will interpreters be found who can translate Greek into Portuguese, or Danish into Turkish ? Here the situation begins to border on the ridiculous.

Thus it seems realistic to conclude that before very much longer the EEC will reach a stage of "critical mass" where it will be simply impossible for it to maintain its present system, whereby every national can have everything translated into his own language. The decision to have three so-called "major" languages will then become unavoidable.

No-one can deny that French, English and German will carry the day when that decision is taken. It might be wise to settle for these three languages, not because of any intrinsic value (for example, literary) they might have, but because in cases where there is no ideal solution, then the most practical one must suffice. Community civil servants would then simply have to be able to express themselves fluently in any one of these three languages, and understand one of the remaining two.

There is no doubt that the Italians, Dutch and Greeks will have to prove themselves to be good linguists under such a system. However the effort it would cost them would ultimately "pay off", as anyone who has experienced the irritation of negotiating with a colleague or business partner who speaks only one language will readily acknowledge. On the other hand the influence which the Luxemburgers enjoy within the Community is due in part to the fact that the inhabitants of this tiny country, who are extremely patriotic while completely lacking in chauvinism, are bilingual practically from birth. They had only to

learn English to become first-rate linguists. A final point to note is that a European who speaks only one language is living, without realising it, in a cage : no matter how roomy or attractive, it is nonetheless a cage. "European Unity" implies precisely the opening up of the cages we live in.

However the problem is not restricted, of course, to the conduct of international affairs. Every citizen finds himself increasingly faced with the need to study a foreign language. On this point the European Cultural Convention of the Council of Europe is explicit ; unfortunately its statement has had virtually no effect. It appears on the contrary that for some years now the standard of the average European's linguistic capability has been falling rather than rising. While it is true that people who cannot even speak at least a minimum of basic English are a dying breed, in most cases "speaking English" only amounts to knowing a handful of words of little cultural value. Even mass tourism, of which some people had such high hopes as a means of encouraging language-learning, has made little impression on the overall situation.

This relative decline is no doubt a result of the levelling that has taken place in the field of language studies. As long as the average school was recruiting its pupils only from a traditionally cultivated public, then linguistic ability conferred considerable social and intellectual status. At the present moment we are going through a phase in which the quantitative spread of knowledge is still being paid for in terms of quality. Our linguistic culture has suffered in consequence.

Thus it is all the more vital to maximise the cultural potential of language teaching. It would be a mistake, above all, to claim that it is enough to learn a minimum of basic vocabulary, or that the goal of language teaching is to enable pupils to "get by" in a foreign country. On the contrary, a foreign language teacher should take advantage of the opportunity presented him to familiarise his pupils with the attitudes and outlook on life of the inhabitants of the contry whose language they are learning , he must exude the very spirit of the place. As a first step towards this, the classroom where the language is to be taught should be decorated with suitable posters and prints.

We have four remaining points to make on the subject of language and language-teaching, the first of which concerns esperanto.

Some people dismiss this possible solution to our problems with a casual shrug of the shoulders ; others support it with a dedication that occasionally borders

on the fanatical. For those of us who belong in neither camp, esperanto has considerable advantages to offer. It is not only easy to learn — especially for Europeans — but it also familiarises the learner with a very simple but nonetheless typical kind of linguistic structure, and thus it provides a valuable introduction to the study of foreign languages.

And yet we do not think esperanto should win its case simply on the grounds of the propaganda put about by its advocates. Though it has won its loyal supporters, they remain relatively few in number. The breakthrough would only come if EEC countries were to put it on the syllabus of primary schools, and for the moment this seems unlikely.

The second point we would like to make concerns frontier regions. We stated earlier that the day to day running of the Community makes it essential to choose certain "major" languages — which does not mean, however, that the public at large is forced to make the same choice. It goes without saying that Spanish will continue to be the first language of Aquitaine, while Italian will predominate in Nice. On the other hand the people of Alsace and Lorraine would probably incline towards German which is already spoken in the home by a large number of their fellow-citizens, in a dialectal form. Then again the native of Kiel would rather learn Danish, while in Lille it appears that Dutch is gaining ground.

Thirdly, the training of language teachers requires considerable effort. They should regularly spend periods of several weeks at a time in the country where "their" language is spoken, and take out a subscription to at least one magazine in their chosen language. Symposiums between teachers from different nations should enable them to keep up with current trends abroad.

The final point we have to make is perhaps the most important one of all. We are now living in an age when Federalism is developing in two different directions, as its mission dictates. On the one hand we are moving towards the idea of the small community with a familiar and a human face, while on the other the trend is towards integration on a continental and a world-wide scale. And whereas this latter trend is leading to greater simplification in our methods of communication, the former is taking us in the opposite direction. Now Europe must do justice to both these tendencies, for the resurgence of "minor" languages belonging to regions or to the smaller nations, is a significant and undeniable historical fact. Thus it would be a disaster if our cultural and linguistic policies were to discourage the speaking of languages like, for example, Friesian, Breton or

Gaelic, allegedly in the interests of greater efficiency. On the contrary, no valid linguistic culture could ever be established on the basis of the suppression of traditional "folk" languages. These would not in any case disappear, but would live on in the form of fragmented dialects. Then again, no foreign language can be properly taught unless the mother tongue is recognised as the starting-point in the process of language learning. The destruction of linguistic communities would be the worst possible policy by far to adopt ; the European education of the Basques should be carried out in Basque.

In conclusion, we cannot envisage the possibility of European citizenship without a controlled expansion in language teaching. Perhaps we are asking the impossible here, but while it is certainly rare to find someone who can speak a foreign language with real ease of expression, the fact remains that we are all capable of understanding at least two. With modern teaching methods — which are still not widely enough available — and the continuing increase in our leisure time (just think of Jean Fourastié's "40,000 hours"), progress in language-learning is now becoming possible on a scale which only recently would have seemed incredible.

VII

From the problem of languages we move on quite naturally to the topic of European Schools (*Les Ecoles Européennes*), where every pupil receives at least part of his education in a language other than his mother tongue. If only for linguistic reasons, we must make this method of education more widely available.

However these schools have been criticized, and often unfairly so. Of course no pupil attending a school of this kind finds exactly the same syllabus he would have been entitled to in his own country, and this leads parents to blame the school administrators. Likewise the style of teaching in such educational establishments is "sui generis", and some people find it too "free" while others on the contrary think it too strict. Since we have to "make the most of what we've got" in this case, we must accept that the term "European" will never represent a national entity ; because of its vagueness, there will always

be something lacking in it for someone. Hence a student from a European school who attends university in his own country finds it is harder for him to bridge the intellectual gap than it is for this fellow-students who have come from "national" schools.

This is an inevitable, though not entirely negative, result of the system in European schools. On the one hand, teachers and pupils become accustomed to no longer regarding everything that happens in their own country as sacrosanct. On the other hand the diversity of points of view represented by the pupils forces each one of them to question his assumptions about subjects hitherto taboo.

The more justified criticisms of such schools are directed at the social background of the pupils, the majority of whom come from the families of European civil servants. This criticism seems less justified in the case of Luxembourg, since the Grand Duchy contains the largest number of immigrant workers in the whole of Europe in terms of its population, and many of the children of these immigrants attend the European school in the capital. Elsewhere the preponderance of children of professionals who are employed by the Community is more evident.

The best answer we can give to the charges made against these schools is to ask why their teaching methods should be restricted only to places where European immigration has made them indispensable? Why not set up similar schools where pupils can study for the "European school-leaving certificate" which has now been officially recognised? Why not approach every parent, wherever possible, who wants a plurinational education for his children? Besides, the criticism which people make of European schools as being "ghettos" could be far more aptly applied to single-nation schools (for example the "Lycée français" and the "Deutsches Gymnasium") which exist in several places abroad.

If we were prepared to take the European approach seriously, we would set about building a whole network of schools in which daily progress could be made towards achieving intellectual and social integration. Here we are thinking particularly of those border regions which have a comparatively large minority of incomers.

However, for such a school to carry out its function properly it is not enough to have two or three subjects that are taught entirely in a second language; the actual content of the subject must also be adapted to suit the medium in which it is being taught. We must look particularly at school syllabuses to determine what is worth retaining and what can be discarded.

Indeed we have grown so accustomed in our respective countries to a certain type of syllabus that we no longer question the value of this or that teaching method. In this respect the European schools have subjected themselves to scrutiny on many occasions, with fruitful results.

Thus in some countries it is generally held that philosophy is not a suitable subject to teach to pupils under eighteen. Elsewhere, in contrast, the teaching of logic is thought to be indispensable to any education that can be considered at all complete. Now when the European school in Luxembourg, incidentally the first of its kind, came up against this problem, it demanded that those who were "for" and those who were "against" the idea should argue it out amongst themselves. The result of the debate was, predictably, a philosophy course, but one that was unlike any hitherto found in countries where philosophy had been traditionally taught. Hence the conclusions which emerged from the discussion were truly innovative.

A similar problem arises with the teaching of the classics, the so-called "dead" languages. In Latin countries these are regarded as the foundation of the nation's culture, whereas in Scandinavia they tend to be viewed as snobbish : after all, what reason is there for a Swede to learn Greek ? It is up to the Latins to provide an answer to this, but all the usual arguments which a Latin would employ in his own country fall flat when he talks to someone from the Nordic countries. We must therefore emphasise the classical origins of our European civilisation and not make them the preserve of speakers of Romance languages. The debate which such a move would provoke would likewise have a European dimension.

Lastly, those subjects which lend themselves most readily to interpretation from a nationalist viewpoint — and here we are thinking particularly of history and geography — could derive enormous benefit from the experiences of the pluri-national schools. For what is considered normal by some pupils would shock others, and so stimulate discussion — which is just what is wanted.

What would the discussion be about, however ? It would certainly not be about "European propaganda" ; to simply replace a single, national education system by a European one would be a crime against culture. Rather the fight against petty-minded chauvinism should mean an open and above all honest approach to education.

Inculcating the notion of Europe through education can only be justified to the extent to which it deepens our understanding of what really happened in the past, and at the same time gives us a perspective on things in which we see our civilisation in the context of a vision of world cooperation. The national identity which we have acquired in the course of history does have a place in the overall scheme of things, but it will no longer be considered the high point of our evolution or the ultimate stage in human progress.

The countries we live in have never been the centre of the universe, even though as nationals we do have an understandable tendency to show more interest in the deeds and exploits of our immediate predecessors. At any rate it would be ridiculous to find for instance in French textbooks glowingly uncritical accounts of Napoleonic imperialism, while the class next door is learning of the heroic feats of Waterloo and Leipzig. A school as unintegrated as this would not be intellectually credible. Yet when some attempt is finally made to ascertain what views we actually do hold in common, Europe, and culture, will greatly benefit from the exercise. We would like to stress above all that what the situation requires here is a real effort of objective analysis and not merely polite concessions on either side.

The so-called "exact" sciences, by definition, allow no room for interference by nationalist considerations, and yet there, too, much remains to be done. Is it not still the case that in some countries one invention rather than another is given special prominence because the former was discovered by a fellow-countryman and the latter by a "foreigner"? Above all, would it not be a good thing to show the degree to which every discovery is inseparable from a particular historical climate and dependent on a century rather than a nation?

Lastly, in order to obtain international recognition for degrees and diplomas – this cure-for-all-ills of cultural politics – a preliminary harmonisation of university and college syllabuses is needed. Here, as with other problems, Europe can and should provide an ideal opportunity for shaking us out of our old routines. The European Schools would be benefiting the public good in applying themselves to this problem; their task would be made easier if there existed a common European policy on the matter.

VIII

In turning next to examine the question of our European artistic heritage, we touch upon a subject that seems to be becoming more and more topical. And in this area, too, we shall come up against the problem of nationalist prejudices.

Firstly, let us look at the role of our museums and art galleries.

Until recently, museums and galleries put on exhibition everything that they had to show of any value, just as you would display a collection of postage stamps. Now our best curators are directing their efforts instead towards putting a smaller number of works on display in an appropriate setting — for instance, a picture is hung along with tapestries and furniture of the same period, and so on. The result is that quite a large number of works disappear to the storerooms, temporarily at least. Out of this a new tradition has grown, namely the practice of sending anything not on exhibition on a tour of the provinces. A good idea, certainly — but why not send works abroad as well? In this way our museums would become centres for art education, either fulfilling the function of schools or providing a back-up service for them. It would not always be the most famous works that were needed for this; often, in fact, just the opposite would be true, since it is easier to use a more unexceptional work as a model for demonstration when explaining a technique or a period in art.

Thus there is no cause for alarm, as those works of art which represent the heaviest capital investment to both insurance companies and thieves would not have to be sent abroad. More modest artistic exchanges would not only probably attract fewer cultural snobs and idle sightseers, they would also be of far greater educational benefit. A living museum or gallery is one where there is always something happening, and where there is always a new exhibition to go and see, either national or international (to use rather suspect terms). No doubt such practices are already becoming widespread, thanks partly to the tradition of twin towns. However it might be useful to set up a European community of museum curators who could meet regularly to keep a record of what was being done, or what would be available in the future. During these meetings there would be an opportunity for a full discussion of the positive and negative results each one had to show. In this area, too, there is so much we can learn from one another.

In connection with this we should also mention the exhibitions organised by the Council of Europe, which select a different subject in art from year to year — for example, Mannerism, Romanticism or some other school of painting. What is on display on these occasions is not the work of a particular nation, but rather of a particular artistic sensibility which, although associated with a specific period, has nevertheless extended its influence throughout Europe. In fact artists, whether their style be primitive, baroque, classical or surrealist, have far more in common with their contemporaries from other countries than with their fellow-countrymen from another century.

This Strasbourg experiment ought to be extended, decentralised and hence democratised, so that more modest exhibitions, inspired by the same spirit, can be put on in places other than the few major centres which have a monopoly of such events. It goes without saying that national or regional characteristics must not be glossed over in these exhibitions; it is likely, however, that they will stand out more clearly in their natural historical setting. The French Renaissance is not the same as the Italian one, for instance, although both are European.

Then we are witnessing today an extraordinary new awareness of our artistic urban heritage.

Is this simply a nostalgic longing for a return to the past? Having shown ourselves incapable of creating anything new in the way of architecture, are we making up for this by conserving what things of beauty remain? This may be a factor in our interest in conservation, but we also see in it a legitimate desire for some kind of cultural identity, or roots. No doubt the builders of Gothic architecture demolished many a Romanesque church without a moment's hesitation, because they felt themselves capable of erecting something at least as good in its place. Fortunately, however, not everything has disappeared, and those in search of a new style can still learn much from the confrontation between the old and the new.

Moreover a successful example of the architecture of former times in no way clashes with a boldly original building of today. Yet the past imposes a definite discipline on us, for in a continent like ours we do not have the right to build just anything in any place we want. This discipline does not hamper creativity, but instead stimulates it. The philistines of the 19th century who destroyed so many beautiful old things in the name of progress were unable to replace them with anything that had an authentic style of its own.

On the other hand it is significant that the revival of interest in architecture and urbanism that has taken place in our day (take, for instance, the Dessau *Bauhaus*) has exactly coincided with the conservationist movement; these interests have joined together in organizations like, for example, "Europa Nostra". Plans for the future and the rediscovery of ancient times need not necessarily be in contradiction with one another; rather they are interdependent. Was not the distinguishing mark of the Renaissance, in its strict sense, the rediscovery of the Classical age? In this sense "revolutions" are always "conservative".

Having said that, the task of evolving a programme of urbanisation that respects our past heritage is definitely not made any easier by the requirements of modern living and, above all, of modern traffic. Yet by refraining from taking any action on this problem we end up paralysing both the motorist and the restorers of our large towns. Once again this problem is not specific to any one of our old towns in particular; it is common to all of them. What could be more natural, therefore, than for them to exchange views with one another before deciding exactly what measures are to be taken to relieve the problem — measures such as, for example, a ring of underground car parks around town centres; bicycles available for hire; cheap, frequent and comfortable public transport, and so on. In 1975, over a hundred European communes met in Bruges at a congress organised by "Europa Nostra". On this occasion an impressive exhibition portrayed some of Europe's beautiful urban settings as well as the problems of adjustment they faced; these were found to be the same, whether in Chester, Sienna, Bruges, Salamanca or Thessalonika. The Council of European Communes considers this to be an ideal area for future cooperation.

Lastly, our heritage is not limited to what man himself has created. Nature, too, has to be saved and protected against the excesses of a civilisation which is wholly technological and which consequently requires more and more of a natural counterbalance in the form of parks, nature reserves and reforestation schemes — in short, it is our right to an unspoiled natural environment that is at stake. There is already in existence a European association of nature reserves; it should be allowed to participate in regional development planning.

Let us conclude by saying that the policies of national and European authorities on this matter will be doomed to certain failure unless they are backed up by a programme of school and extra mural education which aims at developing a sense of civic respect for the environment. "The criterion that distinguishes

civilised man from the savage has always been respect for nature, which is viewed not as an inexhaustible capital to draw upon but as a heritage whose resources have to be carefully husbanded ; nature is a living entity subject to certain laws, not just a slave at man's disposal. We now discover that the way in which we were led by a certain economic logic to exploit frantically our natural resources was merely a new form of barbarism...." (European Cooperation Fund translation). (1). Further on the author puts the case for a programme to educate the public "to consume without destroying, and to create without rejecting the continuity of our way of life".

Will the reply to this again be that the only vocation the Community has in an economic one ? To counter with such an objection is foolish, because there is not a single industrial or agricultural policy or transport plan that would not lead inevitably to disaster if it refused to take into account the human consequences of what is supposedly carried out in the interests of mankind. Every debate there has been on the great economic choices before us undoubtedly suffers from not incorporating culture as one of the basic factors in its argument, states Jacques Rigaud.

He is right yet again. However the principles he is defending are not merely "idealistic", they also have a direct economic bearing. Of course "incorporating" the qualitative factor of culture in our development plans does cost money. In Scandinavian countries, people are prepared to pay this price, whereas in the southern part of our continent industrial pollution in particular often reaches intolerable levels. Must we, indeed can we, go on penalising those economies that are most advanced and hence most open to humanist preoccupations in this sphere ? Can we allow a factory on one side of the border to pollute the beauty of an entire valley, while management on the other side of the border is showing more consideration for man and the environment ? The least we can try to achieve is a harmonisation of European legislation on ecology, which would allow competition to operate in an honest manner.

This economic consideration, however, is obviously not to be our last word on the subject, for if Europe wants to present a model of a free and yet organised

(1) Jacques Rigaud, op. cit., pp. 239–240.

society to the world it must check the rule of uncontrolled capitalist competition and breakneck expansion that operates to the cost of our environment. Some countries are more open to these ideas than others : the principle that should operate, therefore, is of a "levelling upward".

It is simply not enough to add a few ecological touch-ups to policy once the important decisions have been taken. Europe can become a model civilisation in the world, one that is at the same time traditional and ultra-modern, technological and humanist, through a culture that is integrated within the framework of economic policy.

IX

Whereas economic policy is most often a question of planned integration, the case is quite different for matters of culture. In this sphere every ban amounts to outright censorship, and every prescription encourages academicism. The "cultural worker" is not someone carrying out orders like other people, someone who is paid for his handiwork and is expected to follow his instructions "faithfully".

This does not mean, however, that the status quo has to be maintained. Before any barriers can be broken down nationalism in cultural affairs has to be fought ; we must ensure, too, that "foreigners" do not find themselves in a position of inferiority vis-à-vis nationals in this area. Above all, anyone who devotes his life to his art is entitled to a secure place in society, and preferential treatment must not be shown to some over others simply on the grounds of their holding a different passport. Several cases of this have been known.

Thus a detailed study of the system of copyright in the member countries has been produced at the instigation of the only too modest cultural departments of the Commission. The conclusion it reaches is that authors are better protected in some countries than in others, and this tends to give some citizens an advantage over others. However here we are not only dealing with a situation that exists within the Nine. Looking ahead to the more distant future, it is unthinkable that each national society of authors should make a separate pilgrimage to Moscow

to negotiate with the Eastern European countries, rather than do so via a European literary association or a Community Pen-Club. In fact a totalitarian government can easily manipulate the copyright system to its own advantage, and, by implication, to the disadvantage of subversive writers. We could wish for nothing better than for Western literature to be translated in the East (and the converse is equally true) ; however, for us to be played off against each other just because of the different laws governing our literary and artistic property is a far cry from healthy intellectual competition. For all the above reasons a harmonisation of our legislation is urgently required.

Another example of ways in which we could obtain greater social justice for creators of works of art would be to regularize the system of royalties between different countries. In dealing with this topic, as with others, we can use as our source the comparative study by Raymonde Moulin called "*The Role of Public Subsidies in the Plastic Arts*" (1), which is published by the Council of Europe. Whereas every writer receives his percentage of royalties on a reprint of one of his books, a painter or sculptor whose work enjoys increasing popularity does not always derive the same financial benefit. In many cases an artist sells his picture, his bust, his drawing or his construction for good – without gaining any extra benefit from the increase in the prices paid for his work. This produces an unfair situation which tends to favour those countries in which the law works to the advantage of the vendor, and which are consequently less favourable to the individual artist or to the public purse of the profession. Now if we hope to form a true community, contrasts such as these will have to disappear. Different legal systems must be brought into line with one another and the royalties system introduced wherever it is not yet in force.

Lastly, rules under which translators and translating operate in Europe vary according to national legislation. In some countries translators form an exclusive body with an exacting set of professional standards which mean that not just anybody has the right to translate what they want in whatever way they want. In other countries, conversely, a much greater flexibility exists, with the result that there is a very real risk of less careful translations (which would be banned by stricter authorities) being circulated from "flexible" countries. The task for European authorities here is to see to it that the cultural level is raised to that existing in those countries which attach most importance to work of a high standard. The European Parliament has already urged them to do this in a

(1) Raymonde Moulin, *Les Aides Publiques dans les Arts Plastiques*.
Strasbourg, 1976 : a preparatory document for the Oslo Conference.

resolution dated March 8th, 1976. Let us hope, however, that these intentions do not lead to the consolidation of an all-powerful group which will end up by defending vested interests out of a spirit of protectionism. In fact the ultimate objective of such an intervention is not to make editors as rich as possible, nor even to obtain decent living conditions for translators, but to encourage reading. In a Europe that claims to want unity, it is essential that Europeans know the literature of one another's countries ; this is especially true for the lesser known languages. All the more reason, then, for having translations carried out under the supervision of qualified juries.

As a final example of the type of action that could be undertaken, there is the question of alleviating the plight of craftsmen in the arts — and this time there is no need even to interpret the Treaty of Rome loosely. How many times must individual craftsmen have seen a unique example of their work taken up by the manufacturing industry and reproduced in huge numbers without the beneficiaries owing anything to the artist. The decline of craftsmanship in Europe is partly a result of this state of affairs, which places in a vulnerable position the men and women our civilisation so badly needs — precisely because it is a technological one. Thus a work of art that has been conceived and executed with zeal and enthusiasm rapidly becomes a kitsch object in which the creator can no longer recognise anything of his original intentions. It is true that it will be difficult to find a completely effective remedy for abuses of this kind, since the criticism of plagiarism can always be got round by alleging that some changes have been made to the original. Nevertheless, a minimum of rules and regulations are necessary here if young people are to rediscover the vocation of the craftsman. The existence of a group of genuine craftsmen in old historical towns in particular should be part of our attempts to infuse new life into them. Venice is not a unique case !

To sum up, then, every "worker" who devotes his life to his art, whatever his style or individual talents, must be sure that his status is not disadvantaged compared to that of his colleagues in other countries. And divergences in national legislations lead to "distortions" (to use a word well-known in Community circles).

Let us conclude by emphasising the point that although the question here is primarily one of social harmonisation, tax laws can equally hamper or encourage the free movement of cultural ideas and artefacts. Certainly the importation of books is no longer restricted by customs laws or quotas within the Nine ; however different VAT rates from one country to the next can

produce the paradoxical situation whereby a recipient of German books, for example, has always to pay a sum of money (an insignificant amount, moreover) for what are laughably called customs "services" – and this is to say nothing of the delay caused in delivery. Even in linguistic areas which come under more than one state (Dutch speakers in the Netherlands and Belgium in particular) the border continues to represent a real psychological barrier. We must see to it that these inhibitions, at least, are not reinforced by differing fiscal systems.

X

Let us now go on to tackle the question of the mass media and the role they could play in the process of bringing our different nations closer together. We will leave aside the technical side of the question as much as possible, although it is impossible to rule it out entirely. Our lack of expertise in this subject will oblige us to confine ourselves solely to the broad outlines.

Television broadcasts, in contrast to radio, are transmitted over a limited geographical radius. Whereas totalitarian regimes try to scramble radio programmes like those of the BBC, "Voice of America", "Radio Free Europe", etc..., television presents them with less difficulties. This is regrettable, for television has an immense impact. Thus a series of programmes like Kenneth Clark's "Civilisation" contributes far more to the awakening of European cultural awareness than a comparable radio programme.

Consequently our first objective must be to make it possible for the European viewer to derive the maximum benefit from non-national programmes. There are a number of different ways in which this can be done, the first of them being an exchange of broadcasts – something which has not yet become regular practice. Let no-one raise the objection that the language barrier constitutes an obstacle to this : sound tracks can be dubbed in for the new public, or else (a preferable method) translated sub-titles can be added. However, even where the language is the same, as between Holland and Flanders for instance, exchanges such as these remain the exception rather than the rule, and coproductions are even less common.

Secondly, more frequent use could be made of broadcasts brought from abroad into the home by means of local cable distribution, thereby giving the "consumer" a wider choice of programmes than is offered by national products. As for future technological prospects, these do exist, as Eurovision has shown. However the opportunities technology provides are only fully realised in those areas (notably sport) where a large viewing audience is guaranteed. There is, however, nothing to prevent Eurovision from putting on frequent cultural programmes like the "Third Programme" on BBC radio ; in fact the only thing preventing this is financial considerations, since advertising only becomes a paying proposition during major footballing events like the European Cup. Thanks to modern technology nothing is impossible any more. If a European satellite were launched, it would enable viewers to have a wide selection of programmes relayed to them (does the atmosphere have any frontiers?) and hence would open up impressive European horizons. If this has not yet been seriously attempted, we must ask ourselves whether the responsibility does not lie with governments who, despite being convinced Europeans every one, are afraid to risk losing a national monopoly which is worth a great deal to them....

Lastly, we mentioned earlier the scrambling which radio broadcasts from the West suffer in Eastern European countries. Here is a classic example of an area where West European delegations charged with the task of making the "Helsinki spirit" a reality must emphasise how contrary it is to the declared aims of the Final Act to maintain artificial barriers between broadcasters and listeners on both sides of what, precisely, should cease to be an "Iron Curtain". Likewise we for our part must not only prevent, but actively encourage our public to become familiar with broadcasts from the East. Unfortunately it does look as if the idea of "one Europe" has been clamped down upon by the USSR at Belgrade.

As far as newspaper journalism is concerned national barriers are falling, although far too many still remain. Four daily newspapers regularly publish a "European" supplement on a joint basis. Some major papers from different countries have common correspondents throughout the world. The practice of misspelling the proper names of non-national figures is becoming less prevalent. However (except at a certain level of responsibility) professional ethics do not yet require every journalist to know (or at least be able to read) two foreign languages. Training courses in journalism must aim to cover this.

Such aspirations cannot be imposed from above by a government : it is up to the profession to address itself to the problem and to take appropriate action. Yet it is also in the interest of national authorities to see to it that their countries' newspapers are respected outside their own frontiers, and that they do not create an impression of "provincialism". Here the Federation of European Journalists has found a task that it is successfully carrying out. Its members have realised that "introducing a European dimension into newspaper articles" does not necessarily mean reporting in detail every tedious decision taken in the Berlaymont, but making the reader appreciate that every problem of public life now has European repercussions. Whether the problem is one of security, aid to the Third World, ecology, qualitative planning, the price of raw materials or the harmonisation of union conditions, everything nowadays has a dimension that transcends national boundaries. This is not "propaganda", but a mental step forward whose effect is to situate the reader within the true context of the contemporary debate.

Finally, written and oral journalism come together in the "reviews of the press" broadcast by our radio and television stations. The encounter is a fruitful one, for it means that listeners or viewers no longer read only one paper ; they realise that different opinions of equal weight can be expressed about a particular news item. Thus the exercise broadens the horizons of countless citizens. How few though, are the stations or newspapers which give any insight in their reviews of the press into opinion outside their national boundaries ! Specialist organizations and magazines play a vital role in presenting foreign opinion to the public — consider, for example, *Septentrion*, which every three months presents to the French-speaking public the contemporary and historical life of Flemish speakers. The task of such organizations would be greatly simplified if the press, radio and television were already in the habit of acquainting their public with the opinions of the mass media elsewhere in Europe.

XI

Despite all the attempts that have been made to involve the public more actively in the task of the media, the latter often have to work in a vacuum. Their measure of success remains primarily the viewing and listening figures — in other words, the ratings. These are quantitative measures which give hardly any idea of the degree of involvement with which the public has participated in a

broadcast or read an article. Yet a trend seems to be developing in this respect which may one day enable the voice of the "grass-roots" to be heard ; this is the movement for civic and cultural action (which in Germany can more bluntly be termed "political" action). This movement is concentrated among a growing number of groups and cells of young people — so much so, in fact, that the notions of culture and youth sometimes seem to be identified with one another. However at the same time we are witnessing the birth of such institutions as "Troisième Age" Universities.

In these two cases the methods of instruction are different though the goal is the same, namely to awaken or revive dormant energies and to persuade the public that they "have it in them", or rather, that they must not remain passive. We must try and reawaken hidden talents and promote greater self-confidence in the face of this passivity, which too often television tends to encourage.

Given this future prospect of "permanent" education, there are those who have gone as far as to claim that everyone is a potential genius ; all we have to find out is in which particular field.... Of course such a view of things is simply an illusion, or at any rate an exaggeration of human capabilities. In the Tinbergen family two brothers have received a Nobel Prize for science, but it is hardly likely that such miracles will one day be the rule in all families. Still, utopias can have a creative effect, for sceptics have never achieved anything in the course of history, despite the fact that they have often been right.

Let us look reality squarely in the face. After generations of political democracy, many men and women are still content to be what they are at the present moment, that is, creatures of limited horizons. Now it will be possible to awaken some of them to cultural realities. It is also true that exceptional talent will always out ; there were several major figureheads who emerged as inventors or statesmen even from the wretched proletariat of the nineteenth century. For the masses, however, inhibition continues to be a critical factor : culture "isn't for the likes of us". All the so-called "popular" concerts, free exhibitions and cheap reproductions of art works have not succeeded in altering this state of affairs.

On the other hand history shows us that revolutions from below bring out tendencies which in different circumstances would probably have gone undiscovered. Among the "sea-beggars" of the Dutch Revolution and

Cromwell's "Roundheads" there were quite a few men who could not have forged a creative existence for themselves without the help of a movement which freed their hidden energies and abilities. After the Revolution of 1789 it was not only soldiers who found they had a marshal's baton in their knapsack. And the events of 1917, too, were followed by an impressive though short-lived cultural explosion.

In the many forms which our modern democracies take, our problem will therefore be to find a peaceful alternative to these bloody confrontations. Although the methods of raising civic and cultural awareness have not yet been satisfactorily defined, they could, given the opportunity, offer such an alternative.

"Inspiring cultural awareness first of all means an awakening. It means arousing the tremor of life while fighting everything that might work against it. It means freeing man's aspiration to ardour, which is held in check by so many inhibitions, both natural and acquired, and uncovering its chosen paths which are peculiar to each individual ; it means keeping this enthusiasm alive so that it contributes to the fulfilment of the individual being. In this sense creating cultural awareness is above all an education". (European Cooperation Fund translation). (1) It is an education which should have relevance not only for the artistic but also for the civil sphere. What is needed is to arouse the critical faculties without toppling over into cynicism ; to pass on vital knowledge to the public without brainwashing them ; to enable everyone to understand the meaning of an article or a broadcast without accepting one-sided propaganda ; finally, to communicate the basic facts of a situation while at the same time acknowledging the different options open to people.

Of course culture is not simply a matter of passing on knowledge. We must, however, be on our guard against illusions ; this knowledge is still necessary, since it would be absurd – more than that, it would be lying – to promise people that they can acquire a sense of culture easily and without an often strenuous effort of learning on their part. Indeed culture cannot be extemporized ; it draws upon the collective memory of a civilisation, and upon its historical past. Becoming informed about culture requires great application. "Learn such and such a language without hard work" – only a society as dedicated to facility as our own could think up such nonsense.

(1) Jacques Rigaud, *op. cit.* pp. 79–80.

No, culture is not a pleasing luxury item for our consumption ; neither is it the fruit of spontaneous intuition. It is a slow and difficult process of transcending one's capacities which demands sacrifices from those who undertake it, and this is a fact that must be fully realised at the outset. Personal culture always begins with personal effort.

Having said this, however, the educators responsible for instilling cultural awareness are right when they say that the spontaneity of childhood — which regrettably is often lost later in life — demonstrates convincingly how much human potential is left unexplored and untapped. In the case of many people this results in a feeling of resignation or bitter apathy which is completely opposed to a sense of living culture. What we must do, therefore, is revive the wellsprings concealed beneath the debris of many an existence, stifled by the monotony of family and professional life. In confronting modern man with countless facts that his parents did not even suspect existed, the media are already awakening the curiosity and the desire to participate actively in the hazily glimpsed life of the world around us. Doubtless many films are consumed by the public without being assimilated ; many still tend to portray a universe of crime and luxury that is remote from our "normal" everyday lives. These are the products of the "dream factory" described by Ilya Ehrenbourg — a factory of tranquillisers and stimulants with a marked conservative bias. Yet we must set against this output the many artistic and civic works that have been made available to millions of people via this medium. Thanks to it a breach has been made in the wall of public indifference, passivity and sense of inferiority.

In the past the pioneers of parliamentary democracy believed — and this was a creative delusion if ever there was one — that "the people" were ready to pass judgement on the major issues facing society. Likewise socialist poets like the Dutchman Herman Gorter sang the praises of the Eight Hours Law — which was not yet in force at the time — because they could envisage just over the horizon a vast mass of human beings who would at last see their desire for cultural fulfilment satisfied. Here, too, reality fell short of the grandiose vision. However, we have to conclude by saying that at the present moment, thanks to the compulsory education of children up to the age of 16, and thanks also to the media, the dream of the pioneers can at last begin to take shape. Dance, theatre, the plastic arts and literature have been made accessible to the masses and new methods have been devised to guide peoples' aspirations without regimenting them.

XII

Having said this, what can a Europe in a state of transition do for culture ? There are two particular areas which it must involve itself in, the first of these being the problem of immigrant workers, of whom there are still a considerable number in Western Europe, despite the economic crisis. This category of men and women who, had they wanted to, could have become the first citizens of Europe, have been neglected until now, and the Community was right to set aside a considerable sum for their needs in its budget. In Germany they are called "Gastarbeiter" – guest workers – but this euphemism conceals a grim reality. Max Frisch has said, "we summoned a work force – and human beings came instead". Hence the presence of these foreigners in our towns.

The Italians have the advantage among both these temporary or more or less permanent immigrants. Their country belongs to the Common Market and, as a result, they benefit from the social advantages which Community law reserves for its members. The rest find their lack of security oppressive.

It is true that the wages paid to non-nationals can appear fabulous compared with what they would earn in their own country ; that is the reason, moreover, why they come. However the most urgent problems of guest workers are cultural and human rather than economic or even social ; the problem is one of their non-integration into any community other than that of their compatriots who are in a similar situation. How long do they intend staying ? Is it worth while learning the language of the country ? In cases where the family has been sent for, which school should the children attend ? How will they combine integration into a foreign environment and loyalty to their home country ? Such questions as these add up to a vast problem which our profoundly materialistic civilisation has first of all not noticed, then gone on to tackle with mere palliatives.

Both the Christian and Muslim religious communities have set up reception centres for foreign workers. However their admirable efforts are still not enough, and the authorities have scarcely realised the extent to which the immigration problem is one that concerns the whole of Europe. Indeed the situation is the same all over Europe, and the differences are mainly quantitative : for example, Luxembourg heads the list with almost a third of its population made up of immigrant workers. Elsewhere, in Italy, it is not immigrants who are the cause of

anxiety, but the conditions of regional underdevelopment that drive people to emigrate. In the Spanish Peninsula additional problems are created by returning workers; how are those men who come home to their own country to be received back into society? All over Europe this tragic state of affairs is now coming to light, and the experiences of reception centres (or whatever other name they might go under) must be pooled and used to help these millions of working men.

Secondly — and this problem is related to the previous one — the Community is a long way from having carried out its mandate in the Treaty of Rome, namely to prevent economic integration from benefiting the well-off regions at the cost of accelerating the decline of the poorer regions.

Here, too, the first thought of the Community was money — in other words, a Bank or a Fund. There is no point in criticizing this approach to the problem, except to say that, particularly in the early years, the financial support provided was on far too small a scale. Yet here, too, the real question was the attitude and the actual needs of the populations of the various member countries. The introduction of modern industry, which is highly mechanised and requires only a limited workforce, offered no solution to the problem. Speaking more generally, the industrialisation of a province that was already in decline should perhaps not have been a priority action. What was necessary above all was to restore confidence and give people on the spot some perspective on the situation.

In fact the inhabitants of a country must take an active part in the operation of revitalising their economy, so that it becomes their own effort. Engineers as well as management must cease to consider themselves exiles when they leave and settle far away from their traditional centres of activity. For both of these groups, therefore, the decisive factor has become the socio-cultural facilities available. Has anyone, anywhere, realised this, or acted upon it? And, insofar as anyone can have a clear idea of the real options that are available, has anyone, anywhere, thought in terms of "Europe"? Has anyone compared his own positive and negative experiences with what cultural organisations were doing in other countries at the same time?

To sum up, we already have here a European Community of problems — which is rarely seen as such, however. It is hardly surprising, then, that we do not yet have a Community of answers.

It is high time that young people, in particular, in development regions found a way of developing *themselves*, as a matter of priority. One way to do this, of course, would be for them to find out about the economy and the business life of their region ; but setting up local cultural centres is just as essential. A region where young people put on plays and concerts will not remain a land without hope for the future for very long. It does not matter what artistic or intellectual lever is used, as long as it gets things moving !

Finally, let us make one apparently modest proposal which is, in fact, quite ambitious – namely, to unite the cultural organizations of our countries in a permanent federation.

Following the example of Denmark, which launched the movement a century ago in order to meet a crisis, Northern Europe has become familiar with the teaching methods of the “Popular High Schools”. Today they are rapidly evolving away from “Scholasticism”. In contrast, the “Maisons de la Jeunesse et de la Culture” set up in France at the instigation of André Malraux, use quite different teaching methods. This diversity of methods is all to the good – provided that Northern and Southern Europe do not eye one another warily, with the result that one half misses out on all that it could learn from the other.

Cultural federations of this kind are already operating in other areas. Thus there exists a European Federation of Music Festivals, which is presided over by Denis de Rougemont under the aegis of the European Cultural Centre. More recent is the European Federation of the “Maisons de l’Europe”, which are centres for raising civic and cultural consciousness. In other areas we should mention the “Jeunesses Musicales”, a world-wide organisation which regularly allows tens of thousands of young people from all countries not just to find out more about music, but to perform it better.

Initiatives of this kind are at least as deserving of official financial support as some prestigious theatre or opera house. Europe can enable authorities to train their future cultural administrators more effectively.

XIII

Lastly, cultural administration is not merely a question of "internal" policy. We also have to consider the image of itself which Europe presents to the world. In an age like our own when frontiers not just between countries but between continents are becoming indistinct, the identity of European civilisation must also be clear to the world outside.

Most of our member nations have set up cultural departments within their embassies. Yet there do exist separate organizations like the "Alliance Française", the "British Council", the "Goethe Häuser", or the "Istituti Culturali Italiani" which operate under the sign of Dante Alighieri. The question we must ask ourselves is whether this sort of national apartheid can carry on indefinitely at a time when our countries are declaring themselves to be in favour of European union. In fact this union (as we have already stated) finds its own justification in culture, and so it would be inconsistent of us to maintain our national sovereignty towards the outside world in precisely the area in which Europe is the key factor.

Moreover, national nomenclatures which in our day seem quite natural often appear far less so when we turn to the past. It is pointless discussing whether Copernicus was German or Polish, since he embodied a certain intellectual stance which he shared with the best minds of his age throughout the whole of Europe. We have seen art books in which an artist as specifically Rhenish and Germanic as Mathias Grünewald was announced to be French, no doubt because his home town, Colmar, was to be annexed to France several generations after his death! Besides, do not think that anyone in Japan or India is interested in the way our states are compartmentalised; our influence in these countries would be greater if we presented a united European front.

In fact, this is the only way that we can recapture certain historical phenomena for which no State is responsible but which were nevertheless outstanding moments in our civilisation. This applies especially to fifteenth century Burgundy, which the French want none of (were not the "Grand Dukes of the Occident" regarded as "vassal felons"?) and which the Benelux countries can only lay claim to a part of. Here the obsession with national boundaries clouds our view of history, for parcelling up the culture of the past along present-day

territorial lines leads to absurd divisions and prevents Europe from being shown in the light it deserves. Of course this does not mean we have to reject the fact of nationhood ; Descartes is French and Spinoza is not. However they do have in common a similar method of reasoning, and they owe this above all to the century in which they lived. By bringing them together we can get a clearer idea of what the seventeenth century had to offer mankind than if we simply took one individual as an example of a national type.

Besides (while we are on the subject of Spinoza), how can we present to the non-European observer the fundamental contribution the Jews have made to our culture if we are to retain the criterion of nationality ? Would we then have to annex Mainmonida to Spain, or Manassa-ben-Israel to England (or to Holland), or Elie Wiesel to France (or to America), or Martin Buber to Germany – or alternatively to Israel ? Reflecting on all these difficulties that expose the evils of nationalism, we can see the wrong which Europe is doing itself by presenting a fragmented and artificial image to the outside world.

Let us stop using culture as an excuse for flag-waving. Outside of Europe the world is not interested in the history of our countries. What is more likely to interest it are the great intellectual movements of our civilisations which we alluded to above : the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas (must he be made an "Italian" ?) ; Humanism (was Erasmus really Dutch ?) ; the Enlightenment (why separate Newton from Leibniz, Diderot and van Leeuwenhoek ?) ; and finally Romanticism (what is the point of labelling Byron, Lermontov and the other Byronites according to their respective nationalities ?). This national compartmentalisation narrows the image which people have of us, whether they be in Tokyo, Djakarta, Mexico or Ankara. Admittedly it cannot be denied that in some non-European countries there are some Europeans who are accepted into society more easily than others. Against all expectations, former colonies do maintain ties of language and culture with the mother country. This is all to the good if it makes contacts between nations any easier. However once this visiting card has been used, let the whole of European civilisation be introduced !

Finally, let us look still further afield. We are living at a time when a new epoch in world history is just dawning. This means we have at all costs to maintain a state of military peace ; it also means, however, that a rapprochement between our different civilisations not only becomes imperative, it also provides an opportunity for a fresh start. In the dialogue between the continents (which will be the subject of another study in this series) we do not

have the right to present ourselves as a heterogeneous group — not for tactical reasons, since here we are not talking in terms of “winning” or “losing”, but in order to make the maximum possible contribution to a nascent world civilisation. If we have a message to give, this is the only way to get it across.

XIV

Let us conclude our survey with one or two seemingly down-to-earth comments.

We have said that culture cannot survive exclusively on public support. However, this does not alter the fact that financial problems do arise regularly in this area. A poem can be written in isolation ; this is something which a good many comfortably-off people would quite happily accept. On the other hand when it comes to making a film or an architectural work — or even employing a team of academics on a research project — then material aid is vital.

The Tindemans report makes an interesting suggestion concerning this topic when it proposes creating a foundation that would be responsible for subsidising any cultural action that might lead to Europeans being brought closer together.

The idea of a foundation is the right solution, because it prevents official culture both from becoming bureaucratized and from becoming strangled by a shortage of material resources. A foundation can, in fact, have enough moral authority and financial muscle to sift through the different plans which are submitted to it, then to give an impetus to the ones which it feels deserve encouragement. It can also stimulate action in areas where it is needed but has not yet been taken. In short, it can have a catalytic effect in precisely the area that holds the key to European integration.

A foundation has more freedom of action than an official department, which is always tied by the slow pace of administration and by the need to protect its interests. Now, the environment which culture needs is not indifference or domestication ; as Jacques Rigaud has once more excellently put it : “In fact, just as the separation of powers was, for Montesquieu, the best guarantee of freedom, so a multiplicity of financial sources is, for culture, the key to an

autonomous and harmonious evolution" (p. 217) (European Cooperation Fund translation). Authority, generosity and independence – these virtues, insofar as they can be part of any institutional structure, are all present in a foundation. Then again, nothing could be more dangerous than a single European Foundation presided over by governments which were all anxious to fulfil their particular aspirations and whose decisions would always depend on their national or partisan preferences of the moment.

The solution, then, is to establish or regroup specialist foundations each of which will exercise authority in its own field and cooperate closely with the others. There will, of course, be a place in the structure for national and European governments, but the vast revolution in outlook which European intellectual integration demands will above all be the task of its citizens at both an individual and an organizational level. Their efforts, however, will get bogged down through makeshift measures, impotence, or fragmentation unless Europe has at its disposal intellectually qualified bodies with financial muscle and the power to initiate and control cultural activities.

Earlier in this study we mentioned the word "patronage", which in the past was either a private or an official function. It was the Pope, for instance, who enabled Michelangelo to work and the Doges who gave Bellini and Giorgione their artistic opportunities, while the gentlemen of Amsterdam paid in gold to have their portraits painted. In the century of Capitalism painters and sculptors fell into the hands of gallery owners who launched them on their careers only to pocket the profits from their success. At the present moment the major banks are leading the field in matters of contemporary art, while multinational companies have at their disposal a scientific apparatus that is often superior to that in the Universities. It is high time that we stopped leaving intellectual research and pictorial art in Europe today to those whose primary aim is either profit or prestige.

Culture urgently needs an intelligent "management" which cannot only follow up and encourage new initiatives, but also fuel and promote them. In a word, European cultural policy must have a financial "arm" – which must in turn be guided by a brain.

However let us not linger over images which might evoke some form of centralisation either at a national or a European level. Rather, those who have looked closely at the prospects for organized culture (for example, Finn Jor, who carried out a wide-ranging survey in the countries belonging to the Council

of Europe in preparation for the Oslo conference and published the results in a report called "A Demystification of Culture") come back repeatedly to the urgent need for territorial decentralisation. Even modern towns are already too big for an isolated cultural organization to be set up in them. Hence in Bologna especially, but also in the Scandinavian countries, the real work is not carried out by the European Commission's Directorate General X (in charge of information), nor by a Ministry (even one led by a Malraux-type figure), province or town hall ; it is carried out at grass-roots level, in accordance with the needs of a particular district, village, or age-group.

It is not enough, however, simply to endow one or even several Foundations ; we must still ask ourselves why the phenomenon of the foundation has undergone such a rapid growth in the intellectual and cultural life of the United States, in complete contrast to what has happened in our countries. The answer to this is not straightforward ; whereas Americans like making money and then giving it away, Europeans prefer to hang on to their accumulated wealth. (This, incidentally, is an attitude which goes against the teachings of the Gospel, but there it is). Then again, fiscal factors have to be reckoned with here. So it is a matter of some urgency that the member countries of the Community get together to decide what fiscal policy they intend to adopt towards patronage.

The fact remains, however, that in the United States the creation of a Foundation is often just a cover-up for a tax fraud. No doubt our Finance Ministers would be reluctant to go along this path ; still it is high time that Europeans faced up to the problem and asked themselves how they want their cultural works to be financed. Too often they think that to mention the word "money" in connection with culture is to compromise it, since it is by its very nature "ideal". This is simply lazy and niggardly romanticism — or more precisely it is a "bourgeois" notion in the worst sense of the word, that is, it considers culture to be a luxury which people can do without at a pinch. No doubt showering too much manna on cultural enthusiasts might lead them into the trap of facility ; and yet the poverty which has already been responsible for the failure of so many cultural initiatives is hardly conducive to success either.

We repeat : Europe is not an economy and not quite a political entity, it is a thousand-year-old culture. Any European action must start from a realisation of this fact. Our goal is to bring about a renaissance, not increasing affluence.

Our civilisation is being forced more and more to restrict the time it devotes to professional work, which is always subservient. European man will therefore

strive increasingly to escape from this subservience and the mechanisation of the economy will give him greater leisure opportunities. It is this which will lead him to look at himself as an instrument of culture. The uses to which leisure is put in a civilisation have always been one of the main tests of its worth ; neglecting this leisure means depriving the European idea of what should be its chief justification. No less than our collective soul is at stake. Any attempt at integration which ignored this impetus would meet with repeated failure.

XV

We do not delude ourselves by thinking that we have exhausted all the possibilities or even touched on all the aspects of the problem in this study ; however, at least two conclusions have emerged from it. Firstly, a Europe which allows its culture to go on declining does not deserve integration – and consequently will not be integrated. Next, a revitalisation of moral and cultural life cannot be achieved by means of public grants alone ; on the other hand it can never be attained unless the public bodies responsible take an active interest in it.

Europe is a land of forefathers where the descendants could well fall asleep on the soft bed of the consumer society. The Christian religion which has sustained us spiritually can and must make us hear its prophetic call. However for those who remain deaf to this voice, there is culture, which always has its origins in ethics.

What we have to do, finally, is rekindle the flame of our aspirations, amidst so many “jaded and dissatisfied” men and women. Why should we despair ? The present explosion of cultural activity creates fresh hopes, and has still to discover its transnational potential.

It is the language of a now revitalised culture that everyone can understand. This language is our last hope, and our final resort ; it is time that this was realised, and the consequences taken seriously.

TOPICAL PAPERS

Topical papers already published :

I.1	For a European Environmental Policy Pour une Politique Européenne de l'Environnement Für eine Europäische Umweltpolitik	Edgar FAURE
III.1	European Identity and our Future L'Identité Européenne et notre Avenir	Henri BRUGMANS
II.1	The Union of the Capitals of the European Community L'Union des Capitales de la Communauté Européenne	Jean TORDEUR
III.2	Europe a Guilty Conscience and the Media L'Europe, la Mauvaise Conscience et les Medias	Georges SUFFERT
I.2	The Demands of the Periphery Les Revendications de la Périphérie	Riccardo PETRELLA
IV.1	A New Social Action Programme for Europe Un Nouveau Programme d'Action Sociale pour l'Europe	Michael SHANKS
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I.4	Arms Control and Disarmament Contrôle des Armements et Désarmement	Frans ALTING von GEUSAU
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I.6	The Institutional Problems of the Community Les Problèmes Institutionnels de la Communauté	Robert LECOURT
II.2	The European Cultural Foundation Silver Jubilee 1954 - 1979 La Fondation Européenne de la Culture Jubilé d'Argent 1954 - 1979	Ynso SCHOLTEN
III.4	Towards a European Cultural Policy Pour une Politique Culturelle Européenne	Henri BRUGMANS

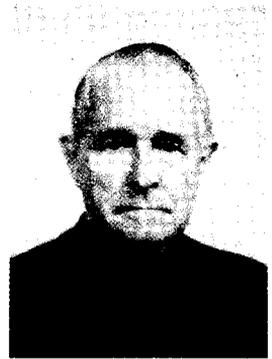
Topical papers to be published shortly :

Europe to the Grass Roots L'Europe Fondamentale	Lord BRIGGS
Control of Multinational Activities Comment contrôler les Activités des Multinationales	Christophe BAIL
The State of Strategic Planning and Decision Making in European Industry La Stratégie du Développement et la Prise de Décision dans l'Industrie Européenne	Bernard TAYLOR
Women and Europe L'Europe et les Femmes	Thérèse de SAINT-PHALLE

BIOGRAPHY

Henri BRUGMANS, a leading European figure, was born on 13 December 1906 in Amsterdam.

As Historian and "Docteur ès Lettres", he taught French literature in Arnhem, Terneuzen and Amsterdam. He was a member of the Dutch Parliament in 1940 and an active member of the Resistance. In the first Government following the war he was Director of Information and Political secretary of the Prime Minister.



Since 1946 Henri Brugmans has devoted himself to the European Federalist movement. He was President of the "Union Européenne des Fédéralistes", and from 1950 to 1972 was Rector of the College of Europe, Bruges.

Amongst his numerous publications can be mentioned : "L'Idée européenne, la Pensée politique du fédéralisme, l'Europe des nations, Visages de l'Europe, les Origines de la civilisation européenne, l'Europe prend le large...".

Henri Brugmans has been awarded the Charlemagne Prize among many other orders and decorations : Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, Officer of the Order of Orange Nassau, Commander of the Order of Léopold II, Grosses Verdienstkreuz des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland...

The European Cooperation Fund, created by the European Cultural Foundation, is a private international association with headquarters in Brussels. Its aim is to promote activities which could help towards greater understanding among the European people — scientific debates, meetings between the different socio-professional categories, university exchanges, cultural and information activities.

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Its programme comprises:

- The yearly publication of the "State of the European Union" report, which includes an appraisal of the past year and suggestions for the year to come. Each report will emphasize two or three problems of particular interest.
- The publication of topical papers which deal with specific problems, and which are destined for a limited public of specialists, e.g. academics, journalists, civil servants and politicians.
- The organisation of an annual conference attended by between 15 and 20 leading Europeans from different backgrounds in politics, industry, Trade unions, science and culture. It will enable the participants to exchange views on the situations and future of Europe.

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The Fund will devote itself to:

- **The Protection of Individual rights:** the rights and protection of minority groups, fundamental rights, consumer protection.
- **Environment:** powers and competence of parliaments, relation between energy and environment.
- **Education:** improvements in language teaching setting up of university consortia with either specific or general objectives.
- **The influence of a United Europe on the rest of the world:** Solidarity between different continents and a "dialogue of cultures" etc...

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