



Brugge

College of Europe  
Collège d'Europe



Natolin

# ‘Histo-europeanisation’: Challenges and implications of (re)writing the history of Europe ‘Europeanly’, 1989-2015

Pedro Correa Martín-Arroyo



DEPARTMENT OF  
EUROPEAN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

Natolin Best Master Thesis

02 / 2013

*The Integration of this Continent is not an economic enterprise, as some people seem to think. It is an historic movement, aiming at the rebirth of a civilization.*

JÓZEF HIERONIM RETINGER<sup>1</sup>

*To articulate what is past does not mean to recognize “how it really was” it means to take control of a memory ... In every epoch, the attempt must be made to deliver tradition anew from the conformism which is on the point of overwhelming it.*

WALTER BENJAMIN<sup>2</sup>

---

1 Cited in Hendrik Brugmans, ‘Preface’ to David W. P. Lewis, *The Road to Europe: History, Institutions and Prospects of European Integration, 1945-1993*, Peter Lang, New York, 1993, p. xvii.

2 Walter Benjamin, *Über den Begriff der Geschichte* [On the Concept of History], 1940, §vi



Brugge

College of Europe  
Collège d'Europe



Natolin

# ‘Histouropeanisation’: Challenges and implications of (re)writing the history of europe ‘europeanly’, 1989-2015

Pedro Correa Martín-Arroyo

Supervisor: Georges Mink

Thesis presented by Pedro Correa Martín-Arroyo  
for the  
Degree of Master of Arts in European Interdisciplinary Studies

Academic year 2012 / 2013

DEPARTMENT OF  
EUROPEAN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

Natolin Best Master Thesis

02 / 2013

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**PEDRO CORREA MARTÍN-ARROYO**, born in 1989 in Cádiz (Spain), holds a BA in Modern History and Politics from Royal Holloway, University of London (2012), and a Licenciatura en Historia from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (2012). After completing his MA in European Interdisciplinary Studies at the College of Europe (2013), he also attained the Europaeum's MA in European History, jointly taught at the University of Leiden, Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and the University of Oxford (2014). He is currently a PhD candidate at the London School of Economics, where he is researching on Jewish refugees in Spain and Portugal during the Holocaust.

## COLLEGE OF EUROPE NATOLIN CAMPUS

### SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

KERRY LONGHURST, NANETTE NEUWAHL

Views expressed in the College of Europe publications are solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect positions of the College of Europe

Published by the College of Europe Natolin Campus  
© Pedro Correa Martín-Arroyo. All rights reserved.

FUNDACJA KOLEGIUM EUROPEJSKIE  
ul. Nowoursynowska 84 · PL-02-792 Warszawa · Poland/Pologne  
e-mail: [publications.natolincampus@coleurope.eu](mailto:publications.natolincampus@coleurope.eu)

First edition: 2014

Printed in Poland

Graphic design and layout: Wojciech Sobolewski

ISBN 978-83-63128-15-9

### STATUTORY DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by myself without any external unauthorised help, that it has been neither submitted to any institution for evaluation nor previously published in its entirety or in parts. Any parts, words or ideas, of the thesis, however limited, and including tables, graphs, maps etc., which are quoted from or based on other sources, have been acknowledged as such without exception.

Moreover, I have also taken note and accepted the College rules with regard to plagiarism (Section 4.2 of the College study regulations).

### DÉCLARATION SUR L'HONNEUR

Je déclare sur l'honneur que ce mémoire a été écrit de ma main, sans aide extérieure non autorisée, qu'il n'a été déposé auparavant dans aucune autre institution pour évaluation, et qu'il n'a jamais été publié, dans sa totalité ou en partie. Toutes parties, mots ou idées, aussi limités soient-ils, y compris des tableaux, graphiques, cartes, etc. qui sont empruntés ou qui font référence à d'autres sources bibliographiques sont présentés comme tels, sans exception aucune.

Je déclare également avoir pris note et accepté les règles relatives au plagiat (section 4.2 du règlement d'études du Collège).

KEY WORDS

European history · Europeanization · Historiography  
European memory · European identity

PEDRO CORREA MARTÍN-ARROYO

# **‘Histoeuropeanisation’:**

**Challenges and implications of (re)writing  
the history of Europe ‘europeanly’, 1989-2015**

## **Table of Contents**

---

Abstract	IX
----------	----

---

Acknowledgements	X
------------------	---

---

Preface of the Master Thesis Supervisor	XV
---	----

---

Introductory Remarks	3
----------------------	---

---

<b>First Part: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH</b>	<b>7</b>
1. Defining ‘histoeuropeanisation’: why borrowing the concept from Political Scientists?	7
a) Europeanisation: origins and meanings of the term	7
b) Cultural Europeanisation: the emergence of the Homo Europaeus?	8
c) The Europeanisation of the European Memory(ies)	10
d) What do I mean by Histoeuropeanisation	11
2. Defining the two agents of the histoeuropeanisation phenomenon: academic and institutional means	13
a) Academic Histoeuropeanisation: ‘Bottom-Up’	13
b) Institutional Histoeuropeanisation: ‘Top-Down’	14
c) How these agents interact, complement and depend on each other	15
3. Why does history matter in twenty-first-century Europe? Uses and abuses of history	18

---

<b>Second Part:</b>	
<b>ACADEMIC HISTOEUROPEANISATION</b>	<b>23</b>
1. 'Pre-European' histories of Europe	23
a) 'Exceptions to the —national— rule': the difficult origins of European history writing	23
b) 'Denationalising' the history of Europe: new ways of history writing	25
2) Re-writing the History of Europe 'Europeanly'	30
a) Discussing Histoeuropeanisation: New academic approaches to European history	30
i) Reflections on space and time	30
ii) A 'European Civil War'? Reconsidering twentieth-century European history	33
iii) The 'Two Europes': a difficult reconciliation	38
b) The lack of 'Euromyths' and European 'Lieux de Mémoire': where to anchor a European historical memory?	40
3. The academic community and the (re)writing of the history of Europe	45
a) On how to and how not to write a 'European' history of Europe	45
b) The role of academic NGOs and historical networks in the process of histoeuropeanisation	51

---

<b>Third Part:</b>	
<b>INSTITUTIONAL HISTOEUROPEANISATION</b>	<b>59</b>
1. Old Means, New Purposes: between teleological 'europeanisation' and utopian 'europragmatism'?	59
a) The early stages of the quest for a 'European identity'	60
b) The 'Coming of Age' of the History of European Integration	61
c) Europe in the Classrooms: A European history textbook?	64
2. 'Europe in a Museum': assessing three case studies of musealisation	72
a) How to 'fit' the history of Europe into a Museum?	72
b) Le Musée de l'Europe (1997) and the 'It's Our History!' exhibition	75
c) The House of European History (2015): challenges and aspirations of a truly European museum	77

---

<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>81</b>
-------------------	-----------

---

<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>83</b>
---------------------	-----------



---

Annexes	107
Document on the European Identity published by the nine Foreign Ministers on 14 December 1973, in Copenhagen	110
Council Of Europe Committee Of Ministers: Resolution (86) 3 On European Cultural Co-Operation	118
Eustory Charter	124
Conceptual basis for a House of European History (fragments)	130



## Abstract

In this study I will analyse the recent historiographical tendency towards (re)writing the history of Europe ‘Europeanly’. Hence, by applying the recent concept of ‘Europeanisation’ to the field of historical research, I will attempt to determine the extent of this ‘histoeuropeanisation’ phenomenon, the challenges it faces, and the diverse range of implications that derive from it.

In the first part of the thesis, I will adopt a more theoretical approach, giving an in-depth definition of my hypothetical term of ‘histoeuropeanisation’ and briefly addressing some of the main topics that we will discuss in the rest of the work. I will also present the two agents —‘academic’ and ‘institutional’— involved in this phenomenon from an ideal-type perspective, and then explain in a more pragmatic way how they work together and the extent to which they depend on each other.

In the second part I will focus on the analysis of the academic means of histoeuropeanisation. After a brief survey on the evolution of history writing up to the present time, we will take part in some of the scholarly debates around several historiographical concepts related to the history of Europe, and discuss the ways in which a more ‘Europeanised’ historiography should be and should not be written. We will finish this section with a more practical chapter devoted to the flourishing of history networks and history NGOs that actively aim to replace the traditional ‘national narratives’ for a more ‘European’ history of Europe. I will argue, therefore, that even in a non-partisan way, these historical organisations effectively contribute to foster the process of histoeuropeanisation further.

Finally, in the last part of the thesis, we will address the challenges faced by the European institutions —mainly the European Union and the Council of Europe— when trying to infer a European identity through history through various ways. In particular, we will analyse the recently born discipline of the ‘history of European integration’ and the institutional attempts to establish a history of Europe; and the possibility of introducing a European history textbook in schools throughout the continent. Lastly, we will discuss two examples of musealisation of the history of Europe. In all cases we will be paying special attention to the feasibility, degree of ‘teleologicalness’, and challenges involved.

---

## Acknowledgements

My warmest gratitude goes to Georges Mink and Pascal Bonnard for their support and their wise advices; and to Norman Davies, João Carlos Espada, Anne-Marie Thiesse and Richard Washington for assisting me so kindly at early stages of this thesis. I am immensely grateful to the 'European Parliament - Bronisław Geremek European Civilisation Chair' for granting me the opportunity to study at the College of Europe. I am also extremely indebted to my mentors James S. Amelang, Helen Graham and Dan Stone, for their availability and their unconditional support. To them I owe most of my academic achievements.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of Bronisław Geremek (1932-2008), and to the great discovery that Poland has meant to me as a historian and as a European.

---

## The Natolin Best Masters' Theses Series

PROF. NANETTE NEUWAHL

DIRECTOR OF STUDIES

COLLEGE OF EUROPE (EIS PROGRAMME, NATOLIN CAMPUS)

The “Natolin Best Master’s Thesis” series showcases the best Masters’ Theses produced by the students of the Natolin campus of the College of Europe in any given year.

The College of Europe (CoE), founded in 1949 at the instigation and with the support of leading European figures, in particular, Salvador de Madariaga, Winston Churchill, Paul-Henri Spaak and Alcide de Gasperi, is the world’s first university institute of postgraduate studies and training specialised in European affairs. The idea behind this particular institution was, to establish an institute where university graduates European countries could study and live together, and the objective was to enhance cross-border interaction and mutual understanding. The Natolin campus of the College of Europe in Natolin, Warsaw (Poland) was established in 1992 in response to the revolutions of 1989 and in anticipation of the 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the European Union. Ever since, the College of Europe operates as ‘one College – two campuses’.

The European Interdisciplinary Studies (EIS) programme at the Natolin campus invites students to view the process of European integration beyond disciplinary boundaries. Students are awarded a ‘Master of Arts in European Interdisciplinary Studies’. This programme takes into account the idea that European integration goes beyond the limits of one academic discipline and is designed to respond to the increasing need for experts who have a more comprehensive understanding of the European integration process and European affairs. The EIS programme is open to graduates in Economics, Law or Political Science, but also to graduates of History, Communication Studies, Languages, Philosophy, or Philology who are interested in pursuing a career in European institutions or European affairs in general. This academic programme and its professional dimension prepare graduates to enter the international, European and national public sectors as well as nongovernmental and private sectors. For some of them, it also serves as a stepping stone towards doctoral studies.

The European Single Market, governance and external relations are focal points of academic activity. Recognised for its academic excellence in European studies, the Natolin campus of the College of Europe has endeavoured to enhance its research activities, as well as to encourage those of its students who are predisposed to do so,

---

to contemplate a career in academia. The European Parliament *Bronislaw Geremek* European Civilisation Chair and the *European Neighbourhood* Policy Chair in particular, encourage research on European History and Civilisation, respectively, the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood.

The EIS programme culminates in the writing of an important Master's Thesis. At the College of Europe every student must, in order to get his or her degree, produce a Thesis within the framework of one of the courses followed during the academic year. The research must be original and linked to European policies and affairs, on a topic chosen by the student or proposed by the Professor supervising the Thesis. Very often, a student chooses a subject which is of importance to his or her subsequent career plan. Masters' theses are written either in French or in English, the two official languages of the College of Europe, often not the native language of the students.

A scientific committee selects the Best Masters' Theses among more than 100 produced on the campus every year at the Natolin campus. By publishing them, we are proud to disseminate throughout the wider European studies academic community some of the most interesting research produced by our students.

---

## La série des meilleures thèses des Masters du campus de Natolin

PROF. NANETTE NEUWAHL  
DIRECTEUR D'ÉTUDE  
COLLÈGE D'EUROPE (PROGRAMME EIS, CAMPUS NATOLIN)

La série « Meilleure thèse de Master du campus de Natolin » met en valeur les meilleures thèses de master rédigées par les étudiants du campus de Natolin du Collège d'Europe pour une année donnée.

Le Collège d'Europe (CoE), fondé en 1949 à l'instigation et avec le soutien de figures européennes de proue telles que Salvador de Madariaga, Winston Churchill, Paul-Henri Spaak et Alcide de Gasperi, est le premier institut universitaire d'études supérieures du monde spécialisé dans les affaires européennes. L'idée à l'origine de cette institution était de créer un institut dans lequel des diplômés universitaires issus de différents pays européens pourraient étudier et vivre ensemble afin de promouvoir la communication transfrontalière et la compréhension mutuelle. Le campus de Natolin du Collège d'Europe à Natolin, Varsovie (Pologne) a été fondé en 1992 à la suite des révolutions de 1989 et pour anticiper les différents élargissements de l'Union européenne prévus pour 2004 et 2007. Depuis lors, le Collège d'Europe fonctionne désormais selon la formule « un collège – deux campus ».

Le programme d'études européennes interdisciplinaires (EIS) du campus de Natolin invite les étudiants à analyser le processus de l'intégration européenne au-delà des frontières disciplinaires. Les étudiants obtiennent un « Master en études européennes interdisciplinaires ». Ce programme tient compte de l'idée que l'intégration européenne dépasse les limites d'une seule discipline académique et est conçu pour répondre aux besoins croissants d'experts qui conservent une compréhension globale du processus de l'intégration européenne et des affaires européennes. Le programme EIS est ouvert non seulement aux étudiants en économie, en droit ou en science politique, mais également aux diplômés en histoire, en communication, en langues, en philosophie ou en philologie désireux de poursuivre une carrière dans les institutions européennes ou les affaires européennes, en général. Ce programme académique et sa dimension professionnelle préparent les étudiants à intégrer les secteurs publics nationaux, européens et internationaux ainsi que les secteurs non-gouvernementaux et privés. Pour certains d'entre eux, ce programme constitue également une étape vers des études doctorales.

---

Le marché unique européen, la gouvernance et les relations extérieures sont des points majeurs de l'activité d'enseignement. Reconnu pour l'excellence de ses programmes en études européennes, le campus de Natolin du Collège d'Europe s'est engagé à améliorer ses activités de recherche, ainsi qu'à encourager ses étudiants les mieux prédisposés dans une carrière d'enseignement. La chaire de civilisation européenne du parlement européen *Bronislaw Geremek* et la chaire de politique de voisinage européen en particulier, encouragent la recherche sur l'histoire et la civilisation européenne, respectivement, et sur le voisinage avec l'Europe de l'est et du sud.

Le programme EIS se termine par la rédaction d'une importante thèse de Master. Au Collège d'Europe, chaque étudiant doit, pour obtenir son diplôme, produire une thèse dans le cadre de l'un des cours qu'il a suivis au cours de son année d'enseignement. La recherche doit être originale et liée aux politiques et aux affaires européennes, sur un sujet choisi par l'étudiant, ou sur proposition du professeur chargé de la thèse. Souvent, l'étudiant choisit un sujet qui est important pour le déroulement ultérieur de sa carrière. Les thèses de master sont écrites en français et ou en anglais, les deux langues officielles du Collège d'Europe, bien souvent une langue différente de la langue maternelle de l'étudiant.

Un comité scientifique sélectionne les meilleures thèses de master parmi les 100 dossiers produits sur le campus de Natolin chaque année. En les publiant, nous sommes fiers de disséminer dans toute la communauté enseignante européenne quelques-unes des recherches les plus intéressantes menées par nos étudiants.



## **INTRODUCTORY REMARKS**

---



---

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1

As everybody knows, historians have traditionally dealt with past events by unearthing archaeological sites, writing kings' and queens' biographies and devouring archival sources. However, history has a major role towards society, and failing to notice the present and future dimensions of history means to neglect its most important mission. Putting it in a Manichaeian way, by analysing, interpreting and shaping the past in a good proportion, historians can build narratives to sustain the memory and the identity of a given community, allowing them to make projections into the future. Disproportionally used, history can serve those who manipulate the past as a means to justify present policies or a particular political standpoint. It is for these very reasons that this thesis is devoted to the study of the present and future dimensions of the discipline from a theoretical perspective.

2

This is a historiographical work, whose main object of study is history as a subject, however, I will not confine myself to the limits of the discipline. Instead, I will make use of a varied range of disciplines —memory, politics, psychology, identity, museology, sociology, etc.— in order to test and sustain my hypotheses.

3

My core hypothesis, on which my whole thesis is centred around, is what I have denominated as 'histoeuropeanisation', the portmanteau for 'historical Europeanisation'. Although I am not the first historian that relates both concepts, I believe this piece of work to be the first in using the term as such, and the only one up to this date that addresses the concept in this particular way. Needless to say that I will pay due respect to those authors whose theories have fostered this study, for rather than supplanting my hypotheses I hope they will work towards verifying them.

4

As the reader will soon notice, this thesis involves a considerable amount of literature that is explicable by its historiographical nature. With the aim of providing my argumentation with the highest solidity, I have covered a vast portion of the available literature. Hence,

numerous authors and publications will be constantly cited in parallel to the narration. However, since a greater part of these studies will not fit into the dimensions of this thesis, I will often provide with references for further research.

## 5

Given the delicacy of certain topics related to the history of Europe and uses of history particularly at an institutional level, I will present as many different opinions as possible in order to arbitrate some sort of Socratic debate. Conclusions will in most cases be left for the reader's own self-reflections. If this study achieves the awakening of new interpretations in the reader different to those written here, I will consider my duty as a 'historian' —in the sense described above— as fulfilled.

## 6

Although the main language of the thesis is English, and bearing in mind the two working languages of the College of Europe, a substantial proportion of the quotations included in this work will be left in the original French. I am keen to think that this will pay more respect to the authors and preserve the genuineness of their ideas to a greater extent. Concerning other languages such as German, Spanish or Italian, I will in all cases provide with a translation into English, indicate whether the translation is mine or not, and add the original quotation in a footnote.

## 7

Lastly, due to the already mentioned fact that this work includes a considerable amount of literature, I will deliberately eschew from using the form '*op. cit.*' when repeating a publication, since doing so would cause with a greater confusion. Instead, I will opt for shortening the title of the source so that several works of the same author will be still recognisable.

## **FIRST PART**

---

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**



---

# FIRST PART: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

*'History is past politics and politics present history.  
Past history is uncertain, but so are the things that go on under our own eyes'*

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, *THE METHODS OF HISTORICAL STUDY*, 1886.<sup>3</sup>

## 1. Defining 'histoeuropeanisation': why borrowing the concept from Political Scientists?

### a) Europeanisation: origins and meanings of the term

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the study of Europeanisation has developed into one of the most prolific fields of research in political sciences and more particularly in the study of European integration. American newspapers, however, started to use the term 'Europeanization' already during the 1910s and 1920s. In this early meaning it was used to describe the 'feared' political and cultural influence of Europe on the United States, but also as a synonym of 'modernisation' when describing for instance Atatürk's reforms in Turkey.<sup>4</sup> Hence, by 1937 the newly coined term had found its place into the American *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, according to which 'Europeanization'

*'is intended to express the effects on Asiatic, American and African cultures and civilizations of permeation by the peculiar social system set up in modern Europe as a consequence of the classical renaissance, the Protestant Reformation and the industrial revolution. Europeanization may be expressed politically by imposing the idea of democracy, in the sense of parliamentary and party government, or of sovereignty, in the sense of suppression or subordination ... It may be expressed economically by imposing ideas of individualistic capitalism, competition and control on communities enjoying more elaborate and equitable, but less productive and progressive, collectivist or communal*

---

<sup>3</sup> Edward A. Freeman, *The Methods of Historical Study*, Macmillan, New York, 1886, pp. 148-149.

<sup>4</sup> Florian Greiner, 'Europeanisation and Modernity during the "Second Thirty Years War": Discourses on Europe in British and American Print Media, 1914-1945', in Osmont *et. al.*, *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle...*, pp. 31-32.

*civilization...'*<sup>5</sup>

In its modern use, ironically, the term Europeanisation is no longer applied to foreign 'cultures and civilizations', but to the European continent itself. The range of possible definitions, however, varies from the simplest 'becoming more European like', to Radaelli's complex but celebrated description of the europeanisation phenomenon as the

*'Processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion, and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, "ways of doing things", and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies.'*<sup>6</sup>

Whereas political scientists have clearly benefited from the study and analysis of the term, some historians such as Reiner Marcowitz have recently suggested that it should also be applied to other disciplines, since 'the impact of European integration on the member states concerns not only the political sphere but also triggers socio-economic transformations, including changing attitudes and mentalities of citizens in the member states.'<sup>7</sup> Following Marcowitz's suggestion, and although there have been several pioneers in the application of the term to historical research such as Robert Bartlett,<sup>8</sup> there are still innumerable cases in which historians would benefit if they reconsidered their topic under study through the lens of the concept of Europeanisation.

### **b) Cultural Europeanisation: the emergence of the Homo Europaeus?**

Along similar lines, Klas-Göran Karlsson has proposed a reinterpretation of Samuel Huntington's 'three waves of democratisation'<sup>9</sup> into what he calls the 'three waves of Europeanisation'. According to Karlsson, these three waves consist of (1) economic

---

5 George Young, 'Europeanization', *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 5, Macmillan, New York, 1937, p. 623; cited by Ludger Kühnhardt in his introduction to *European Union – The Second Founding; the Changing Rationale of European Integration*, rev. ed., Schriften des Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 2010, pp. 9-10.

6 Claudio M. Radaelli, 'The Europeanization of Public Policy', in Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp. 27-56, here p. 30.

7 Marcowitz, 'Historicising Europeanisation...', pp. 21-23.

8 Robert Bartlett has identified the Euro-centripetal trend of the later Middle Ages and early modern period as the 'Europeanization of Europe', as expressed for instance through Gothic architecture, scholastic philosophy, 'student mobility' and the widespread use of Latin in early European universities; See Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, Allen Lane, London, 1993.

9 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.



integration — 'well on the road to completion'; (2) political unification — 'notably less successful'; and (3) cultural Europeanisation, the most complex, disputed, and still far from being achieved.<sup>10</sup>

According to Karlsson, although European integration started in the early post-war period, the third 'cultural wave' had also to wait until the breakdown of communism in the early 1990s. By the early 1970s, however, an earlier attempt was made in this regard as a consequence of the economic crisis and the failure of the Werner Plan. At that moment of crisis, political energy was for first time invested in the *quasi*-utopian project of forging a 'European identity' through culture in order to give foster and gain public support for the failing reforms. In December 1973, the European Community publishes, during its summit in Copenhagen, a 'Declaration on European identity (see Document 1 in Annex) to define Europe's 'role in the World'.<sup>11</sup> Such is the case as well of the Council of Europe's resolution 'On European Cultural Identity', from 1985 (see Document 2 in Annex).<sup>12</sup> Since these early stages, therefore, the European institutions have increasingly been identified with the very idea of the emergence of a European culture. Nowadays, when the European Union is soon to be formed by twenty-eight European states, it seems that 'whoever is willing to discuss Europe is explicitly or implicitly analysing the EU too', as Stefan Krankenhagen rightly pointed out.<sup>13</sup> It would seem, if this process intensified in the future, that the advent of a '*Homo Europaeus*' in the cultural sense could not be avoided.<sup>14</sup>

10 Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation', in Małgorzata Pakier and Bo Stråth (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2010, pp. 38-39.

11 See European Communities, 'Declaration on European Identity (Copenhagen, 14 December 1973)', *Bulletin of the European Communities*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, No. 12, December 1973. Available at <http://www.cvce.eu/viewer/-/content/02798dc9-9c69-4b7d-b2c9-f03a8db7da32/en> (last consulted on 2.04.2013)

12 Council of Europe, 'Resolution (85)6 On European Cultural Identity', 25 April 1985. Available at <https://wcd.coe.int/com.instranet.InstraServlet?command=com.instranet.CmdBlobGet&InstranetImage=605047&SecMode=1&DocId=686292&Usage=2> (consulted on 5.04.2013)

13 Stefan Krankenhagen, 'Exhibiting Europe: the Development of European Narratives in Museums, Collections and Exhibitions', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Thematic Section: Exhibiting Europe, Vol. 3, 2011, p. 269.

14 Wolfgang Schmale, 'Die Konstruktion des Homo Europaeus' ['The Construction of the Homo Europaeus'], *Comparare. Comparative European History Review*, Vol. 1, 2001, pp. 165-184.

### c) The Europeanisation of the European Memory(ies)<sup>15</sup>

In recent years, an increasing number of politicians, intellectuals and institutions have explicitly or implicitly expressed their wish to witness the Europeanisation of the various national memories or even the emergence of a clearly distinct supranational European memory. In fact, some countries have been urged to harmonise their memory laws according to a certain European standard.<sup>16</sup> As a consequence, the interpretation of the past is becoming less and less a 'national privilege'. It could be said indeed that we are witnessing the process of the 'denationalisation of history', by which the 'competences' of history and memory are being reallocated from the national to the European supranational sphere.<sup>17</sup>

Even if the process of 'assumption of the past through the angle of the present' ('*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*') had been achieved within the European Union, it would still be necessary to produce a post-national memory that allows the cohabitation with the different nations' bellicose pasts.<sup>18</sup> In this sense, the role of the European institutions as intermediaries in issues of historical divergences between states has proven successful in several occasions. Laure Neumayer recalls two good examples of this: the polemics that followed the Hungarian law of 2001 that attributed special rights to Hungarian nationals residing in neighbouring countries; and the revival of the Edvard Beneš decrees during the late 1990s by the families of the injured Germans decades earlier.<sup>19</sup> For Karlsson, rather, the Holocaust is 'the best example of a canonisation of history in the name of the European dimension', since there are fewer historical events to which the European

---

15 '[P]ar mémoire, on entend ici principalement mémoire politique définie comme la reformulation constant de vision du passé dans la compétition pour le pouvoir de manière à produire des effets politiques'; in Oriane Calligaro and François Foret, 'La Mémoire Européenne en Action. Acterus, Enjeux et Modalités de la Mobilisation du Passé comme Ressource Politique pour l'Union Européenne', *Politique Européenne*, No. 37, 2012, p. 19.

16 For example, in January 2001, the French National Assembly defined the treatment of Armenians during First World War as 'genocide' even against the wishes of the French government and the French president themselves. In 2006, further legislation criminalized the denial of the Armenian genocide with prison and a 45,000€ fine as potential punishment; in Jan-Werner Müller, 'On "European Memory". Some Conceptual and Normative Remarks', in Pakier and Stråth, *A European Memory?...*, pp. 25-28, here p. 28.

17 See Henry Rousso, 'Das Dilemma eines Europäischen Gedächtnisses' ['The dilemma of a European memory'], *Zeithistorische Forschungen [Contemporary History]*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2004, pp. 363-368.

18 Bo Stråth, 'Histoire, Remémoration Publique et Assomption du Passé', in Bronislaw Geremek and Robert Picht *et. al.* (eds.), *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007, pp. 359-260, 366.

19 Laure Neumayer, 'Les Institutions Européennes comme Acteurs de la Réconciliation en Europe Centrale : une médiation entre droit et politique', in Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Dououreux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 195-209.

institutions have devoted deeper commitment in terms of memory policy.<sup>20</sup> In words of Beate Winkler, former director of the *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* ('EUMC'), this is due to the fact that 'the Shoah is the traumatic experience of Europe's recent history; it has driven the EU's founders to build a united and peaceful Europe, and thus been at the very root of the European integration project.'<sup>21</sup> According to this vision, the memory of the Holocaust would act as some sort of 'pan-European moral lesson' that reminds us of our shared guilt and makes us reflect upon our past divisions. As Ute Frevert puts it, the memory of the Holocaust

*'renvoie chaque citoyen européen à la face obscure de sa propre histoire nationale en attirant son attention sur l'antisémitisme, l'exclusion des minorités et le manque d'empathie humaine – traits communs à la plupart des États-nations du continent européen tout au long des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles.'*<sup>22</sup>

At a glance, the consequences of such interesting phenomenon cannot be but positive, since the Europeanisation of the Holocaust is expected to lead to a decrease in anti-Semitic attitudes.<sup>23</sup> However, there are also counter-effects to the Europeanisation of the memory of the Holocaust. Eva Kovacs exemplifies this downside through the case of a Jewish family from a small town in Austria: 'one has the impression that the "local Jews" have been overshadowed by the Europeanisation of the Shoah.'<sup>24</sup>

#### **d) What do I mean by Histoeuropeanisation**

The definition of my proposed term of histoeuropeanisation seems to emerge from what we have seen so far in this theoretical introduction concerning the broad process of Europeanisation, the political will to move towards a common European identity, and the impact that this has had in the various European memories/histories.

By the concept of histoeuropeanisation I refer to the increasing historiographical convergence witnessed in the last decades towards a 'more European' history of Europe,

<sup>20</sup> See for example the European Parliament resolution on 'The Holocaust, anti-Semitism and Racism' of 27 January 2005 [P6\_TA(2005)0018], on the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz.

<sup>21</sup> Karlsson, 'The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation', pp. 40-44, here p. 41.

<sup>22</sup> Ute Frevert, 'Identifications Européennes: ce que l'histoire peut, et ne peut pas, apporter', in Gerekem and Picht, *Visions d'Europe*, p. 385.

<sup>23</sup> See for example Werner Bergmann, 'The Europeanisation of the Holocaust', public lecture, *Central European University: Jewish Studies Project*, 10<sup>th</sup> October 2006. Summary of the conference available at <http://web.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/pls/Bergmann0607.doc> (consulted on 7.04.2013)

<sup>24</sup> Eva Kovacs, 'Innocent Culprits – Silent Communities. On the Europeanisation of the Memory of the Shoah in Austria', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 9, No. 2-3, June-September 2008, p. 229.

in detriment, to a certain extent, of the traditional national historical traditions. This can materialise, as we will see, in a variety of forms: scholarly debates around the concept, the nature and how-to-write the history of Europe; the attempts to produce 'a' history of Europe that avoids teleology at the same time it tells a 'non-nationalised' history of Europe; or the possibility of introducing a European history textbook and fitting Europe's history into a museum, together with the implications that these all may comprise in terms of shaping a European identity through a Europeanised history. These are, however, just some of the topics that I will address in this paper. Finally, although there is no 'year 0' to this process, it is obvious that the histoeuropeanisation phenomenon has boosted since the symbolic year of 1989, mainly thanks to the changing political situation in Europe; the various enlargements that have approached previously 'divided' parts of Europe; but also to the increasing availability of historical sources, the progressive opening of archives and the digital revolution of the 1990s that have facilitated historical and museological exchanges. In the next section, I will address how this process works thanks to the action of what I define as the 'two agents of histoeuropeanisation': the academic community on the one hand and the European institutions on the other.

## 2. Defining the two agents of the histoeuropeanisation phenomenon: academic and institutional means

When reflecting on the project of European integration, Bo Stråth defines the creation of a common European memory and history as the remedy '*susceptible de transformer la diversité et l'opposition en unité et en consensus*'. He identifies two levels of engagement: an (1) academic level, in charge of conceptualising and discussing on the problem of European identity; and an (2) institutional level, that establishes for instance the required centres of higher education (*e.g.* College of Europe or the European University Institute) and finances research programmes for the discussions to take place.<sup>25</sup> A similar statement has been put forward by Krankenhagen, for whom Europeanisation 'is both affected and promoted by state and societal actors that collaborate on the European and nation state level, as well as on regional and local levels.'<sup>26</sup> In this section we will analyse how both academic and institutional agents help fostering histoeuropeanisation —whether consciously or not—, and the extent to which they are dependent on each other.

### a) Academic Histoeuropeanisation: 'Bottom-Up'

It is very unlikely that the process of histoeuropeanisation could be successfully 'prescribed and implemented from above ... as a matter of instrumental politics', using Karlsson's own words. For institutional histoeuropeanisation to be effectively integrated in the European citizens' daily life, non-politicised activities from below such as scholarly debate, public discourses and educational initiatives must be put into practise. Karlsson defines this 'non-canonical interpretation' of cultural Europeanisation as the 'dynamic and multifaceted process in which not only official European representatives but also scholars, intellectuals, journalists, teachers and others participate'. As he concludes: 'Europeanisation must resonate with societal initiatives that are broader than the interests of a political elite.'<sup>27</sup>

Henry Rousso, an avowed supporter of 'Europeanising' the present and future historiography, has showed how European scholarly networks have contributed to Europeanise historical research through the comparative, transnational, institutional, social, economic and cultural ways of doing history of Europe; but also through the

25 Stråth, 'Histoire, Remémoration Publique et Assomption du Passé', pp. 365-366.

26 Krankenhagen, 'Exhibiting Europe...', pp. 269-278.

27 Karlsson, 'The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation', pp. 39-40, 44-46.

exchange of researchers, professors and students —in most cases impossible without institutional support.<sup>28</sup>

The academic involvement in this process of histoeuropeanisation, however, is usually not conscious nor partisan, for most historians are presumed to be independent and not supporters of any political interests, since this would induce to teleological and normative historical narratives. Such was the main fear of the academic community when the creation of the European University Institute, but the question is: to what extent it is avoidable or undesirable that different academic institutions hold different creeds?<sup>29</sup> Most academic institutions and organisations have a set of beliefs even if scholarly research is supposed to be independent from political ideologies. The case of federalist historians, however, is an exception to this rule, for they deliberately intertwine their role as historians with their political militancy, conscious that historical change must be sustained ‘bottom-up’ in order to succeed. In their view, European integration is not a path towards an unknown destination but towards federalism instead, which is, in their view, the ultimate goal of Europeans. Needless to say that this premeditatedly teleological approach entangles a series of methodological problems and risks.<sup>30</sup> These and other topics related to the academic means of histoeuropeanisation will be treated in detail in the second part of this thesis. Now let us focus on how this phenomenon works ‘top-down’.

### **b) Institutional Histoeuropeanisation: ‘Top-Down’**

Cris Shore has pejoratively defined the institutional emphasis in fostering a European identity as entailing a

*‘characteristically top-down, managerial and instrumental approach to “culture building” and its assumption that “European identity” can somehow be engineered from above and injected into the masses by an enlightened vanguard of European policy professionals using the latest communication technologies and marketing techniques.’<sup>31</sup>*

---

28 Rousso, ‘Das Dilemma eines Europäischen Gedächtnisses’, p. 363.

29 Jean-Marie Palayret, ‘Une Université pour l’Europe: les Origines de l’Institut Universitaire Européen de Florence (1948-1976)’, in Andrée Bachoud, Josefina Cuesta and Michel Trebitsch (eds.), *Les Intellectuels et l’Europe de 1945 à nos jours*, L’Harmattan, Paris, 2000, pp. 225-242.

30 Daniele Pasquinucci, ‘Between Political Commitment and Academic Research: Federalist Perspectives’, in Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, pp. 66-84.

31 Cris Shore, ‘Inventing Homo Europaeus: The Cultural Politics of European Integration’, *Ethnologia Europaea. Journal of European Ethnology*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1999, p. 63; Cited in Krankenhagen, ‘Exhibiting

This acute definition, however, is not representative of how the institutional agents of histoeuropeanisation work in reality. As we will see, the process of histoeuropeanisation is to a large extent the product of interaction between both political and non-politicised organisations on the European, national and regional levels. In fact, the political use of history and memory<sup>32</sup> by the European institutions does not pursue the creation of some sort of European nationalism in the nineteenth-century fashion. While the search for a ‘grand narrative’ is undoubtedly one of the main institutional motivations, the difficulties posed by the various post-national European societies make the European institutions aim their strategies towards more feasible short-term interests. Calligaro and Foret have arranged these targets in three categories: (1) Europeanising from within national narratives, for instance, by developing national historical sites into ‘European sites of memory’; (2) through the creation of a narrative of European integration in which a series of past events is preferentially chosen amongst others, and through the support of the networks of historians specialising in European integration and contemporary European history —note the institutional-academic interaction; and (3) through endowing Europe with a ‘*grand récit*’, to ‘*imiter l’État-nation pour le dépasser*’.<sup>33</sup> We will further analyse the role of institutions in historical Europeanisation in the third part of this work. In the next chapter we will see how both academic and institutional agents are interdependent.

### c) How these agents interact, complement and depend on each other

To simplify the concept of histoeuropeanisation to its institutional dimension would be confining it to a restricted definition that neglects to explain how the phenomenon works in reality. On the contrary, the europeanisation of historical paradigms at an academic level is hardly achievable without the economic and political impetus of the European institutions.<sup>34</sup> From the an ample range of examples that can illustrate this interaction between the institutional and academic agents we will comment on four of these cases:

- (1) Even the Europeanisation of the traditionally state-dependant higher education cannot be explained solely from a ‘top-down’ perspective. For

---

Europe...’, pp. 271-272.

32 Understood as Marie-Claire Lavabre puts it: ‘*tout est “mémoire”, c’est-à-dire “présent du passé”...*’; In Marie-Claire Lavabre, ‘Usages et Mésusages de la Notion de Mémoire’, *Critique Internationale*, No. 7, (april 2000), p. 48.

33 Calligaro and Foret, ‘La Mémoire Européenne en Action...’, pp. 18-43.

34 On this regard see Éric Bussière, ‘Conclusion’, in Osmont *et. al.*, *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle...*, and in particular pp. 205-209.

instance, reforms such as the ‘Bologna process’ and exchange programmes such as Erasmus can only be fruitful if there is a positive reception ‘bottom-up’.<sup>35</sup> As the former Slovak commissioner for education Jan Figel’ puts it, the ‘Bologna process’ is ‘a concerted attempt to re-establish a European area of academic cooperation and mobility as it already existed in the late Middle Ages and at the beginning of the modern period.’<sup>36</sup>

- (2) Similarly, the Bronze-Age specialist Anthony F. Harding explains how the Council of Europe’s designation of 1994 as the ‘Year of the Bronze Age’ stimulated the vast amount of publications on European Bronze Age archaeology in the late 1990s. This ‘top-down’ campaign to raise awareness on European Bronze Age sites materialised in a series of scholarly reactions such as conferences, exhibitions and publications throughout Europe. However, as Harding points out arguing against the ‘top-down’ approach, the Council of Europe’s campaign was but ‘a symptom, not a cause’ of the scholarly interest in the historical field.<sup>37</sup>
- (3) The so-called ‘Active European Remembrance’ is an interesting EU action is, part of the ‘Europe for Citizens programme’, that supports citizens’ projects leading with the legacy of Nazism and Stalinism. There is probably no better way of describing its historical importance rather than quoting the words of Ján Figel’:

*‘The aim of this actions is primarily to commemorate the victims of these two regimes, but projects supported by the Active European Remembrance also contribute, in a significant manner, to a bottom-up or grass roots construction of our collective European memory.’<sup>38</sup>*

- (4) Our last example is arguably the most obvious materialisation of the described interaction: the history of European integration. Antonio Varsori has described the historiography of European integration as being moved by

---

35 Peter Maassen and Christine Musselin, ‘European Integration and the Europeanisation of Higher Education’, in Alberto Amaral, Guy Neave, Christine Musselin and Peter Maassen (eds.), *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2009, pp. 3-4.

36 Ján Figel’, ‘A Political Agenda for European History in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century’, in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 28-30.

37 Anthony F. Harding, *European Societies in the Bronze Age*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 4-5.

38 Figel’, ‘A Political Agenda for European History in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century’, pp. 30-35.



three forces that are in perfect harmony with the described interaction so far: (1) the key role of European-wide research projects in promoting research on the integration history; (2) the creation of large European networks with a focus on teaching and research on integration history; and (3) the necessary role of the European institutions in funding and supporting such projects and scholar networks.<sup>39</sup>

After these examples, it seems evident that the histoeuropeanisation phenomenon cannot be solely promoted by ‘cute advertising symbols from Brussels’, as long as these political initiatives are not synchronised with the ‘spirit of enlightening and enlightened scholarship’.<sup>40</sup> There is, however, one more philosophical question to raise. Are we, as some historians pointed out, ‘*prisonniers des travaux parcellaires des historiens qui ont inévitablement ... influé sur la mémoire publique sans se demander ... quels intérêts politiques ils servaient*’?<sup>41</sup> The answer is of course not univocal, and for that reason we will dedicate the last section of this first part to briefly analyse the relation between history and its effects on ordinary citizens.

---

39 Antonio Varsori, ‘From Normative Impetus to Professionalization: Origins and Operation of Research Networks’, in Kaiser and Varsori, *European Union History...*, pp. 7-10.

40 Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger, ‘Contours of a Critical History of Contemporary Europe: A Transnational Agenda’, in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, p. 17.

41 Frevert, ‘Identifications Européennes...’, pp. 390-391.

### 3. Why does history matter in twenty-first-century Europe?

#### Uses and abuses of history

As a matter of further defining some important concepts that will recurrently appear throughout this work, I will introduce Karlsson's five 'uses of history'<sup>42</sup> providing with brief examples for each case. They will serve to introduce some of the various issues, theories and 'effects' produced by history that will recurrently appear in the rest of this paper:

- (1) The '**existential use of history**' is triggered by the need to remember —or to forget— past events in order to bring security and orientation to a society in continuous change, for instance as a consequence of globalisation. In this 'use', Pierre Nora's definition of history as 'our replaceable imagination' in which the different *lieux de mémoire* 'anchor, condense, and express the exhausted capital of our collective memory', seems especially relevant. Regarding the existential use of history, therefore, it is not exaggerated to say that 'memory has been promoted to the center of history'.<sup>43</sup>
- (2) To put it simple, the '**moral use of history**' intends to 'teach' lessons drawing from past events. One clear example of this is the general repulse to slavery, wars and genocide, which are incompatible —at least in theory— with our current values. Thus, in order to avoid 'falling into the errors of the past', states make use of a morally corrective history, for example, by legislating against the Holocaust 'negationism'. For Enzo Traverso, this might paradoxically provoke an '*effet pervers*', for even if the apologetic tendencies of fascism and Nazism are clearly against our current democratic values, the establishment of an uncontested 'official history' might transform negationists into 'defendants of the freedom of speech' and defenders of the law into supporters of censorship. This may have led Krzysztof Pomian to suggest that there should be neither official historians nor revisionist historians, but simply critical historians.<sup>44</sup>

---

42 Karlsson, 'The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation', pp. 46-54.

43 Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory*, Vol. 26, Spring 1989, p. 24.

44 Krzysztof Pomian, 'Storia Ufficiale, Storia Revisionista, Storia Critica' ['Official History, Revisionist History, Critical History'], in *Mappe del Novecento*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano, 2002, pp. 142-150; both references to Pomian and Traverso appear in Enzo Traverso, *Le Passé, Modes d'Emploi: Histoire, Mémoire, Politique*, La Fabrique éditions, Paris, 2005, pp. 118-119.

- (3) The **'ideological use of history'** needs lesser introduction, for history has been manipulated countless times in the past in order to legitimate different regimes. Being as it is one of the oldest uses of history, it has been, however, one of the 'engines of historical development'.<sup>45</sup>
- (4) The **'political use of history'** is to a greater extent linked with the previous typology. In this case the authorities use history as a mean to influence a particular category of public action or defend a particular cause. Such could arguably be the case of the 'European museums' that have emerged since the 1990s —and to which the final part of this study is reserved. For Camille Mazé, these 'agents of European consciousness' are 'devoted in an unprecedented way to the history and culture of Europe' and clearly carry an identity-building potentiality.<sup>46</sup>
- (5) The last of Karlsson's uses of history is the so-called **'scholarly-scientific'**, whose main feature is its specificity, as believed by a majority of academics: '[only] the professional use of history is legitimate and good, while all non-scholarly uses of history are to be branded as misuse or abuse of history, or at least judged less favourably'. This 'alienation' of history shows that many professional historians are indifferent to the role of history in society, or rather unaware of the different forms in which history plays an active role in present societies. Whether we like it or not, historians have a big responsibility in the 'everyday plebiscite' of what might someday constitute a European historical consciousness.<sup>47</sup> In the second part of this study we will further analyse this particular point.

---

45 See for example Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Seteven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, Columbia University Press, New York, 1992.

46 Camille Mazé, 'Des Usages Politiques du Musée à l'Échelle Européenne. Contribution à l'analyse de l'Européanisation de la Mémoire comme Catégorie d'Action Publique', *Politique Européenne*, No. 37, 2012, pp. 72-100.

47 Karlsson, 'The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation', pp. 53-54.



## **SECOND PART**

---

### **ACADEMIC HISTOEUROPEANISATION**



---

## SECOND PART: ACADEMIC HISTOEUROPEANISATION

*‘L’Europe n’a pas été fatalement conçue de toute éternité, elle est un produit de l’histoire’.*

JACQUES LE GOFF.<sup>48</sup>

### 1. ‘Pre-European’ histories of Europe

#### a) ‘Exceptions to the —national— rule’:

##### the difficult origins of European history writing

In order to trace the origins of European history writing, we will first approach the ways in which historians perceived Europe throughout the different periods of history.<sup>49</sup> Peter Burke has studied the ‘history of the consciousness of being European’ through analysing seventeenth-century monographs that regarded Europe as a historical or geographical unit, such as the Marquis of Auñón’s *Historia General de Toda Europa* (1620); Samuel Pufendorf’s best-seller introduction to European History (1682);<sup>50</sup> and the European geography textbooks *L’Europe* (1660) and *L’Europe Vivante* (1666-1671) by Pierre D’Avity and Samuel Chappuzeau respectively. In Burke’s view, newspapers of the time also started to reflect a certain European consciousness by introducing news from other large cities such as Rome, Madrid, Paris, London or Istanbul. In additions, the title of some journals published during the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveal a considerable European consciousness that will have its ‘golden age’ amongst the elites during the Enlightenment: *Europische Courant* (1642...), *Europische Mercurius* (1690...), *L’Esprit des Cours de l’Europe* (1699-1710), *L’Europe Savante* (1718-1719), *Etat Politique de l’Europe* (1739-1746), *Gazette Littéraire de l’Europe* (1764...), *Europa*

---

48 Jacques Le Goff, ‘L’Europe et l’Histoire’, in Geremek and Picht, *Visions d’Europe*, p. 393.

49 For practical reasons, we will only dedicate a few pages to the writing of European history between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, whereas the twentieth and particularly the most recent twenty-first-century literature will occupy most of our study, proven that they are essential to my hypothetical concept of histoeuropeanisation.

50 Samuel Pufendorf, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der vornehmsten Staaten Europas* [Introduction to the history of the principal states of Europe], 1682; translated by 1718 into seven languages: German, Swedish, Dutch, French, Latin, English and Russian.

*Litteraria* (1768...) and *Courrier de l'Europe* (1776-1792).<sup>51</sup> The role of the enlightenment in unifying and promoting a more European —*i.e.* 'less national'— consciousness can be summarised in the following statement by Rousseau:

*'Today, no matter what people may say, there are no longer any Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, or even Englishmen; there are only Europeans. All have the same tastes, the same passions, the same manners, for no one has been shaped along national lines by peculiar institutions.'*<sup>52</sup>

With the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, this 'elite-cosmopolitan' approach gave way to the era of nationalisms. For more than a century, the dominant form of history writing was devoted to the nation, developing a 'long and proud pedigree' that makes the concepts of history and nation almost inseparable still today.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, there is one remarkable exception during this period that is worth recalling. In 1828, the French historian and politician François Guizot publishes what might be the first comprehensive history of Europe *From the fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution*, in which he makes the following statement that could easily be taken for that of a modern European federalist:

*'...il est évident qu'il y a une civilisation européenne ; qu'une certaine unité éclate dans la civilisation des divers États de l'Europe ; qu'elle découle de faits à peu près semblables, malgré de grandes diversités de temps, de lieux, de circonstances ; qu'elle se rattache aux mêmes principes, et tend à amener à peu près partout des résultats analogues. Il y a donc une civilisation européenne, et c'est de son ensemble que je veux vous occuper. D'un autre côté, il est évident que cette civilisation ne peut être cherchée, que son histoire ne peut être puisée dans l'histoire d'un seul des États européens. Si elle a de l'unité, sa variété n'en est pas moins prodigieuse ; elle ne s'est développée tout entière dans aucun pays spécial. Les traits de sa physionomie sont épars : il faut chercher, tantôt en France, tantôt en Angleterre, tantôt en France, tantôt en Espagne, les éléments de son histoire.'*<sup>54</sup>

51 In Peter Burke, 'How to Write a History of Europe: Europe, Europes, Eurasia', *European Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2, May 2006, pp. 237-238; see also Peter Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?', *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 1, 1980, pp. 21-29.

52 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Considerations on the Government of Poland and on its Proposed Reformation*, 1772, chapter 3, §3. Available online at <http://www.constitution.org/jjr/poland.htm> (consulted on 14.01.2013)

53 This is Berger's expression, in Stefan Berger, 'Writing National Histories in Europe: Reflections on the Pasts, Presents, and Futures of a Tradition', in Jarausch and Lindenberger, *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, p. 55.

54 François Guizot, *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe, depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain jusqu'à la Révolution Française*, Pichon et Didier, Paris, 1828, pp. 3-4.



The writing of the 'histories of Europe' remained a marginal portion of the historical literature until the recent histoeuropeanisation phenomenon. In the first half of the twentieth century, however, there was a considerable list of pioneer historians such as Benedetto Croce,<sup>55</sup> Christopher Dawson,<sup>56</sup> Arnold J. Toynbee,<sup>57</sup> Henri Pirenne<sup>58</sup> and H. A. L. Fisher;<sup>59</sup> that wrote a superb list of works on European history despite the political context did not favour a 'united' history of the continent. In this sense, it is remarkable how John Bowle wrote on *The Unity of European History*<sup>60</sup> during World War Two, arguably one of the 'least European' periods of the history of the continent. Ironically, it is precisely this disunity what led some historians such as Julien Benda to propose the 'building of the European nation' as the solution to the endless conflicts amongst the European nations. In his *Discours à la Nation Européenne* he urges the educators to predicate with a 'new moral' to replace the old nationalist one: '*L'Europe se fera, ici, comme s'est faite la nation ... Vous ne vaincrez la passion nationaliste que par une autre passion*'.<sup>61</sup> Benda's statement is reminiscent of one of Ernest Renan's most celebrated quotations concerning the fate of the European nations:

*'Les nations ne sont pas quelque chose d'éternel. Elles ont commencé, elles finiront. La confédération européenne, probablement, les remplacera.'*<sup>62</sup>

### **b) 'Denationalising' the history of Europe: new ways of history writing**

Many authors have wondered how to overcome the nationalist tradition in history writing in order to achieve a genuine European history. However, as Nicolas Roussellier pointed out, '*il faudrait commencer par dire que l'histoire européenne n'existe pas*'.<sup>63</sup> The

55 Benedetto Croce, *Storia dell'Europa* [History of Europe], Laterza, Bari, 1932.

56 Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe: an Introduction to the History of European Unity*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1932

57 Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 10 vols, 1934–54.

58 Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de l'Europe, des Invasions au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Alcan, Paris, 1936. Interestingly, Pirenne started to write this work during his reclusion in a German prison during First World War.

59 H. A. L. (Herbert Albert Laurens) Fisher, *A History of Europe*, Butler and Tanner, London, 1935. A detailed history of Europe with numerous appendices, chronological charts, treaties and speeches including President Wilson's famous 'fourteen points'.

60 John Bowle, *The Unity of European History*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1948.

61 Julien Benda, *Discours à la Nation Européenne*, Gallimard, Paris, 1933, pp. 15-21.

62 Ernest Renan, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation ? : Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 mars 1882', Calmann Lévy, 1882, pp. 3-32, here p. 30.

63 Nicolas Roussellier, 'Pour une Écriture Européenne de l'Histoire de l'Europe', *Vingtième Siècle: Revue*

history of Europe is 'national' in the sense that all the past events have been 'nationalised' during the last two centuries of history writing, with the only exception of the European integration attempts and other post-1945 events, which have allowed the emergence of a 'history of European integration'. For this reason, the first step towards writing the history of Europe was to find different techniques of history writing to those used for what Nietzsche would define as 'antiquarian history'.<sup>64</sup> In this chapter, we will explore some of the most successful historiographic techniques developed during the twentieth century in order to overcome the 'obsolete' national history.

- (1) **Comparative history** was already typified by the late-eighteenth century by authors such as Montesquieu and Adam Smith, and was further developed by historians and economists such as Marx and Weber in the nineteenth century. However, the 'golden age' of comparative history materialised in the first decades of the twentieth century with authors such as the already cited Pirenne, Toynbee, the German historian Otto Hintze, or the cofounder of the highly influential Annales School of French social history, Marc Bloch, a pioneer of 'anti-nationalist activism':

*'Cessons, si vous le voulez bien, de causer éternellement d'histoire nationale à histoire nationale, sans nous comprendre. Un dialogue entre les sourds, dont chacun répond tout de travers aux questions de l'autre, c'est un vieil artifice de comédie, bien fait pour soulever les rires d'un public prompt à la joie; mais ce n'est pas un exercice intellectuel bien recommandable.'*<sup>65</sup>

Comparative studies were quite successful throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in the fields of social and economic history, with a strong emphasis in quantitative analysis and with units of comparison such as class, strike waves, school systems, welfare state, and so on. More recently, broader areas of cultural history have gained a major place in the discipline, whereas the previous dependence for quantitative data has almost disappeared —in fact historians 'learned to perceive them as artefacts with sometimes very limited

---

*d'Histoire*, No. 38, April-June 1993, p. 75.

64 See Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben' ['On The Use and Abuse of History for Life'], in Friedrich Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen* [Untimely Meditations], Verlag von E. W. Fritsch, Leipzig, 1874.

65 In Marc Bloch, 'Pour une Histoire Comparée des Sociétés Européennes', in Marc Bloch, *Mélanges Historiques* (vol 1.), SEVPEN, Paris, 1963, p. 40. See also Marc Bloch, 'Problèmes d'Histoire Comparée', *Annales d'Histoire Sociale*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1939, pp. 438-440.

value.<sup>66</sup> Some historians have warned that no 'European history' will emerge from comparing for instance the German and the Italian unifications. Quite on the contrary, as Roussellier points out, these types of comparison would just reinforce the differences between regions and states.<sup>67</sup> For that reason there has been a shift from privileging the nation-state as unit of comparison to a more mature comparative history of Europe in which similarities and differences are discussed in relation to the level of convergence and divergence between national identities, national societies and national cultures.<sup>68</sup> In more recent years, the discipline distanced itself further from the nation-state for a series of reasons: (1) the growing multiculturalism, (2) the emergence of new collectives as a cause of globalisation; (3) the postmodernist critique of historicism and structuralism that led to decentralising and fragmenting historical thinking; (4) the creation of supranational institutions; and (5) the beginning of the internationalisation of historical research together with the increasing communication between historians at an international level.<sup>69</sup> All of which have contributed towards a more 'European' history of Europe.<sup>70</sup>

- (2) The so-called *Histoire Intégrée* started to emerge from comparative history as a distinct discipline during the 1960s, after the 'flourishing' of the European Economic Community's economic policies. These integrated histories in the fields of social and economic history — urban systems, social class, social behaviour, migration, etc.— started to emphasise the 'European character' as the driving force and not the consequence of the European society's fruition

66 Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope and Perspectives of Comparative History, in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2009, p. 18.

67 Roussellier, 'Pour une Écriture Européenne de l'Histoire de l'Europe', pp. 78-85.

68 A good example of this 'mature' comparative history of Europe is the work of the praised German historian Hartmut Kaelble. See for example *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft : eine Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas, 1880-1980* [*On the way to a European society: a social history of Western Europe, 1880-1980*], C.H. Beck, Munich, 1987; and *Sozialgeschichte Europas. 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* [*Social history of Europe. 1945 to Present*], C. H. Beck Verlag, Munich, 2007; both by the mentioned author.

69 These reasons, in line with my initial hypotheses, are proposed by Christina Kolouri, 'The Joint History Project Books: An Alternative to National History?', in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 132-133.

70 For an in-depth description of comparative history methodology and theory applied to European history see Kocka and Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond...', pp. 1-32; and Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (eds.), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, Routledge, London, 2004.

during the 1950s.<sup>71</sup> As Marc Bloch puts it, it is thanks to the convergence of the European countries or ‘synchronised societies’ that the study of a ‘European society’ becomes legitimate as an existing historical reality.<sup>72</sup>

**Transnational history** could be considered another major consequence of comparison in what relates to history writing. Transnational history deals ‘with structural connections below and beyond the nation-state’, therefore breaking ‘through the walls of national history’. In contrast to international history, however, transnational history does not deal with nation-states but focuses instead on social processes and cultural exchanges.<sup>73</sup> For Kiran Klaus Patel the advantages of this approach are threefold: (1) transnational history does not see nations as unchangeable stable entities, emphasising instead the ‘interwovenness’ and mutual influences that societies exercise on each other; (2) transnational history overcomes the classic diplomatic history’s fixation with foreign policy and the elites, focusing instead on how ideas, people, institutions and goods circulated through different societies; and, lastly, (3) provides with a more balanced interpretation of history in which interactions are no longer seen as ‘one-way streets.’<sup>74</sup> The by-product of these ‘denationalising’ features may be that of preparing the grounds for a European identity, as we have previously implied.<sup>75</sup>

(3) The term *Histoire Croisée*, ‘*Verflechtungsgeschichte*’ or simply ‘Entangled History’ was theorised by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann in recent years. Once again this method, which is not tied to a particular historical period, allows historians to surpass the shortcomings of a classical nationally dependent comparative history at the same time it provides transnational history with an emphasis in cultural exchanges.<sup>76</sup>

(4) As we will see later, the year 1989 meant the beginning of a historiographical

---

71 Roussellier, ‘Pour une Écriture Européenne de l’Histoire de l’Europe’, pp. 78-85.

72 Bloch, ‘Pour une Histoire Comparée des Sociétés Européennes’, p. 19.

73 Jarausch and Lindenberger, ‘Contours of a Critical History of Contemporary Europe...’, pp. 9-10.

74 Kiran Klaus Patel, ‘In Search of a Transnational Historicization: National Socialism and its Place in History’, in Jarausch and Lindenberger, *Conflicted Memories...*, pp. 99-101.

75 In this regard see Rebecca Friedman and Markus Thiel (eds.), *European Identity and Culture: Narrative of Transnational Belonging*, Ashgate, Farnham, 2012.

76 See Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, ‘Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity’, *History and Theory*, Vol. 45, 2006, pp. 30-50; and ‘Penser l’Histoire Croisée: entre Empirie et Réflexivité’, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, Vol. 58, January-February 2003, pp. 7-36; by the same authors.

revolution materialised in the 'European (re)writing of the history of Europe'; allowing a '**Histoire Civilisationnelle**' to emerge for a variety of contextual reasons such as (1) the gradual opening of archival sources in Eastern Europe —but not exclusively; (2) the increasing number of publications in English that helped overcoming linguistic barriers across Europe; (3) the digital revolution; (4) an increasing academic mobility combined with (5) the support of the European institutions; all of them driven by (6) the 'boost' in the 'European morale' brought by the 'reunification of Europe'. To Roussellier, historians were given the ambitious task of 'inventing the genealogy and the identity of Europe':

*'...ils retrouvent ici leur méthode originale et le rôle qu'on exige d'eux: raconter une histoire ... tenir un propos sur un passé et une masse informe de faits, et, donc, éliminer, accentuer, privilégier, choisir des événements au détriment d'autres ... l'invention de grands événements et de grands personnages pour le bien d'un propos cohérent...'*<sup>77</sup>

- (5) The last is a more epistemological way of history writing, to which I personally subscribe. Some authors have defined it as a '**self-reflective history of historiography**',<sup>78</sup> and it mainly addresses the relationship between political interest and historical methodology or, in other words, considers the different 'histories' to be the product of historiography and not the other way around. From now onwards, this will be the theoretical framework of our discussion.

<sup>77</sup> Roussellier, 'Pour une Écriture Européenne de l'Histoire de l'Europe', pp. 83-84.

<sup>78</sup> Jarausch and Lindenberger, 'Contours of a Critical History of Contemporary Europe...', pp. 10-11.

## 2) Re-writing the History of Europe ‘Europeanly’

### a) Discussing Histouropeanisation:

#### New academic approaches to European history

#### i) Reflections on space and time

Debates about the geographical scope, the borders and the internal divisions of the continent would seem obsolete since most European nation-states have their frontiers and regional divisions solidly established. Europe, on the contrary, is still embarked in a long journey to find its delimitations. How far does Europe reach? To what extent is legitimate to consider Europe as ‘detached’ from Asia or from its former colonial empires, most of which keep still today some degree of ‘Europeanness’? How useful — or harmful— can be the subdivision of the continent into sub-regions?

We will first look at the ‘internal borders’. One vision is that there are essentially two ‘Europes’, as divided *grosso modo* by the river Elbe, that have increasingly diverged historically from the early modern period. This theory was especially popular during the 1950s and 1960s, when the river Elbe actually separated both capitalist and socialist ‘Europes’.<sup>79</sup> Not all historians, however, agreed with this dualistic view. The Polish historian in exile, Oskar Halecki, put forward a much more nuanced theory in *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (1950) by popularising the use of ‘meso-regions’, that were four in his own view: Western Europe, Central Europe (divided in West-Central Europe and East-Central Europe), and Eastern Europe.<sup>80</sup> These abstract divisions have demonstrated to be particularly helpful when dealing with post-communist memory conflicts for example, since neighbouring countries have usually more in common in terms of historical development.<sup>81</sup>

More recently, the Hungarian medievalist Jenő Szűcs distinguished three regions: adding an ‘East-Central’ region to the traditional West and East ‘halves’, thus comprising the medieval kingdoms of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia. As conceived by the Hungarian

---

79 Burke, ‘How to Write a History of Europe...’, p. 235.

80 Oskar Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1950; For later spatial subdivisions of the European continent in ‘meso-regions’ see Klaus Zernack, *Osteuropa: Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte* [*Eastern Europe: An Introduction to its History*], C. H. Beck, Munich, 1977; and Jenő Szűcs, ‘The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An Outline’, *Acta Historica: Revue de l’Académie des Sciences de Hongrie*, Vol. 29, 1983, pp. 131-84.

81 See as well Stefan Troebst, ‘Halecki Revisited: Europe’s Conflicting Cultures of Remembrance’, in Pakier and Stráth, *A European Memory?...*, pp. 56-63.

historian, this region would be culturally part of the west, although sometimes 'pulled to the east' by economic or political forces.<sup>82</sup> As we see, the possibilities are numerous, so European historians should reflect on this variety and apply, according to their methodological needs, different divisions to the wide range of periods, topics and perspectives on European history.

Lastly we will briefly analyse two issues related to Europe's geographical dimension(s). Some historians have suggested that the concept of 'Europeanness' can be better defined when looking beyond its 'external borders', namely, when comparing 'European civilisation' with the rest of the world. Paradoxically, as proposed by Peter Burke, two of the arguments that contest this hypothesis come from such type of comparisons:

- (1) The first concerns the changes that took place in Europe after 1492, when the Europeans started to export '**neo-Europes**' or '**Europoids**' around the globe through colonisation. As Christopher Dawson points out, these settlements incorporated new non-European components, whether Aztec or Maori, but had strong resemblances with the 'original' European. Consequently, why not considering these new lands as part of European culture? The answer is delicate, since we cannot explain Europe as 'culturally pure' without referring to the numerous cultural traditions —classical, Judaeo-Christian, barbarian<sup>83</sup>...— that integrate 'Europe's DNA'.<sup>84</sup>
- (2) The second argument proposed by Burke questions Europe's historical detachment from the Asian continent: why Europe and not **Eurasia**? For Jack Goody the historical division between the Eurasian continent and Africa —in which neither the Bronze age nor the urban revolution happened— is much more relevant than the contrasts between the European peninsula and the rest of the Eurasian continent. Similarly, linguistic evidence seems to sustain Goody's analysis, given that most European 'dialects' belong to the larger Indo-European family of languages, which derived from Sanskrit. This particular feature has allowed some linguists to describe Europe as 'no more than an appendix to Asia'.<sup>85</sup> This

82 Jenő Szűcs 'Three Historical Regions of Europe...', p. 236.

83 See the interesting contribution in this regard by Karol Modzelewski, *L'Europe des Barbares: Germains et Slaves face aux Héritiers de Rome*, French translation by Agata Kozak and Isabelle Macor-Filarska, Aubier-Flammarion, Paris, 2006.

84 Dawson, *The Making of Europe...*; discussed in Burke, 'How to Write a History of Europe...', pp. 233-234.

85 See Jack Goody, *The East in the West*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996; and E. Banfi, *La Formazione dell'Europa Linguistica*, La Nuova Italia, Florence, 1993, p. 7.; both cited in Burke, 'How

argument, however, would not convince many, as it did not change Fisher's point of view:

*'Scholars may explain to us that the languages spoken by the formative races of Europe are akin to Sanscrit [sic] and Persian, that the west has borrowed from the east, and the east from the west, and that the interpretation of east and west has been so complex and subtle and continuous that any attempt to disentangle the European elements in our civilization from those which are foreign and adventitious must be a forlorn enterprise. Nevertheless, the broad fact remains. There is a European civilization. We know an European when we meet him.'*<sup>86</sup>

As in the previous case, there are lots of possible questions concerning Europe's temporal divisions and periodisation. Since we have reserved a more suitable place for them in the chapter about 'Euromyths', we will just briefly analyse the historiographical significance of the years 1945 and 1989(-1991):

- (1) **The year 1945** is often considered as the 'Zero hour' to European history, although from two virtually opposed interpretations. On the one hand, it marks the beginning of European integration, and a period of peace and prosperity as never known before in European history. On the other hand, it marks the end to the war in which 'my spiritual homeland, Europe, destroyed itself' as Stefan Zweig wrote in a note before committing suicide in 1942.<sup>87</sup> In a similar fashion, Halecki considers 1945 as the end to the 'European Golden Age': from this point onwards Europe will have to share its supremacy with North America in what he calls the 'Atlantic Age'.<sup>88</sup> For other historians, however, 'World War II came to its final end only in 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell, symbolizing freedom as the fall of the Bastille had done during the French Revolution in 1789'.<sup>89</sup>
- (2) **The year of 1989** —or more accurately the processes of 1989-1991—marks the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, gave birth as

---

to Write a History of Europe...', p. 234.

86 Fisher, *A History of Europe*, p. 1.

87 See suicide note by Stefan Zweig of 23th February 1942 (Petrópolis, Brazil). Available at [http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/personalsites/archive\\_treasures/Pages/zweig.aspx](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/personalsites/archive_treasures/Pages/zweig.aspx) (consulted on 18.03.2013)

88 See Chapter III on 'The End of European History', in Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, pp. 45-61.

89 Kühnhardt, *European Union – The Second Founding...*, p. 577.



well to a new temporal division in European history: that of 'before' and 'after' 1989-1991. This 'end of a period' has allowed new historical interpretations retrospectively. Hobsbawm celebrated term of '*short twentieth century, 1914-1991*' is a good example of this reinterpretation of the twentieth century.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, it allowed him to 'split' the European century in two halves, 'The age of catastrophes' (1914-1945), and the 'Golden Age', that lasts at least until the 1970s economic crisis.<sup>91</sup> Shifting a century's temporal boundaries is not a new practice. In 1937, Manuel Azaña stated when discussing the Great War that 'strict calendar limits don't confine the political nineteenth century. It began in 1789 and ended in 1914.'<sup>92</sup>

As we have briefly argued in this section, spatial and temporal limits are not written on stone. Whereas 'preconceived' or 'manufactured' normative constructions may help building a solid 'master narrative' in the nineteenth century fashion, our task as twenty-first century historians must be that of deconstructing old paradigms, all the more when dealing with European history. In our next section we will closely analyse how recent historiography has applied these methodologies when approaching one of the most controversial and complex episodes in European history, the period comprising the two world wars, 1914-1945.

## ii) A 'European Civil War'? Reconsidering twentieth-century European history

The twentieth century, and in particular the period comprising the two world wars (1914-1945), is one of the most discussed topics of European historiography due to its different —sometimes irreconcilable— national perspectives. In recent years, however, the wave of histoeuropeanisation that I have already described has transformed —or at least contested— some assumptions regarding twentieth-century European history.

One of the positive advantages of the Europeanisation of the history of Europe is the shift from a traditionally 'centralised' history —dominated by the 'old Europe'— to a more 'delocalised' history that includes as well the history of Europe's 'periphery'. As

90 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: the Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*, Michael Joseph, London, 1994.

91 As a Marxist historian, Hobsbawm gave vital importance to the 1929 and 1973 crises to articulate these periodisations; in Eric Hobsbawm, Krzysztof Pomian and Alain Finkielkraut, *Réflexions sur le XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Éditions du Tricorne, Geneva, 2001, pp. 11-12, and 18-19.

92 '*El siglo XIX político no encaja en los términos estrictos del calendario. Empezó en 1789 y concluyó en 1914*'; in Manuel Azaña, *La Velada en Benicarló, Diálogo de la Guerra de España*, April 1937; English translation by Josephine and Paul Stewart, Associated University Presses, London, 1982, p. 78.

we have previously discussed, this may result into a more 'flexible' European history in terms of chronological and spatial limits, but not only. It is only by removing the 'national gravitational centre' that smaller, peripheral or traditionally neglected historical processes or events can receive due consideration. Such is the case for example of the Russo-Polish conflicts of 1830 and 1863, the Hungarian rising of 1848, or the several 'Carlist Wars' in nineteenth-century Spain, that have been 'eclipsed' by other larger conflicts.<sup>93</sup> As John Horn puts it, such is the complexity and the variety of neglected histories that 'only a continental analysis can grasp fully'.<sup>94</sup> In this chapter we will analyse in more depth what a 'histoeuropeanised' version of the 1914-1945 period can offer, through the now common concept of 'European Civil War'.

Despite its growing use, the term has existed for almost a century. Its first reference belongs to the German expressionist painter Franz Marc, co-founder of *Der Blaue Reiter*, who died during the Battle of Verdun in 1916: 'this great war is a European civil war directed against the inner invisible enemy of the European spirit'.<sup>95</sup> Five decades after, in 1967, Isaac Deutscher identified the Second World War as one more stage in a 'great European Civil War', during the Trevelyan Lectures at the University of Cambridge.<sup>96</sup> More recently, intellectuals and historians such as Bronisław Geremek have rejoiced in the long-lasting *Pax Europaea* of the last half-a-century and the fact that '*il n'y a pas de guerre civile comme il y en a eu sans cesse sur le sol européen*'.<sup>97</sup> In recent years, probably as a consequence of the histoeuropeanisation process, we have seen a 'revival' of the concept in scholarly debates.

93 See for example both publications edited by Jeremy Black (ed.), *European Warfare, 1450-1815*; and *European Warfare, 1815-2000*, Palgrave, New York, 1999 and 2002 respectively.

94 John Horne, 'War and Conflict in Contemporary European History, 1914-2004', in Jarausch and Lindenberger, *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, pp. 92-93.

95 Cited in John Horne, 'Mobilizing for "Total War", 1914-1918', in John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, p. 13.

96 Luciano Canfora, 'The "European Civil War"', 12<sup>th</sup> chapter to his *Democracy in Europe: A History of an Ideology*, trans. Simon Jones, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006, p. 155; Contemporary to Isaac Deutscher, A. J. P. Taylor also sees the 1914-1945 timespan uniformly, and structured his book into four symmetrical parts: 'War', 'Post-War', 'Pre-War' and 'War' again. Although it pays too much attention to politics and diplomacy and neglects ideology (it seems that it was Neville Chamberlain and not Hitler who initiated the 1939 conflict), he was quite accurate when defining the Second World War as the 'unfinished business of the Great War'; in A. J. P. (Alan John Percivale) Taylor, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1966.

97 Bronisław Geremek, 'L'Europe, Facteur de Paix (interview by Philippe Nicolet)', Lausanne, 6<sup>th</sup> Octobre 2008; In: Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe (Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne), *Bronisław Geremek: une Voix en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2009, p. 15.

For the Spanish historian Francisco Romero Salvadó the Great War brought the awakening of the masses, whereas the armistice of November 1918 was not successful in establishing a new era of social stability, intensifying the already existing protest movements:

*'Thus the inter-war years became an unprecedented era of popular upheaval and political radicalism that can be regarded as a European Civil War, a period of revolution and reaction during which liberal political orders were swept away and replaced with new authoritarian formulas of social control.'*

In his view, the Russian and the Spanish civil wars represent the most violent manifestations of this confrontation between 'Reds' and 'Whites'. In addition, he applies these two terms with agility in different wars throughout Europe, without neglecting the especial features of the actual belligerents. For Salvadó, the Russian and the Spanish civil conflicts mark the beginning and the end of the European Civil War (therefore 1917-1939) that developed during the interwar period, thus leaving the First and Second world wars aside from this 'macroevent'.<sup>98</sup> The period is almost coincident with E. H. Carr's notion of *Twenty Year's Crisis, 1919-1939*, a pioneer contribution to this historiographical debate that was published as early as in 1939.<sup>99</sup>

Similarly, Julián Casanova sees the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 as the beginning of a series of '*revoluciones abortadas*' ('aborted revolutions') that took place in Austria and Germany (1918); Hungary (1919) —leading to Béla Kun's six-month-length Soviet republic—; and Italy during the early post-war years, to name some of them.<sup>100</sup> According to Casanova, this revolutionary wave warned and awoke a 'counterrevolutionary feeling' within the bourgeoisie at a European scale, mobilising a reactive right in defence of property, order and religion. These antiliberal, antisocialist and counterrevolutionary movements would develop fast in Italy in the early post-1918 years, and would consolidate throughout Europe in numerous military and rightist dictatorships culminating with Hitler's raise to the *Reichstag* in 1933.<sup>101</sup> From that point onwards, the larger confrontation between Germany and the Soviet Union —'axis conflict' of the European Civil War— eclipsed the many other diverse and varied

98 Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, 'The European Civil War: Reds versus Whites in Russia and Spain, 1917-1939', in Black, *European Warfare, 1815-2000*, pp. 104-125, the quote is from pp. 104-105.

99 E. H. (Edward Hallett) Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*, Macmillan and Co., London 1939.

100 Julián Casanova, 'Europa en Guerra: 1914-1945' ['Europe in War: 1914-1945], *Ayer*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2005, pp. 107-126.

101 For the diverse revolutionary and counterrevolutionary political experiences occurred during the interwar period see the analysis in Richard J. Overy, *The Inter-War Crisis, 1919-1939*, Longman, Harlow, 1994, pp. 39-90.

conflicts that shook Europe during this period. For example, it is often forgotten that one of the earliest and most violent clashes between ‘Reds’ and ‘Whites’ materialised twenty years ahead the Second World War during the Finnish Civil War (January-May 1918), as Casanova recalls.<sup>102</sup>

In a similar manner, although the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) was in its origins a fratricidal conflict it rapidly adopted into a European scale, awaking empathies in one or the other ‘sides’ of the ongoing European Civil War. In fact, it has been often seen as an ‘episode’ of the lengthier European Civil War, for it literally was a battlefield to the war to death between fascism, communism and democracy.<sup>103</sup> For this reason, the Spanish Civil War cannot be understood outside its European dimension, for while it is true that the rest of Europe was officially not in war due to a short peace in this ‘long intermittent war’,<sup>104</sup> thousands of Europeans other than Spanish perished either on Franco’s side or defending the Republic. To top it all, the European Civil War that finished in 1945 in most parts of Europe ‘will still have a long life in Spain’, using Casanova’s own expression.<sup>105</sup> To conclude this brief review on the Spanish Civil War’s European dimension, I would like to quote the former President of the Spanish Second Republic during the war, Manuel Azaña, who made this mature assessment of the European context in 1937:

*‘Contagion from abroad has caused this monstrous outburst that now tears Spain apart and all of its attendant cruelty. Since the 1914, tidal waves of barbarism and violence have submerged Europe ... Bleeding a continent, ruining it, hardly seems symptomatic of a refined civilization or of gentle feelings. That they did it all, or tolerated it, in the name of national pride, greatness of the state, for freedom of commerce, or autonomy of peoples didn’t make it any better ... The violence loosed in 1914 has unbalanced European’s moral sense. No more rights; no more law. Faith only in direct action, appeal*

102 See Julián Casanova, ‘Civil Wars, Revolutions and Counterrevolutions in Finland, Spain and Greece (1918-1949): a Comparative Analysis’, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2000, pp. 551-537.

103 See Enrique Moradiellos, *El Reñidero de Europa. Las Dimensiones Internacionales de la Guerra Civil Española*, Península, Barcelona, 2001, here p. 258; and Paul Preston and A. L. Mackenzie, (eds.), *The Republic Besieged. Civil War in Spain, 1936-1939*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1996; both cited in Casanova, ‘Europa en Guerra: 1914-1945’, pp. 120 and 122.

104 Term used by Paul Preston, ‘La Guerra Civil Europea, 1914-1945’, in María Cruz Romeo and Ismael Saz (eds.), *El Siglo XX. Historiografía e Historia*, Universitat de València, Valencia, 2002, pp. 137-166, here p. 138; Also available in English under the title ‘The Great Civil War: European Politics, 1914-1945’, in T. C. W. Blanning (ed.), *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 153-185; Preston has been one of the supporters of the term ‘European Civil War’, and has taught until very recently a course named after it at the London School of Economics.

105 Casanova, ‘Europa en Guerra: 1914-1945’, pp. 21, and 125-127.

*to the machine gun. This plague has infected all peoples; it carries off many ... Spain has seen prodigious propaganda that points to the triumphant examples of Germany, Italy, Russia, and Austria ... We have reared a generation that disdains intelligence, neglecting study and work, and instead cultivates physical strength and personal insolence.'*<sup>106</sup>

Ernst Nolte's work *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917-1945* has been as revolutionary as controversial, and his choice of 1917 —as opposed to 1914— as the beginning to his 'European Civil War' is not a product of fortuity. For Nolte, Nazi crimes are but a 'copy' of the 'Asian barbarities' that followed the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. As Nolte puts it, the Nazis' systematic persecution and killing of the Jews was an understandable albeit 'exaggerated reaction' (*überschießende Reaktion*) to the participation of the Jewish community in the crimes occurred during the Bolshevik revolution, that constitute the 'logic and factual precedents' to the Nazi crimes.<sup>107</sup> Obviously, such apologetic interpretations have provoked a number of heated reactions. Casanova, for example, considers Nolte's thesis —'the gulag preceded Auschwitz'— as a gross fallacy that aims at allocating two 'levels of guiltiness'. Whereas the communists would be regarded as mainly responsible for the European disaster of the first half of the twentieth century, the National Socialists and other fascists in general would be 'excused' and 'relegated' to a second level of guiltiness.<sup>108</sup>

Other historians have used the evocative term of 'Second Thirty Years war' to refer to the three decades between 1914-1945, as inspired by the (First) 'Thirty Years War' (1618-1648), since both 'European' wars are have a comparable scale and nature of violence.<sup>109</sup>

106 Azaña, *La Velada en Benicarló...*, pp. 105-106.

107 Ernst Nolte, *Der Europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917-1945. Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* [*The European Civil War, 1917-1945. National Socialism and Bolshevism*], Herbig Verlag, Frankfurt, 1989; This work is elaborated on Nolte's heated controversy known as *Historikerstreit* ('Historians' dispute') against other academics such as Jürgen Habermas, provoked by a 1986 article in which Nolte 'flirted' with Holocaust denial theories: Ernst Nolte, 'Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will. Eine Rede, die geschrieben, aber nicht gehalten werden konnte' ['The Past that will not go away: a Speech that could be Written but not Delivered'], *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6<sup>th</sup> June 1986.

108 Casanova, 'Europa en Guerra: 1914-1945', pp. 109-112; For a critique of Nolte see as well Enzo Traverso, *1914-1945, La Guerre Civile Européenne*, Hachette Littératures, Paris, 2007; also published in French under the title: *À Feu et à Sang. De la Guerre Civile Européenne, 1914-1945*, éditions Stock, 2007.

109 See for example Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War*, Pantheon Books, London, 1981; and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* [*German Social History*], in particular its Vol. 4, *Vom Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zur Gründung der beiden deutschen Staaten 1914-1949* [*From the beginning of the First World War to the founding of the two German states 1914-1949*], C. H. Beck, Munich, 2003; both cited in Horne, 'War and Conflict in Contemporary European History...', pp. 84-85.

Furthermore, when comparing these two wars another interesting similarities arise, namely, those between the Westphalian state-system and the post-1945 European integration process.<sup>110</sup> Ian Kershaw agrees in seeing both 1648 and 1945 as a watershed — ‘perhaps the most important turning-point[s] in European history’ — and uses the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) as an example to justify the view of the 1914-1945 conflicts as a ‘single event’.<sup>111</sup> Whilst other historians such as Geremek have supported the term,<sup>112</sup> Richard J. B. Bosworth dislikes the term ‘Thirty Years War’ and prefers ‘Long Second World War’ when referring to the 1945-1990 period, although accepts the divergences when delimitating the ‘end(s) of the First World War(s)’:

*‘My usage of the phrase “the Long Second World War” may also be controversial. I do not wish to join those who see the twentieth century’s “age of violence” as simply defined in a “thirty years’ war” running from 1914 to 1945. I would accept that the end of the First World War, or rather the diverse ends of the various First World Wars, did foreshadow troubles.’<sup>113</sup>*

In answering our question above, ‘histoeuropeanising’ the history of twentieth-century Europe is not, as we have seen, product of historians’ caprice. Quite on the contrary, re-writing the continent’s history with a more bird’s-eye perspective can ‘nourish’ it with ‘further history’ that the nation-state neglects and that would go by unnoticed without a continental perspective.

### iii) The ‘Two Europes’: a difficult reconciliation

It is in fact due to the need of this ‘continental perspective’ that the process of histoeuropeanisation could not have entered its maturity phase until the physical post-1989 ‘reunification’ of Western and Eastern Europes, but this reconciliation entangles a series of problems beyond political and economic concerns. As Geremek once stated,

<sup>110</sup> Kühnhardt, ‘Toward European Patriotism?’, in *European Union – The Second Founding...*, p. 489.

<sup>111</sup> Ian Kershaw, ‘Europe’s Second Thirty Years War’, *History Today*, Vol. 55, No. 9, September 2005, pp. 10-17, here p. 12.

<sup>112</sup> Geremek also proposed ‘*les deux guerres comme une guerre de trente ans, tant elles étaient intimement reliées*’; in Bronisław Geremek, ‘Le Plan Marshall et l’Intégration Européenne’, Paris, 13<sup>th</sup> June 2007; In: Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l’Europe, *Bronisław Geremek...*, p. 32.

<sup>113</sup> Richard J. B. Bosworth, *Explaining Auschwitz and Hiroshima: History Writing and the Second World War 1945-1990*, Routledge, London, 1993, p. 6; Other authors such as Georges-Henri Soutou have proposed another term for defining the Cold War: ‘The Fifty Years War’. See Georges-Henri Soutou, *La Guerre de Cinquante Ans: Le Conflit Est-Ouest, 1943-1990*, Fayard, Paris, 2001.

*'il est plus facile de réunir des économies et des ensembles politiques que de réunir des mémoires. L'Europe occidentale est restée ignorante de la mémoire de l'Europe de l'Est.'*<sup>114</sup>

As Bo Stråth explained, while it is true that 1945 was a historical watershed that gave European integration the definitive impulse, it also divided Europe in two halves with two different official narratives and with the diversification of the often-opposed European memories. Nevertheless, already in the 1980s, the commonly assumed historical narratives founded upon the 1945 division started to weaken. Since then, historians from both sides have increasingly discovered a whole range of 'grey zones' regarding the pre-1945 experiences that span *'de la victimisation passive à l'adhésion, à la collaboration tacite et même à la persécution active, en passant par tous les degrés de résistance'*.<sup>115</sup> Here we will analyse two of these scenarios:

- (1) Pascal Bonnard and Markus Meckl have studied the difficulties that the EU and **Latvia** have encountered when dealing with the *Mémoires du Goulag et d'Auschwitz*. As they point out, the most imperative task for 'Western' historians is that of acknowledging and studying the crimes against humanity that the Soviet and other communist regimes have perpetrated in Eastern Europe. Hence, the progressive integration of the Baltic memory in the European memory, and *vice versa*, can only be made through mutual recognition. Two good examples of this are the EU funding of the 'Museum of the Occupation of Latvia (1940-1991)', and the European Parliament's co-funding of a Latvian-made documentary film with the aim of *'montrer à l'Europe et au monde le destin tragique du peuple letton sous le régime communiste'*.<sup>116</sup> Both examples show the European institutions' interest in 'welcoming' memories that were previously neglected by Western Europe.
- (2) As Ulf Brunnbauer explains, the situation of **Southeastern European** historiography after the fall of communism is extremely delicate. In this region, history '(re)writing' has been a contentious issue due to different nationalist groups claiming 'historical rights' while demonising other national groups, whereas, historians have put a special emphasis into trying to provide their post-socialist states with a 'European' identity. Therefore, each

<sup>114</sup> Bronisław Geremek, 'La mémoire de l'Europe (interview by Catherine Guisan)', Brussels, 13<sup>th</sup> March 2008; In: Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe, *Bronisław Geremek:...*, p. 24.

<sup>115</sup> Stråth, 'Histoire, Remémoration Publique et Assomption du Passé', pp. 367-368.

<sup>116</sup> Pascal Bonnard and Markus Meckl, 'La Gestion du Double Passé Nazi et Soviétique en Lettonie : Impasses et Dépassement de la Concurrence entre Mémoires du Goulag et d'Auschwitz', in Mink and Neumayer, *L'Europe et ses Passés Dououreux*, pp. 169-180, here pp. 178-179.

historical narrative seeks to demonstrate that their country is an inherent part of Europe that had been ‘temporarily expelled’ from the continent first by the Ottoman rule<sup>117</sup> and then by the Yalta negotiations. Each Balkan country, however, has followed a different strategy to jointly defend their ‘Europeanness’ and their national identity: ranging from Slovenia’s quest for a European ‘pedigree’ through the revival of the Venetian myth of origin; to the Croatians’ stress on their ‘Iranian’ origins to help them differentiating from the Serbs; not to mention the eternal rivalry between Macedonia and Greece concerning history, territories and ancestors.<sup>118</sup>

**b) The lack of ‘Euromyths’ and European ‘Lieux de Mémoire’:  
where to anchor a European historical memory?**

Already in the mid-1990s, the Austrian historian Wolfgang Schmale asked himself whether the European project was about to fail because of the lack of common myths (*Mythendefizit*)<sup>119</sup> understood in line with Anthony Smith’s definition of the ‘myth-symbol complex’ as being one of the key ingredients in forging a community—in its Greek word *ἔθνος* (‘ethnos’: ‘peoples from the same origin’).<sup>120</sup> Although Sallustius already defined the importance of the myth in the fourth century,<sup>121</sup> it is still a ‘hot topic’ in twenty-first-century Europe as we will see in this chapter

For David Tréfás, the reason for the democratic rejection of the European Constitution in 2005 is the lack of cultural unity, which could only be provided by a myth-powered

---

117 In relation to the Ottoman rule, for example, Southeastern European historians have developed the concept of *antemurale christianitatis* (‘bulwark of Christianity’) to accuse the rest of Europe of failing to acknowledge Southeastern Europe’s ‘self-immolation’ in defending Christianity.

118 Ulf Brunnbauer, ‘Introduction. (Re)Writing History in Southeast Europe’, in Ulf Brunnbauer (ed.), *(Re)Writing History – Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism, Studies on South East Europe*, Vol. 4, Lit Verlag, Münster, 2004, pp. 18-19 and 26-27.

119 Wolfgang Schmale, *Scheitert Europa an seinem Mythendefizit? [Does Europe fails because of its Myth Deficit?]*, Winkler, Bochum, 1997.

120 According to Smith, the ‘*mythomoteur*’ is mainly formed by myths, memories, values and symbols; in Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986, p. 15; see also Bo Stråth, ‘Introduction: Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of Community’, in Bo Stråth (ed.), *Myth and Memory in the Construction of Community: Historical Patterns in Europe and Beyond*, Brussels, 2000, pp. 19-46.

121 ‘...concealing truth by myths, prevents the contempt of the [unwise], and compels the [studious] to philosophize’; in Sallustius, *De Deis et Mundo [On the Gods and the World]*, 4<sup>th</sup> century, §3; English translation by Thomas Taylor, *Sallust: On the Gods and the World*, Edward Jeffery and Pall Mall, London, 1793.



collective European identity.<sup>122</sup> Pierre Nora asks whether Europe's '*lieux de mémoire*' are to be found rather in its divisions —national, linguistic, religious, etc.— and explains how most European decisive events have been executed by the elites, whether military, diplomatic, artistic or intellectual, thus excluding the rest of the population. Hence, for Nora, the 'constitutional no' of 2005 is due to the lack of '*lieux de mémoire*' for the masses, which are not so easily established.<sup>123</sup>

As Vincent Della Sala points out, what renders the creation of the so-called 'Euromyths'<sup>124</sup> so difficult is the fact that they must find the way to coexist and compete with the powerful and various national mythologies that 'have not easily countenanced sharing their monopoly with others'. For Della Sala, the EU's good reputation in promoting peace and prosperity is no longer a strong pro-European argument — besides the fact that it lacks 'emotional appeals'— particularly amongst the younger generations that have not lived through twentieth-century conflicts.<sup>125</sup> Elie Barnavi, Scientific Director of the *Musée de l'Europe*, also considers this 'emotionlessness' a key problem in shaping a European identity, '*mais peut-être n'est-ce pas de bon sens que l'Europe a besoin aujourd'hui, mais de poésie.*'<sup>126</sup>

As follows, we will analyse a series of ways of 'Euromythologising', inspired by national ways of history writing but updated to the supranational level. They are not incompatible with each other. Quite on the contrary their effect is summative, for it is when combining several of these techniques that the argument becomes stronger:

- (1) As Jan Ifversen recalls, the establishment of '**master narratives**' is one way of conferring identity through history, by providing what Paul Ricoeur has

122 David Tréfás, 'Is European Nationalism Failing because of a Lack of Myths?', *Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 1, 2008, pp. 63-79.

123 For Nora, there are seven categories of European '*lieux de mémoire*': *historiographiques, fondateurs, cruciaux, géographiques, culturels et économiques, créatifs* and *symboliques*. See Pierre Nora, 'A la Recherche de « Lieux de Mémoire »', in Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 101-105; See as well Aleida Assmann's concept of *Erinnerungsraum* ('space of remembrance'); in Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des Kulturellen Gedächtnisses* [*Spaces of Memory: Forms and transformations of cultural memory*], C. H. Beck, Munich, 1999.

124 Do not mistake for what the European Commission calls 'Euromyths': media stories about its policies which are considered fallacious, as published in the Commission's website: <http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/ECintheUK/category/euromyths/> (consulted on 5.04.2013)

125 Vincent Della Sala, 'Political Myth, Mythology and the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2010, pp. 1-19, here pp. 1-3 and 13.

126 Elie Barnavi, 'Mille Ans de Construction Européenne', in Elie Barnavi and Paul Goossens (eds.), *Les Frontières de l'Europe*, De Boeck & Larcier, Brussels, 2001, p. 32.

called 'the narrative identity of a culture'.<sup>127</sup> It is the narration of what the community 'lives through', and considers as its own chronicle, that produces a 'master narrative', and it is this 'master narrative' that confers identity to the community.<sup>128</sup> The establishment of a single European master narrative can only be successful emphasising what unites the current master narratives, and if this unity surpasses divergences.

- (2) In order to achieve this, there are a series of '**European milestones**'<sup>129</sup> that have a strong significance for the whole continent such as the year 1789 or the already discussed 1945 and 1989-1991:
- i. **The year 1789**, for instance, has a great psychological power throughout Europe as it is often associated with liberty, equality and solidarity in what Ludger Kühnhardt has called 'European mantra', even when the legacy of the French Revolution remains a contentious subject amongst historians. Paradoxically, the more 'European' date of 1848 has not yet acquired such a European dimension.<sup>130</sup> In the 'modernist' school of nationalism, moreover, the French Revolution marks the coming-of-age of modern-age European nation-states.
  - ii. **The fall of the Berlin Wall** on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1989 has rapidly developed into a reference event, particularly for the younger generations. As Jacques Le Goff puts it: '*Désormais, sauf dans les Balkans, l'Europe est devenue une réunion d'Etats démocratiques et indépendants où la peine de mort est abolie, et entre lesquels règne une paix qui apparaît pour la première fois comme de longue durée, sinon définitive*'.<sup>131</sup> As in many other cases, the European dimension to the year 1989 has numerous exceptions that show the complexity of the subject, although it is generally taken for a symbol of freedom. When the visa requirement to enter the Schengen states was abolished in Bulgaria in 2000, the Bulgarian President Petar Stoyanov declared 'for Bulgaria the Berlin Wall fell today'.<sup>132</sup>

---

127 Paul Ricoeur, 'Myth and History', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 10, MacMillan, New York, 1987.

128 Jan Ifversen, 'Myth in the Writing of European History', in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds.) *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010, pp. 452-453.

129 See for example 'Appendix I: European Milestones', in David W. P. Lewis, *The Road to Europe: History, Institutions and Prospects of European Integration, 1945-1993*, Peter Lang, New York et. al., 1993, pp. 400-444.

130 Kühnhardt, 'Toward European Patriotism?', in *European Union – The Second Founding...*, p. 496.

131 Jacques Le Goff, 'Les Grandes Dates de l'Europe', in Herbouze, *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, p. 35.

132 Nadège Ragaru, 'Bulgaria after Eleven Years: a Typical case of European Balkanness', in St. Gerasimos

- iii. 9<sup>th</sup> May 1950 —named '**Europe's Day**' since 1985— is probably the most important milestone for the European Union, as it commemorates both the 'Victory Day' (9<sup>th</sup> May 1945) and the 'Schuman Declaration', *i.e.* the solemn proclamation by the then French foreign minister, Robert Schuman, to set the European Coal and Steel Community. Recent studies have shown in fact that the 'Schuman Declaration' and the founding treaties are increasingly becoming the focus of a ritual of remembrance.<sup>133</sup>
- (3) Schuman is in fact one of the protagonists of an incipient '**European pantheon**' of prominent Europeans that it is being formed through the conferral of the 'Charlemagne Prizes' for example. However, it is not only the supporters of European integration that can serve for this purpose. As Ute Frevert suggests, another way of insisting in the European dimension of conflicting national histories is by focusing on the 'pan-European heroes and antiheroes' that are etched in the minds of the Europeans for good or for bad. Frevert proposes the names of Napoleon, Bismarck, Stalin and Hitler for the Contemporary period, but the possibilities are vast: why not considering as well literature characters as 'European' as Hamlet, Don Juan, Don Quijote or Faust?<sup>134</sup> Some other historians have opted for contrasting contemporary personalities as diverse as Averroes, Maimonides and St. Thomas Aquinas; Queen Victoria, Garibaldi and Max; or Napoleon and Beethoven.<sup>135</sup> This might be a good way of telling the different national histories 'united in diversity'.
- (4) A more '**visual way of mythologising**' would be that of using images with a 'powerful European content'. Susanne Popp's insightful survey on national history-textbooks throughout Europe revealed an interesting tendency: a group of about fifteen images —both paintings and photographs— is represented with an impressive frequency.<sup>136</sup> As Popp points out, this has at

---

(ed.), *I epanakampsi ton Valkanion* [The Return of the Balkans], Agra, Athens, 2004, p. 164; cited in Kolouri, 'The Joint History Project Books...', pp. 145-146.

133 See for example Hannes Hansen-Magnusson and Jenny Würstenberg, 'Commemorating Europe? Forging European Rituals of Remembrance through Anniversaries,' *Politique Européenne*, No. 37, 2012, pp. 44-71.

134 Frevert, 'Identifications Européennes...', p. 388.

135 Dominique Borne and Pierre Monnet, 'Figures de l'Histoire Européenne', in Herbouze, *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, pp. 61-81.

136 Featuring by chronological order of events: The American Declaration of Independence July 4 1776 (John Trumbull, 1826), The Tennis Court Oath (Jacques-Louis David, 1791), The Third of May 1808 (Francisco de Goya, 1810), Working session of the Congress of Vienna (Jean-Baptiste Isabey, 1815; and Jean Godefroy, 1819), The Massacre at Chios or Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi

least three implications. Firstly, the most frequent historical pictures refer to solely political historical events, which suggest that it is above all political history that may serve to build a European transnational narrative. Secondly, any of the top-fifteen pictures portrays an event that took place after the American and the French revolutions, which implies that our contemporary political and societal values are deeply rooted in the last two centuries. Thirdly, there are two dominating political themes most pictures relate to. On the one hand, political revolutions such as the two mentioned eighteenth-century revolutions, the French Revolution of 1830, the communist revolution of 1917 and, the ‘peaceful’ revolution of 1989. On the other hand, landmark conferences in which new European-scale political systems were ‘hammered out’ such as Vienna (1815), Berlin (1876), Versailles (1919).<sup>137</sup> The years of 1945 —represented indirectly by Yalta and the Berlin Reichstag pictures— and 1989 —represented by the fall of the Berlin Wall— prove also to be present in virtually all books. These findings show which European ‘images’ are most familiar to the ordinary European, and historians should be aware of this fact when tracing the history of the continent.

- (5) Ute Frevert has assessed the role of certain European ‘*mauvais souvenirs*’ as identity builders. In her opinion, these ‘*miroirs négatifs*’ can reinforce the feeling of ‘Europeanness’ in two ways: through teaching how important it is to defend the common European values and how fragile they are; and by reminding us that, apart from democracy, Human Rights and the scientific revolutions, Europe has also invented genocide, ethnic cleansing and total war.<sup>138</sup> This may actually be one of the reasons by which Auschwitz has become a veritable European *lieu de mémoire*, whereas the Holocaust plays a major role still nowadays in the shaping of a European identity.<sup>139</sup>

---

(Eugène Delacroix, 1823-24 and 1826 respectively), Liberty Leading the People (Eugène Delacroix, 1830), The Proclamation of the German Empire in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles (Anton Alexander von Werner, 1885), The Congress of Berlin (Alexander von Werner, 1881), The Signing of Peace in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles (William Orpen, 1920), Lenin speaks to the recruits of the Red Army (photography) or Lenin speaks in the Bolshevik head office (Wladimir A. Serow, late 1940s), Guernica (Pablo Picasso, 1937), Conference of Yalta (photographs), Hoisting the Soviet Flag on the Berlin Reichstag Building on 2 May 1945 (photographies), and Fall of the Berlin Wall in the night of 9 November 1989 (photographies).

137 In Susanne Popp, ‘Can a Canon of European Images Provide an Alternative?’, in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 81-90.

138 Frevert, ‘Identifications Européennes...’, pp. 383-387.

139 In this regard see Frank Van Vree, ‘Auschwitz and the Origins of Contemporary Historical culture’,

### 3. The academic community and the (re)writing of the history of Europe

#### a) On how to and how not to write a 'European' history of Europe

Let us now come back to our previous question of how to write the history of Europe 'Europeanly'. Already in 1950, Christopher Dawson complained in his preface to Halecki's *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, that there were very few books that satisfied Halecki's definition of European history as 'the history of all European nations considered as a whole, as a community clearly distinct from any other'. As Dawson pointed out —and this is to a certain extent still applicable today:

*'We have books by the hundred thousand dealing with the history of the nationalities and states which belong to the European community; we have books dealing with world history from a European standpoint; but the histories of Europe itself as a distinct and autonomous community are so few that they can be counted on one's fingers.'*<sup>140</sup>

In this chapter we will first analyse, adding to those we have already discussed, the various problems and challenges that historians must face when trying to write a History of Europe.<sup>141</sup> Then, we will briefly comment on a few of these attempts to write a History of Europe, some of them being less successful than others.

The first consideration relates to the national-history mode of writing, which will still enjoy a great popularity in the time to come, without doubt. We, historians, need to reflect on how to deal with national histories especially after they have demonstrated to be so dangerous in the past by legitimating wars and genocides. Stefan Berger proposes two remedies to make them 'safer' for the future. First, he proposes to study how

---

in Attila Pók, Jörn Rüsen and Jutta Scherer (eds.), *European History: Challenge for a Common Future*, Eustory Series No. 3: Shaping European History, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2002, pp. 202-220. Cited in Attila Pók, 'European History — Still a Challenge', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re) Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, p. 69; For an in-depth debate on the 'uniqueness' and memory of the Holocaust see Alain Finkielkraut, Richard Marienstras and Tzvetan Todorov, *Du Bon Usage de la Mémoire*, Éditions du Tricorne, Geneva, 2000.

140 Christopher Dawson, 'Preface' to Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, p. vii.

141 For further insight into the challenges of writing European history see for example Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *Approaches to European Historical Consciousness: Reflections and Provocations*, Eustory Series: Shaping European History, Vol. 1, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2000; Gerald Stourzh (ed.), *Annäherungen an eine europäische Geschichtsschreibung [Approximations to a European historiography]*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2002; Stuart Woolf, 'Europe and its Historians', *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 12, No. 3, August 2003, pp. 323-337.

national histories have worked in the past, and then, as an answer to the nineteenth-century 'naturalisation' and 'essentialisation' of national narratives, he suggests that they should be 'denaturalised' and 'de-essentialised' to prevent them from inflicting future harm. Secondly, Berger proposes encouraging the writing of 'kaleidoscopic national histories' that are based on diverse cultural memories and perspectives. These two steps are essential prior to writing a history of Europe, in order to avoid, in words of Berger, 'transfer[ing] homogeneity, unity, and superiority onto a European level'. If we did otherwise, a 'nationalist' history of Europe could result in the vilification of other non-European cultures such as the Islamic, with similar outcomes to those provoked by European nationalisms in the past.<sup>142</sup> As Konrad H. Jarausch puts it, 'the challenge of writing a critical history of contemporary Europe consists in demythologizing European modernity and nationhood rather than mythologizing the bureaucracy of the EU'.<sup>143</sup>

Another problem concerns the history and memory of the frequent catastrophes, wars and genocides that occurred in the European continent. As Attila Pók has wondered: how can we deal with the harm that Europeans have caused to each other? How could this ever be integrated into a collective European identity? Should we encourage forgetting? How can the Europe of the European Union be heir of Auschwitz, the Gulag, and modern slavery?<sup>144</sup> Jarausch thinks that any attempt to Europeanise our history must first solve the 'Faustian paradox' that characterises Europe as being a continent as dynamic and innovative as it has been destructive and deadly. For this reason, any truthful history of Europe has to reflect the destructive as well as the constructive events of our history, perhaps with the positive by-product of serving as a moral teaching for future generations of Europeans.<sup>145</sup> As Wolf Schmidt pointed out, 'a European perspective is not a politically correct version of history; it is a guide to evaluating the past for the present and the future'.<sup>146</sup>

Historians must also be vigilant to avoid producing a history of Europe that is the mere 'sum of its component national histories',<sup>147</sup> or, said it otherwise, replacing the 'container

---

142 Berger, 'Writing National Histories in Europe...', pp. 65-66.

143 Jarausch and Lindenberger, 'Contours of a Critical History of Contemporary Europe...', p. 17.

144 Pók, 'European History — Still a Challenge', pp. 68-69.

145 Konrad H. Jarausch, 'Nightmares or Daydreams? A Postscript on the Europeanisation of Memories', Conclusion to Pakier and Stráth, *A European Memory?...*, pp. 309-320, here p. 320.

146 Wolf Schmidt, 'EUSTORY – A Road Map to a European Perspective of History', in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, p. 213.

147 Jarausch and Lindenberger, 'Contours of a Critical History of Contemporary Europe...', p. 11.

*nation-state* with the container *Europe*.<sup>148</sup> In a ‘container history’ of Europe, the emphasis is placed on national diversity whereas European history seems to be just the result of these nation-states interacting with each other.<sup>149</sup> Along the same lines, Georges Mink considers the possibility of writing a ‘*grand récit unificateur*’ in which Europe is a mere ‘*réceptacle miraculeux*’ as a nonsense, whilst proposing the integration of the various memories through dialogue: ‘*au lieu de créer un nouveau mythe, ne faudrait-il pas, plutôt, accepter la pluralité des récits historiques dans leur subjectivité, et la pluralité des mémoires traumatiques en les faisant dialoguer entre elles?*’<sup>150</sup>

Another issue concerns Europe’s polemic colonial history and the fact that European historians often overlook this chapter of our history. As Frevert notices, the atrocities perpetrated by European imperialism on the rest of the world have not been acknowledged even in those European states where there are museums of colonialism or exhibitions devoted to the topic.<sup>151</sup> However, there have been some progresses in this regard since the Bengali historian Dipesh Chakrabarty published his challenging book *Provincializing Europe* (2008), with a series of methodological critiques to the guild of European historians. Through his concept of ‘asymmetric ignorance’, for instance, Chakrabarty criticises the fact that European historians and social scientists ‘can’ systematically ignore the work of non-Europeans scholars without their arguments and theories being contested by the rest of the scholarly community. Chakrabarty has also popularised the term ‘subaltern pasts’ to refer to those chapters of European history that, like colonialism, have been traditionally neglected by European historiography.<sup>152</sup> Along these lines, whereas colonial history has rendered one of the contentious topics in European history, European historians should pay more attention to the traditionally ignored Europeanists from abroad.

Lastly, before reviewing a few ‘histories of Europe’, we will briefly study Gerard Delanty’s categorisation of the more frequently used ways of history-writing, which Delanty considers to be four: (1) a narrative that emphasises heritage as a ‘shared political

148 Patel, ‘In Search of a Transnational Historicization...’, pp. 110-113.

149 Ifversen, ‘Myth in the Writing of European History’, p. 459.

150 Georges Mink, ‘Introduction. L’Europe et ses Passés « douloureux » : Stratégies Historicisantes et Usages de l’Europe’, in Mink and Neumayer, *L’Europe et ses Passés Douloureux*, pp. 33-35.

151 Frevert, ‘Identifications Européennes...’, pp. 386-387.

152 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, rev. ed., Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008; For an insight into the debates around the concepts of historicism and modernity unleashed by Chakrabarty’s critique see Carola Dietze, ‘Toward a History on Equal Terms: a Discussion of Provincializing Europe’, *History and Theory*, Vol. 47, February 2008, pp. 69-84.

tradition’ —with different degrees of ‘teleologicalness’ as we will see; (2) another that presents Europe’s history in terms of ‘unity in diversity’ by drawing attention to the national and regional plurality; (3) a ‘pessimistic’ account in which the history of Europe is inseparable from trauma and suffering; and lastly (4) a ‘critical cosmopolitan’ reading that places more emphasis into the diversity of European historical traditions, and thus invoking a notion of ‘Europe’ which is less determined by the West. As Delanty suggests, this last ‘critical cosmopolitan approach’ became especially pertinent after the developments that followed 1989 in terms of undermining old assumptions and *grand récit*, and considering instead the interaction of different narratives rather than ‘a progressive unfolding of a master narrative.’<sup>153</sup> Now, let us analyse four ‘histories’ of Europe that although not necessarily organised accordingly to Delanty’s four categories, share some features with some of them:

- (1) **Jean-Baptiste Duroselle’s** three early works on European history: *L’Europe de 1815 à nos Jours* (1964); *L’Idée d’Europe dans l’Histoire* (1965) —with a preface by Jean Monnet—; and *L’Europe: Histoire de ses Peuples* (1990), have been amongst the most harshly criticised of all histories of Europe.<sup>154</sup> All criticisms pointed towards and could be summarised in a single word: teleological. In my opinion, however, this criticism is to a certain extent unfair for two reasons. In first place, the author was a pioneer in European history writing at a very early time, when the histoeuropeanisation phenomenon was still in its ‘infancy’, and the errors of the first publication were rectified in later volumes. At the same time, Duroselle could not enjoy the post-1989 historical discoveries and progresses in the field that we have already commented, mainly due to the early date of his publications and to the author’s death in 1994.
- (2) The *Histoire de l’Europe* co-authored by **Jean Carpentier and François Lebrun** is also arguably teleological as it opens, for example, with *L’Europe Préhistorique* and the ‘*Homo erectus à la conquête du territoire européen*’ as a

153 Gerard Delanty. ‘The European Heritage from a Critical Cosmopolitan Perspective’, LSE ‘Europe in Question’ Discussion Paper Series, No. 19, 2010, pp. 11-18. Available at [www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS/LEQSPaper19b.pdf](http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS/LEQSPaper19b.pdf) (consulted on 29.04.2013)

154 Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *L’Europe de 1815 à nos Jours*, Nouvelle Clío, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964; *L’Idée d’Europe dans l’Histoire*, Denoël, Paris, 1965; *L’Europe: Histoire de ses Peuples*, Hachette, Paris (also published in a luxurious English edition with plenty of images and maps: *Europe: A History of its Peoples*, English translation by Richard Mayne, Viking, London, 1990); and, *L’Europe de 1815 à nos Jours*, Nouvelle Clío: L’Histoire et ses Problèmes, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964.



first chapter.<sup>155</sup> For this reason, it has been severely criticised by authors like Roussellier, who compares it with the old national history textbooks for the following reasons: (1) a quantitatively unequal treatment of the facts —e.g. five paragraphs dedicated to the pan-European and federalist projects of the 1920s-30s, and only one paragraph dedicated to the Holocaust and the Nazi occupation of Europe—; (2) an extremely simple qualitative interpretation of some other facts —e.g. the Treaty of Versailles as the ‘main reason’ for Second World War—; or (3) the ‘zoom effect’ on relatively unknown personalities that are portrayed as ‘*grands personnages*’ for their pioneer role in the European cause, as it is the case of Coudenhove-Kalergi.<sup>156</sup>

- (3) A more recent history of Europe is the ‘sequel’ of Duroselle’s *L’Europe de 1815 à nos Jours*, discussed above. Reviewed and published by **Georges-Henri Soutou** in 2007, the author explicitly aims to ‘correct’ the 1964 book by learning from the critiques, as stated in the prologue. It is a rich text, between a manual and a bibliographical reference guide on the subject. Pays enough attention to different European regions, *viz.* Eastern Europe, at the same time it does not ‘exaggerate’ the history of European integration as opposed to previous historical processes. Furthermore, Soutou adopts a fairly critical approach by stating his own methodological views before the start of the narration. Hence, during the 1815-2000 span ‘*on considèrera l’Europe comme un tout*’ in two parts: (1) as a ‘*Concert Européen*’ (1815-1950); and as (2) the Europe of the integration period, from the 1950s onwards. On top of that, Soutou believes that the great transnational, religious, cultural, ideological, political, economic and social phenomena that have marked the history of the continent allow us to acknowledge the existence of a ‘civilisation européenne’, even if this concept is still much discussed nowadays.<sup>157</sup>
- (4) One of the most fascinating and successful histories of Europe is without doubt **Norman Davies’** *Europe, a History* (1996), where the British historian tries to recall Europe’s past through ‘fleeting glimpses, partial probes and

155 Jean Carpentier et François Lebrun (eds.), *Histoire de l’Europe*, Seuil, Paris, 1992, here pp. 27-41; Published simultaneously in six languages.

156 Roussellier, ‘Pour une Écriture Européenne de l’Histoire de l’Europe’, p. 84.

157 The author explains his view on the ‘European system’ as being established after the Vienna Congress with these words: ‘*L’Europe ancienne n’était pas une jungle. Ce système était jusqu’aux années 1950 du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle informel ou peu formalisé mais il a été longtemps assez efficace, et on en retrouve encore des traces aujourd’hui*’; Georges-Henri Soutou, *L’Europe de 1815 à nos Jours*, Nouvelle Cléo: l’Histoire et ses Problèmes, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 2007, here cited pp. 3-8.

selective soundings'. As one can easily perceive from the prologue, the work is as titanic as it is humble:

*'This volume, therefore, is only one from an almost infinite number of histories of Europe that could be written. It is the view of one pair of eyes, filtered by one brain, and translated by one pen.'*<sup>158</sup>

Davies' 'quasi-Encyclopaedia' of European history is a more or less traditional political and diplomatic history of Europe that flirts with palaeography, music, philosophy and the arts as much as with science, etymology, geography and demography, either through the use of the appendices or through condensed 'capsules'. These last give the work some sort of kaleidoscopic or 'mosaic-like' appearance. At the same time, Davies made a great effort in writing an equilibrated narrative that pays attention to the traditionally neglected countries of Eastern Europe or the Balkans, as much as to the West. Moreover, the different historical periods are relatively equal in length, so the history of European integration does not play a major role, neutralising any potential critique of teleologicalness. Davies' *Europe, a History* was both unilaterally supported by those who thought, as Neal Ascherson stated, that 'the book demands to be read from start to finish'; and correctively criticised by other historians such as Tony Judt, who put forward several remarks as a consequence of the scholarly debate.<sup>159</sup>

- (5) The last of our reviews concerns **Jacques Le Goff's** original and comprehensive history of Europe: *Les Grandes Dates de l'Europe* (2008).<sup>160</sup> Le Goff, who also published the best-seller *L'Europe est-elle née au Moyen-Âge?*,<sup>161</sup> narrates here the history of 'the concept of Europe' from Prehistory to the twenty-first century in about twenty pages. As it names infers, he organises his synthetic discourse dedicating brief paragraphs to Europe's 'Grandes Dates', which implies that certain events obtain a special preponderance over others, linking to the already analysed 'Euromyths'. The result is some sort

---

158 Norman Davies, *Europe: a History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p. x.

159 Such was the debate between Ascherson and Judt in the London Review of Books. Neal Ascherson, 'In the Hands of the Cannibals', *London Review of Books*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1997, pp. 7-8; and the more critical answer by Tony Judt, 'Questions of Malevolence', *London Review of Books*, Vol. 19, No. 7, 3<sup>th</sup> April 1997.

160 Note that it is not a detached publication, but a chapter of a larger book: Jacques Le Goff, 'Les Grandes Dates de l'Europe', in Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 15-36.

161 Jacques Le Goff, *L'Europe est-elle née au Moyen-Âge?*, Seuil, Paris, 2003.

of bird-eye perspective ‘biography of Europe’ throughout several millennia. In fact, ‘Europe’ is often personified in the narration: acquiring new values, meeting foreign cultures, conquering or losing ‘her’ territories, etc. Europe’s ‘learning’ process is articulated also through story-like morals. The result is a coherent account in which Le Goff masterly avoids teleological assumptions through the use of the metaphor and the allegory, in an ancient-Greek mythological fashion:

*‘Le règne de Charlemagne est le premier exemple d’un essai de domination de l’Europe par un peuple ou une nation, et de son échec ... Napoléon, au cours d’une série de guerres, s’efforce de constituer une Europe qui aurait été une Europe-France. Il y échoue, comme échouèrent toutes les tentatives de créer une Europe unie dominée par une seule nation.’<sup>162</sup>*

Whereas the list of ‘European’ histories of Europe has increased substantially in the last two decades,<sup>163</sup> the debates about ‘what’ to include and ‘how’ to tell it are still quite contentious, for, as Roussellier recalls: *‘ce ne sont pas les faits qui sont européens, même dans la période la plus récente, ce sont les interprétations qui peuvent prétendre l’être.’<sup>164</sup>* Probably the most difficult teaching we can learn as historians is that the ‘ideal-type history of Europe’ does not exist, for ‘it should be evident, even from these briefest of notes, that such a European history will never be written.’<sup>165</sup>

#### **b) The role of academic NGOs and historical networks in the process of histoeuropeanisation**

Besides individual scholars, the role of historical scholarly networks has been —and will certainly continue being— decisive in boosting the histoeuropeanisation phenomenon. As opposed to the institutional means of histoeuropeanisation, academic networks may not be so evidently persuasive in terms of visibility, funding, infrastructure or political influence. However, it is not quantitatively but qualitatively that we should assess its effects, for the ‘target group’ in this case is mostly compounded mainly of history academics, experts and young researchers all around Europe and beyond.

<sup>162</sup> Le Goff, ‘Les Grandes Dates de l’Europe’, pp. 16 and 28, respectively.

<sup>163</sup> Apart from those included in the bibliography see: Jean-Michel Gaillard and Anthony Rowley, *Histoire du Continent Européen, 1850-2000*, rev. ed. 2001, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1998; and David S. Mason, *A Concise History of Modern Europe: Liberty, Equality, Solidarity*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, 2011; the latter book (covering the 1789-2007 period) has been quite successful in the United States, although it does not bring anything ‘new’ in methodological or theoretical terms.

<sup>164</sup> Roussellier, ‘Pour une Écriture Européenne de l’Histoire de l’Europe’, pp. 85-89.

<sup>165</sup> Woolf, ‘Europe and its Historians’, pp. 336-337.

Another interesting feature concerning historical scholarly networks is that virtually all of them have been founded since 1989. We have discussed the reasons for this several times now, but as a reminder we can point out recall some of them: the ‘West-East reconciliation’, the new digital means of communication, as well as the increasing strength and competences of the European institutions that fund and promote such scholarly initiatives —once again, we can see the institutional-academic dynamics of interaction that foster histoeuropeanisation.

In the following table (see Table 1 in next page) we have collated information about a series of academic NGOs and networks. The top eight NGOs have history educators or history students —whether at secondary education or PhD candidates— as ‘target group’, and are both promoted and funded by young researchers, academia, European institutions, but also private funding as it is the case of EUSTORY, which, as we will discuss below is a very peculiar example. Most of them have been more or less dynamic in terms of organising conferences, publications (either single volumes or scholarly journals) and promoting mobility between universities in particular. Their institutional dependence also varies from those that receive a very strong support from European institutions (*e.g.* EUROCLIO, HISTORIANA), or from other private and public sources (*e.g.* EUSTORY, IRICE); to those that are nearly ‘self-powered’ with an almost inexistence of either private or public funding (*e.g.* RICHIE, HEIRS, IACHE, EURHISTXX).

TABLE 1: SELF ELABORATION, BASED ON THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE AT THE OFFICIAL NGO WEBSITES

ACADEMIC NGOS AND NETWORKS						
NAME	DESCRIPTION	'TARGET GROUP'	FUNDING	PROMOTER(S)	YEAR	WEB
<b>EUROCLIO</b>	'European Association of History Educators'	History educators	Council of Europe, UNESCO and the EU	Council of Europe	1992	www.euroclio.eu
<b>HISTORIANA</b>	'Your Portal to the Past'	Young history students	EU, two national ministries and two private foundations	EUROCLIO	2007	WWW.HISTORIANA.EU
<b>EUSTORY</b>	'History Network for Young Europeans'	Young history students	Körber-Stiftung	Körber-Stiftung	2001	www.eustory.eu
<b>RICHE</b>	<i>Réseau International des Jeunes Chercheurs en Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne</i>	Postgraduate history researchers	[None]	Young PhD students and academics	2005	www.europe-richie.org
<b>HEIRS</b>	History of European Integration Research Society	Postgraduate history researchers	[None]	PhD students	2004	www.heirs-eu.org
<b>IACHE</b>	International Association of Contemporary History of Europe	History professors and Academics	[None]	International Committee of Historical Sciences	2004	www.iache.hypotheses.org
<b>IRICE</b>	<i>Identités, Relations Internationales et Civilisations de l'Europe</i>	History professors, PhD researchers	Public (France)	CNRS, Paris I and Paris IV ( <i>Sorbonne</i> )	2002	www.irice.univ-paris1.fr
<b>EURHISTXX</b>	The European Network for Contemporary History	Network of Universities	[None]	History professors	2004	www.eurhistxx.de
<b>NEMO</b>	Network of European Museum Organisations	Museums network	Museums (within and outside the EU)	Museum organisations	1992	www.ne-mo.org
<b>CVCE</b>	<i>Centre Virtuelle de Connaissance sur l'Europe</i>	'large public'	Public (Luxembourg)	Luxembourg	2002	www.cvce.eu

I have also included in the table two significant NGOs (NEMO and CVCE) even if they are different in scope to the rest. NEMO acts as a platform for an extensive list of European museums, both within the EU and in neighbouring countries, establishing links, promoting the exchange of exhibitions and defending their interests collectively ('lobbying'). The reason to include it here is that museums have a larger stake in the process of histoeuropeanisation, as we will see in the last part of this thesis. Lastly, the CVCE is a research and documentation centre dedicated to the history of European integration and European studies more broadly. As it is stated in its own web: '*Il a pour objet l'étude des multiples facettes du processus de la construction européenne dans une approche interdisciplinaire. En se basant sur des méthodes et des technologies novatrices, le centre crée des publications numériques et les met au service des chercheurs et des enseignants, mais s'ouvre aussi à un public plus large.*'<sup>166</sup>

Arrived to this point, we will now focus our attention on a particular and significant example: EUSTORY. Wolf Schmidt, former executive director of Körber-Foundation and former chair of the executive committee of EUSTORY, explains how funding was one of the Körber Foundation's main concerns upon the founding of EUSTORY (see Document 3 in Annex). They questioned whether it would be wise to make EUSTORY totally dependent from a German foundation, since they feared that this national link would provoke critiques in such a delicate subject as history. For this reason EUSTORY was set as a fully independent legal entity running its own budget (*i.e.* NGO) under Belgian law from 2008. Today, EUSTORY runs national contests in 22 European countries, to which more than 115,000 young people have submitted more than 45,000 research papers in recent years, such as the *1989-Images of Change competition*.<sup>167</sup> At the same time, competitors are automatically granted with EUSTORY membership, with the subsequent right to attend seminars and events on recent European history and to form part of the Alumni network. EUSTORY is constituted as a European federal project, which means that most of the organisational work is done by the 22 national NGOs that conduct EUSTORY contests. These 22 NGOs are independent in their verdicts and fully responsible for their budget and fundraising, but depend on the central committee. Schmidt also warns that the aim of EUSTORY is not to establish a new exclusive 'EU history'. Instead, it urges the EU 'to provide more opportunities for the discussion of

---

166 CVCE: Centre Virtuelle De Connaissance Sur L'europe. Available at <http://www.cvce.eu/> (last consulted on 6.04.2013)

167 Mirela-Luminița Murgescu, 'Memory and History – A Challenge for Young Europeans: Report about the 1989–Images of Change competition organized by EUSTORY', in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 219-240.

issues relating to the teaching and learning of history'.<sup>168</sup> As described in its charter (see Document 3 in Annex), EUSTORY aims at a 'European perspective' that would ultimately help overcoming exclusivist discourses, national pride and self-pity with its motto 'Understanding Differences – Overcoming Divisions' —quite in the line with the discussed 'best ways' of writing European history and searching for a 'European memory'.

Besides the competitions for young Europeans EUSTORY has programmes aimed for professional historians and researchers such as the *Eustory Shaping European History* programme. Hence, between 1998 and 2000, scholars from Britain, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Holland, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia and Sweden participated in a series of conferences at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (KWI) in Essen and the Hamburg-based Körber Foundation in order to look into the problems of 'European historical consciousness'. The results were published in three volumes in the early 2000s under the title: *Shaping European History*.<sup>169</sup> As Attila Pók puts it, the concept of the conferences was *historical consciousness* (*Geschichtsbewusstsein*) and discussions were organised in four levels: the (1) activities of the 'professionals within our *guild*'; the (2) political uses of history; (3) collective memory; and (4) teaching and education. As Pók states, 'we assumed that as the European integration process widens and deepens these four levels would get closer and closer to each other and would share a European horizon, a European approach'.<sup>170</sup> This statement could perfectly be a definition to our concept of academic histoeuropeanisation, of how European history is being promoted and Europeanised from below. In the following section, however, we will deal with the top-down approach: the no less important institutional histoeuropeanisation.

168 Schmidt, 'EUSTORY – A Road Map to a European Perspective of History', pp. 210-213.

169 Published in three volumes within the 'Shaping European History' series are: Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *Approaches to European Historical Consciousness. Reflections and Provocations*; Joke Van Der Leeuw-Roord (ed.), *History for Today and Tomorrow. What Does Europe mean for School History?*; and Attila Pók, Jörn Rüsen and Jutta Scherer (eds.), *European History: Challenge for a Common Future*, by Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2000, 2001 and 2002 respectively.

170 Pók, 'European History — Still a Challenge', pp. 65-77, here 65-66.





**THIRD PART**

---

**INSTITUTIONAL HISTOEUROPEANISATION**



---

## THIRD PART: INSTITUTIONAL HISTOEUROPEANISATION

*'The History, with a capital H, of European construction is inextricable from our own personal history, that of each European citizen. It is not the reserve of those that govern us. We all shape it, as it shapes us, sometimes unbeknown to us. It's our history!'*

MANIFESTO OF THE 'IT'S OUR HISTORY' EXHIBITION (MUSÉE DE L'EUROPE, 2008)<sup>171</sup>

### 1. Old Means, New Purposes: between teleological 'euronationalism' and utopian 'europragmatism'?

An Italian historian compared at an international history conference the university chairs named after Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman as being equivalent to those held by professors of Marxism-Leninism during the Soviet Union. Although it is a provocative claim coming from a Eurosceptic scholar, the founding of such chairs of history and European studies by the European Union is an interesting phenomenon. As Antonio Varsori points out, 'there are no Dwight D. Eisenhower chairs in the history of the Atlantic Alliance co-financed by NATO or Ronald Reagan chairs in Cold War history supported by the United States.'<sup>172</sup> This anecdote illustrates the kind of dilemmas that European institutions have to face when trying to 'appease' the European nationalisms by inferring a European identity from above. Which means should be used? Should European identity be created in the nineteenth-century state-building fashion? Or would this just be the simple replacement of an old teleology for a new one?<sup>173</sup> In Rousso's words:

*'The dilemma of the Europeanization of memory is obvious: on the one hand, to avoid the illusion of tabula rasa and the construction of a completely artificial memory with no real historical basis, and, on the other hand, the incessant rehashing of a still dominated by national passions murderous past?'*<sup>174</sup>

---

171 Cited in Steffi de Jong, 'Is this Us? The Construction of European Woman/Man in the Exhibition *It's Our History!*', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Thematic Section: Exhibiting Europe, Vol. 3, 2011, p. 378.

172 In Varsori, 'From Normative Impetus to Professionalization...', p. 6.

173 Christian Wenkel, 'Préface', in Osmond *et. al.*, *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle...*, p. 13.

174 My translation: 'Das Dilemma einer Europäisierung der Erinnerung liegt auf der Hand: Wie vermeidet man einerseits die Illusion der tabula rasa und die Konstruktion eines vollkommen künstlichen Gedächtnisses ohne reale historische Basis sowie andererseits das unablässige Wiederkäuen einer noch

The answer is not simple, for it is difficult to imagine that a hypothetical ‘identity’ would be able to harmonise European diversity, national divisions, and contradicting memories. On top of that, as Anne-Marie Thiesse puts it: ‘*il y a danger à construire une mémoire – ou une histoire – qui serait spécifique à une communauté, dite européenne, et exclurait du même coup d’autres populations.*’<sup>175</sup> Notwithstanding this fact, the project has been on the table for a few decades now. In this chapter, we will first look at the characteristics of the formation process of European identity, and then we will analyse two separate topics that are essential in such process: the recent discipline of the history of European integration, and the attempts to introduce a European history schoolbook at a European scale.

### **a) The early stages of the quest for a ‘European identity’**

According to Thiesse, we can learn from studying the history and emergence of the nations that ‘the formation of a collective identity is a militant undertaking involving a political project.’<sup>176</sup> For this reason, numerous authors have wondered in recent years whether and to what extent the European institutions (both the EU and the Council of Europe) are implementing their own ‘political project’ in this regard, and studied the problems and attitudes they face when trying to provide Europeans with an identity, based on a collective memory.<sup>177</sup> This process has probably increased in recent years due to the European project being threatened by a ‘deficiency of European identity’ as we previously analysed.

As Véronique Charléty explains, it is the Council of Europe that pioneered in this regard, through providing cultural actions with a legal framework. Hence, the European Cultural Convention was signed by the Council of Europe’s member states on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1954 with the purpose of developing and encouraging Europe’s common cultural patrimony. As Charléty points out: ‘*Il constitue le premier élément du processus d’institutionnalisation d’une nouvelle catégorie d’intervention en Europe, articulée autour du Conseil de l’Europe et d’une nébuleuse d’acteurs non institutionnels.*’ From that point onwards, the Council for

---

*von nationalen Leidenschaften beherrschten mörderischen Vergangenheit?’; in Rouso, ‘Das Dilemma eines Europäischen Gedächtnisses’, p. 374.*

175 Anne-Marie Thiesse, ‘Une Mémoire Commune pour quelle vision de l’Europe ?’, in Geremek and Picht, *Visions d’Europe*, p. 350.

176 Anne-Marie Thiesse, ‘La Lente Invention des Identités Nationales’, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 1999, pp. 12-13. English version available at <http://mondediplo.com/1999/06/05thiesse> (consulted 4.04.2013)

177 See for example Klaus Eder and Willfried Spohn (eds.), *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005.

Cultural Co-Operation ('CDCC') engaged in a series of activities such as (1) conferences with the European ministries of education, culture and cultural patrimony; (2) publications and pedagogical recommendations on 'teaching twentieth-century history in schools'; and (3) financing museums with the aim of '*promouvoir la reconnaissance d'un patrimoine historique et culturel commun, l'inscrire dans une politique éducative, de transmettre des valeurs, un patrimoine et une culture aux jeunes générations dans la perspective de construire l'Europe de demain.*'<sup>178</sup> Both the pedagogical recommendations on how to teach the history of Europe and the most recent museological changes will be addressed later in this work.

On the other hand, the European Communities followed a similar development. In this case, however, the 'search for a European identity' did not start until the early 1970s with the 'Declaration on European Identity' of 14th December 1973 as we have described already in part I. As Stråth recalls, the European Communities realised that any European order would 'transcend' without the European nations being replaced by a new European *demos*. This 'early European identity' attempt, very much in line with the Cold War rhetoric, had a fundamental problem: '*la moitié libre de l'Europe était opposée à sa moitié orientale réduite en esclavage.*'<sup>179</sup>

### **b) The 'Coming of Age' of the History of European Integration**

In 1993, David W. P. Lewis established the point of departure to his *Road to Europe* more than a thousand years ago: '*Carolus Magnus was emperor of Europe ... Yet from the deathbed of an emperor to the birthplace of a Treaty of Union, it has taken eleven centuries to travel the Road to Europe.*'<sup>180</sup> This rhetoric in which the history of Europe is mixed with that of the European integration has been an object of heated debates amongst scholars in recent years. Such was the case of Geremek, who wisely warned: '*j'aimerais discerner la mémoire de l'Union européenne et la mémoire de l'Europe.*'<sup>181</sup> Other historians, such as Cris Shore, have been more severe in blaming the EU for trying to 'invent Europe as a category of thought' and rewriting European history as a 'moral success story: a gradual "coming together" in the shape of the European Community and its institutions.'<sup>182</sup>

178 Véronique Charléty, 'L'Invention du Musée de l'Europe: Contribution à l'analyse des Politiques Symboliques Européennes', *Regards Sociologiques*, No. 27-28, 2004, pp. 151-152.

179 Stråth, 'Histoire, Remémoration Publique et Assomption du Passé', p. 363.

180 Lewis, *The Road to Europe...*, p. 2.

181 Bronisław Geremek, 'La mémoire de l'Europe (interview by Catherine Guisan)', Brussels, 13<sup>th</sup> March 2008; in *Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe, Bronisław Geremek:...*, p. 23.

182 Shore criticised and defined as 'teleological' the already studied book by Jean-Baptiste Duroselle,

As Varsori points out, the history of European integration did not exist as such until very recently, since it was only addressed interdisciplinary by other larger historical, political or economic departments. It was not until the early 1970s that it appeared as a separate category, due to the growing availability of sources and to the role of 'Europe' in Cold War historiography.<sup>183</sup> Hence, in 1979, the French historian René Girault launched an ambitious project at an international level on 'the perception of power politics in western Europe' with the collaboration of Pierre Renouvin, Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, and other diplomatic, political, economic and military historians. The research project focused in four nations —France, the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy— during the periods 1938-1940, 1945-1950 and 1950-1957; and comprised four international conferences in Sèvres (1982), Augsburg (1984), Florence (1987) and London (1992). The results were a series of publications;<sup>184</sup> the creation of a European academic network devoted to the history of European integration; and the emergence of a fresh conceptual and methodological framework for further research in this new field of history.

Organised in four national groups led by historians of established reputation, the main search was carried out by several younger scholars. At the same time they organised several international conferences that served to exchange views between the older and the younger historians, and also between different national traditions. For about a decade, this collective experience gave birth to an informal transnational network of historians with common interests such as the awareness that post-war European history could be better understood from a multinational approach. Walter Lipgens was one of the pioneers in the history of European integration. He published some of the first serious works in the discipline, but also organised and encouraged comparative research on European integration.<sup>185</sup> One of these projects took place in 1977 at the then

---

*Europe: A History of its Peoples*; in Cris Shore, *Building Europe. The Cultural Politics of European Integration*, Routledge, London, 2000, pp. 57-60; cited in Varsori, 'From Normative Impetus to Professionalization...', pp. 6-7.

183 This whole section builds on Varsori, 'From Normative Impetus to Professionalization...', pp. 8-10.

184 René Girault and Robert Frank (eds.), *La Puissance en Europe, 1938-1940*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, 1984; Josef Becker and Franz Knipping (eds.), *Power in Europe? Vol I. Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a Postwar World, 1945-1950*, W. De Gruyter, Berlin, 1986; Enni Di Nolfo (ed.), *Power in Europe? Vol II. Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the Origins of the EEC, 1952-1957*, W. De Gruyter, Berlin, 1992; and Michael Dockrill (ed.), *Europe within the Global System, 1938-1960. Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. From Great Powers to Regional Powers*, Brockmeyer, Bochum, 1995.

185 See for example Walter Lipgens, *Die Anfänge der europäischen Einigungspolitik, 1945-1950. Erster Teil: 1945-1947* [*The beginnings of European integration policy, 1945-1950. Part One: 1945-1947*], Klett, Stuttgart, 1977 (Note that the second volume was never published due to Lipgens' death in 1984); and the four volumes edited by Lipgens on *Documents on the History of European Integration*, De Gruyter,

recently-established European University Institute (1976), where a group of historians concluded that the access to both state and private archives was a *sine qua non* for any serious research on the topic.<sup>186</sup>

From the 1980s, the EU —and particularly the European Commission— has been quite committed to historians, as seen through the example of the ‘International Conference of Professors of Contemporary History’ (Luxembourg, 1982)<sup>187</sup>, organised by the Commission’s Directorate for Information. At this conference, to which more than 80 historians attended, they realised of the need to create a liaison committee of European historians for research on European integration. Approved by unanimity, the committee entered into action in 1983 with a strong commitment for the cause:

*‘This committee, on which two historians from each member state or applicant country would be represented, would have the following tasks:*

- 1. To publicize information on work done by historians on post-war European history;*
- 2. To advise the Communities on supporting activities in this field;*
- 3. To help researchers in making better use of source material at their disposal;*
- 4. To initiate or encourage meetings between historians in this area.’*

The Commission supported the Liaison Committee offering the Directorate-General for Information Communication and Culture to celebrate their meetings twice a year, financed their conferences and even incorporated a ‘historians’ corner’ in the Directorate-General’s bulletin. More important was the series of books that followed,

---

Berlin, 1984-1991; For more information about the author see as well Wolfram Kaiser, ‘Überzeugter Katholik und CDU-Wähler: zur Historiographie der Integrationsgeschichte am Beispiel von Walter Lipgens’ [‘Convinced Catholic and CDU-voter: the historiography of the history of integration on the example of Walter Lipgens’], *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol. 8, 2002, pp. 119-128.

186 As a result of such discussions, Lipgens edited *Sources for the History of European Integration. A Guide to Archives in the Countries of the Community*, Springer Verlag, Leiden, 1980; cited in Jost Dülffer, ‘Le Bilan Historiographique. De l’Histoire de l’Intégration à l’Histoire Intégrée de l’Europe’, in Gérard Bossuat, *et. al.* (eds.), *L’Expérience Européenne. 50 Ans de Construction de l’Europe, 1957-2007: des Historiens en Dialogue (Actes du Colloque International de Rome 2007)*, Groupe de Liaison des Professeurs d’Histoire Contemporaine Auprès de la Commission Européenne, Bruylant/Brussels, LGDJ/Paris, Nomos Verlag/Baden-Baden, 2010, p. 13.

187 J. Van Der Meulen, ‘The Historical Archives of the European Communities. International Conference of Professors of Contemporary History ‘Study of the beginnings of the European Integration. The Value of source material and records, 1946-1952’ in Luxembourg, 28-29 January 1982’, Commission of the European Communities, University Information, Brussels, 1982, pp. 69-80.

being simultaneously published in Belgium (Bruylant), France (LGDJ), Germany (Nomos) and Italy (Giuffrè).<sup>188</sup>

The ‘refinement of the genre’ —As Katja Seidel puts it— arrived with the creation of the quarterly *Contemporary European History* and the *Journal of European Integration History* in 1992 and 1995 respectively, that represent the ‘coming of age’ of the history of European integration as a sub-field of history by itself.<sup>189</sup>

### c) Europe in the Classrooms: A European history textbook?

*‘Et je citerai l’éducation européenne, Mesdames et Messieurs. Je suis un historien et je sais donc que pour former il faut des lieux de mémoire, des légendes, de l’imagination et des faits qui permettent de se sentir unis. Ces moyens d’éducation européenne, nous ne les avons pas encore mis en oeuvre, mais je suis certain que nous pourrions le faire maintenant ... des manuels d’histoire contemporaine communs ont été élaborés (France-Allemagne) ou sont en cours d’élaboration (Pologne-Allemagne) ; c’est un travail qui rappelle que l’unification de l’Europe repose avant tout sur la réconciliation des ennemis d’autrefois. C’est un travail qui correspond par excellence à l’esprit européen.’<sup>190</sup>*

Bronisław Geremek’s words are to be found as perfectly suitable for the time being, since the teaching of younger generations in European history is an imperative *sine qua non* for any imaginable ‘European’ community. However, as everything we have discussed so far, this is not an easy subject, for it is difficult to find consensus between scholars, national interests and hostilities to the European supranational institutions. The first attempts to ‘appease’ the national component in European history textbooks were proposed during the World Peace Congress in Paris (1889), when the ‘drum-and-trumpet history textbooks’ were severely criticised for their potential ‘dangers.’<sup>191</sup> As showed in a recent study though, today history textbooks still remain very ‘national’. Falk Pingel’s analysis showed that European history textbooks deal with twentieth-century history above all from a national perspective (30-50% of the content); whereas the European (30-40%) and global (10-20%) perspectives are much less stressed. In Southeastern European

---

188 In Varsori, ‘From Normative Impetus to Professionalization...’, pp. 13-15.

189 See Katja Seidel, ‘From Pioneer Work to Refinement: Publication Trends’, in Kaiser and Varsori, *European Union History...*, pp. 26-44.

190 Bronisław Geremek, ‘L’Intégration Européenne après l’Élargissement : craintes et défis’, Milan, 16 June 2007; In: Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l’Europe, *Bronisław Geremek...*, p. 56.

191 This is Rathkolb’s own expression; for a comprehensive periodisation on earlier European history textbooks attempts since the late 1890s see Oliver Rathkolb, ‘The Quest for a European History Textbook in the 1960s’, in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 111-121, here p. 111.



countries, national history is particularly represented (50-60%).<sup>192</sup> For Susanne Popp, however, this is not alarming to a certain extent, since national narratives are usually ‘anchored’ to a supranational European tradition.<sup>193</sup> What are the difficulties faced by historians when given the task of writing a European history textbook? Here we will be looking at three different opinions.

The first two issues are related to the already discussed time and space. As Hartmut Kaelble questions: which is the date that is supposed to ‘mark’ the beginning of European history? Are the prehistoric cave drawings the first signals of an emerging culture in the European territory? Or is it the Antiquity, where most of Europe’s roots are based? Why not Charlemagne’s first ‘European’ empire, or the ‘European’ awareness of the latter Middle Age? The second issue relates to Europe’s borders during the course of history. According to Kaelble there are two solutions in this regard: the more normative possibility of justifying geographical limits alleging that there is historical consensus; or raising these debates at the preface and providing with different answers in each historical epoch. Lastly, he makes an important remark on ‘how to reconcile Europe’s unity with its diversity’:

*‘Dealing exclusively with historical tendencies that gravitate towards the unification of Europe is as counterproductive as to lay down dogmatically in advance that European history can only be present satisfactorily by uniformly stressing its diversity.’<sup>194</sup>*

For John Horne, likewise, there are three basic ideas to bear in mind when writing a European history textbook: (1) it must provide with an integrated —not integral— vision of European history; (2) it must encourage a critical-thinking approach to history, essential for tomorrow’s citizens; and (3) it must balance the relation between the nation-states and Europe in such a way that both keep their role in the story; and all of this bearing in mind the possibilities and level of depth in school curricula.<sup>195</sup>

The last of the scholarly approaches we will be discussing concerns the Council of Europe and its above-mentioned publications concerning history textbooks. However, according to

192 In Falk Pingel, *The European Home: Representations of 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe in History Text-books*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2000. Cited in Andreja Valič, ‘A European History Textbook as an Opportunity’, in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, p. 96.

193 Popp, ‘Can a Canon of European Images Provide an Alternative?’, p. 79.

194 Hartmut Kaelble, ‘Writing a Handbook of European History’, in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 39-41.

195 John Horne, ‘Une Histoire à Repenser’, Vingtième Siècle. Revue d’Histoire, No. 71, (July-September 2001), p. 67.

Tatiana Minkina-Milko, deputy head of the History Education Division of the Council of Europe, the views of the Council of Europe regarding history teaching has changed according to different political events. In this sense, documents such as the ‘Recommendation (2001)15 on History teaching in twenty-first-century Europe’,<sup>196</sup> show the impact of the fall of the Berlin Wall: ‘when the notion of Europe started to change and a so-called Greater Europe became a distinct possibility.’<sup>197</sup> On top of that, the Council of Europe has also published a series of publications with guidelines on how to teach twentieth-century European history aimed for history teachers.<sup>198</sup> Robert Stradling, who has authored two of these publications, states the aims of one of these books as being threefold:

*[1] to encourage history teachers throughout Europe to extend the breadth of their teaching on the 20th century, in particular to introduce a wider European dimension, that takes account of the main forces, movements and events which have shaped the whole continent over the last 100 years;*

*[2] to provide them with a wide range of perspectives, teaching ideas and illustrative material on those topics, themes and events which have been of particular significance to Europe as a whole;*

*[3] to offer some practical advice, based on teachers’ own experiences, of how to make effective use of some of the more innovative teaching and learning activities, including the new communication technologies, in their teaching.’<sup>199</sup>*

Now, after these three recommendations on how to teach twentieth-century history in primary education, and before we analyse some of the European history textbooks, we will have a brief overview to Kaelble’s four categories of European history textbooks, a result of analysing the production of the last fifteen years:

- (1) One possibility is writing a European history compounded by **miniature**

---

196 Council of Europe (Committee of Ministers), ‘Recommendation Rec(2001)15 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe’, 31 October 2001. Available at <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=234237> (consulted on 7.04.2013)

197 Tatiana Minkina-Milko, ‘Teaching History for Reconciliation and Tolerance: Experience of the Council of Europe’, in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 241-258, here p. 242.

198 See for example: Robert Stradling, *The European Content of the School History Curriculum*, Council of Europe (Council for Cultural Co-operation), Strasbourg, 1995; Marc Ferro and Henry Frendo (eds.), *Learning and Teaching about the History of Europe in the 20th Century: Towards a Pluralist and Tolerant Approach to Teaching History: a Range of Sources and New Didactics*, Council of Europe Publishing, Belgium, 1999; Falk Pingel, *The European Home: Representations of 20th century Europe in History Text-books*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2000. Robert Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg, 2001.

199 Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*, p. 16.

**national histories** in the framework of the general Europe trends. The upside of this method is that the reader is introduced to each country; the downside is the fact that a few pages are not enough to present the national history of each country.

- (2) One of the most used methods is the ‘**thematic tour d’horizon**’, as called by Kaelble, in which miniature national histories are distributed along the different periods of European history. In this approach, each topic is treated ‘by paying a sort of flying visit to each European country that is relevant to the theme.’ The most positive is that the reader gets a ‘bird’s-eye view’ of the whole picture at the same time that intra-European differences are shown. However, this approach fails to provide the reader with enough accounts for each theme as to see whether it is the similarities or the differences that concern a given period.
- (3) Another possibility is to treat the **history of Europe as a whole**. Here, the historian has to ‘historicise’ the intra-European variety by distinguishing between periods in which the European convergences (*e.g.* Roman Empire, the Enlightenment, or post-1950 European integration) are predominant from those in which the differences drive Europe to disaster (*e.g.* disintegration of the Roman Empire, Religion Wars, or nineteenth-century nationalisms). This has been Krzysztof Pomian’s chosen approach for the House of European History, to be opened in Brussels in 2015 —we will comment on this museum later.
- (4) The last approach pays attention to both the **unifying and the dividing features** for each given historical period. An obvious example of this ‘contradiction’ type of narration would be the Cold War, characterised by the European integration process at the same time that the Soviet Union controlled half of the continent.<sup>200</sup>

These four theoretical approaches to a European history textbook serve as the perfect framework to start assessing three European history textbook projects:

- (1) One of the most significant —but not only<sup>201</sup>— attempts to introduce a

<sup>200</sup> Kaelble, ‘Writing a Handbook of European History’, pp. 42-44.

<sup>201</sup> See the interesting and comprehensive collection published by Cambridge University Press in its ‘New Approaches to European History’ series. To name some: Jonathan Sperber, *The European*

*European history textbook From the beginning until the 21<sup>st</sup> century*,<sup>202</sup> was arguably a failure at least in view of its lack of diffusion, and because it was never approved for school teaching despite the fact that it was translated into all European languages. As Popp points out, it seems that schoolbook authors from post-communist states have seen the book as a ‘Western European benchmark, a “collection” of iconic sources that met the particular criteria of Western history textbooks and accorded well with the new master narratives and with liberal principles of history teaching.’<sup>203</sup> On the other hand, Frédéric Delouche also emphasises the upside: the fact that it was adopted by some schools in Belarus, Russia and several universities in Japan, China, South Korea and the USA. This means it really is a quality introduction to Europe’s history after all. What made it fail in Europe then? As Delouche explains this might be due to a series of national reactions. The Finnish ambassador in Paris, for instance, wanted to promote the book in his country until he realised that it did not make any reference to the Kalevala epic poems published in 1835 in Finnish. Similarly, the Poles were ‘up in arms’ due to Katyń being placed on a map ‘slightly too far east of Smolensk’ in words of Delouche. Finally, the Greeks publishers and authorities refused to print it because their country was sharing a chapter heading with Rome (‘Greek Wisdom, Roman Grandeur’) and therefore ‘it was not sufficiently clear that Greece had invented civilization’ and because.<sup>204</sup>

- (2) Peter Geiss defines the experience as a coordinator of the writing of the **Franco-German manual** as a ‘riddle’. As he points out, his team had many

---

*Revolutions, 1848-1851*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994; Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 9, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996; Robert S. Duplessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 10, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997; James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 19, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000; Ulinka Rublick, *Reformation Europe*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 28, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005; James Lehning, *European Colonialism since 1700*, Series New Approaches to European History, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, not yet published (available from July 2013).

- 202 The textbook is co-authored by 15 historians from different Member States: Frédéric Delouche (ed.) *Das europäische Geschichtsbuch. Von den Anfängen bis ins 21. Jahrhundert* [*The European history book. From the beginning until the 21st century*], rev. ed. Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 2012.
- 203 Popp, ‘Can a Canon of European Images Provide an Alternative?’, pp. 85-86.
- 204 Frédéric Delouche, ‘The Rise and Fall of History-of-Europe School Textbook Projects: a Case Study (a Personal Experience)’, in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 127-128.

difficulties when trying to harmonise two different pedagogical cultures and two different histories within the same volume.<sup>205</sup> Probably because of this experience, Geiss is sceptic about the possibility of writing a European history textbook:

*‘Nothing would be more artificial and useless than a European textbook ... Such a “Big Tale” within which each period and event would have a specifically European meaning would create a new postnational teleology ... If there is such a thing as a European identity, it seems to be associated with scepticism about ideologies, all too coherent narratives of History and the capacity of understanding alternative interpretations of reality ... Instead of creating new myths ... and harmonising different traditions, a European textbook will have to be polyphonic and open to discussion.’<sup>206</sup>*

There are many authors that have worked on and analysed the extent to which the Franco-German textbooks reinforce Franco-German ‘historical reconciliation’.<sup>207</sup> In analysing the case of history didactics in Germany, Popp firmly rejects the fact that ‘a Europeanisation of the teaching of history in the sense of a prescribed levelling from above of the variety of developed historical identities’ is currently happening. Despite the absence of a ‘European’ dimension in Germany’s history textbooks, however, Popp points towards an increasing awareness of this issue at an academic level, which may bring changes in a near future.<sup>208</sup>

205 Although the first volume covering the long period between Ancient Greece and the Napoleonic Age is still being prepared, the second (*Histoire/Geschichte. L’Europe et le monde tu congrès de Vienne à 1945*) and third (*Histoire/Geschichte. L’Europe et le monde depuis 1945*) volumes have already been published in Paris (Nathan) and Leipzig (Klett) under the coordination of Peter Geiss, Daniel Henri and Guillaume Quintrec, in 2008 and 2006 respectively.

206 Peter Geiss, ‘Beyond National Narratives – a French-German Contribution to the Making of European History’, in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 202-203.

207 See Emmanuel Droit, ‘Entre Histoire Croisée et Histoire Dénationalisée. Le Manuel Franco-Allemand d’Histoire’, *Pédagogies de l’Histoire*, Vol. 114, 2007, pp. 151-162; or the two articles by Corine Defrance, and Ulrich Pfeil, ‘Au Service du Rapprochement Franco-Allemand. Dialogue d’Historiens de Part et d’autre du Rhin’; and, Anne Bazin, ‘Produire un Récit Commun : les Commissions d’historiens, Acteurs de la Réconciliation’, both in Mink and Neumayer, *L’Europe et ses Passés Dououreux*, pp. 91-103 and 104-117, respectively.

208 See for example Jörn Rüsen, ‘Europäisches Geschichtsbewusstsein als Herausforderung an die Geschichtsdidaktik’ [‘European Historical Awareness as Challenge for History Didactics’], in Marko Demantowsky and Bernd Schönemann (eds.), *Neue geschichtsdidaktische Positionen [New History Didactical Positions]*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Projekt, Bochum, 2006, pp. 57-64; and Bernd Schönemann, ‘Europäische Geschichte als Gegenstand und Problem der Geschichtsdidaktik’ [‘European History as Subject and Problem of History Didactics’], in Manfred Seidenfuß (ed.) *et. al., Vorstellungen und Vorgestelltes [Imaginations and Imaginated]*, Ars Una, Neuried, 2002, pp. 211-230. The citation is from Popp, ‘Can

- (3) Our last example concerns the region of Southeastern Europe, extending from Slovenia to Cyprus. Initiated in 1998 by the NGO *Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe* (CDRSEE), the **'Joint History Project'** has aimed since then at harmonising the different history teaching traditions in the mentioned region, introducing joint history books. They deliberately included traumatic, peaceful, political, economic and cultural historical experiences; and portrayed 'great men' and well-known political figures alongside children and women, 'the anonymous protagonists of historical change', since fighting discrimination and stereotypes was also one of the main criteria when planning the textbooks.<sup>209</sup> The 'Joint History Project' also provided teachers with specific training on 'sensitive and controversial issues', and produced a series of publications.<sup>210</sup> The most important contribution however might be proving that a regional Southeast-European history (and by extension any other European region's history) is compatible with a major history of Europe, and rather more feasible than a unique European history textbook given the difficulties we have already discussed.

As we have seen, many authors are sceptic about a common history textbook for the whole continent, but there are other alternatives. To Bodo von Borries, the gigantic task of writing European History must not be addressed 'top-down' by introducing a 'perfectly uniform textbook'; but rather 'bottom-up', through a process of 'gradual learning, mutual approach, [and] common experiments'. In von Borries' view, even in the hypothetical case that a common history textbook was introduced all around Europe, it would work very differently in Western and Eastern Europe, poorer or richer regions, states governed by 'conservative' or 'progressive' governments, and so on, producing very different effects from those desired initially.<sup>211</sup>

Let me conclude this section and introduce the next one with an anecdote. When referring to the statement 'there is too much history per square kilometre', Joke Van Der Leuw-Roord, founder member and president of EUROCLIO, pointed out

---

a Canon of European Images Provide an Alternative?', p. 81.

209 Kolouri, 'The Joint History Project Books...', pp. 131-149.

210 See for example the two publications edited as well by Christina Kolouri: *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, and *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education*; Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, Southeast European Joint History Project, Thessaloniki, 2001 and 2002 respectively.

211 Bodo von Borries, 'Intentions, Results and Reception of the "Youth and History" Project (1995)', in Rathkolb, *How to (Re)Write European History...*, pp. 151-177, here p. 175.

that: ‘The critical question is not what we should include in the history curriculum, it is what we should leave out.’<sup>212</sup> In this section we have discussed the possibility of introducing a common European history textbook, therefore aiming at the youngest generation and future European citizens. If fitting Europe’s history in a textbook was not complex enough, in the last section of my thesis we will analyse how institutional histoeuropeanisation has worked in the museological field by trying to ‘fit’ Europe’s history into the same building, as a means to present it to the general public.

---

<sup>212</sup> Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, ‘An Overview of the way in which the History of the twentieth century is presented in Curricula in some European Countries’, presented at a Council of Europe seminar on ‘The Reform of the Curricula for Teaching 20th-century history in Secondary Schools’, Moldova, June 1998; cited in Stradling, *Teaching 20<sup>th</sup>-century European History*, p. 21.

## 2. 'Europe in a Museum': assessing three case studies of musealisation

### a) How to 'fit' the history of Europe into a Museum?

As Krankenhagen points out, the paradoxical consequence of the Europeanisation of the museological field is that museums no longer possess their traditional narrative-setting capacities due to the increasing cultural and ethnic diversification in European society:

*'...there is no longer any single narrative that is so powerful as to be capable of establishing itself as a new master narrative —including any European master-narrative in a museum.'*

Instead, he argues, museums are understood nowadays as an 'arena' or 'places of negotiation' where the 'conquest of the future' takes place. To put it in Nietzschean terms, they have left behind the exercise of 'antiquarian history' in order to become actors of the present and the future.<sup>213</sup> This contextual factor, however, is only one of the multiple issues that the recent 'European museums' have to deal with. There is still the question of where to establish a museum of Europe, who is in charge of the museum, who funds it, who promotes it, and who decides 'which' history of Europe must be represented and in what manner. As Peter Burke points out, whereas the diversity of possibilities is obvious enough, the most problematic is to discover how to 'structure' that variety.<sup>214</sup>

Camille Mazé, who has studied these museums in depth, explains that the beginning to the '*volonté d'européanisation*' through historical and ethnological museums can be well defined through the time and space parameters (Table 2). Most of the projects 'took off' by the mid-1980s and early 1990s, in five of the six founding members of the EEC —the 'old Europe'.<sup>215</sup> Hence, by 1996, the Council of Europe's Venice Commission had proposed the creation of a 'European district' in Luxembourg —comprising a museum, archives, a 'European academy' and a library— that would be '*symbole de l'héritage culturel commun des peuples et des Etats membres de l'Union*'. The project stagnated after a series of disputes with the European Commission —potentially, the main funding partner— concerning, amongst others, the location of the museums.<sup>216</sup> Mazé has also studied the actors and promoters involved, as well as the museological changes in Europe in the last decades that have given birth to 'the museums of Europe'. In the following page (Table 3) we can see a summary of all these elements that show the diversity, but

---

213 Krankenhagen, 'Exhibiting Europe...', pp. 272-273. The reference to Nietzsche is also Krankenhagen's.

214 Burke, 'How to Write a History of Europe...', p. 235.

215 Mazé, 'Des Usages Politiques du Musée à l'Échelle Européenne...', p. 77.

216 Charléty, 'L'Invention du Musée de l'Europe...', p. 154.



also the main trends, in this recent museological typology. In the next section, after this overall introduction, we will assess two of the most celebrated attempts to 'musealise' the history of Europe.

TABLE 2: REPRODUCED FROM MAZÉ, 'DES USAGES POLITIQUES DU MUSÉE À L'ÉCHELLE EUROPÉENNE...', P. 79.<sup>217</sup>

<b>MUSEUMS OF EUROPE'S SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL LOCALISATION</b>			
<b>NAME</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>ORIGINAL PROJECT</b>	<b>OPENING TO PUBLIC</b>
<b>Museum Europäischer Kulturen</b>	Berlin	Mid -1980s	1999
<b>Lieu d'Europe</b>	Strasbourg	Mid -1980s	[Autumn 2013]
<b>Deutsches Historisches Museum</b>	Berlin	Mid -1980s	1994/2001
<b>Musée de l'Union</b>	Luxembourg	Mid -1990s	Abandoned
<b>MuCEM</b> [Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée]	Marseille	Mid -1990s	[7 June 2013]
<b>Musée de l'Europe</b>	Brussels	Mid -1990s	1997
<b>Museion per l'Europa</b>	Turin	Late -1990s	Abandoned
<b>Bauhaus Europa</b>	Aachen	Early -2000s	Abandoned
<b>Maison de l'Histoire de l'Europe</b>	Brussels	Mid -2000s	[Autumn 2015]
<b>Musée Européen Schengen</b>	Strasbourg	Late -2000s	June 2010

<sup>217</sup> Translation into English is mine. My corrections to the original table concerning the deferral of the museum's opening to public are shown in brackets. These changes have been made accordingly to the information provided in the museums' websites, included in the bibliography (last consulted on 6.05.2013).

TABLE 3: FROM MAZÉ, 'DES USAGES POLITIQUES DU MUSÉE À L'ÉCHELLE EUROPÉENNE...', P. 88.

MUSEUMS OF EUROPE'S ACTORS, PROMOTERS AND APPROACHES						
NAME	STATUS	FUNDING	PROMOTER(S)	PROJECT EXECUTOR(S)	DEVELOPER(S)	APPROACHES
Museum Europäischer Kulturen	National museum	Public ( <i>Land</i> , state, EU)	Museum specialists and researchers	Erika Karasek and Konrad Vanja (ethnologists and curators)	Museologists	European ethnology, culture and multicultural identity
Lieu d'Europe	Not defined	Not defined	Local politicians and entrepreneurs	Alexis Lehman and Henri Mathian (entrepreneurs)	'Strasbourg Promotion' and 'Événements Créamuse'	European/European institutions history
Deutsches Historisches Museum	NGO (National Museum from 2008)	Public ( <i>Land</i> , state)	State, <i>Land</i>	historians and museologists	Museologists	German/Berlin history as representative of European history
Musée de l'Union	Not defined	Not defined	Venice Commission	Not defined	Not realised	European institutions' history
MuCEM	National museum	Public (region, state)	Museologists	Michel Colardelle and Bruno Suzzarelli	Museologists	European civilisation, cosmopolitan and euro-mediterranean identity
Musée de l'Europe	NGO	Public (local, state, EU) and private	Entrepreneurs, historians and politicians	Elie Barnavi and Krzysztof Pomian (historians)	Museum staff/Société 'Tempora'	European history and integration, common values
Museion per l'Europa	Regional	Not defined	City and Region of Turin	Danielle Jalla (museologist) and Ugo Perone (philosopher)	Not realised	European history and art
Bauhaus Europa	Regional	Public (region, EU)	Tripartite region	Hermann Schäffer (historian)	Not realised	European history and art
House of European History	Not defined	Public (European Parliament)	Hans-Gert Pöttering (former E. Parliament president)	Hans-Walter Hütter (historian) and Taja Vovk van Gaal (museologist)	Historians and museologists	European history, common values
Musée Européen Schengen	National museum	Public (State)	Luxembourg's Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Marie-Paul Jungblut (museologist)	Museologists	Schengen treaties' history

## b) Le Musée de l'Europe (1997) and the 'It's Our History!' exhibition

The *Musée de l'Europe* aimed to be, as they made public in their official brochure, a 'centre d'interprétation de l'histoire de l'Europe destiné à initier les citoyens européens de tous âges à la logique historique de l'entreprise d'unification de l'Europe'.<sup>218</sup> Yet from the beginning, as their promoters pointed out, the museum was devoted to the history of the 'European idea'; and aimed to demonstrate that Europeans share a common history and civilization, that the current unification period is not the first in European history, and that it is precisely this '*histoire partagée*' that makes the current unification process possible.<sup>219</sup> This particular and ambitious project was initiated both by intellectuals and by entrepreneurs. Amongst the intellectuals we find Elie Barnavi, historian and former scientific director of the museum, who is also strongly committed with the 'European' cause, which he considers a

*'réalité historique objective; que, en dépit des guerres innombrables qui semblent prouver le contraire (ou peut-être à cause d'elles), l'Europe a émergé dès le haut Moyen âge, dans l'esprit de ses élites, comme une entité culturelle homogène; et qu'en conséquence de quoi, on s'est mis dès le début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à dresser des plans pour son unification politique.'*<sup>220</sup>

On the other hand, Benoît Remiche, owner of the group 'Tempora' and secretary general of the *Musée de l'Europe*, acknowledges that projecting a museum of such characteristics is essentially a political move, especially when it concerns a '*musée identitaire*' of such characteristics. For that reason, he recognises that the museum's vision is to a certain extent teleological, although not necessarily normative:

*'La difficulté est de savoir comment nous allons rendre compte de l'histoire des Balkans, de l'histoire de la Grèce, de Byzance, comment faire un parcours alors que notre vision est, en partie, téléologique, pour essayer de montrer que l'Union européenne repose sur un socle commun ou une civilisation commune. Les choses sont loin d'être figées et c'est une réflexion qui anime fortement notre comité scientifique.'*<sup>221</sup>

<sup>218</sup> Cited in Charléty, 'L'Invention du Musée de l'Europe...', p. 160.

<sup>219</sup> See for example Eryck de Rubercy, 'Un musée pour l'Europe: un Entretien avec Marie-Louise von Plessen et Krzysztof Pomian', *Revue en Ligne: Études Européennes*, 2004, p. 2. Available at [http://www.etudes-europeennes.eu/images/stories/Archives/5-6\\_Muse\\_Europe\\_E\\_de\\_Rubercy.pdf](http://www.etudes-europeennes.eu/images/stories/Archives/5-6_Muse_Europe_E_de_Rubercy.pdf) (consulted on 29.12.2012)

<sup>220</sup> Barnavi, 'Mille Ans de Construction Européenne', p. 23.

<sup>221</sup> Cited in Charléty, 'L'Invention du Musée de l'Europe...', p. 149.

The *Musée de l'Europe*'s most celebrated exhibition has been '*It's Our History!*' presented both in Brussels ('*C'est notre histoire!*') and Wrocław ('*To Nasza Historia!*') between October 2007 and March 2008, comprising more than five hundred items borrowed from eighty museums around Europe. According to Steffi de Jong the aims of the exhibition were threefold: (1) to 'fight' the various national narratives shown in national history museums by presenting a 'European history of Europe'; (2) as an 'antidote' to a perceived 'Euro-fatigue' produced by Brussels' daily bureaucracy; and (3) to create 'the place of memory that Europe needs', as a response to Pierre Nora's thesis that we live in a society characterized by the 'end of the tradition of memory'. As De Jong concludes, the project had clearly identity-building purposes: 'to reintegrate Europeans into their history, ultimately lead[s] to a heightened awareness of European history and promote an active European citizenship.'<sup>222</sup>

The exhibition starts with a section called '1945: Europe, year zero', from which Europe appears as a 'phoenix emerging from the ashes' into a more united Europe.<sup>223</sup> Shortly after, the museum exhibits some sort of 'pantheon of founding fathers'. Organised along seven cases there are objects representing seven pioneers of European integration — at least one per founding member state— such as busts, treaty-signing photos and personal objects.<sup>224</sup> According to De Jong, the Treaty of Rome is presented as a relic in the exhibition: 'the very first room, on the other hand, shows Gunter Demnig's '*Friedensrolle*', a lead sculpture of a long roll engraved with the names of the various peace treaties signed in Europe since 260 BC emerging from a typewriter. As the sources of the museum state, the roll is intended to show that 'each [...] peace treaty marked only an interlude in a state of war that had become considered as part of the course'. This invites to think that the Treaty of Rome has been only the last —though most successful— attempt to bring peace to Europe.'<sup>225</sup>

One of the most revolutionary facts of this exhibition is that it includes testimonies from randomly chosen Europeans representing all member states. Hence, the European motto 'unity in diversity' is materialised in the 'family' picture of the twenty-seven

---

222 Steffi de Jong, 'Is this Us? The Construction of European Woman/Man in the Exhibition *It's Our History!*', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Thematic Section: Exhibiting Europe, Vol. 3, 2011, pp. 372-373.

223 This particularly relates to our chapter on 'Euromyths'. In De Jong, 'Is this Us?...', p. 378.

224 Such as Paul-Henri Spaak's pair of glasses, Jean Monnet's walking stick, Robert Schuman's Passport and Konrad Adenauer's watering can. In Wolfram Kaiser, 'From Great Men to Ordinary Citizens? The Biographical Approach to Narrating European Integration in Museums', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Thematic Section: Exhibiting Europe, Vol. 3, 2011, pp. 388-389.

225 De Jong, 'Is this Us?...', p. 377.

Europeans whose testimonies form part of the exhibition. According to the *Musée de l'Europe's* own educational guide, 'this could have been an official photograph of a European summit with the EU heads of state and government, but it isn't. These are 27 ordinary European citizens.'<sup>226</sup> Tempora, the company in charge of the exhibition, has claimed that they were not guided by any particular profile when selecting the 27 witnesses. However, as Wolfram Kaiser puts it, 'most of the 27 testimonies clearly appear to have been neatly selected and arranged so as to cover most of the EU's major objectives and policies'. One of them even 'replicates one to one European Commission policy papers and rhetoric'. Kaiser believes that through choosing peoples from a rather transnationally oriented background — 'well-educated middle-/upper-middle class professionals' — the curators inadvertently portrayed a *quasi*-autobiographical narration of the European integration process.<sup>227</sup> To De Jong, however, the use of witnesses can be seen 'as part of a post-modern turn in museology characterised by an attempt to avoid master-narratives'. Furthermore, the use of individual testimonies in museums appeals to the visitors' emotions with the subsequent empathy and identification with the different stories. In words of Thomas Thiemeyer: 'personal history emotionalises, because it enables identification, generates loyalty and permits sympathy. It appeals to man ... as a species.'<sup>228</sup> Wolfram Kaiser puts it otherwise: the history of European integration 'appears to lack drama.'<sup>229</sup>

### c) The House of European History (2015): challenges and aspirations of a truly European museum

In February 2007, shortly after his appointment as President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering expressed his commitment

*'to create a locus for history and for the future where the concept of the European idea can continue to grow. I would like to suggest the founding of a "House of European History". It should [be] a place where a memory of European history and the work of European unification is jointly cultivated, and which at the same time is available as a locus for the*

<sup>226</sup> Musée de l'Europe, *Europe, It's our History!: Educational Guide*, 2007. Available at *Europe, It's our History!: Educational Guide*, 2007. Available at [http://www.expo-europe.be/images/pdf/cnh\\_cahier\\_peda\\_uk.pdf](http://www.expo-europe.be/images/pdf/cnh_cahier_peda_uk.pdf) (consulted on 20.03.2013)

<sup>227</sup> Kaiser, 'From Great Men to Ordinary Citizens?...', p. 393.

<sup>228</sup> Thomas Thiemeyer, *Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln. Die beiden Weltkriege im Museum [Continuation of war by other means. The two world wars in the museum]*, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2010, p. 244; cited in De Jong, 'Is this Us?...', p. 374.

<sup>229</sup> Kaiser, 'From Great Men to Ordinary Citizens?...', pp. 385-400.

*European identity to go on being shaped by present and future citizens of the European Union*.<sup>230</sup>

Since then, the necessary arrangements have been taking place in this regard in the Eastman Building of Brussels' Leopold Park. The 'House' will consist of a permanent exhibition with a display area of approximately 4000m<sup>2</sup>, together with documentation and an information centre, amounting to a total surface of 8000m<sup>2</sup>. In addition, the House of European History will organise temporary and travelling exhibitions with the aim of 'reaching people in all parts of Europe and beyond', and will issue its own publications. In order 'to contribute to the political education of all members of the public', the entry is planned to be free (see Document 4 in Annex).<sup>231</sup>

Although the shape of the museum's scientific committee has changed through the different stages of the conceptual genesis of the 'House', the current team is formed by renowned historians, exhibition curators and museologists from various countries such as Norman Davies, António Reis, Mária Schmidt, Walter Hütter, Matti Klinge, Włodzimierz Borodziej, and Oliver Rathkolb. As the director of the scientific team, Taja Vovk van Gaal, points out very much in line with what we have discussed throughout this work, the titanic task of 'fitting' the history of Europe into a museum has been a challenge from the beginning:

*'...the House's ambitious remit amplifies questions of content and selection, as multiple and subjective definitions of Europe complicate the Museum's aim to tell the story of Europe from its origins to its future.'*

As Vovk van Gaal explains, the attitude of the scientific committee towards addressing these challenges is very much related to everything we have discussed in this thesis, due to the pioneering nature of the museum. Some of these methodological approaches are the approaching of common 'cross-European themes' and different collective identities; the use of an ample definition of Europe's chronology and geography; or offering interesting stories that appeal to the 'ordinary' European citizen rather than a monolithic master narrative on European history. At the same time, Vovk van Gaal explains that the 'House' will also emphasise challenging and controversial topics such as the Holocaust and the various issues around its memory —or lack of it. Furthermore, the permanent exhibition will be updated periodically, each eight years, and will be available in each of the EU's

---

<sup>230</sup> In Committee of Experts (House of European History), 'Conceptual Basis for a House of European History', Brussels, October 2008, p. 4. Available at [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004\\_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721_en.pdf) (last consulted on 8.05.2013)

<sup>231</sup> Committee of Experts, 'Conceptual Basis...', p. 8.

twenty-four working languages. This shows once again the monumental compromise that the European institutions (the European Parliament in this case) have put into this journey. Lastly, the 'molecular structure' of the museum, will allow visitors to follow different parts of the exhibition(s) according to their personal interests, and choose between different themes such as 'war and survival' or the concession of the Nobel Prize to the European Union in 2012.<sup>232</sup>

---

<sup>232</sup> Taja Vovk van Gaal and Wolfram Kaiser, 'Forging a Community: the European Union's House of European History', Panel Debate at the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 21<sup>th</sup> November 2012. Available at <http://popularhistory.soc.srccf.net/directors-cut/forging-a-community-the-european-unions-house-of-european-history/> (consulted on 16.03.2013)





---

## Conclusion

As I have argued in this thesis, the history of Europe is currently experiencing a process of Europeanisation that will probably continue in the years to follow, in parallel to further steps in European integration. This process, which I have attempted to explain from my proposed concept of ‘histoeuropeanisation’, is the result of a variety of dramatic changes that have occurred in recent years to the European continent in political, economic and societal terms. As a direct effect, historians have started to shift their perception, approaches and ways of writing the history of Europe towards a more supranational level. In this sense, I hope I have met my preliminary expectations in attracting the attention of the reader to the current changing of paradigms, and to the consequences that this may entangle for Europe in terms of awakening a European identity in the future.

By this Europeanisation of the history of Europe, however, I do not imply that nation-states and their respective historical traditions will be ‘replaced’ by a new European teleology imposed by the European institutions. Even if this was the case, I believe I have provided with enough reasons to prove that any attempt in trying to impose *a* ‘History of Europe’ from above is doomed to failure, given our different historical narratives and the commitment of each member state to keep them alive. On the contrary, these top-down Europeanising initiatives will only prove to be successful if they provoke scholarly thinking, debate, and ultimately new ways of history writing that are able to integrate this new discourse into the already existing historical traditions. Policy-makers should therefore remember that it is only by triggering this bottom-up cooperation that such an ambitious historical project could ever take place in such a complex continent as Europe.

Concerning some of the already discussed steps in this historical journey —the possibility of introducing a European history textbook and making the history of the continent public through a museum for example— we will need to wait a few years or more in order to see whether these emerging projects flourish, awakening a hypothetical supranational identity that will constitute the last stage of European integration. Personally, I am myself in favour of all of these attempts of cultural Europeanisation as long as combining

the local, regional and national identities with a new supranational European identity helps approaching Europeans and overcoming previous divisions. If, on the contrary, we create a new teleological 'Euronationalism' that simply replaces the already existing nationalisms and detaches us from the rest of the world, we will be then falling into the same errors of the past.

Europeanness, instead, should include the positive and the negative past events and the teachings derived from each of them. Any truly European history should help in this regard and be coherent in our globalised world. We historians, should respond to twenty-first century challenges by incorporating new ways of history writing, bearing in mind that history has a decisive role in the future development of the continent. Above all, neither the European institutions nor historians should ever consider the European project to be 'finished' and should instead be always ready to review it and improve it. After all, Denis de Rougemont might be right in pointing out that '*la Quête est notre forme d'exister*.'<sup>233</sup>

---

233 Denis de Rougemont, *L'Aventure Occidentale de l'Homme*, Albin Michel, Paris, 1957, p. 269.

---

## Bibliography

### PRIMARY SOURCES<sup>234</sup>

#### a) Official Documents

1. COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS (House of European History), 'Conceptual Basis for a House of European History', Brussels, October 2008. Available at [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004\\_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721_en.pdf) (last consulted on 8.05.2013)
2. COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 'Recommendation Rec(2001)15 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe', 31 October 2001. Available at <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=234237> (consulted on 7.04.2013)
3. COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 'Resolution (85)6 On European Cultural Identity', 25 April 1985. Available at <https://wcd.coe.int/com.instranet.InstraServlet?command=com.instranet.CmdBlobGet&InstranetImage=605047&SecMode=1&DocId=686292&Usage=2> (consulted on 5.04.2013)
4. EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, 'Declaration on European Identity (Copenhagen, 14 December 1973)', *Bulletin of the European Communities*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, No. 12, December 1973. Available at <http://www.cvce.eu/viewer/-/content/02798dc9-9c69-4b7d-b2c9-fo3a8db7da32/en> (last consulted on 2.04.2013)

### SECONDARY SOURCES

#### a) Books and Book chapters<sup>235</sup>

1. AMARAL, Alberto; NEAVE, Guy; MUSSELIN, Christine; & MAASSEN, Peter (eds.), *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2009.
2. ANDERSON, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (rev. ed. 1991), Verso, London, 1983.
3. ASSMANN, Aleida, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des Kulturellen Gedächtnisses* [*Spaces of Memory: Forms and transformations of cultural memory*], C. H. Beck, Munich, 1999.

---

234 Despite the historiographical scope of this study that would allow us in theory to consider certain ordinary publications as 'primary sources', I have preferred to respect the traditional division for a matter of clarity.

235 In order to facilitate further research, book chapters have also been listed in this bibliography.

4. AZAÑA, Manuel, *La Velada en Benicarló, Diálogo de la Guerra de España* [*Vigil in Benicarló, Dialogue of the Spanish War*], April 1937; English translation by Josephine and Paul Stewart, Associated University Presses, London, 1982.
5. BACHOUD, Andrée; CUESTA, Josefina; & TREBITSCH, Michel (eds.), *Les Intellectuels et l'Europe de 1945 à nos jours*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2000.
6. BANFI, E. *La Formazione dell'Europa Linguistica*, La Nuova Italia, Florence, 1993.
7. BARNAVI, Elie, 'Mille Ans de Construction Européenne', in Elie Barnavi & Paul Goossens (eds.), *Les Frontières de l'Europe*, De Boeck & Larcier, Brussels, 2001, pp. 23-34.
8. BARNAVI, Elie; & GOOSSENS, Paul (eds.), *Les Frontières de l'Europe*, De Boeck & Larcier, Brussels, 2001.
9. BARTLETT, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, Allen Lane, London, 1993.
10. BAZIN, Anne, 'Produire un Récit Commun : les Commissions d'historiens, Acteurs de la Réconciliation', in Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Doloureux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 104-117.
11. BECKER, Josef; & KNIPPING, Franz (eds.), *Power in Europe? Vol. I. Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a Postwar World, 1945-1950*, W. De Gruyter, Berlin, 1986.
12. BENDA, Julien, *Discours à la Nation Européenne*, Gallimard, Paris, 1933
13. BENJAMIN, Walter, *Über den Begriff der Geschichte* [*On the Concept of History*], 1940. English translation by Dennis Redmond, available at <http://members.efn.org/~dredmond/ThesesonHistory.html> (consulted on 19.04.2013)
14. BERGER, Stefan, 'Writing National Histories in Europe: Reflections on the Pasts, Presents, and Futures of a Tradition', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 55-68.
15. BERSTEIN, Serge, and MILZA, Pierre, *Histoire de l'Europe Contemporaine*, 2 vols., Hatier, Paris, 1992.
16. BLACK, Jeremy (ed.), *European Warfare, 1450-1815*, Palgrave, New York, 1999.
17. BLACK, Jeremy (ed.), *European Warfare, 1815-2000*, Palgrave, New York, 2002.
18. BONNARD, Pascal; & MECKL, Markus, 'La Gestion du Double Passé Nazi et Soviétique en Lettonie : Impasses et Dépassement de la Concurrence entre Mémoires du Goulag et d'Auschwitz', in Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Doloureux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 169-180.
19. BORNE, Dominique; & MONNET, Pierre, 'Figures de l'Histoire Européenne', in Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 61-81.
20. BOSSUAT, Gérard, 'Citoyenneté et lieux de mémoire pour l'Europe unie', in Andrée

- Bachoud, Josefina Cuesta and Michel Trebitsch (eds.), *Les Intellectuels et l'Europe de 1945 à nos jours*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2000, pp. 195-211.
21. BOSSUAT, Gérard; BUSSIÈRE, Éric; FRANK, Robert; LOTH, Wilfried; & VARSORI, Antonio (eds.), *L'Expérience Européenne. 50 Ans de Construction de l'Europe, 1957-2007: des Historiens en Dialogue (Actes du Colloque International de Rome 2007)*, Groupe de Liaison des Professeurs d'Histoire Contemporaine Auprès de la Commission Européenne, Bruylant/Brussels, LGDJ/Paris, Nomos Verlag/Baden-Baden, 2010.
  22. BOSWORTH, R. (Richard) J. B., *Explaining Auschwitz and Hiroshima: History Writing and the Second World War 1945-1990*, Routledge, London [New York], 1993 [1994].
  23. BOWLE, John, *The Unity of European History*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1948.
  24. BRÜCKENHAUS, Daniel, 'L'État de la Question : la Mémoire Commune Européenne', in Bronisław Geremek and Robert Picht (eds.) et. al., *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007, 407-418.
  25. BRUGMANS, Henri, 'Europe: une civilisation commune, un destin, une vocation', in H. Brugmans (ed.), *Europe: Rêve-Aventure-Reéalité*, Elsevier, Brussels, 1987.
  26. BRUNNBAUER, Ulf (ed.), *(Re)Writing History – Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, Studies on South East Europe, Vol. 4, Lit Verlag, Münster, 2004.
  27. BUSSIÈRE, Éric, 'Conclusion', in Matthieu Osmont, Émilie Robin-Hivert, Katja Seidel, Mark Spoerer, Christian Wenkel (eds.), *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: un Regard Historique*, Euroclio n°69, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2012, pp. 205-209.
  28. CANFORA, Luciano, *Democracy in Europe: A History of an Ideology*, trans. Simon Jones, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006.
  29. CARPENTIER, Jean; & LEBRUN, François (eds.), *Histoire de l'Europe*, Seuil, Paris, 1992.
  30. CARR, E. H. (Edward Hallett), *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*, Macmillan and Co., London 1939.
  31. CASANOVA, Julián, *Europa Contra Europa, 1914-1945*, Crítica, Barcelona, 2011.
  32. Centre d'Analyse et de Prévision (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères et Européennes Français), *Diversité et Culture*, Culturesfrance, Collection Penser l'Europe, Paris, 2007.
  33. CHAKRABARTY, Dipesh, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, rev. ed, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008.
  34. CHEBEL D'APPOLLONIA, Ariane, 'European Nationalism and European Union', in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press & Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 171-190.

35. COHEN, Deborah; & O'CONNOR, Maura (eds.), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, Routledge, London, 2004.
36. CONRAD, Sebastian, 'Double Marginalization: a Plea for a Transnational Perspective on German History', in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2009, pp. 52-66.
37. CROCE, Benedetto, *Storia dell'Europa [History of Europe]*, Laterza, Bari, 1932.
38. CRUZ ROMEO, María; & SAZ, Ismael (eds.), *El Siglo XX. Historiografía e Historia*, Universitat de València, Valencia, 2002.
39. DAVIES, Norman, *Europe, a History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996.
40. DAWSON, Christopher, *The Making of Europe*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1932.
41. DAWSON, Christopher, *The Making of Europe: an Introduction to the History of European Unity*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1932.
42. DEFRANCE, Corine; & PFEIL, Ulrich, 'Au Service du Rapprochement Franco-Allemand. Dialogue d'Historiens de Part et d'autre du Rhin', in Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Dououreux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 91-103.
43. DELOUCHE, Frédéric, 'The Rise and Fall of History-of-Europe School Textbook Projects: a Case Study (a Personal Experience)', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re) Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 123-130.
44. DEWALD, Jonathan, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 9, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.
45. DI NOLFO, Enni (ed.), *Power in Europe? Vol II. Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the Origins of the EEC, 1952-1957*, W. De Gruyter, Berlin, 1992.
46. DIDRY, Claude, 'Einleitung' ['Introduction'], in Peter Wagner, Claude Didry, Bénédicte Zimmermann, et al. (eds.), *Arbeit und Nationalstaat. Frankreich und Deutschland in Europäischer Perspektive [Labour and the nation state. France and Germany in European Perspective]*, Campus, Frankfurt, 2000.
47. DOCKRILL, Michael (ed.), *Europe within the Global System, 1938-1960. Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. From Great Powers to Regional Powers*, Brockmeyer, Bochum, 1995.
48. DÜLFFER, Jost, 'Le Bilan Historiographique. De l'Histoire de l'Intégration à l'Histoire Intégrée de l'Europe', in Gérard Bossuat, et al. (eds.), *L'Expérience Européenne. 50 Ans de Construction de l'Europe, 1957-2007: des Historiens en Dialogue (Actes du Colloque International de Rome 2007)*, Groupe de Liaison des Professeurs d'Histoire Contemporaine Auprès de la Commission Européenne, Bruylant/Brussels, LGDJ/Paris, Nomos Verlag/Baden-Baden, 2010, pp. 11-35.

49. DUPLESSIS, Robert S., *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 10, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.
50. DUROSELLE, Jean-Baptiste, *L'Europe de 1815 à nos Jours*, Nouvelle Clio: L'Histoire et ses Problèmes, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964.
51. DUROSELLE, Jean-Baptiste, *L'Europe: Histoire de ses Peuples*, Hachette, Paris / *Europe: A History of its Peoples*, English trans. by Richard Mayne, Viking, London, 1990.
52. DUROSELLE, Jean-Baptiste, *L'Idée d'Europe dans l'Histoire*, Denoël, Paris, 1965.
53. EDER, Klaus; & SPOHN, Willfried (eds.), *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005.
54. FARR, James R., *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914*, Series New Approaches to European History, Vol. 19, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000.
55. FERRO, Marc; & FRENDO, Henry (eds.), *Learning and Teaching about the History of Europe in the 20th Century: Towards a Pluralist and Tolerant Approach to Teaching History: a Range of Sources and New Didactics*, Council of Europe Publishing, Belgium, 1999.
56. FIGEL, Ján, 'A Political Agenda for European History in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 27-36.
57. FINKIELKRAUT, Alain; MARIENSTRAS, Richard; & TODOROV, Tzvetan, *Du Bon Usage de la Mémoire*, Éditions du Tricorne, Geneva, 2000.
58. FINKIELKRAUT, Alain; MARIENSTRAS, Richard; & TODOROV, Tzvetan, *Du Bon Usage de la Mémoire*, Éditions du Tricorne, Geneva, 2000.
59. FISHER, H.A.L. (Herbert Albert Laurens), *A History of Europe*, Butler and Tanner, London, 1935.
60. FLACKE, Monika (ed.), *Mythen der Nationen: 1945 – Arena der Erinnerungen [Myths of the Nations: 1945 - Arena of Memories]*, exhibition catalogue, 2 vols., Berlin, 2005.
61. FONDATION JEAN MONNET POUR L'EUROPE (Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne), *Bronislaw Geremek: une Voix en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2009.
62. FONTANA, Josep, *Europa ante el Espejo [Europe before the Mirror]*, Crítica, Barcelona, 1994.
63. FOUCHER, Michel, 'Les Cartes de l'Europe', in Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 41-59.
64. FRANÇOIS, Etienne, 'Is a European Culture of Memory Conceivable?', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 49-64.

65. FREEMAN, Edward A., *The Methods of Historical Study*, Macmillan, New York, 1886.
66. FREVERT, Ute, 'Identifications Européennes : ce que l'histoire peut, et ne peut pas, apporter', in Bronisław Geremek and Robert Picht (eds.) et. al., *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007, pp. 377-392.
67. FRIEDMAN, Rebecca, & THIEL, Markus (eds.), *European Identity and Culture: Narrative of Transnational Belonging*, Ashgate, Farnham, 2012.
68. GAILLARD, Jean-Michel; & ROWLEY, Anthony, *Histoire du Continent Européen, 1850-2000*, rev. ed. 2001, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1998.
69. GEHLER, Michael, 'At the Heart of Integration: Understanding National European Policy', in Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, pp. 85-108.
70. GEISS, Peter, 'Beyond National Narratives – a French-German Contribution to the Making of European History', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 189-204.
71. GEISS, Peter; HENRI, Daniel, & LE QUINTREC, Guillaume (eds.), *Histoire/Geschichte. L'Europe et le monde du congrès de Vienne à 1945 [Histoire/Geschichte. Europa und die Welt vom Wiener Kongress bis 1945]*, Vol. 2, Nathan, Paris & Klett, Leipzig, 2008.
72. GEISS, Peter; HENRI, Daniel, & LE QUINTREC, Guillaume (eds.), *Histoire/Geschichte. L'Europe et le monde depuis 1945 [Histoire/Geschichte. Europa und die Welt seit 1945]*, Vol. 3, Nathan, Paris & Klett, Leipzig, 2006.
73. GEREMEK, Bronisław & PICHT, Robert (eds.) et. al., *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007.
74. GEREMEK, Bronisław, 'L'Europe, Facteur de Paix (interview by Philippe Nicolet)', Lausanne, 6<sup>th</sup> Octobre 2008, in Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe (Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne), *Bronisław Geremek: une Voix en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2009, pp. 15-18.
75. GEREMEK, Bronisław, 'L'Intégration Européenne après l'Élargissement : craintes et défis', Milan, 16<sup>th</sup> June 2007, in Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe (Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne), *Bronisław Geremek: une Voix en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2009, pp. 49-56.
76. GEREMEK, Bronisław, 'l'Union Européenne et ses Crises (speech)', Lausanne, 30<sup>th</sup> March 2006, in Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe (Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne), *Bronisław Geremek: une Voix en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2009, pp. 3-14.
77. GEREMEK, Bronisław, 'La mémoire de l'Europe (interview by Catherine Guisan)', Brussels, 13<sup>th</sup> March 2008, in Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe (Centre de



- Recherches Européennes, Lausanne), *Bronisław Geremek: une Voix en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2009, pp. 23-30.
78. GEREMEK, Bronisław, 'Le Plan Marshall et l'Intégration Européenne', Paris, 13<sup>th</sup> June 2007, in Fondation Jean Monnet Pour l'Europe (Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne), *Bronisław Geremek: une Voix en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2009, pp. 31-42.
79. GIRAULT, René; & FRANK, Robert (eds.), *La Puissance en Europe, 1938-1940*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, 1984.
80. GOODY, Jack, *The East in the West*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.
81. GRAHAM, Helen, *The War and its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century*, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, 2012.
82. GREINER, Florian, 'Europeanisation and Modernity during the "Second Thirty Years War": Discourses on Europe in British and American Print Media, 1914-1945', in Matthieu Osmont, Émilie Robin-Hivert, Katja Seidel, Mark Spoerer, Christian Wenkel (eds.), *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: un Regard Historique*, Euroclio n°69, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2012, pp. 29-44.
83. GUIZOT, François, *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe, depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain jusqu'à la Révolution Française*, Pichon et Didier, Paris, 1828.
84. HALBWACHS, Maurice, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire. Les Travaux de L'Année Sociologique*, F. Alcan, Paris, 1925; Albin Michel, Paris, 1994
85. HALECKI, Oskar, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1950.
86. HARDING, Anthony F., *European Societies in the Bronze Age*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000.
87. HART, Jonathan, *Empires and Colonies*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2008.
88. HARTMANN, Anja V.; & HEUSER, Beatrice (eds.), *War, Peace and World Orders in European History*, Routledge, London, 2001.
89. HARTOG, François & REVEL, Jacques (eds.), *Les Usages Politiques du Passé*, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2001.
90. HARVEY, John L., 'The Nation, Progress and European Identity in *The Rise of Modern Europe*', in Stefan Berger & Chris Lorenz (eds.) *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010, pp. 480-499.
91. HAUPT, Heinz-Gerhard, & KOCKA, Jürgen (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2009.
92. HERBOUZE, Renée (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008.
93. HOBBSBAWM, Eric, *The Age of Extremes: the Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*,

- Michael Joseph, London, 1994.
94. HOBBSAWM, Eric; POMIAN, Krzysztof; & FINKIELKRAUT, Alain, *Réflexions sur le XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Éditions du Tricorne, Geneva, 2001.
95. HORNE, John, 'War and Conflict in Contemporary European History, 1914-2004', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 81-95.
96. HUNTINGTON, Samuel P., *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
97. IFVERSEN, Jan, 'Myth in the Writing of European History', in Stefan Berger & Chris Lorenz (eds.) *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010, pp. 452-579.
98. JARAUSCH, Konrad H. & LINDENBERGER, Thomas (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007.
99. JARAUSCH, Konrad H. & LINDENBERGER, Thomas, 'Contours of a Critical History of Contemporary Europe: A Transnational Agenda', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 1-20.
100. JARAUSCH, Konrad H., 'Nightmares or Daydreams? A Postscript on the Europeanisation of Memories', Conclusion to Małgorzata Pakier & Bo Stråth (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2010, pp. 309-320.
101. John Horne, 'Mobilizing for "Total War", 1914-1918', in John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 1-18.
102. JUDT, Tony, *Postwar: a History of Europe since 1945*, London: Penguin, 2005.
103. KAELBLE, Hartmut, 'Between Comparison and Transfers – and What Now? A French-German Debate', in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2009, pp. 33-38.
104. KAELBLE, Hartmut, 'Writing a Handbook of European History', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 27-36.
105. KAELBLE, Hartmut, *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft : eine Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas, 1880-1980* [*On the way to a European society: a social history of Western Europe, 1880-1980*], C. H. Beck Verlag, Munich, 1987.
106. KAELBLE, Hartmut, *Sozialgeschichte Europas. 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* [*Social history of Europe. 1945 to Present*], C. H. Beck Verlag, Munich, 2007.
107. KAISER, Wolfram, 'From Isolation to Centrality: Contemporary History Meets

- European Studies', in Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, pp. 45-65.
108. KAISER, Wolfram; & VARSORI, Antonio (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010.
109. KARLSSON, Klas-Göran, 'The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation', in Małgorzata Pakier & Bo Stråth (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2010, pp. 38-55.
110. KOCKA, Jürgen & HAUPT, Heinz-Gerhard, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope and Perspectives of Comparative History', in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2009, pp. 1-32.
111. KOLOURI, Christina (ed.), *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education*, Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, Southeast European Joint History Project, Thessaloniki, 2002.
112. KOLOURI, Christina (ed.), *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, Southeast European Joint History Project, Thessaloniki, 2001.
113. KOLOURI, Christina, 'The Joint History Project Books: An Alternative to National History?', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 131-149.
114. KÜHNHARDT, Ludger, *European Union – The Second Founding; the Changing Rationale of European Integration*, rev. ed., Schriften des Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 2010.
115. LACROIX, Justine; & NICOLAÏDIS, Kalypso (eds.), *European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010.
116. LACROIX, Justine; & NICOLAÏDIS, Kalypso, 'European Stories: An Introduction', in Justine Lacroix and Kalypso Nicolaïdis (eds.), *European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010, pp. 1-27.
117. LAGROU, Pieter, 'Between Europe and the Nation: The Inward Turn of Contemporary Historical Writing', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 69-77.
118. LARAT, Fabrice, 'L'Europe et ses grands hommes : le Prix Charlemagne entre Commémoration et Distinction', in Andrée Bachoud, Josefina Cuesta and Michel Trebitsch (eds.), *Les Intellectuels et l'Europe de 1945 à nos jours*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2000, pp. 263-278.

119. LE GOFF, Jacques, 'L'Europe et l'Histoire', in Bronisław GEREMEK & Robert PICHT (eds.) et. al., *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007, pp. 393-406.
120. LE GOFF, Jacques, 'Les Grandes Dates de l'Europe', in Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 15-36.
121. LE GOFF, Jacques, *History and Memory*, trans. Seteven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, Columbia University Press, New York, 1992.
122. LE GOFF, Jacques, *L'Europe est-elle née au Moyen-Âge?*, Seuil, Paris, 2003.
123. LEHNING, James, *European Colonialism since 1700*, Series New Approaches to European History, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, not yet published (available from July 2013).
124. LEWIS, David W. P., *The Road to Europe: History, Institutions and Prospects of European Integration, 1945-1993*, Peter Lang, New York et. al., 1993.
125. LIPGENS, Walter (ed.), *Documents on the History of European Integration*, Vols. 1-4, De Gruyter, Berlin, 1984-1991.
126. LIPGENS, Walter (ed.), *Sources for the History of European Integration. A Guide to Archives in the Countries of the Community*, Springer Verlag, Leiden, 1980.
127. LIPGENS, Walter, *Die Anfänge der europäischen Einigungspolitik, 1945-1950. Erster Teil: 1945-1947 [The beginnings of European integration policy, 1945-1950. Part One: 1945-1947]*, Klett, Stuttgart, 1977.
128. LUDLOW, Piers, 'Élargissement, Approfondissement et Ouverture : vers une Quatrième Décennie de l'Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne', in Gérard Bossuat, et. al. (eds.), *L'Expérience Européenne. 50 Ans de Construction de l'Europe, 1957-2007: des Historiens en Dialogue (Actes du Colloque International de Rome 2007)*, Groupe de Liaison des Professeurs d'Histoire Contemporaine Auprès de la Commission Européenne, Bruylant/Brussels, LGDJ/Paris, Nomos Verlag/Baden-Baden, 2010, pp. 37-54.
129. MAASSEN, Peter, & MUSSELIN, Christine, 'European Integration and the Europeanisation of Higher Education', in Alberto Amaral, Guy Neave, Christine Musselin and Peter Maassen (eds.), *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2009, pp. 3-16.
130. MACDONALD, Sharon (ed.), *Approaches to European Historical Consciousness: Reflections and Provocations*, Eustory Series: Shaping European History, Vol. 1, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2000.
131. MACDONALD, Sharon (ed.), *Approaches to European Historical Consciousness. Reflections and Provocations*, Eustory Series No. 1: Shaping European History, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2000.
132. MACMILLAN, Margaret, *The Uses and Abuses of History*, Profile Books, London, 2009.

133. MADARIAGA, Salvador de, *Portrait of Europe*, Hollis and Carter, London, 1952.
134. MARCOWITZ, Reiner, 'Historicising Europeanisation: an Introduction', in Matthieu Osmont, Émilia Robin-Hivert, Katja Seidel, Mark Spoerer, Christian Wenkel (eds.), *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: un Regard Historique*, Euroclio n°69, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2012, pp. 15-26.
135. MASON, David S., *A Concise History of Modern Europe: Liberty, Equality, Solidarity*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, 2011.
136. MAYER, Arno, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War*, Pantheon Books, London, 1981.
137. MEINECKE, Friedrich, *Die deutsche Katastrophe: Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen* [*The German Catastrophe: Reflections and Recollections*], E. Brockhaus, Wiesbaden, 1946.
138. MERGEL, Thomas, 'Europe as Leisure Time Communication: Tourism and Transnational Interaction since 1945', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 133-151.
139. MINK, Georges, 'Introduction. L'Europe et ses Passés « douloureux » : Stratégies Historicisantes et Usages de l'Europe', in Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Douloureux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 11-35.
140. MINK, Georges; & NEUMAYER, Laure (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Douloureux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007.
141. MINKINA-MILKO, Tatiana, 'Teaching History for Reconciliation and Tolerance: Experience of the Council of Europe', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 241-258.
142. MODZELEWSKI, Karol, *L'Europe des Barbares: Germains et Slaves face aux Héritiers de Rome*, French translation by Agata Kozak and Isabelle Macor-Filarska, Aubier-Flammarion, Paris, 2006.
143. MORADIELLOS, Enrique, *El Reñidero de Europa. Las Dimensiones Internacionales de la Guerra Civil Española*, Península, Barcelona, 2001.
144. MORIN, Edgar, 'L'Europe, Mémoire et Projet', preface to Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 9-14.
145. MORIN, Edgar, *Penser l'Europe* (rev. ed. 1990), Gallimard, Saint-Amand, 1987.
146. MÜLLER, Jan-Werner, 'On "European Memory". Some Conceptual and Normative Remarks', in Małgorzata Pakier & Bo Stråth (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2010, pp. 25-37.
147. MURGESCU, Mirela-Luminița, 'Memory and History – A Challenge for Young Europeans: Report about the 1989–*Images of Change* competition organized by

- EUSTORY', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 219-240.
148. NELSON, Brian; ROBERTS, David; & VEIT, Walter (eds.), *The Idea of Europe: Problems of National and Transnational Identity*, Berg, Oxford, 1992.
149. NEUMAYER, Laure, 'Les Institutions Européennes comme Acteurs de la Réconciliation en Europe Centrale : une médiation entre droit et politique', in Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Dououreux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 195-209.
150. NIETZSCHE, Friedrich, 'Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben' ['On The Use and Abuse of History for Life'], in Friedrich Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen [Untimely Meditations]*, Verlag von E. W. Fritsch, Leipzig, 1874. English translation by Ian Johnston, 2010. Available at <http://records.viu.ca/~johnstoi/Nietzsche/history.htm> (consulted on 11.04.2013)
151. NOLTE, Ernst, *Der Europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917-1945. Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* [The European Civil War, 1917-1945. National Socialism and Bolshevism], Herbig Verlag, Frankfurt, 1989.
152. NORA, Pierre, 'A la Recherche de « Lieux de Mémoire »', in Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 101-105.
153. OSMONT, Matthieu, ROBIN-HIVERT, Émilia, SEIDEL, Katja, SPOERER, Mark, WENKEL, Christian (eds.), *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: un Regard Historique*, Euroclio n°69, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2012.
154. OVERY, Richard J. *The Inter-War Crisis, 1919-1939*, Longman, Harlow, 1994.
155. PAGDEN, Anthony (ed.), *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press & Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.
156. PAKIER, Małgorzata & STRÅTH, Bo (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2010.
157. PAKIER, Małgorzata & STRÅTH, Bo, 'A European Memory?', introduction to PAKIER, Małgorzata & STRÅTH, Bo (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2010, pp. 1-20.
158. PALAYRET, Jean-Marie, 'Une Université pour l'Europe : les Origines de l'Institut Universitaire Européen de Florence (1948-1976)', in Andrée Bachoud, Josefina Cuesta and Michel Trebitsch (eds.), *Les Intellectuels et l'Europe de 1945 à nos jours*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2000, pp. 225-242.
159. PASQUINUCCI, Daniele, 'Between Political Commitment and Academic Research: Federalist Perspectives', in Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, pp. 66-84.
160. PASSERINI, Luisa (ed.), *Figures d'Europe: Images and Myths of Europe*, Multiple Europes Series, No. 22, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2003.

161. PATEL, Kiran Klaus, 'In Search of a Transnational Historicization: National Socialism and its Place in History', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 96-116.
162. PAYNE, Stanley G., *Civil War in Europe, 1905-1949*, Cambridge University Press, 2011.
163. PÉLABAY, Janie; NICOLAÏDIS, Kalypso; & LACROIX, Justine, 'Echoes and Polyphony: in Prase of Europe's Narrative Diversity', conclusion to Justine Lacroix and Kalypso Nicolaïdis (eds.), *European Stories: Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010, pp. 334-362.
164. PEYROT, J., *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire en Europe*, Hachette Éducation, Paris, 1999.
165. PEYROT, J., *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire en Europe*, Hachette Éducation, Paris, 1999.
166. PINGEL, Falk, *The European Home: Representations of 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe in History Text-books*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2000.
167. PINHEIRO, Teresa; CIESZYNSKA, Beata & FRANCO, José Eduardo (eds.) *Ideas off/for Europe: an Interdisciplinary Approach to European Identity*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012.
168. PIRENNE, Henri, *Histoire de l'Europe, des Invasions au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Alcan, Paris, 1936.
169. PÓK, Attila, 'European History — Still a Challenge', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 65-77.
170. PÓK, Attila; RÜSEN, Jörn; & SCHERER, Jutta (eds.), *European History: Challenge for a Common Future*, Eustory Series No. 3: Shaping European History, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2002.
171. POMIAN, Krzysztof, 'Storia Ufficiale, Storia Revisionista, Storia Critica' ['Official History, Revisionist History, Critical History'], in *Mappe del Novecento*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano, 2002, pp. 142-150.
172. POPP, Susanne, 'Can a Canon of European Images Provide an Alternative?', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 79-93.
173. PRESTON, Paul, 'La Guerra Civil Europea, 1914-1945', in María Cruz Romeo and Ismael Saz (eds.), *El Siglo XX. Historiografía e Historia*, Universitat de València, Valencia, 2002, pp. 137-166.
174. PRESTON, Paul, 'The Great Civil War: European Politics, 1914-1945', in T. C. W. Blanning (ed.), *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 153-185.

175. PRESTON, Paul; & MACKENZIE, A. L. (eds.), *The Republic Besieged. Civil War in Spain, 1936-1939*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1996.
176. RABIER, Jacques-René, 'La Notoriété actuelle du Mythe de "L'Enlèvement d'Europe"', in Andrée Bachoud, Josefina Cuesta and Michel Trebitsch (eds.), *Les Intellectuels et l'Europe de 1945 à nos jours*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2000, pp. 157-181.
177. RADAELLI, Claudio M., 'The Europeanization of Public Policy', in Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp. 27-56.
178. RASMUSSEN, Morten, 'European Rescue of the Nation-State? Tracing the Role of Economics and Business', in Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, pp. 128-149.
179. RATHKOLB, Oliver (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010.
180. RATHKOLB, Oliver, 'Introduction: Negotiating History and the European Political Agenda', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 7-14.
181. RATHKOLB, Oliver, 'The Quest for a European History Textbook in the 1960s', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 111-121.
182. RENAN, Ernest, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation ? : Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 mars 1882', Calmann Lévy, 1882, pp. 3-32.
183. RICOEUR, Paul, 'Myth and History', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 10, MacMillan, New York, 1987.
184. RICOEUR, Paul, *La Mémoire, l'Histoire, l'Oubli*, Seuil, Paris, 2000.
185. ROMERO SALVADÓ, Francisco J., 'The European Civil War: Reds versus Whites in Russia and Spain, 1917-1939', in Jeremy Black (ed.), *European Warfare, 1815-2000*, Palgrave, New York, 2002, pp. 104-125.
186. ROSOUX, Valérie, 'Mémoire(s) Européenne(s) ? Des Limites d'un Passé Aseptisé et Figé', in Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (eds.), *L'Europe et ses Passés Dououreux*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 195-209.
187. ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques, *Considerations on the Government of Poland and on its Proposed Reformation*, April 1772. Available online at <http://www.constitution.org/jjr/poland.htm> (consulted on 14.01.2013)
188. ROUSSO, Henry, 'History of Memory, Policies of the Past: What For?', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 23-36.
189. RUBLACK, Ulinka, *Reformation Europe*, Series New Approaches to European



- History, Vol. 28, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.
190. RÜSEN, Jörn, 'Europäisches Geschichtsbewusstsein als Herausforderung an die Geschichtsdidaktik' ['European Historical Awareness as Challenge for History Didactics'], in Marko Demantowsky and Bernd Schönemann (eds.), *Neue geschichtsdidaktische Positionen [New History Didactical Positions]*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Projekt, Bochum, 2006, pp. 57-64.
  191. SALLUSTIUS, *De Deis et Mundo [On the Gods and the World]*, 4<sup>th</sup> century. English translation by Thomas Taylor, *Sallust: On the Gods and the World*, Edward Jeffery and Pall Mall, London, 1793.
  192. SCHMALE, Wolfgang, *Scheitert Europa an seinem Mythendefizit? [Does Europe fails because of its Myth Deficit?]*, Winkler, Bochum, 1997.
  193. SCHMIDT, Wolf, 'EUSTORY – A Road Map to a European Perspective of History', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 205-218.
  194. SCHÖNEMANN, Bernd, 'Europäische Geschichte als Gegenstand und Problem der Geschichtsdidaktik' ['European History as Subject and Problem of History Didactics'], in Manfred Seidenfuß (ed.) *et. al.*, *Vorstellungen und Vorgestelltes [Imaginations and Imaginated]*, Ars Una, Neuried, 2002, pp. 211-230.
  195. SCHÖNWÄLDER, Karen, 'Integration from Below? Migration and European Contemporary History', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2007, pp. 154-163.
  196. SEIDEL, Katja, 'From Pioneer Work to Refinement: Publication Trends', in Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, pp. 26-44.
  197. SHORE, Cris, *Building Europe. The Cultural Politics of European Integration*, Routledge, London, 2000.
  198. SMITH, Anthony D., *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.
  199. SMITH, Anthony D., *National Identity*, University of Nevada Press, Las Vegas, 1991.
  200. SMITH, Anthony D., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1995.
  201. SOUTOU, Georges-Henri, *L'Europe de 1815 à nos Jours*, Nouvelle Clio: l'Histoire et ses Problèmes, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 2007.
  202. SOUTOU, Georges-Henri, *La Guerre de Cinquante Ans: Le Conflit Est-Ouest, 1943-1990*, Fayard, Paris, 2001.
  203. SPERBER, Jonathan, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*, Series New Approaches

- to European History, Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.
204. STEINER, George, *The Idea of Europe*, Nexus Institute, Tilburg, 2004.
205. STOURZH, Gerald (ed.), *Annäherungen an eine europäische Geschichtsschreibung [Approximations to a European historiography]*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften [Edition of the Austrian Academy of Sciences], Vienna, 2002.
206. STRADLING, Robert, *Teaching 20<sup>th</sup>-century European History/Enseigner l'Histoire de l'Europe du 20<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg, 2001.
207. STRADLING, Robert, *The European Content of the School History Curriculum*, Council of Europe (Council for Cultural Co-operation), Strasbourg, 1995.
208. STRÅTH, Bo, 'Histoire, Remémoration Publique et Assomption du Passé', in Bronisław Geremek and Robert Picht (eds.) et. al., *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007, pp. 359-376.
209. STRÅTH, Bo, 'Introduction: Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of Community', in Bo Stråth (ed.), *Myth and Memory in the Construction of Community: Historical Patterns in Europe and Beyond*, Brussels, 2000.
210. TAYLOR, A. J. P. (Alan John Percivale), *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1966.
211. THER, Philipp, 'Comparisons, Cultural Transfers, and the Study of Networks: Toward a Transnational History of Europe', in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2009, pp. 204-225.
212. THIEMEYER, Thomas, *Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln. Die beiden Weltkriege im Museum [Continuation of war by other means. The two world wars in the museum]*, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2010.
213. THIESSE, Anne-Marie, 'Une Mémoire Commune pour quelle vision de l'Europe ?', in Bronisław Geremek and Robert Picht (eds.) et. al., *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007, pp. 345-358.
214. TODOROV, Tzvetan, 'Construire une Mémoire Commune ?', in Bronisław Geremek and Robert Picht (eds.) et. al., *Visions d'Europe*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 2007, pp. 335-344.
215. TODOROV, Tzvetan, 'Identité Plurielle', in Renée Herbouze (ed.), *Les Arpenteurs de l'Europe*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2008, pp. 113-131.
216. TODOROV, Tzvetan, *Les Abus de la Mémoire*, Arléa, Paris, 1998.
217. TOYNBEE, Arnold J., *A Study of History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 10 vols, 1934-54.
218. TRAVERSO, Enzo, 1914-1945, *La Guerre Civile Européenne*, Hachette Littératures, Paris, 2007.

219. TRAVERSO, Enzo, *L'Histoire comme champ de bataille*, La découverte, Paris, 2011.
220. TRAVERSO, Enzo, *Le Passé, Modes d'Emploi : Histoire, Mémoire, Politique*, La Fabrique éditions, Paris, 2005.
221. TROEBST, Stefan, 'Halecki Revisited: Europe's Conflicting Cultures of Remembrance', in Małgorzata Pakier & Bo Stråth (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2010, pp. 56-63.
222. VALIČ, Andreja, 'A European History Textbook as an Opportunity', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 95-109.
223. VAN DER LEEUW-ROORD, Joke (ed.), *History for Today and Tomorrow. What Does Europe mean for School History?*, Eustory Series No. 2: Shaping European History, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2001.
224. VAN VREE, Frank, 'Auschwitz and the Origins of Contemporary Historical culture', in Attila Pók, Jörn Rüsen and Jutta Scherer (eds.), *European History: Challenge for a Common Future*, Eustory Series No. 3: Shaping European History, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2002, pp. 202-220
225. VAN VREE, Frank, 'Auschwitz and the Origins of Contemporary Historical culture', in Attila Pók, Jörn Rüsen and Jutta Scherer (eds.), *European History: Challenge for a Common Future*, Eustory Series No. 3: Shaping European History, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2002, pp. 202-220.
226. VARSORI, Antonio, 'From Normative Impetus to Professionalization: Origins and Operation of Research Networks', in Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, pp. 6-25.
227. VAUGHN, Stephen (ed.), *The Vital Past: Writings on the Uses of History*, University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1985.
228. VON BORRIES, Bodo, 'European History Written by various European Historians', in Attila Pók, Jörn Rüsen and Jutta Scherer (eds.), *European History: Challenge for a Common Future*, Eustory Series No. 3: Shaping European History, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg, 2002, pp. 22-44.
229. VON BORRIES, Bodo, 'Intentions, Results and Reception of the "Youth and History" Project (1995)', in Oliver Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History: History and Text Book Projects in Retrospect*, StudienVerlag, Innsbruck, 2010, pp. 151-177.
230. WEBER, Eugen, *Une Histoire de l'Europe de la Renaissance à nos jours*, 2 vols., Fayard, Paris, 1986-1987.
231. WEHLER, Hans-Ulrich, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte [German Social History]*, Vol. 4, *Vom Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zur Gründung der beiden deutschen*

- Staaten 1914-1949 [From the beginning of the First World War to the founding of the two German states 1914-1949]*, C. H. Beck, Munich, 2003.
232. WELSKOPP, Thomas, 'Identität *ex negativo*: Der "deutsche Sonderweg" als Metaerzählung in der bundesrepublikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft der siebziger und achtziger Jahre' [*Ex negativo* identity: The "German exceptionalism" as a meta-narrative in the West German historiography of the 1970s and 1980s'], in Konrad H. Jarausch and Martin Sabrow (eds.), *Die Historische Meistererzählung: Deutungslinien der deutschen Nationalgeschichte nach 1945 [The Historic master narrative: Interpretation lines of the German national history after 1945]*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2002, pp.109-139.
233. WENKEL, Christian, 'Préface', in Matthieu Osmont, Émilie Robin-Hivert, Katja Seidel, Mark Spoerer, Christian Wenkel (eds.), *Européanisation au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: un Regard Historique*, Euroclio n°69, Peter Lang, Brussels, 2012, pp. 13-14.
234. ZERNACK, Klaus, *Osteuropa: Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte [Eastern Europe: An Introduction to its History]*, C. H. Beck, Munich, 1977 C. H. Beck, Munich, 1977.

#### **b) Articles from Scholarly Journals and Think-Tanks**

1. BLOCH, Marc, 'Pour une Histoire Comparée des Sociétés Européennes', in Marc Bloch, *Mélanges Historiques*, vol. 1, SEVPEN, Paris, 1963.
2. BLOCH, Marc, 'Problèmes d'Histoire Comparée', *Annales d'Histoire Sociale*, 1<sup>e</sup> année, No. 4, 1939, pp. 438-440.
3. BURKE, Peter, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?', *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 1, 1980, pp. 21-29.
4. BURKE, Peter, 'How to Write a History of Europe: Europe, Europes, Eurasia', *European Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2, May 2006, pp. 233-239.
5. CALLIGARO, Oriane; & FORET, François, 'La Mémoire Européenne en Action. Acteris, Enjeux et Modalités de la Mobilisation du Passé comme Ressource Politique pour l'Union Européenne', *Politique Européenne*, No. 37, 2012, pp. 18-43.
6. CASANOVA, Julián, 'Civil Wars, Revolutions and Counterrevolutions in Finland, Spain and Greece (1918-1949): a Comparative Analysis', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2000, pp. 551-537.
7. CASANOVA, Julián, 'Europa en Guerra: 1914-1945', *Ayer*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2005, pp. 107-126.
8. CHARLÉTY, Véronique, 'L'Invention du Musée de l'Europe: Contribution à l'analyse des Politiques Symboliques Européennes', *Regards Sociologiques*, No. 27-28, 2004, pp. 149-166.
9. CHARTIER, Roger, 'Le passé au Présent', *Le Débat: Mémoires du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. 122, November-December 2002.
10. COLARDELLE, Michel, 'La Vocation Démocratique d'un Musée: Le Musée des

- Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée', *Diversité. Ville, École, Intégration*, Vol. 148, March 2007, pp. 61-68.
11. CORTÈS, Jacques; & Żaliński, Henryk W. (eds.), 'Mélanges Offerts à Bronisław Geremek par ses Collègues, Admirateurs et Amis de Pologne et de France', *Synergies Pologne*, Special No., 2010.
  12. DE JONG, Steffi, 'Is this Us? The Construction of European Woman/Man in the Exhibition *It's Our History!*', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Thematic Section: Exhibiting Europe, Vol. 3, 2011, pp. 369-384.
  13. DELLA SALA, Vincent, 'Political Myth, Mythology and the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2010, pp. 1-19.
  14. DEMORGON, Jacques, 'Autour du Testament Européen de Bronisław Geremek', *Synergies Pologne*, Special No., 2010, pp. 101-126.
  15. DIETZE, Carola, 'Toward a History on Equal Terms: a Discussion of Provincializing Europe', *History and Theory*, Vol. 47, February 2008, pp. 69-84.
  16. DROIT, Emmanuel, 'Entre Histoire Croisée et Histoire Dénationalisée. Le Manuel Franco-Allemand d'Histoire', *Pédagogies de l'Histoire*, Vol. 114, 2007, pp. 151-162.
  17. GENSBURGER, Sarah; & LAVABRE, Marie-Claire, 'Introduction. D'une « Mémoire Européenne » à l'europanisation de la « mémoire »', *Politique Européenne*, No. 37, 2012, pp. 8-17.
  18. GEYER, Michael, 'Historical Fictions of Autonomy and the Europeanization of National History', *Central European History*, Vol. 22, Nos. 3-4, 1989, pp. 316-342.
  19. HANSEN-MAGNUSSON, Hannes; & WÜSTENBERG, Jenny, 'Commemorating Europe? Forging European Rituals of Remembrance through Anniversaries', *Politique Européenne*, No. 37, 2012, pp. 44-71.
  20. HAUPT, Heinz-Gerhard, 'Die Geschichte Europas als Vergleichende Geschichtsschreibung' ['The history of Europe as Comparative History'], *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Global Geschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* [*Comparative: Journal of Global History and Comparative Study of Societies*], Vol. 14, No. 3, 2004, pp. 83-97.
  21. HORNE, John, 'Une Histoire à Repenser', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire*, No. 71, July-September 2001, pp. 67-72.
  22. Jost Dülffer, 'Zeitgeschichte in Europa – oder europäische Zeitgeschichte?' ['Contemporary History in Europe — or European Contemporary History'], *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* [*On Politics and Contemporary History*], Nos. 1-2, 2005, pp. 18-26.
  23. KAISER, Wolfram, 'From Great Men to Ordinary Citizens? The Biographical Approach to Narrating European Integration in Museums', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Thematic Section: Exhibiting Europe, Vol. 3, 2011, pp. 385-400.

24. KAISER, Wolfram, 'Überzeugter Katholik und CDU-Wähler: zur Historiographie der Integrationsgeschichte am Beispiel von Walter Lipgens' ['Convinced Catholic and CDU-voter: the historiography of the history of integration on the example of Walter Lipgens'], *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol. 8, 2002, pp. 119-128.
25. KERSHAW, Ian, 'Europe's Second Thirty Years War', *History Today*, Vol. 55, No. 9, September 2005, pp. 10-17.
26. KOCKA, Jürgen, 'The Short Twentieth Century from a European Perspective', *The History Teacher*, Vol. 28, No. 4, August 1995, pp. 471-477.
27. KOVACS, Eva, 'Innocent Culprits – Silent Communities. On the Europeanisation of the Memory of the Shoah in Austria', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 9, No. 2-3, June-September 2008, pp. 225-236.
28. KRANKENHAGEN, Stefan, 'Exhibiting Europe: the Development of European Narratives in Museums, Collections and Exhibitions', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Thematic Section: Exhibiting Europe, Vol. 3, 2011, pp. 269-278.
29. LARAT, Fabrice, 'Present-ing the Past: Political Narratives on European History and the Justification of EU Integration', *German Law Journal, Special Issue: Confronting Memories – Reflecting History*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2005.
30. LAVABRE, Marie-Claire, 'Usages et Mésusages de la notion de Mémoire', *Critique Internationale, FNSP*, Vol. 7, April, 2000.
31. LAVABRE, Marie-Claire, 'Usages et Mésusages de la Notion de Mémoire', *Critique Internationale*, No. 7, april 2000, pp. 48-57.
32. MAZÉ, Camille, 'Des Usages Politiques du Musée à l'Échelle Européenne. Contribution à l'analyse de l'Européanisation de la Mémoire comme Catégorie d'Action Publique', *Politique Européenne*, No. 37, 2012, pp. 72-100.
33. MÜLLER, Michael G., 'Wo und Wann War Europa? Überlegungen zu einem Konzept von Europäischer Geschichte' ['Where and When Was Europe? Towards a concept of European History'], *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Global Geschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* [*Comparative: Journal of Global History and Comparative Study of Societies*], Vol. 14, No. 3, 2004, pp. 72-82.
34. NORA, Pierre, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory*, Vol. 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7-24.
35. POMIAN, Krzysztof, 'Sur les Rapports de la Mémoire et de l'Histoire', *Le Débat: Mémoires du XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Vol. 122, November-December 2002.
36. RICOEUR, Paul, 'Approches Historiennes, approche Philosophique', *Le Débat: Mémoires du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. 122, November-December 2002.
37. ROUSSELLIER, Nicolas, "'Faire" l'Histoire de l'Europe', *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'Histoire*, Vol. 38, April-June 1993, pp. 106-108.

38. ROUSSELLIER, Nicolas, 'Pour une Écriture Européenne de l'Histoire de l'Europe', *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'Histoire*, Vol. 38, April-June 1993, pp. 74-89.
39. ROUSSELLIER, Nicolas, 'Vers une Conscience et une Identité Européennes?', *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'Histoire*, Vol. 42, April-June 1993, pp. 106-108.
40. ROUSSO, Henry, 'Das Dilemma eines Europäischen Gedächtnisses' ['The dilemma of a European memory'], *Zeithistorische Forschungen [Contemporary History]*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2004, pp. 363-368
41. ROUSSO, Henry, 'La Trayectoria de un Historiador del Tiempo Presente, 1975-2000', in Anne Pérotin-Dumon (ed.) *Historizar el Pasado Vivo en América Latina*, 2007. Available at [http://www.historizarelpasadovivo.cl/es\\_contenido.php](http://www.historizarelpasadovivo.cl/es_contenido.php) (consulted on 7.04.2013)
42. RUBERCY, Eryck de, 'Un musée pour l'Europe: un Entretien avec Marie-Louise von Plessen et Krzysztof Pomian', *Revue en Ligne: Études Européennes*. Available at [http://www.etudes-europeennes.eu/images/stories/Archives/5-6\\_Muse\\_Europe\\_E\\_de\\_Rubercy.pdf](http://www.etudes-europeennes.eu/images/stories/Archives/5-6_Muse_Europe_E_de_Rubercy.pdf)
43. RUBERCY, Eryck de, 'Un musée pour l'Europe: un Entretien avec Marie-Louise von Plessen et Krzysztof Pomian', *Revue en Ligne: Études Européennes*, 2004, pp. 1-10. Available at [http://www.etudes-europeennes.eu/images/stories/Archives/5-6\\_Muse\\_Europe\\_E\\_de\\_Rubercy.pdf](http://www.etudes-europeennes.eu/images/stories/Archives/5-6_Muse_Europe_E_de_Rubercy.pdf) (consulted on 29.12.2012)
44. SCHMALE, Wolfgang, 'Die Konstruktion des Homo Europaeus' ['The Construction of the Homo Europaeus'], *Comparare. Comparative European History Review*, Vol. 1, 2001, pp. 165-184.
45. SHORE, Cris, 'Inventing Homo Europaeus: The Cultural Politics of European Integration', *Ethnologia Europaea. Journal of European Ethnology*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1999, pp. 53-66.
46. SIEGRIST, Hannes, & PETRI, Rolf, 'Einleitung: Geschichten Europas. Kritik, Methoden und Perspektiven' ['Introduction: Stories of Europe. Criticism, Methods and Perspectives'], *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Global Geschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung [Comparative: Journal of Global History and Comparative Study of Societies]*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2004, pp. 7-14.
47. SNELDERS, Bas, 'Not the Art of the State but a State of the Art', *European Cultural Foundation: Narratives*, November 2011, pp. 1-23. Available at [http://www.ecflabs.org/sites/www.ecflabs.org/files/4157/bas\\_snelders\\_not\\_the\\_art\\_of\\_the\\_state\\_but\\_a\\_state\\_of\\_the\\_art\\_nov\\_2011.pdf](http://www.ecflabs.org/sites/www.ecflabs.org/files/4157/bas_snelders_not_the_art_of_the_state_but_a_state_of_the_art_nov_2011.pdf) (consulted on 7.03.2013)
48. SZŰCS, Jenő, 'The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An Outline', *Acta Historica: Revue de l'Academie des Sciences de Hongrie*, Vol. 29, 1983, pp. 131-84.
49. SZŰCS, Jenő, 'Three Historical Regions of Europe', *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 29, 1983, pp. 131-184.
50. TRÉFÁS, David, 'Is European Nationalism Failing because of a Lack of Myths?'

*Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 1, 2008, pp. 63-79.

51. WERNER, Michael; & ZIMMERMANN, Bénédicte, 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory*, Vol. 45, 2006, pp. 30-50.
52. WERNER, Michael; & ZIMMERMANN, Bénédicte, 'Penser l'Histoire Croisée : entre Empirie et Réflexivité', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, Vol. 58, January-February 2003, pp. 7-36.
53. WOLF, Stuart, 'Europa und seine Historiker' ['Europe and its Historians'], *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Global Geschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* [*Comparative: Journal of Global History and Comparative Study of Societies*], Vol. 14, No. 3, 2004, pp. 50-71.
54. WOOLF, Stuart, 'Europe and its Historians', *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 12, No. 3, August 2003, pp. 323-337.

### **c) Conference Proceedings, Public Lectures and Book Reviews**

1. ASCHERSON, Neal, 'In the Hands of the Cannibals' (Review of Norman Davies' *Europe, a History*), *London Review of Books*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1997, pp. 7-8.
2. BERGMANN, Werner, 'The Europeanisation of the Holocaust', public lecture at the Central European University: Jewish Studies Project, 10<sup>th</sup> October 2006. Summary of the conference available at <http://web.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/pls/Bergmann0607.doc> (consulted on 7.04.2013)
3. DELANTY, Gerard. 'The European Heritage from a Critical Cosmopolitan Perspective', *LSE 'Europe in Question' Discussion Paper Series*, No. 19, 2010, pp. 1-20. Available at [www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS/LEQSPaper19b.pdf](http://www2.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS/LEQSPaper19b.pdf) (consulted on 29.04.2013)
4. DELORS, Jacques, 'L'Unité de l'Europe : Un Projet pour le 21<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Exposé de Jacques Delors prononçant la « lectio magistralis » ouvrant la Session Académique 2005/2006 du Collège Européen de Parme', 5<sup>th</sup> November 2005.
5. EREMENKO, Maria, 'European Identity Policy: Ways of Formation', First Euroacademia Global Conference. Europe Inside-Out: Europe and Europeanness Exposed to Plural Observers, Vienna, 22-24 September 2011.
6. JUDT, Tony, 'Questions of Malevolence' (Review of Norman Davies' *Europe, a History*), *London Review of Books*, Vol. 19, No. 7, 3<sup>th</sup> April 1997.
7. KAISER, Wolfram, 'Towards a European Memory? Musealizing the European Union', conference, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, 24<sup>th</sup> April 2013.
8. VAN DER MEULEN, J., 'The Historical Archives of the European Communities. International Conference of Professors of Contemporary History 'Study of the beginnings of the European Integration. The Value of source material and records,



1946-1952' in Luxembourg, 28-29 January 1982', Commission of the European Communities, University Information, Brussels, 1982, pp. 69-80.

9. VOVK VAN GAAL, Taja; & KAISER, Wolfram, 'Forging a Community: the European Union's House of European History', Panel Debate at the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 21<sup>th</sup> November 2012. Available at <http://popularhistory.soc.srcf.net/directors-cut/forging-a-community-the-european-unions-house-of-european-history/> (consulted on 16.03.2013)

#### d) Newspaper Articles

1. NOLTE, Ernst, 'Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will. Eine Rede, die geschrieben, aber nicht gehalten werden konnte' ['The Past that will not Go Away: a Speech that could be Written but not Delivered'], *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6<sup>th</sup> June 1986.
2. THIESSE, Anne-Marie, 'Inventing National Identity: Democracy Softens Forces of change', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (english edition), 5 June 1999. Available at <http://mondediplo.com/1999/06/05thiesse> (consulted on 15.11.2012).
3. THIESSE, Anne-Marie, 'La Lente Invention des Identités Nationales', *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 1999, pp. 12-13. Available at <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1999/06/THIESSE/12102> (consulted on 21.11.2012)

#### e) Internet sources

1. CVCE: CENTRE VIRTUELLE DE CONNAISSANCE SUR L'EUROPE. Available at <http://www.cvce.eu/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)
2. EURHISTXX: THE EUROPEAN NETWORK FOR CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. Available at <http://www.eurhistxx.de/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)
3. EUROCLIO: EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF HISTORY EDUCATORS. Available at <http://www.euroclio.eu/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)
4. EUSTORY: HISTORY NETWORK FOR YOUNG EUROPEANS. Available at <http://eustory.eu/> (consulted on 4.04.2013)
5. HEIRS: HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION RESEARCH SOCIETY. Available at <http://www.heirs-eu.org/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)
6. HISTORIANA: YOUR PORTAL TO THE PAST. Available at <http://historiana.eu/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)
7. HOUSE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY/MAISON DE L'HISTOIRE EUROPÉENNE. Available at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/visiting/en/visits/historyhouse.html> (consulted on 8.04.2013)
8. IACHE: INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF EUROPE. Available at <http://iache.hypotheses.org/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)
9. IRICE: IDENTITÉS, RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET CIVILISATIONS DE L'EUROPE. Available at <http://irice.univ-paris1.fr/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)

10. MUCEM (MUSÉE DES CIVILISATIONS DE L'EUROPE ET DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE). Available at <http://www.mucem.org/> (consulted on 8.04.2013)
11. MUSÉE DE L'EUROPE, *Europe, It's our History!: Educational Guide*, 2007. Available at *Europe, It's our History!: Educational Guide*, 2007. Available at [http://www.expo-europe.be/images/pdf/cnh\\_cahier\\_peda\\_uk.pdf](http://www.expo-europe.be/images/pdf/cnh_cahier_peda_uk.pdf) (consulted on 20.03.2013)
12. MUSÉE DE L'EUROPE. Available at <http://www.expo-europe.be/> (consulted on 8.04.2013)
13. MUSÉE EUROPEËN SCHENGEN. Available at <http://www.schengen-tourist.lu/index.php?idnavigation=42&fidlanguage=2> (consulted on 8.04.2013)
14. MUSEUM EUROPÄISCHER KULTUREN (STAATLICHE MUSEUM ZU BERLIN). Available at <http://www.smb.museum/smb/sammlungen/details.php?objID=10> (consulted on 8.04.2013)
15. NEMO: NETWORK OF EUROPEAN MUSEUM ORGANISATIONS. Available at <http://www.ne-mo.org/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)
16. RICHIE: Réseau International des Jeunes Chercheurs en Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne. Available at <http://www.europe-richie.org/> (consulted on 6.04.2013)

## ANNEXES

---



**DOCUMENT 1**

---

**DOCUMENT ON THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY  
PUBLISHED BY THE NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS ON  
14 DECEMBER 1973, IN COPENHAGEN**

**DOCUMENT ON THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY  
PUBLISHED  
BY THE NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS  
ON 14 DECEMBER 1973, IN COPENHAGEN<sup>236</sup>**

The Nine Member Countries of the European Communities have decided that the time has come to draw up a document on the European Identity. This will enable them to achieve a better definition of their relations with other countries and of their responsibilities and the place which they occupy in world affairs. They have decided to define the European Identity with the dynamic nature of the Community in mind. They have the intention of carrying the work further in the future in the light of the progress made in the construction of a United Europe.

Defining the European Identity involves:

- reviewing the common heritage, interests and special obligations of the Nine, as well as the degree of unity so far achieved within the Community, — assessing the extent to which the Nine are already acting together in relation to the rest of the world and the responsibilities which result from this,
- taking into consideration the dynamic nature of European unification.

**I. The Unity of the Nine Member Countries of the Community**

1.

The Nine European States might have been pushed towards disunity by their history and by selfishly defending misjudged interests. But they have overcome their past enmities and have decided that unity is a basic European necessity to ensure the survival of the civilization which they have in common.

The Nine wish to ensure that the cherished values of their legal, political and moral order are respected, and to preserve the rich variety of their national cultures. Sharing as they do the same attitudes to life, based on a determination to build a society

---

<sup>236</sup> Available at <http://www.cvce.eu/viewer/-/content/02798dc9-9c69-4b7d-b2c9-f03a8db7da32/en> (last consulted on 2.04.2013)

which measures up to the needs of the individual, they are determined to defend the principles of representative democracy, of the rule of law, of social justice — which is the ultimate goal of economic progress — and of respect for human rights. All of these are fundamental elements of the European Identity. The Nine believe that this enterprise corresponds to the deepest aspirations of their peoples who should participate in its realization, particularly through their elected representatives.

## 2.

The Nine have the political will to succeed in the construction of a united Europe. On the basis of the Treaties of Paris and Rome setting up the European Communities and of subsequent decisions, they have created a common market, based on a customs union, and have established institutions, common policies and machinery for co-operation. All these are an essential part of the European Identity. The Nine are determined to safeguard the elements which make up the unity they have achieved so far and the fundamental objectives laid down for future development at the Summit Conferences in The Hague and Paris. On the basis of the Luxembourg and Copenhagen reports, the Nine Governments have established a system of political co-operation with a view to determining common attitudes and, where possible and desirable, common action. They propose to develop this further. In accordance with the decision taken at the Paris conference, the Nine reaffirm their intention of transforming the whole complex of their relations into a European Union before the end of the present decade.

## 3.

The diversity of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization, the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a United Europe, all give the European Identity its originality and its own dynamism.

## 4.

The construction of a United Europe, which the Nine Member Countries of the Community are undertaking, is open to other European nations who share the same ideals and objectives.

## 5.

The European countries have, in the course of their history, developed close ties with many other parts of the world. These relationships, which will continue to evolve, constitute an assurance of progress and international equilibrium.

6. Although in the past the European countries were individually able to play a major rôle on the international scene, present international problems are difficult for any of the Nine to solve alone. International developments and the growing concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a very small number of great powers mean that Europe must unite and speak increasingly with one voice if it wants to make itself heard and play its proper rôle in the world.

7.

The Community, the world's largest trading group, could not be a closed economic entity. It has close links with the rest of the world as regards its supplies and market outlets. For this reason the Community, while remaining in control of its own trading policies, intends to exert a positive influence on world economic relations with a view to the greater well-being of all.

8.

The Nine, one of whose essential aims is to maintain peace, will never succeed in doing so if they neglect their own security. Those of them who are members of the Atlantic Alliance consider that in present circumstances there is no alternative to the security provided by the nuclear weapons of the United States and by the presence of North American forces in Europe: and they agree that in the light of the relative military vulnerability of Europe, the Europeans should, if they wish to preserve their independence, hold to their commitments and make constant efforts to ensure that they have adequate means of defence at their disposal.

## **II. The European Identity in Relation to the World**

9.

The Europe of the Nine is aware that, as it unites, it takes on new international obligations. European unification is not directed against anyone, nor is it inspired by a desire for power. On the contrary, the Nine are convinced that their union will benefit the whole international community since it will constitute an element of equilibrium and a basis for co-operation with all countries, whatever their size, culture or social system. The Nine intend to play an active rôle in world affairs and thus to contribute, in accordance with



the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to ensuring that international relations have a more just basis; that the independence and equality of States are better preserved; that prosperity is more equitably shared; and that the security of each country is more effectively guaranteed. In pursuit of these objectives the Nine should progressively define common positions in the sphere of foreign policy.

## 10.

As the Community progresses towards a common policy in relation to third countries, it will act in accordance with the following principles:

(a) The Nine, acting as a single entity, will strive to promote harmonious and constructive relations with these countries. This should not however jeopardize, hold back or affect the will of the Nine to progress towards European Union within the time limits laid down.

(b) In future when the Nine negotiate collectively with other countries, the institutions and procedures chosen should enable the distinct character of the European entity to be respected.

(c) In bilateral contacts with other countries, the Member States of the Community will increasingly act on the basis of agreed common positions.

## 11.

The Nine intend to strengthen their links, in the present institutional framework, with the Member Countries of the Council of Europe, and with other European countries with whom they already have friendly relations and close co-operation.

## 12.

The Nine attach essential importance to the Community's policy of association. Without diminishing the advantages enjoyed by the countries with which it has special relations, the Community intends progressively to put into operation a policy for development aid on a worldwide scale in accordance with the principles and aims set out in the Paris Summit Declaration.

## 13.

The Community will implement its undertakings towards the Mediterranean and African countries in order to reinforce its long-standing links with these countries. The Nine intend to preserve their historical links with the countries of the Middle East and

to co-operate over the establishment and maintenance of peace, stability and progress in the region.

14.

The close ties between the United States and Europe of the Nine — we share values and aspirations based on a common heritage — are mutually beneficial and must be preserved. These ties do not conflict with the determination of the Nine to establish themselves as a distinct and original entity. The Nine intend to maintain their constructive dialogue and to develop their co-operation with the United States on the basis of equality and in a spirit of friendship.

15.

The Nine also remain determined to engage in close co-operation and to pursue a constructive dialogue with the other industrialized countries, such as Japan and Canada, which have an essential rôle in maintaining an open and balanced world economic system. They appreciate the existing fruitful co-operation with these countries, particularly within the OECD.

16.

The Nine have contributed, both individually and collectively to the first results of a policy of détente and co-operation with the USSR and the East European countries. They are determined to carry this policy further forward on a reciprocal basis.

17.

Conscious of the major rôle played by China in international affairs, the Nine intend to intensify their relations with the Chinese Government and to promote exchanges in various fields as well as contacts between European and Chinese leaders.

18.

The Nine are also aware of the important rôle played by other Asian countries. They are determined to develop their relations with these countries as is demonstrated, as far as commercial relations are concerned, by the Declaration of Intent made by the Community at the time of its enlargement.

19.

The Nine are traditionally bound to the Latin American countries by friendly links and many other contacts; they intend to develop these. In this context they attach great

importance to the agreements concluded between the European Community and certain Latin American countries.

20.

There can be no real peace if the developed countries do not pay more heed to the less favoured nations. Convinced of this fact, and conscious of their responsibilities and particular obligations, the Nine attach very great importance to the struggle against under-development. They are, therefore, resolved to intensify their efforts in the fields of trade and development aid and to strengthen international co-operation to these ends.

21.

The Nine will participate in international negotiations in an outward-looking spirit, while preserving the fundamental elements of their unity and their basic aims. They are also resolved to contribute to international progress, both through their relations with third countries and by adopting common positions wherever possible in international organizations, notably the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

### **III. The Dynamic Nature of the Construction of a United Europe**

22.

The European identity will evolve as a function of the dynamic construction of a United Europe. In their external relations, the Nine propose progressively to undertake the definition of their identity in relation to other countries or groups of countries. They believe that in so doing they will strengthen their own cohesion and contribute to the framing of a genuinely European foreign policy. They are convinced that building up this policy will help them to tackle with confidence and realism further stages in the construction of a United Europe thus making easier the proposed transformation of the whole complex of their relations into a European Union.



**DOCUMENT 2**

---

**COUNCIL OF EUROPE  
COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS:  
RESOLUTION (86) 3 ON EUROPEAN  
CULTURAL CO-OPERATION**

**COUNCIL OF EUROPE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS:  
RESOLUTION (86) 3 ON EUROPEAN  
CULTURAL CO-OPERATION<sup>237</sup>**

**(Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 23 April 1986 at its 78th Session)**

The Committee of Ministers,

1. desirable that the member states of the Council of Europe should “pursue a policy of common action designed to safeguard and encourage the development of European culture”;
2. Having taken note of Assembly Recommendations 940 of 27 April 1982 and 995 of 3 October 1984 on European cultural co-operation;
3. Having regard to the report of the Colombo Commission, submitted to the Council of Europe on 12 June 1985;
4. Recalling its Resolution (84) 21 of 21 November 1984 on Council of Europe action in the political field and particularly the objective that the Committee of Ministers should examine “... the political aspects of European co-operation in the fields where the Council of Europe has acquired special experience or which are of interest to all member states”;
5. Referring to the decision taken at its 69th Session on 19 November 1981 to make a survey of the Council of Europe’s activities in the field of cultural co-operation on the basis of a report by the Ministers’ Deputies;
6. Taking note of the report of the working party of the Ministers’ Deputies, submitted on 28 May 1985 in accordance with terms of reference adopted in February 1983,

---

<sup>237</sup> Available at <https://wcd.coe.int/com.instranet.InstraServlet?command=com.instranet.CmdBlobGet&InstranetImage=606337&SecMode=1&DocId=689780&Usage=2> (consulted on 04.05.2013)

## I

Affirms that:

- i. cultural co-operation is one of the fundamental areas of the Council of Europe's action and must thus be given appropriate priority among the Council's activities;
- ii. the area covered by the Council of Europe and by the European Cultural Convention means in itself that cultural co-operation within the Council provides a specially apt framework for the promotion of a European sense of identity, of which cultural diversity is one important component;
- iii. the Council of Europe's cultural programme must include discussions of the major problems of contemporary culture, intergovernmental co-operative activities and specific actions aimed at producing an impact on public opinion in the member states; at the same time the Council of Europe should bear in mind its role as an organisation for exchanges of experiences which could assist governments to find solutions in their work of drawing up their cultural and educational policies;
- iv. recognising the interaction between culture and education, a balance must be maintained between the cultural and educational aspects of this programme; action to promote creativity and the dissemination of culture must play a major part on the cultural side;
- v. cultural co-operation within the Council of Europe must take into account changes which contemporary society is undergoing in the fields of culture and education, and should in this context pay great attention to the problem posed by the introduction of new communication technologies, in particular to the audio-visual media;

Recalling the European Cultural Convention of 19 December 1954, which, *inter alia*, considers it

## II

Considers that definition of the political orientations of cultural co-operation is a matter for the Committee of Ministers and thus:

- i. intends to carry out an overall review of cultural co-operation at regular intervals, particularly through the Ministers' Deputies;

ii. wishes to see continuous dialogue established with the Assembly, either at ministerial or Deputy level;

iii. instructs the Ministers' Deputies to maintain close contact with the Council for Cultural Co- operation (CDCC) and to invite the CDCC to consult with them on its draft annual programme with a view to integrating it more fully within the general work programme of the Council of Europe;

### III

Wishes the conferences of European ministers responsible for culture and education to be associated more closely within the general framework of the Council of Europe's activities;

### IV

Desires that creative artists and other leading personalities in the cultural field be fully associated with the planning of the Council of Europe's cultural activities;

### V

Stresses the importance of increasing the impact of the Council of Europe's cultural action in the member states and, for this purpose:

i. attaches special importance to the contribution which could be made here by the relevant authorities (central, regional or local) depending on the institutional structure of each member country;

ii. considers it desirable that, in addition, organisations involved in cultural matters such as associations, foundations, cultural centres and particularly public or private institutions in the member countries with which the Council of Europe has already established or will establish working relations, should act as relays and pass on the initiatives of the Council of Europe;

iii. considers it particularly desirable that a fruitful collaboration may be established between the Council of Europe and cultural centres dealing with European issues;

### VI



Affirms that cultural action must have resources consistent with its importance and considers that this aim might be achieved, inter alia, by:

- i. the concentration and rigorous selection of activities;
- ii. adequate endowment of the Cultural Fund, not only from the general budget but also from voluntary contributions;
- iii. a better use of the possibilities for co-financing with other organisations and with private sponsorship;

## VII

Considers that cultural co-operation constitutes one of the most appropriate fields of action for the implementation of Resolution (85) 5 on co-operation between the Council of Europe and the European Community;

## V III

Recalls Resolution (85) 6 on European cultural identity which “ notes that common traditions and European identity as the product of a common cultural history, are not delimited by the frontiers separating different political systems in Europe”, and confirms its interest in continuing to explore areas in which co-operation with the countries of Eastern Europe might be strengthened;

Further asks the Deputies to consider practical possibilities for cultural co-operation with regions outside Europe, bearing in mind that the co-operation between European countries should have priority.



**DOCUMENT 3**

---

**EUSTORY CHARTER**

## EUSTORY CHARTER<sup>238</sup>

EUSTORY is a network of organizations running history research competitions for young people in Europe.

Historiography, history teaching and the general perception of history have played various roles during the past. They have contributed to:

- collective and individual memories and senses of belonging
- perceptions of the present and the future
- cultural enrichment

But they also played a part in:

- developing exclusive and assumed superior identities by various groups
- creating hate between nations, ethnic, social, political and religious groups
- justifying policies leading to discrimination, persecution, conflicts and wars

These examples show the importance of history in peoples' lives.

Consequently, we - the founders, members and supporters of EUSTORY - have agreed on the following principles. These shall constitute a Charter that shall guide us in our work. Our Charter is also addressed to people involved in education, science, culture, economy and politics in Europe.

### **1. A European Perspective in our various histories**

We live in a changing world, which requires a new awareness of history. The ideological divisions in Europe of the 20th century are disappearing. People move more and more. Cultural and economic exchanges are growing. The revolution in information technology makes communication across borders easy. The greater coherence and enlargement of the European Union challenges the traditional nation-state and raises the question of new identities.

---

<sup>238</sup> Available at <http://www.koerber-stiftung.de/bildung/eustory/gremien/eustory-charter.html>  
(consulted 14.04.2013)

We in EUSTORY are concerned with the importance of history in these processes. We aim at a European approach towards history which should overcome discourses of exclusiveness, concentrated on self-pride and self-pity. We intend to listen to others and to tell our stories in a way which makes them understandable and easier to accept for people from diverse backgrounds.

Overcoming exclusiveness also means that our notion of European history is not aimed against any other part of the world. It is obvious that European history is much more than the history of the European Union, but includes the study of a much wider range of historical aspects across the European continent.

We believe that Europe should become not only a matter of historical content but also one of perspective.

A European perspective considers local, regional, national and global levels. Linked to them we have all developed our historical identities.

A European perspective endeavours to introduce others to our own history. The European perspective has to bridge not only the gaps between nations and regions, but also between men and women, social, political, ethnic, or religious groups.

A European perspective encourages us to look for additional ideas, sources, points of view, and to counteract prejudices linked to issues such as:

- heritage and progress
- neighbour relations
- group identities, minorities and majorities
- social, cultural and economic conflicts
- violence by or against people
- colonial past
- political ideological and religious movements
- patterns of centralization and regionalization
- processes of unification and partition
- wars, conflicts, victories, defeats

Furthermore we should introduce or emphasize new issues showing common challenges and converging developments throughout Europe in the areas of

- human and civil rights
- gender and generation relationships
- migration
- everyday life
- economy and technology
- environment
- cultural diversity and change
- interactions between religions

To research, describe and teach issues like these also requires reflection and discussion on what we share and where we differ in Europe. We should value differences in so far as they do not harm other people.

The European perspective also requires us to bear in mind the impact of our interpretations on others. This helps to avoid hostile accusations, arrogance and groundless theories of conspiracy or misunderstanding. Yet dealing carefully with history does not mean hiding any facts simply for opportunistic reasons.

## **2. Criteria for a European perspective**

History can be dealt with by applying different approaches, for example

- a scholarly approach
- an educational approach
- a moral approach
- a legal or judicial approach
- a political approach
- an aesthetic approach

Depending on their objectives these approaches partly follow different logical paths and should not be confused.

There are professional standards for researching, writing and teaching history crucial for our European perspective and for the understanding of each other.

History is not identical with the past. History as knowledge is culturally filtered. It is a selective reconstruction of the past and an interpretation of what has happened.

Valid reconstructions and interpretations must be based on a variety of sources. When using sources we have to differentiate between tradition, relics, oral history and documents and to take into account their significance in reconstructing the past. Sources are not self-explanatory; they are only meaningful in certain contexts.

The methods applied to historical themes have to be transparent and consistent. These include:

- a clear historical question
- a critical use of empirical evidence
- a historical perspective of interpretation, keeping in mind the knowledge, mentalities and values of the respective period
- a discussion of significance for the present

Multiperspectivity is fundamental to a European perspective. The same historical subject has to be systematically checked from different points of view on three levels:

- sources and material
- reconstruction and interpretation
- implications for the present

On the first level we have to look for representations of different and opposite players in the past like winners and losers, rulers and ruled, rich and poor, men and women, old and young and one's own group and the other groups.

On the second level, we have to find and to weigh up different reconstructions and controversial interpretations. Considering the different views on historical facts and processes, we have to present them in a fair way to our audience and base our own version on source evidence.

On the third level we should discuss what conclusions we can draw from the respective experience in the past for the present. Obviously, we can get different ideas from the same past.

This depends on a person's background such as nationality, religion, social status, age and gender. In our handling of history, a professional approach will include the awareness of one's personal relationship to the topic.

We cannot evaluate the full range of possible perspectives. For practical reasons we have to make choices and to explain them. Besides presenting other peoples' views multiperspectivity requires also one's own assessment.

We have to explain the relevance of our topic and approach. The criteria for relevance are highly related to current knowledge, experiences, challenges and problems. So, they can be different for every period, nation and group. This is one reason why dealing with history is an open process and never reaches definitive results.

### **3. The EUSTORY Mission**

With our history competitions we seek to create and develop this European perspective in writing, teaching and researching history. Encouraging learning through research and independence of historical interpretation will strengthen ties between young people in Europe and the recent evolutions of historical knowledge.

Developing multiperspectivity and the critical thinking of young people will contribute to the progress of intercultural and mutual understanding and cross-border dialog in Europe, thus helping living together in peace. Dealing with history will also help young people to develop their sense of responsibility and active involvement in the life of their own communities. A new understanding of the past is thus a means for an active integration in the current world. It is a way to prepare young people for the challenges of the 21st century.

EUSTORY strives for developing understanding and co-operation between individuals, groups and nations not only in Europe, but also across the world. Such a European framework can thus be a step on the way towards a global approach. Europe and its inhabitants should participate and contribute in such a global context. This is what our EUSTORY Charter aims to promote.



**DOCUMENT 4**

---

**CONCEPTUAL BASIS  
FOR A HOUSE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY  
(FRAGMENTS)**

## CONCEPTUAL BASIS FOR A HOUSE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY (FRAGMENTS)<sup>239</sup>

### Foreword

1. 'I should like to create a locus for history and for the future where the concept of the European idea can continue to grow. I would like to suggest the founding of a "House of European History". It should [be] a place where a memory of European history and the work of European unification is jointly cultivated, and which at the same time is available as a locus for the European identity to go on being shaped by present and future citizens of the European Union'. With these words, part of the speech he gave on 13 February 2007 setting out the programme for his presidency, the President of the European Parliament, Prof. Hans-Gert Pöttering, MEP, initiated the project to establish a 'House of European History'.
2. Following a detailed discussion, Parliament's Bureau unanimously welcomed this proposal and appointed a Committee of Experts to draw up a concept for the House of European History. The committee consisted of nine members - historians and museum experts - from various European countries. This concept paper was prepared at a series of meetings in Brussels and the agreed version was adopted on 15 September 2008.
3. The members of the Committee of Experts wish to emphasise one thing: one of the key objectives of the House of European History is to enable Europeans of all generations to learn more about their own history and, by so doing, to contribute to a better understanding of the development of Europe, now and in the future. The House of European History should be a place in which the European idea comes alive.
4. The broad thrust of European history must be presented so that more recent history, and the present, can be understood. On the basis of historical experience and effects, it should be made clear why the European Institutions were founded and built up in the

---

<sup>239</sup> Committee Of Experts (House of European History), 'Conceptual Basis for a House of European History', Brussels, October 2008. Available at [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004\\_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721_en.pdf) (last consulte don 8.05.2013) These are just the 'foreword' and the 'conceptual and museological basis' for the museum, the rest of the document can be found in the provided address.

second half of the 20th century. The exhibition should equally illustrate both the diversity of the history of Europe and the commonality of its roots.

5. The continent's recent history has been dominated by the notion of freely associating in supranational institutions at European level and by the willingness to do so. The overcoming, to a large extent, of nationalisms, dictatorship and war, coupled with, since the 1950s, a willingness to live together in Europe in peace and liberty, a supranational and civil union - those should be the key messages conveyed by the House of European History. The exhibitions should make it clear that, in a world of progress, a united Europe can live together in peace and liberty on the basis of common values. The House of European History should prompt greater citizen involvement in political decision-taking processes in a united Europe.

6. It is the task of the European Union to contribute to the improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples (Article 151 of the EC Treaty).

### **Conceptual and museological basis**

7. The House of European History will be a modern exhibition, documentation and information centre. It will house both a permanent exhibition on European history, with a display area of up to 4000 m<sup>2</sup>, and have space for temporary exhibitions. In addition, the creation of an information centre is being proposed in which visitors can obtain more detailed material about European history and current affairs. These amenities will be supplemented by events and publications.

8. The success of the House of European History will depend on many factors which must be carefully coordinated:

9. Academic independence and the objective portrayal of history have top priority. The Committee of Experts is adamant that scientifically proven findings and methods are the basis for the work of the House of European History. The accuracy of its portrayal of history is an essential precondition for securing acceptance among specialists and visitors alike. The multifaceted and impartial presentation of historical facts and processes is vital if visitors are to be put in a position to form their own judgments and encouraged to discuss the issues dealt with in the exhibition. The guarantor of this independence could be a high-level Academic Advisory Board, comprising historians and museum specialists, which would supervise the work.

10. In addition, the institutional independence of the body responsible for running the House of European History is fundamental to the success and credibility of the concept.

11. The House of European History sees itself primarily as a bridge between the academic world and the general public. Its design and operation must reflect the latest museological thinking. A comprehensive range of educational services tailored to a varied public must be developed and provided. Even though an academic approach will be fundamental to its work, the House of European History will not undertake basic specialist research in the narrow sense of that term.

12. However, the Committee of Experts urges that the House of European History should also incorporate a meeting place for young academics involved in researching aspects of European history. This meeting place would not only help to make the museum as a whole livelier, but would also enable it to establish close links with talented young people from all parts of Europe.

13. The House of European History is aimed at Europeans from all parts of the continent, in all age groups and in all walks of life. Given the broad nature of this target group, the exhibitions must work on the assumption that visitors will have no comprehensive knowledge of the subjects dealt with. The typical visitors will primarily be interested laymen.

14. A chronologically based narrative will help the likely target group to understand historical events and processes. Such a narrative, incorporating any retrospectives and broader surveys which may be required, will help visitors to place events and developments geographically and in their correct periods. This will create a setting for the wide range of exhibits, texts and multimedia displays which the museum uses to present history.

15. Accordingly, every aspect of the House of European History must be tailored to the needs of its visitors. For example, explanatory texts and audiovisual displays must be provided in a variety of languages and the educational approach and structure of the exhibition must take account of the specific processes of demographic change taking place in all European countries. The deliberate tailoring of the exhibition to visitors' needs and regular reviews of this fundamental decision in the form of ongoing assessments will also be fundamental to the work of the House of European History.

16. In addition, the House of European History will prepare temporary and travelling exhibitions, and the latter above all will offer a means of reaching people in all parts of Europe and beyond.

17. Alongside the exhibitions themselves, the organisation of events focusing on issues relevant to Europe and the issuing of its own publications will also help to make the House of European History more attractive. In addition, in the 21st century a modern museum must have an Internet site offering a comprehensive range of services.

18. It is also vital that the museum should build up its own collection, since the ready availability of items from that collection is fundamental to creating visually attractive permanent, temporary and travelling exhibitions. At the same time, the collection will help to integrate the House of European History into, and secure its status in, the international lending network. When building up the collection, care should be taken to focus on specifically European aspects of history. Duplication of existing national collections should be avoided.

19. The central location of the House of European History will be fundamental to its success. It should be on the basic route taken by visitors to the European institutions. It is just as important that it should be integrated into the network of amenities offered on the premises of the European institutions as that it should form an integral part of the European museum scene.

20. Consistent funding is essential to the operation and success of the House of European History. Resources will be needed not only for the design and construction of the museum, but also for its operation in the long term. Once the museum is open, upkeep of the facilities which make it attractive to visitors will also generate costs. The constant development of the exhibitions and the museum infrastructure is fundamental to its long-term acceptance.

21. Since the House of European History is intended to contribute to the political education of all members of the public, the Committee of Experts urges that entry should be free of charge.

22. The permanent exhibition in the House of European History, the centrepiece of the new museum, will consist of displays covering a floor area of up to 4000 m<sup>2</sup> focusing on European history from the First World War to the present day. Further, smaller-scale surveys of the roots of the continent and the medieval and modern periods will be needed in order to enable visitors to gain a better understanding of the present and the future. The link with the present will be fundamental to the success of the new museum, since it will both establish the topical nature of the exhibits and emphasise their direct relevance to visitors' daily lives. In addition, the link with the present offers scope for

addressing at short notice significant political, social, economic and cultural changes and developments which have implications for Europe.

23. The permanent exhibition will not portray the individual histories of Europe's states and regions one after another, but will instead focus on European phenomena. In that connection, particular emphasis will be placed on the era of peace Europe has enjoyed since the end of the Second World War. It should be borne in mind that the diversity of Europe is its defining feature. This diversity and the way in which developments and periods overlap pose major challenges for the team which will design the museum and the displays themselves. At the same time, these aspects will provide many visitors with points of reference. Given that visitors to the museum are likely to come from all sections of society, the inclusion of biographical elements will make it easier for them to come to terms with the many topics and processes dealt with in the exhibition. Portraying the lives of famous Europeans alongside those of unknown inhabitants of the continent will enable visitors to engage more fully with the circumstances of the periods in question. Subjective experience must play an important role in the exhibition.

24. The attractiveness of the permanent exhibition will depend to a large extent on the objects on display, whose auratic force will offer visitors not just an intellectual, but also an emotional insight into historical issues. However, without a context the significance of the exhibits will be difficult to grasp. In this connection, the targeted use of audiovisual media is axiomatic. In contemporary historical exhibitions, it is vital to employ film and sound documents as both original sources and educational material. The use of modern audiovisual media will liven up the exhibition and make it more approachable, above all for younger visitors. A narrative approach is one obvious way of provoking both an intellectual and an emotional response to the topics dealt with in the permanent exhibition.

25. Finally, it should be pointed out that regular overhauls of the permanent exhibition can help to guarantee public acceptance and the attractiveness of the House of European History in the medium and long terms as well.

26. In view of the major challenges to be overcome by the design team, a possible opening date in summer 2014 appears an ambitious goal; it should be achievable if all stakeholders work together effectively.

[...]