

# EUROPE REGAINED

Francis Doré

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# **EUROPE REGAINED**

**Francis Doré**

Professor of Law

**EUROPEAN COOPERATION FUND**

## BIOGRAPHY

After having completed his studies in Political Science and Law with notable success, Francis Doré won the Goullencourt Prize of the Faculty of Law and Economics in Paris in 1962. During the same year at the age of 29, he also obtained his "agrégation" in law. His research work on Asia later took him to Cambodia where he was appointed Professor in the Faculty of Law at Phnom-Penh and was soon after appointed legal adviser to the Royal Government by Prince Sihanouk. In 1965 he became cultural and scientific adviser, attached to the French Embassy in India, and to this new mission Francis Doré devoted all his energies until 1974, his efforts being rewarded by an unprecedented improvement in Franco-Indian relations. During this period he became acutely conscious of how the potential blossoming of European Culture was being hampered by the sterile



commercial competition between nations and the resulting low flow of ideas across frontiers. These nations, he believes, should rather seek to achieve their potential through complementary cooperation in European development.

During his research on the subject of Asia, and more particularly on India, which led to his being elected to the Asian Society in 1977, Francis Doré became progressively committed to the "building" of Europe, a task which he believes to be of over-riding importance. In 1974 President Edgar Faure appointed him to his private secretariat giving him responsibility in precisely such aspects of European affairs. Francis Doré has since, therefore, been involved in those actions taken by the President of the French National Assembly in this area.

He is an active member of the European Movement and accepted the position of adviser on European and Foreign affairs to the "Fédération Nationale des Républicains Indépendants" and later to the "Parti Républicain" which he represents on the executive of the "Fédération des Partis Libéraux et Démocratiques de la Communauté Européenne". He was finally coopted onto the executive of the French section of the Council of European Communes, whose President, Gaston Defferre, requested that Francis Doré participate in its work.

In a much discussed article which appeared in "Le Monde" of 8.1.1977, Francis Doré stated that his wish was to witness: "the advent of a truly cultural society which, because of its authentic diversity of creative expression and commitment by each individual, can be said to be the exact opposite of the consumer society. Such a cultural society developed by man, and making the best use of time through technological advance would avoid the sudden discovery of being unable to cope with the life he had created for himself". Those who believe that they have lost their spirit of adventure in fact retain a deep longing for it. Does not the concept of a cultural Europe, as envisaged by Francis Doré, offer a privileged opportunity to regain such a spirit of adventure?

# EUROPE REGAINED

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*Foules du train et du théâtre,  
Du café et du music-hall ;  
Foule de Hyde-Park en Mai ;  
Foule du Lido en Septembre ;  
Foules du port et du navire ;  
Foules de l'Europe vivante ;  
Foules contraires à la mort !  
Je vous répète qu'il est temps.*

*"EUROPE"  
Jules ROMAINS, 1914*

## PREFACE

The building of Europe began with what was without any doubt the hardest tasks to accomplish : the lowering of tariff barriers, eliminating distortions in the conditions of competition between economies with fundamentally different structures, setting up a common agricultural policy and initiating real political cooperation between the states that make up Europe of the Nine. Paradoxically, no institutional initiatives have been directed at what, given our continent's past, seemed the most natural direction to follow - cultural collaboration - even if Europe's Founding Fathers had clearly not lost sight of the importance of what was at stake.

What explanation can be given for this timidity ? It is out of respect for the diversity of national and even regional cultures or because Europe, conscious of a certain decline in its standing in the world at the time, suffered from complexes as a result and did not wish to appear as a cradle of cultural imperialism. Both these answers undoubtedly go some way to answering the question.

But whatever the legitimate reasons which contributed to the adoption of such an attitude, this behaviour is too prudent and has largely contributed to dashing the enthusiasm that the young had put into the European idea from the beginning of the 1950s. Europe, the expression of a shared ideal, was replaced by a Europe of technocrats and shopkeepers. Admittedly, this is not incompatible with an intelligent and creative Europe since shopkeepers have more than once in history helped to spread ideas and forms. But it is now essential that we act so that it is no longer possible to say in such a peremptory and inexact manner "L'Europe, c'est fini". (\*)

(\*) Title of a work by José Fralon, 1975.

Culture is above all cooperation and interchange. The artist and the creator need the public's cooperation if their work is to exist. They also need contact with other artists whether they belong to the same discipline or else come from a completely different background. Once it is no longer threatened by immediate dangers, a civilisation has everything to gain from a constructive confrontation with other forms of cultural expression. In this respect European culture, by the very nature of the diverse streams from which it draws its inspiration - the Graeco-Roman heritage, the Judaic-Christian tradition and the humanist intellect - and by its ability to adapt as has been shown on many occasions throughout its history is especially well placed to draw new vitality from this new experience. But to achieve this it is first of all essential that all obstacles to communication between Europeans be cleared away. Next, should be established a network of crossfrontier cultural activity. Finally, we should seek to give our continent a renewed image within the world community.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### OBSTACLES TO BE OVERCOME

In today's Europe there are still numerous linguistic and psychological barriers, which stand in the way of any free confrontation between national and regional cultures and lead a number of Europeans to cling to reasoning familiar features. Cultural protectionism, however, is as harmful as economic protectionism. It postpones the inevitable moment when choices have to be made and it gives a false feeling of superiority which cannot resist for long any opening up of frontiers, no matter how fortuitous. Now, the development of modern audio-visual methods, especially communication by satellite, makes this possibility inescapable. We must therefore prepare for it.

The first of these barriers is of course language and yet there are numerous examples of states or confederations within which multilingualism has managed to reach workable compromises. The problem becomes even less difficult to solve when it is a question of ensuring a minimal level of comprehension which does not necessarily assume the ability to communicate in all the areas of intellectual activity. Highly specialised intercourse can be handled through translation or interpretation, whereas elementary daily contact between people supposes an unshakeable element of spontaneity.

But language teaching as it is conceived in several Community countries is still based on pedagogical concepts belonging to a cultural environment that is long since outmoded. Treated as autonomous disciplines with relatively marginal waiting, modern languages are studied without any reference to the contents of the civilisations of which they are the vehicle. Ancillary disciplines, they do not play a particularly active part in the training of pupils or students. The fact of being bi or trilingual is often considered a bonus linked to a special family situation where the parents are of different nationalities, or to a privileged social status which enables the person to pursue his studies in several countries more often than not at great expense. As such, certain teachers look at the phenomenon warily and pursue a path of levelling cultural achievements, but their attitude is only very remotely akin to the principle of equality of opportunity.

Experience has shown that the learning of a second or third modern language when its objective is to widen the cultural horizon of the student and not to achieve any specialisation, assumes two abilities - the capacity to read while grasping the overall thrust of a text and to speak. The fact that one can master the techniques of written expression is at this stage of learning of only marginal importance. This therefore allows a great deal of time to be saved without any detrimental effect on the recipient of this education. Nevertheless, applying this method involves a wide confrontation of teaching methods and demands a more developed sense of dialogue on the part of education.

In a more ambitious and yet not utopian perspective, it will become desirable, with in the context of teacher exchanges, to allow foreign masters to give courses in their own language in any literary or scientific subject whatsoever. For example, it would be interesting to see a German teacher in France teach music or maths in German to pupils whose first foreign language is German.

A renovation in language teaching cannot be considered an end in itself, but it is a practical preliminary to cooperation, which carried out now on a purely bilateral basis must become multilateral to a very large extent. This objective can only be achieved if the parties facing one another have the almost instantaneous ability to pursue a debate begun in one language, in one of the other languages of the speakers involved.

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In fact the second, but not the least obstacle lies in the feeling that the majority of those in charge of culture have in the superiority of contacts between states to the detriment of a truly Community approach. It is true that generally the delay necessary to set up a given activity is shorter when there is only one partner. In addition, the notion of privileged relationships is always attractive and takes on special value when it illustrates a long-awaited reconciliation. In this respect the contacts between West Germany and France since 1963 show both the concrete results that can be achieved through deep bilateral cooperation, and at the same time the difficulty that appears sometimes in finding one's second wind.

This is why a cultural project for Europe cannot be limited to grouping together and coordinating existing initiatives, but must on the contrary be used to encourage a change of vision and scale. It is only at this price that we will manage to throw off the shackles of accepted ideas and stereotypes which assign to each race in Europe one image and one vocation. Besides, real multilateral cooperation will make it possible to find an elegant solution to one of the most topical problems in the Community : the expression of regional traditions and creativity.

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The final obstacle and one which we would most easily tend to neglect is the temptation to want to do too much for the best of motives and to take European cultural life as a sort of lowest common denominator. Yet Europe is not a melting pot where all kinds of creative spirits have to come and merge together. In culture as in many other fields, the simplest word of command "integration" has no place. Culture is a permanent creative dialectic which uses contradictions to advance. It can therefore borrow from what has been acquired in very diverse fields, even if some of them have not been sufficiently studied or utilised. It is especially necessary to make access possible to the major literary texts, which are an implicit part of the foundations of our cultural heritage, but whose religious or ideological content gives rise to reactions of defiance on the part of those that do not share the convictions and the message they spread. Thus, seen from their purely lay angle - which does not prevent believers from exalting their sacred dimension - the bible, the great texts from Judaism, Saint Thomas of Aquinas and *Das Kapital*, could once again become objects of study and admiration for Europeans, whereas now they are often only considered as opportunities for controversy. This step with the agnostic Brunshwvic studying Pascal, and Renan exploring the life of Jesus does not lack grandeur and would contribute to widening everyone's intellectual horizons.

The living community of Europe is a sum of good and bad memories in which one can see mingling signs of obscurantism and the creative work of the human spirit. Even periods of misery, separation and war have left accounts which now belong to universal feeling : the *Marseillaise*, Goya's etchings of 1808 and the *Diary of Anne Frank*.

It would be utopian to wish to teach young Europeans one history, a synthesis deprived of its body, which would fail to recognise the slow progress that has led to the creation of the national and regional entities in which we live today and which are characterised by the special features of their past. But on the other hand, it would be interesting to set up a study group of researchers and students from European countries in order to carry out a critical comparison of the often very different ways with which the same themes are dealt and, should the occasion arise, draw conclusions putting to the test teaching methods which are more open to the world. As a sign of encouragement, the committee could award a certificate to a work, which while it cannot be expected to be completely objective, which remains a very difficult ideal to obtain, would bear witness to the fact that such or such a work has succeeded in taking stock of the European historical environment and does not skirt over an important part of our joint adventure. For it is silence and not what is said that reveals prejudices and particular characteristics.

Next to these psychological or historical obstacles which we can hope to overcome with patience and determination, what weighs much heavier on our continent's destiny is the fact that it is divided into two in the name of two contradictory conceptions of human progress. The frontier against nature erected between countries which were formerly in constant contact prevents the free movement of creators and works. Central Europe where there used to be such a special atmosphere is missing in today's Europe.

And yet, over and above the political obstacles, it is essential that the Community of the Nine and other European countries living under a democratic liberal regime are able to maintain a sufficient level of intercourse with the rest of the continent if we do not wish to see one of the springs of our cultural vitality run dry.

At the moment, only marginal exchanges exist, at the official non-institutionalised level and with emphasis on strict reciprocity. This means that access is not too difficult to the classic works of art in the Hermitage, Warsaw's national museum or the Dresden museum which, for example, was able in 1972 to organise a fine exhibition on the theme of "Landscape painters in Europe from 1150 to 1650". It allows for exchange of opera and ballet troupes, but as soon as one interferes in more modern forms of art which are capable of calling into question dogmas or though habits, the barriers come down. In this respect it is revealing to see art galleries in Western Germany propose to the Soviet government that they buy back at very high prices the cubist canvases or abstract Russian paintings of the 1920s which remain dormant in the cellars of museums and which one knows very well will not be exhibited in the Soviet Union for ideological reasons.

All contacts however are not broken off and in countries like Bulgaria and Roumania for example 60 % of the pupils study French. But to this knowledge learnt purely from books are hardly ever added meetings between people.

Although one cannot unfortunately claim to reach the same degree of cooperation with the countries of Eastern Europe as with our nearer partners, notable progress can nevertheless be accomplished without interfering with the principle of the mutual respect for selective social systems. The cause of human rights will not triumph through a political process or through military success or favourable economic strength, but, as at the end of the 18th century, through the strength of ideas and meetings between men within a common goal of cultural fulfilment.

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One would be wrong to play down obstacles. But it would be even more serious to believe them to be definitely insuperable. Too often in history the "realists" have let opportunities slip by believing that the hour had not yet come. A great deal of time has been lost, in spite of so many good intentions and in spite of numerous positive experiences. European activity has remained something secondary and everyone has become used to this. It is time to put an end to a Europe of resignation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### TO PROMOTE A COMMON HERITAGE

All the peoples of Europe share an affection for their own cultural heritage. Whether it be countries overflowing with centuries of continuous artistic creation like France or Italy which do not know how to protect an artistic capital that is almost superabundant, or nations which lovingly preserve the few vestiges of a past multiluted by the destruction of wars and the fates of history, the preoccupation is the same : our century, through eclecticism, but even more so through a confused feeling of the fragility of human works, seeks to decipher and to record the message of previous centuries. Germany and France, to quote merely two examples, have undertaken an unprecedented effort by using the techniques of our time, and in particular the possibilities offered by computers, to successfully compile within the space of a few decades an exhaustive inventory of their riches. These parallel ventures will only have a European significance if efforts are made now to adopt compatible classification and utilisation procedures that will permit in time the operation of a data bank.

It is also the duty of those countries that have first embarked on these ventures to supply those that follow, often with more reduced means, the necessary technical assistance for the training of researchers, analysis techniques and a methodology to record the results.

This is why one of the cornerstones of a European cultural project ought to be the establishment of an intergovernmental heritage committee which, liaising with Community authorities and UNESCO would have the task of defining the job description for overall activity and of then evaluating them.

One of the advantages of this procedure would be to supply Member States with more objective elements to rationalise their own budgetary choices and priorities. France with its 40,000 châteaux, many of which are falling into ruins, and Italy with its huge treasures in the area of the plastic arts will thus be better able to orientate their resources which by the nature of things are far too limited, towards what is essential and in danger of disappearing. Countries like Great Britain where private collections still represent an important part of national riches, will thus be able to help those owners overwhelmed by fiscal constraints and the costs of upkeep so that they will not have to break up their collections.

The Community has become conscious of the need to have some way of intervening in the cultural field that will be both flexible and effective. A structure based on the concept of a foundation seems in fact to be the most suitably adapted to the goals we are striving for and to the constraints which have been mentioned. Moreover, it can be arranged in such a way that states are not the only actors to have access to European authorities in this area, but that private patrons - individuals and companies - can also participate in the joint effort under satisfactory conditions. This will only succeed if the Member States allow the private funds collected in this way to have a tax rating as favourable as those accorded to specifically national institutions with a similar vocation. In France that would undoubtedly mean an alignment with the conditions that are applicable to the Fondation de France.

A travelling exhibition on the Great Moments of European Civilisation could help to make public opinion aware of this initiative and could later serve as a way of spreading our contacts with the rest of the world. But very soon after, such activity ought to be backed up by operations aimed at reaching the specialised public. An example would be the theme "Medicine in Europe - Tradition and Research". For in fact our shared cultural inheritance stems not only from the possession of an extraordinary literary and artistic past, but is also linked to a scientific and technological tradition which is perhaps its clearest distinctive characteristic and has even added to its Universal renown.

But of all the cultural activities that are capable of giving rise to European developments, two, music and architecture, by their very nature seem to provide privileged ground for Community achievements. Both are international languages that are directly accessible, both correspond to the needs of daily life, and both express all the diversity and glory of European history.

Already in the past, frontiers did not prevent powerful currents from spreading forms and works with astonishing speed bearing in mind the difficulties of communication. When the Carbone brothers left Rome, apostles of the Counter Reformation, who would have thought that in the space of a few years, the baroque aesthetic would, after Prague, Vienna and then Munich, would have penetrated the remotest village in central Europe and that it would still be found here and there like weakened echoes even in the early years of the 19th century, the neo-classical heyday.

Yet architectural achievement rarely finds its real place acknowledged in the implicit hierarchy of intellectual works, although it is rightly an interdisciplinary and political art, and as such fascinating for our contemporaries. It still commands a very minor place in teaching programmes and has hardly any coverage on television, which could, however, be an excellent medium for increasing people's awareness of it.

In the same way, the public which does not lack generosity when one knows how to tap it, will thus have more concrete factors on which to base its choice from between the different causes which often with a great deal of eloquence it is called on to support. There is, of course, no question of asking a computer whether it is more pressing to save Venice from

sinking, or to preserve the Acropolis, or to restore the railings in Place Stanislas. It is to a large extent a question of feeling, but it ought to be possible to compare the costs of alternative operations which are equally feasible and desirable.

Another element which should not be discounted is that this will make possible stricter control over the use of funds earmarked for the defence of our heritage - a topic which in certain cases has raised such controversies that they cool somewhat the enthusiasm of public opinion and therefore potential donors.

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But this notion of heritage should not be taken in its traditional, or even dépassé, sense. Our artistic capital is growing every day, but it can also diminish. Hundreds of canvases are coming to life in the studios of contemporary artists, while at the same time the waters of the Arno are imprinting their indelible marks on the Cimabue Christ. The reply to the question whether it is possible to make a balance sheet between the works of man and the ravages of time must come from the philosopher : it brings to light the real nature of the force which pushes the artist to create : obsession with death.

This is why monuments in particular, in order to see their perpetuity guaranteed, ought to rediscover a new functional vocation, become places of stimulus and be opened to the public. Projects such as the Châteaux d'Auvergne Year, the Année Romane in Poitou-Charentes can be extended to the European level, thus enabling the tourist and the art lover to leave the beaten track. It would give a living idea of the diversity of Europe's regions and illustrate a certain number of deeper constants which bring us together.

Defence of heritage also involves easier access to heritage. Admittedly at first sight, these two imperatives can appear contradictory and it is true that in an age of violence and danger, protective measures are sometimes necessary which appear dissuasive or restrictive. Ideally, everyone ought to be able to consult the treasures of our libraries without any formalities. Yet, we know very well that that could cause serious damage, without even considering a new form of terrorism : blackmail via works of art. In order to reconcile the demands, remarkable solutions have been tried out, as at the public information library in the Georges Pompidou Centre, and the crowds which throng there every day are sufficient evidence of its success.

At a more general level, European cultural cooperation assumes a common system of identifying works of art and harmonising the legislation applied in Member States as far as the theft or receipt of these works is concerned.

On another tack and to avoid another kind of threat to our heritage's integrity, it would be convenient to bring closer together the measures protecting intellectual works in the different Community countries, especially in the field of artistic property and author's rights, without disregarding, on the other hand, the rights of the public. To this end it would be desirable to see the provisions for conventions prepared in this area quickly ratified.

Finally, exchanges between the technical departments in charge of ensuring the material preservation of works of art must be developed, in order to better protect them from the ravages of time, pollution or vandalism. Numerous laboratories are currently undertaking remarkable research, but the custodians of the works that need to be protected are not always systematically informed of the possibilities opened up to them by technological progress. Consequently out of ignorance objects or monuments of great interest disappear or reach an irreparable state of dilapidation. Here again, a pooling of means and the resulting change of scale is undoubtedly the only way to bring to a successful conclusion the efforts which are at present condemned to be carried out on a small scale due to the fact that national public authorities can grant them only modest help.

This concern with protecting and gaining a knowledge of our heritage might also lead us to consider the partial transfer to the European level of formulae such as the legal deposit of published works so as to build up a documentary fund of common interest. In the same way it would be advisable to facilitate the interconnection of library information systems so that researchers could have a quick indication of the works available in public libraries and publishers, and not have to travel unwittingly.

Thought on ways of preserving works of the cinema also seems to be necessary, while at the same time, of course, respecting the rights of authors and producers.

This technical, legal and financial cooperation is within our reach. But it will only achieve its full worth if schools, the press and television have first of all made the general public aware.



## CHAPTER THREE

### TELEVISION IN THE SERVICE OF EUROPE

The daily reality of Europe is not really felt as such because it is seen through the distorting glasses of foreign policy. It is not present in our homes since the most powerful form of medium in this respect - television - gives it very little coverage with the exception from time to time of sports programmes and - something not to be scoffed at - "It's a Knockout". This sporadic cooperation should gradually give way to coordinated programming which would allow the various people in charge of television channels in the Community countries and states which wish to participate to coordinate their efforts on a more long term basis.

Being concerned with mutually improved information, the TSE project (television in the service of Europe) would first of all present for a week at the Pompidou Centre television programmes from the nine EEC countries and from other European states such as Spain, Portugal and Greece.

This presentation would be done in the framework of two sections : one national, the other regional. Each participating country should make available the necessary space and time for a minimum of six hours viewing per day for seven days.

A very wide public ought to be able to attend the broadcasts. Nevertheless, it would be sensible to select two groups of spectators : the first being teachers and the second young people between the ages of fourteen and nineteen. The teacher's group can be justified by the crucial role they must play in stimulating awareness in the European Community, in the widest meaning of the word, and the young people, by the fact that the age gap suggested corresponds almost exactly to the most complete and most sensitive listening group. It would be desirable also to have audience meetings and debates and possibly conduct an opinion poll among the two groups.

In parallel to the televised debates, there should be organised two round tables over two days which would gather together television and programme directors : each of these round tables would include on its agenda two levels of discussions, one national, the other regional.

The participants should then meet on the third day in order to discuss their proposals and to arrive as far as possible at a draft for some kind of joint TSE activity. It is understood that the basic aim of this project should be to contribute to a better knowledge of national cultures and societies,

- by presenting the state of play of existing cooperation ;
- by jointly producing television programmes on themes of European politics, economics, society, culture and tourism ;
- by producing specific programmes aimed at European countries outside the EEC, while bearing in mind the sensitivity of our future partners ;
- by increased cooperation between border television channels ;
- by proposals on receiving and transmitting these programmes ;
- by examining a project to create a European television channel independent of countries.

The greatest publicity should be given to European television week by the written and oral press and by broadcasting the programmes on each participant's national television for one hour per day, which would be decided by those in charge. The issues and conclusions of the round tables should also be made known to the general public as a way of creating pressure on EEC governments.

Democracy is both the respect and the perception of others and in this respect the "europeanisation" of television will be an irreplaceable and positive element in the building of the Community.

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In the same way, televised cooperation between European countries must be able to contribute to creating European awareness which goes beyond traditional political divides that are to be found at the national level, for problems of joint interest. This is why it is necessary to give the different political families the impression that it would be of considerable interest to them to start up a European political debate.

As a first step, direct elections to the European Parliament should be an opportunity for debate on :

- the electoral campaign in the different countries ;
- the vote ;
- the results and national commentaries.

Later on, the most important debates in the European Parliament should be broadcast throughout Europe. Looking at it from a wider angle, television, like the directly elected Parliament, ought to be the means of democratising the Community by focusing on and broadcasting the most important debates in the main Community bodies (Commission, Council of Ministers and Assembly) and by stating the main European problems in concrete terms.

Television programmes open an extremely diverse range of possible activity and provide tremendous production flexibility. On January 23, 1978, French Channel One, at the end of the evening's listening started to broadcast a news programme in French aimed at the British public, as part of our efforts at maintaining our linguistic and cultural presence. What can be achieved bilaterally can without any difficulty be extended multilaterally. To see common activities presented by news readers from different backgrounds can contribute to broadening considerably the perspectives offered to the European public and enable it to decide more accurately the relative importance of the events it is shown.

This attempt to increase public awareness can easily extend beyond information and the usual jointly produced programmes and be used for children's broadcasts. At this level, language difficulties are less acute and it is possible to create a sort of complexity and the habit of living together which prevents European youth from looking at each other as strange, different beings, although they share the same pastimes and the same aspirations.

At a time when Producers are racking their brains to up-date programmes which are the object of endless discussions, the addition of a European discussion is by its very nature able to ease their task and to reawaken the interest of the public.

The development of European cooperation in television coincides with a certain amount of technical progress which provides greater flexibility in the distribution and choice of programmes. This is an opportunity we should not let slip and which, moreover, is present in all audio-visual areas. A French/German audio-visual office is shortly to see the light of day and this is an excellent initiative. It would be good to use it as a way of gaining preliminary experience before extending it further to other Community countries. Paradoxically, new technologies open the way to wide-ranging decentralisation as well as to the use of certain methods on a continental scale, with all the consequences that can have on our daily lives.

On February 1, 1978, thanks to the Franco-German satellite "SYMPHONIE", television viewers throughout Europe were able to watch live a simultaneously interpreted conversation between the President of the German Federal Republic, the Shah of Iran and the President of French Republic. This first example, which is mainly of symbolic significance, gives us a glimpse of what can be expected from further cooperation in this field of the future.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CASE FOR A DYNAMIC EUROPEAN CULTURAL POLICY

Before talking about a dynamic cultural policy on a Europe-wide scale we must first ask two questions : is there in fact a European public, and what sort of activity would appear to be the priority in any Community approach ? It is not enough simply to establish contacts aimed solely at sharing experiences, we should try and benefit from them in order to explore new directions or to make possible the full development of art forms which are restricted or hindered by the limitations of certain national systems.

One would expect the major cultural institutions of Europe to keep in close touch with one another. More often than not, however, this is not the case. It is significant, for example, that two of the largest museums in the world, the National Gallery in London and the Louvre, have so far not arranged regular contacts between their staff, and that research of enormous interest is being carried out in both places without giving rise to any pooling of resources. The results of this work subsequently appear in complete form in specialised journals or catalogues.

Similarly those in charge of the great European opera houses, all of which encounter serious administrative difficulties despite the renewed popularity opera is currently experiencing, have not yet agreed on lasting types of co-operation.

On this subject it is, of course, worth noting that international co-operation should not weaken the competitive spirit which is so important in raising the average standard of productions. Concern for national prestige or a town's reputation - even if it does not derive from purely disinterested motives - has a positive effect in that it stimulates the programme organisers to surpass themselves. France is rightly proud of its festival in Cannes or in Aix, Austria has its Salzburg, Germany Bayreuth, Belgium its Rubens Year.... The list is endless and it is obvious that none of these countries would want to be deprived of such

chances to shine in the eyes of the public. European initiatives must not therefore be used to restrict this abundance of creativity, but should seek to broaden the audiences and to enable the existing cultural institutions to take better advantage of the opportunities provided by the current situation.

The Europe of tomorrow will have the towns it really deserves. The remarkable quality of the urban environment in the classical era has been thrown into question by unbridled urbanisation, excessive size, and all kinds of other detrimental effects.

It is up to our generation to prevent this evolution from ending in the decay of the inner-cities, victims of their own inherent contradictions, as has all too often been the case in North America. It is also our task to reconcile urban man with Nature by restoring a certain harmony between the populated areas and the natural environment at a time when these two worlds are becoming more and more alienated. Comparisons of experiences - both successes and failures - will play a decisive role in achieving this. It is not a question of working out transposable models: we have seen the difficulties encountered by the French new town authorities when they tried, with the best of intentions, to introduce into a new setting the British-style new towns which had proved such a success in the U.K. But if architecture and town planning are to take into account the local environment and traditions, the exchange of men and ideas is an agent for renovation and enrichment. When, in 1752, the Frenchman Cuvillès built the Residenztheater in Munich he built a German baroque theatre. It would have been out of place had he not done so. But he incorporated into this building, as if "between the lines", some of the purity of French Enlightenment art.

The free movement of professional people as provided for in the Treaty of Rome and subsequently put into general practice, is not sufficient to achieve these necessary fruitful encounters. It also requires greater opportunities for periods of practical training in the different Member States, which in turn requires greater public awareness through the use of the modern communications media.

In the field of musical co-operation we possess a trump card which hardly exists for any other art form - namely the potential for simultaneous appreciation in more than one country. A concert can already be transmitted to an audience regardless of national frontiers thanks to radio and television. But the same applies to a football match and in both cases the public remains passive - this is in the nature of a monologue. But now, thanks to the musical application of computers, an original work can be created and performed in different places at the same time. The actual act of composition can become a collective affair and lead to a dialogue in space. The extraordinary experiments carried out by the IRCAM in Paris have opened the way to what used to be, and is no longer, pure science fiction.

Outside these growth areas in which Europe can show the full extent of her genius resulting from the exceptional quality of her technological potential, common cultural dynamism can assume a more familiar and less disturbing guise. In fact the Europe of artists and culture is

already with us. Exchanges of exhibitions on certain topics which borrow material from the cultural heritage of several countries and "run" for several years in the capitals and major cities of Europe have done a great deal to create this impression. Such a formula has numerous advantages: the opportunity to view works which one would otherwise never have the chance to see and which make one want to visit the museum from which they come; and the publication of a catalogue compiled by international experts from different academic fields which then becomes an authoritative work. In addition, from a symbolic point of view it enables the national museum of a small country, a provincial museum or a private collector to exhibit a certain work on an equal footing alongside works from the world's most famous collections.

The future does not belong so much to spectacular loans such as the moving of the Mona Lisa or Michelangelo's Pieta - which would in any case be too dangerous - but rather to these systematic exchanges focusing on an artist, an idea, a movement or an era. It is in this way that neo-classical painting was rediscovered.

This could also, incidentally, be a clever way of giving the public access to the museums' reserve collections which, instead of being kept in cellars that are (more or less) air-conditioned, could thereby be rescued from oblivion and brought back into circulation.

Experiments carried out over the last ten years have been very conclusive. It is not so much a question of innovating but of widening the range of such activities and of improving information about them, particularly in the world of education by using audio-visual techniques. The records of the Louvre's department of paintings would be highly suited to such projects: relevant photographic material could simply be lent out and there would be no need to remove any of the works.

The idea of cultural impetus in the future involves also a new concept of training for those in charge whether they be professionals or philanthropists. We are increasingly feeling the need for the development of training periods abroad or in specialised areas. At a purely bi-lateral level the Franco-German youth office has made a considerable effort in this direction. After several years of its operation there are grounds for drawing certain conclusions and for trying to transpose this model onto the level of Europe of the Nine. The administration might well be more complicated but technically there is nothing to prevent us considering the establishment of a Fund for training schemes which would issue a bulletin in all the Community languages to be distributed in the municipalities, cultural centres or equivalent institutions.

It is all the more necessary and urgent to reintroduce young people to the affairs of European cultural co-operation in view of the fact that they are often more attracted to more exotic cultures, hence sometimes underestimating the value of our own civilisation. And yet it is they that will be responsible for ensuring the survival of this very civilisation.

On the other hand if one really wants to achieve this the types of culture proposed must actually take into account young people's aspirations. Cultural phenomena such as The Beatles or the cartoon strip cannot be classified in any traditional categories and have exercised an influence going beyond national frontiers. Every decade brings its innovations, challenges but also solutions.

The creation of really European cultural activity does not depend solely on the good will of governments and specialised institutions. It rests on public confidence and co-ordination of spontaneous initiatives without formal guidelines. We will have taken a great step forward on the day when an association of friends of the museums of Europe can offer its members privileged conditions of entry and information in all Community countries equal to anything done on a purely national level. One could also imagine the introduction of arrangements for season-tickets (reduced prices, reservations....) for the same types of cultural facilities (opera, exhibitions of modern art), with some of the money raised being redistributed among the institutions taking part in the scheme, and some set aside for a European fund. This would simply be sanctioning a move towards internationalising culture which is already, in many ways a *fait accompli* : to appreciate this one only has to look at the proportion of foreigners in the Louvre or the Paris Opera, even though the financial equilibrium of these two establishments still basically depends on French taxpayers' money.

It is highly likely that the need for a democratisation of culture will coincide with the search for a European dimension.

Finally, since we also set great store by symbols, an effort should be made in the area of prizes and incentives. Numerous young people would like to contribute to the promotion of the European idea but are given few opportunities to show their faith in the ideal and to share in our common destiny. Of course certain European prizes do exist, such as the Adolphe Bentinck Prize created in memory of the late Dutch ambassador to Paris, the Charlemagne Prize or the Joseph Bech Prize. These examples should be followed and extended to other fields of activity, particularly those not "covered" by a Nobel Prize. For it is precisely this degree of notoriety that must be achieved if we want public opinion in Europe and the rest of the world to pay any real attention.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### EUROPE'S CULTURAL AURA

European civilisation, which rests on universalist philosophical and religious bases, has never completely lost, even in the darkest centuries of its history, a kind of internal strength which has pushed it forward to seek contact with other civilisations and, when it had the means, to try and stamp its mark on them. Whereas the main concern of certain cultures based in other continents was to maintain their own special features, even at the cost of a deterioration in their material power or of considerable loss of human life, Europe of the Crusades, the great discoveries and colonisation has always felt the call of the wide, open and unknown spaces. This onward march crushed different cultures, no matter how respectable, in the name of Progress and Salvation, of "Manifest Destiny" and of a mission which Providence has given it and which it strives to carry out to the best of its ability as often as not in good faith.

We are used to explaining this prodigious expansion of European culture by putting to the forefront the continent's capacity to master developed techniques and its organising genius. But material power does not take any account of the extent of the phenomenon nor, in particular, of its duration. It would be childish to reason in terms of superiority, since our age is aware of the relativity of any hierarchy of cultural facts. As a matter of fact, we would have to talk of an extremely extrovert culture that finds new vitality in dialogues with other civilisations.

These particular characteristics still exist despite the political and military decline of our continent. At the very most certain minds have thought it was henceforth better to show humility above all, which in their view is the only way to turn aside the still deeply rooted temptation of imperialism. From this there has developed a sort of guilt complex, which starting from salutary soul searching leads on to negative effects and to an immobilising and sterile loss of confidence. But this view is by no means strongly supported and the intellectual seething of Europe's great cities still seeks outlets as much as it ever did in the past, to express itself, at a time when the people of the Third World, trying to escape the supremacy of the superpowers, irrespective of their ideological commitments are concerned about varying their cultural links.



As we seek to diversify our sources of supply of energy and raw materials so new trade needs appear that we can help to satisfy. But experience over the last fifteen years shows that the attempts carried out by one country on its own very soon reach their limit. When General de Gaulle went to Latin America in 1963 great hopes were placed in the cultural side-effects of this historic journey. Yet the real effects in these countries, which in many ways are close to us have been very disappointing. It should also be noted from an objective point of view that the means used have not always matched up to the level of the initial ambitions and that a spreading of efforts - often linked to the activity of one person - did not make it possible to exploit the wealth of sympathy from which Europe could have benefitted.

Yet if it is true that confrontation with other cultural models is a stimulus to being, then there is a challenge to be accepted. Although we do not have one universal formula to give the world, the fact that the countries of Europe are among the few nations to live in a real democratic climate gives an extra dimension to our "joint cultural policy".

In fact, this tradition of respecting an individual's personality and his inalienable rights can be transposed to the collective level and it is incumbent on us to carry out our cultural activity with respect for identity of our partners. Our message can only be heard if we know how to listen to others. If instead of the take it or leave it of the existing series of monolithic national cultures, we know how to present a synthesis of our hopes with all their diverse elements, then a certain number of prejudices which were an obstacle to the flourishing of European culture will disappear. But only a Community approach can satisfy our partners' expectancy.

Up till now, great efforts have been made, but always in a dissipated fashion and sometimes for defensive reasons, i.e. to preserve one's position to the detriment of the influence of another European country. Although this kind of competition is not exclusively harmful, it would still lead to repetition and wastage which can be ill afforded at a time when growth is no longer sufficient to absorb these excesses. It is of course necessary for the Goethe Institut, the Alliance Française, the British Council or the Dante Alighieri to continue to carry out their invaluable task creating an awareness of their language and literature and the special affinities that bind certain sections of one country's elite with certain foreign cultural traditions.

But, it is those areas, especially of mass activity aimed at the general public, where the principle of joint representation comes into its own. How significant and encouraging it would be to see the associations and bodies referred to above, living together in the Maisons de l'Europe, which in many countries would in fact be the only way of ensuring a satisfactory use of the investments earmarked for the spread of culture. This would prevent people wishing to discover our cultures from deciding on purely fortuitous and contingent circumstances based on the existence or otherwise of a national organisation, whereas it would be much better if they did so taking into account their own real tastes - a detail that appears insignificant, but is in fact extremely important.

Clearly, such coordination demands stringent planning with the equitable pooling of available tools. But, it will undoubtedly give the users of these services an impression of seriousness and efficiency which can only improve our public image. The spread of culture requires as much method and intellect as commercial expansion.

In a second stage, after setting up the infrastructure for joint cultural activity, this could lead to the consideration of agreements between states on mutual representation when they do not wish to have cultural services in all countries or regions in the world, but on the other hand do not want to be completely absent.

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Europe's cultural aura would not be composed exclusively of art, literature, philosophy and the human sciences. It is incumbent on our continent to show that it has not lost the dynamism which it has shown throughout the last four centuries in the natural sciences and technology. It must be able to participate on an equal footing in the scientific dialogue with the superpowers and, despite the disparity of means available, avoid the imposition of languages and procedures in whose elaboration they have not had a say. In addition, activity aimed at a technological awakening of the countries of the Third World must be conceived in such a way that they are not the result of an exclusively North American or Soviet Union intellectual monopoly.

The "European way" exists in many areas. Medicine is one example that can be taken. While in recent years American research has reached unprecedented levels in specialisation and sophistication, European medicine has been able, while undergoing extensive modernisation, to base its progress on a clinical tradition which treats the patient from a global perspective and thus is guided by intuition as well as by scientific discipline. However, Europeans without necessarily becoming arrogant should be aware of the fact that they do not need to have any complexes. The world scientific community has here a prodigious reservoir of researchers and what is more - due to the ideological pluralism that we alone experience - unrivalled scope in research possibilities.

Neither dominating nor resigned to play a role on the touchline, Europe has before it a vast open field and all the more so since the cultural models proposed by the superpowers have shown their insufficiencies in many ways. Taken collectively, it can have an influence that nations acting individually cannot bring to bear for the latter are often reproached for their political motives, whereas a predominantly multilateral activity is more in conformity with the legitimate sensitiveness of certain Third World countries.

This type of action has the added advantage of being able to be gradually implemented, starting from what already exists and depending on the demands of our partners outside Europe. It does not necessarily follow a pattern of dazzling prestigious activity followed by long periods of barrenness as is all too often the case for operations undertaken at the national level. It is not a question in fact of merely exploiting a favourable political or psychological situation, but of anticipating the deep ambitions of our partners. It is perhaps more difficult at the outset, but in the long run it is much more effective. It is obvious that we have a great deal to contribute to such contacts, but – and this will undoubtedly be our reward – also a great deal to gain. The time has come to discover new ways of “learning to be”.

## CONCLUSION

Certain people would strongly like to separate internationalism from a European feeling, yet these are two very closely linked objectives, just as there is no contradiction between local patriotism and national consciousness. Culture is, at one and the same time, a means of understanding between people and an end in itself. These qualities will help it to pave the ways for a more united, freer and more human world. Next to a new economic world order – an element of justice and stability in dealings between nations – it can reasonably be hoped that a new cultural consciousness will arise. Europe must not be alone in acting in this direction, but it is perhaps alone in being able to provide the initial impetus.

We are now in the present, one hundred and fifty years after Mme. de Staël wrote that the difference between languages, natural limits, and memories of one history all contribute to creating among mankind those big individuals we call nations. They need a certain size to exist and certain qualities to distinguish themselves. But we can already catch a glimpse of the great association visualized by the author of “De l’Allemagne”.

## 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
III.3	Europe Regained L'Europe Retrouvée	Francis DORE
I.3	A Role for Europe in the North-South Conflict Rôle possible de l'Europe dans le Conflit Nord-Sud	Bernard LIETAER
I.4	Arms Control and Disarmament Contrôle des Armements et Désarmement	Frans ALTING von GEUSAU
I.5	The Middle-East Situation La Situation au Moyen-Orient	Frans ALTING von GEUSAU
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

### Topical papers to be published shortly :

Towards a European Cultural Policy Pour une Politique Culturelle Européenne	Henri BRUGMANS
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







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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