

COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

House of European History



Conceptual Basis for a House of European History

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Members of the Committee of Experts, at the body's constituent meeting, with the President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering, and the Secretary-General of the European Parliament, Harald Rømer. From left to right: Giorgio Cracco, António Reis, Mária Schmidt, Włodzimierz Borodziej, Hans Walter Hütter, Marie-Hélène Joly, Matti Klinge and Michel Dumoulin. Not present: Ronald de Leeuw.

"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'.

*The President of the European Parliament,
Prof. Dr. Hans-Gert Pöttering, MEP*

13 February 2007

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 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 m², 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 m² 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.

Central topics of the permanent exhibition

The origins and development of Europe until the end of the 19th century

27. Forms of higher culture which can already be described as 'European' grew up around trading routes near the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, regions better suited to the development of shipping than to agriculture and to the formation of small states rather than the larger, agrarian states clustered around the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris.
28. The phenomenon of colonisation demonstrates the importance of one of the key driving forces in European history: waves of migration caused by overpopulation. Migration pushed people to explore new parts of the world and to develop a powerful military culture in order to occupy and maintain colonies. Cities, i.e. the city-states, in the Aegean, for instance, expanded with the help of the far-flung colonies in the Mediterranean and the Black Seas.
29. The phenomenon of migration and of colonies crops up repeatedly in European history, either in the context of warlike expeditions or of massive waves of colonisation. Migration within Europe is also significant, as is the colonisation of other continents.
30. The riches of India and China and the routes leading to those countries have always attracted the interest of Europeans, from the time of Alexander the Great, through the Roman Empire several centuries later and the Crusades after the year 1000, up to the establishment of colonial empires by France, England, Portugal and Holland in particular over the period from the 17th century to the 1970s. The Spanish and Portuguese empires developed largely in the Americas initially, the Russian empire in Siberia and in Central Asia.
31. Starting in the fifth century BC, the Greco-Roman world developed a form of high culture, the basis for the philosophy, literature, lawmaking and statecraft which are central to present day European culture, which has been revived in a number of 'renaissances'. This era lasted a thousand years. Its main languages, Greek and Latin, form the grammatical, lexical and semantic basis for almost all other European languages.
32. In the 16th century, the 'Renaissance' of antiquity and the new means of disseminating information represented by the book led to a remarkable re-Latinisation of French and other Romance languages, whilst a great treasure house of new words transported Latin culture into Germanic, Finnish and Slavic languages. 'Purified' Latin retained a key role in schools and universities throughout Europe and in the Catholic Church until the 20th century. It had a major influence, particularly semantically and terminologically, on all vernacular languages in their written form. Later, Latin's universal role was taken over, above all in the 18th century, by French, which exerted a major lexical influence on German, Russian, Swedish and other languages. Since the end of the 20th century, the position of Greek and Latin has been strengthened once again through biological research and technical innovations, the terms for which almost invariably have their roots in Greek or Latin.
33. Through the process of educating ruling elites, the school and university system became fundamental to European cultural unity, which developed from the time known as the Middle Ages, in the 12th and 13th centuries. That system was based on thinking and writing in Latin and on the ability to argue and criticise. Christian doctrine was also the subject of what were often very vigorous debates. From the 17th century onwards, with

the emergence of academies, thought and writing gradually freed themselves from ecclesiastical control, but various forms of moral and political censorship continued to be employed in various countries.

34. Asiatic influences make themselves felt primarily in the religious sphere. Starting in the fourth century AD, the Christian religion developed as a combination of Jewish tradition and an organised church. Even before the year 1000, that church divided into a Greek branch, initially based in Constantinople and the Greco-Roman empire and subsequently, and primarily, in Russia, and a Latin, papal branch, ruled by Rome and speaking and, most importantly, writing Latin. The impact of successive Asian invasions was primarily felt in eastern Europe, and reached its peak in the 14th and 15th centuries with the subordination of Russia and the capitulation of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. The long period of Turkish domination in the Balkans and the Black Sea region had a major influence on European history through the great powers, first of all Austria and Russia, but also France and Great Britain, which were permanently seeking to establish influence over the Middle East and the route to the Indies. The ethnic and religious wars in the Balkan Peninsula have continued until the present day.
35. The Western Roman Empire started its gradual decline from the fourth century onwards. The notion of unity persisted in the Roman Church, to some extent, and led to the emergence of a new empire, with a European dimension, in around the year 800 under Charlemagne – a principle of political unity which formally existed until 1806.
36. In the Middle Ages, the Church and the State developed in parallel, with military, social and educational systems emerging which structured themselves in particular around forms of taxation. Monasteries took on a significant role in society and culture. Alongside this division of Europe into bishoprics, feudal domains, principalities and earldoms, independent, fortified towns emerged, often forming associations, particularly in Italy, the Netherlands and Germany, where the most important example was the Hansa.
37. Western Christianity spread successively to the north and the east. The use of the Latin alphabet demonstrates that in religious, cultural and political terms Poland, Hungary, Croatia, the Baltic States and Sweden/Finland belong to the west, whereas Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and, in an earlier era, Romania retained the Greek alphabet, mainly in its Slavic, Cyrillic form, linked to Greek Orthodox Christianity.
38. More than 1000 medieval cathedrals (episcopal churches) preserved in almost all parts of Western Europe bear witness to the importance and to the social and economic power of the Church and to highly sophisticated architectural and building techniques, and fine arts and music, which had already developed during the period between 1000 and 1500 AD. The following period was marked by the construction of residential châteaux, such as Versailles in France or the Peterhof in Russia, and towns with protective fortresses and walls.
39. The division of men and women into the political and social estates of the clergy, the nobility, the bourgeoisie, the peasantry and servant class was long regarded as an expression of the natural and divine order. Similar cultures formed throughout Europe based on the lifestyles or ways of thinking of the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry, and later of industrial workers, civil servants, etc. This was reflected in ways of dressing and eating and in an interest in and taste for music and other arts.
40. In the 16th century, western Christianity split between the Catholic Church and the Protestant faiths, such as the Calvinist movements which formed groups or independent

churches in France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Scotland. The Lutheran movements became State churches in a number of German countries, Denmark (/Norway, Iceland), Sweden (/Finland) and what are now Estonia and Latvia. There was a split on the shores of the Baltic Sea: people on the North German, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Estonian and Latvian shores became Lutheran, those on the Russian shore became mainly Orthodox, and those on the Polish and Lithuanian shores became Catholic. The Lutheran Reformation drew its strength from its emergence at a time when centralised States were being formed, States which confiscated most of the Catholic Church's wealth for the purpose of state-building. The phenomenon was repeated in Catholic Germany, France and Italy during the revolutionary, Napoleonic era around 1800.

41. The various 'Protestant' faiths shared an interest in the Jewish tradition represented by the Old Testament. The Bible was translated into almost all European languages by Protestants in the 16th and 17th centuries, in most cases forming the basis for the standardised versions of those languages. As a result, Greek and Latin grammar and style profoundly influenced the new written, standardised languages. The emergence of the latter was closely bound up with the 'renaissance' in literature and philosophy and with the political ideas of ancient Greece and Rome, which now spread quickly throughout Europe's elites thanks to the invention of printing and the emergence of a wide market for books.
42. In the countries of Europe, different classes were culturally dominant: for example, Spanish, French and Polish culture still largely reflected the ideals of the nobility, whereas the cultures of the Netherlands, England and Scotland and Denmark more closely mirrored the lifestyles of the urban bourgeoisie. Prussia and Russia were States essentially based on effective, modern military organisation.
43. The rapid expansion of knowledge from the 17th century onwards and political and social philosophy of the Enlightenment which emerged in the 18th century brought with them new concepts of humanity and the citizen, based on the values of critical reason and freedom of expression and of conscience, and led to the abolition of the privileges of the clergy, the nobility, master craftsmen, town rights, etc. This was reflected in the drafting of declarations of 'human and citizens rights', which stood in stark contrast to the religious doctrine of the submission of man before God. This process began violently with a series of revolutions, starting with that of 1789 in France, and then spread throughout Europe, by revolution or evolution, over a period of more than a century. In what was often a slow process, new laws emerged establishing equality in the areas of rights of inheritance (replacing the principle of primogeniture), the right to hold office regardless of birth, and the right to vote and stand for election to local councils and national parliaments. The first elections by universal suffrage took place in revolutionary France. The first parliamentary elections by universal suffrage in which women also had the right to vote and stand took place in 1907 in the Grand Duchy of Finland.
44. The Middle Ages had already been marked by rivalries between states, nations and religions, but this phenomenon became much more devastating in its impact following the major wars in the 16th and 17th centuries: the Thirty Years War in Germany; the wars between France, the Netherlands and England; Sweden and Poland's wars against Russia and with each other; Austria and Hungary's wars against Turkey; Spain's wars in Italy; the continuous rivalries between Denmark and Sweden, between Russia and Turkey, and between France and Great Britain, which shaped European history for

centuries. From the 18th century onwards, the fight was also for domination of colonies in the East Indies, the Americas and other parts of the world.

45. As long ago as in 1648, at the time of the Peace of Westphalia, modern forms of negotiation between States were already taking shape. Modern diplomacy has its origins here. The negotiations held in Vienna in 1814 and 1815, following the Franco-Napoleonic wars and rule, marked the next significant stage in the development of the European political system and, setting aside some failed revolutions and short wars, ushered in a long period of peace and economic, social and cultural development. This period was characterised by a recognition of the importance of primary education, the ending of large-scale illiteracy, the establishment of cultural institutions and public museums, the central role of music, the spread of the railways throughout Europe, the use of steam in industry and transport both beyond the Atlantic and in Siberian Asia and, finally, by the rise of the electrochemical industry.
46. Paris, London, Berlin, St Petersburg, Vienna and all the other capitals attracted enormous numbers of immigrants during the Industrial Revolution and endowed themselves with broad avenues, tram networks, heating systems and parks; the fortifying walls enclosing towns were taken down. There was considerable poverty in towns and in the countryside; later, efforts were made to establish social security systems. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, pressure exerted by workers led to the formation of trade unions, but many bosses were also keen to switch to effective, modern production methods involving a better trained and healthier workforce, i.e. a switch from extensive to intensive production.
47. The economic development of Europe partly stemmed from the benefits obtained from the colonies in Africa and Asia. It was an age of keen rivalries, in particular between France and Great Britain and between Great Britain and Russia, and Germany and Austria-Hungary. The First World War (1914-1918) was essentially a devastating European war, the biggest since the time of Napoleon, inflicting enormous loss of life.
48. The principle of nationhood had dominated since the 19th century. The century had seen the rise of internationalism and cosmopolitanism, on the one hand, and of nationalist thinking, on the other. A number of new literatures, written in languages hitherto regarded as dialects, emerged over that period. The 19th century had been a period of liberal emancipation and national emancipation, both processes fostered by the modern press, the formation of political parties and participation in civic life through associations.
49. Great Britain set an example and was a point of reference for Europe's modern age. It had developed into a modern industrial society long before other great powers. The parliamentary system, rich in tradition, proved its resilience on many an occasion. The great conflicts were settled peacefully, and an evolutionary extension of civil and human rights was worked out. The City of London was the world's financial centre; the British navy was considered invincible; colonial administration was considered exemplary; and the lifestyle of the gentry was considered superior. Queen Victoria, who reigned from 1837 to 1901, was a symbol of what was Great Britain's heyday in the 19th century.
50. Almost from the start of the 19th century, the idea of a universal, lasting peace had been discussed. Organisations such as the Red Cross and intellectuals such as the great French poet Victor Hugo played a leading role. Associations developed to promote the idea of peace. In 1899, at the instigation of the young Tsar Nicolas II of Russia and with the help of money donated by the American millionaire Andrew Carnegie, an

International Court was set up in The Hague, and its status was formalised in 1907. Then, in 1920, the League of Nations was formed, the precursor to the current UNO, but much more predominantly European than the UNO.

Europe and the World Wars

51. The year 1917 marked the start of a new era in Europe. Following the Bolshevik putsch in Russia, a dictatorship and, at the same time, an alternative social model emerged in the East. The Utopian belief in social equality gained many adherents in many countries. The East-West conflict, at the heart of which was a struggle between Communist dictatorship and the principle of a free democratic society, began. In Russia itself, in the years following the Bolshevik takeover, Communist troops put down independence movements among the non-Russian peoples. From the 1920s onwards, the pledge to bring about progress and justice was bound up with Soviet Russia's interests as a major power, a stance which was seen as a threat by all other States. In no European country did a Communist regime come to power peacefully and democratically. The era of totalitarian ideologies did not end until the collapse of the USSR in 1991.
52. The armistice signed on 11 November 1918 brought to an end the bloodiest war in human history, one which had left more than 10 million people dead. Huge war efforts had pushed all the nations involved to the brink of collapse. As a direct consequence of the war, three dynasties came to an end: the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollern and the Romanovs. The map of Europe was comprehensively redrawn. At the same time, it quickly became clear that in conducting the First World War the European great powers had weakened their own positions. In the colonies in particular, indigenous peoples stepped up their efforts to achieve independence.
53. The Versailles Peace Treaty of 28 June 1919 and the other Paris suburb treaties bore the stamp of Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States of America. The right to self-determination became the guiding principle underpinning the new European order. From the ruins of the three collapsed empires, nation states emerged; as a rule, they were parliamentary democracies. The League of Nations Charter formed part of the Versailles peace settlement. The League of Nations brought together the 'civilised nations', to use the terminology of the time. Its primary purpose was to prevent future wars. Neither the German Reich nor Bolshevik Russia were founding members of the League of Nations, although they joined later, whilst the United States remained aloof until the League of Nations was formally wound up in 1946. The principle behind the League of Nations, that of establishing a collective security system, failed to live up to the hopes invested in it.
54. The ethnic diversity of the newly founded states in Central and Eastern Europe remained a problem, since the dream of an ethnically homogenous nation-state continued to exert a strong hold on the elites in each country and, in many cases, on their majority population groups as well. The Polish Minority Treaty signed on 28 June 1919 was a direct response to the ethnic diversity of Poland. National minorities were granted special protection guaranteed by the signatory states. The Treaty of Lausanne signed on 24 July 1923 under the aegis of the League of Nations reflected a diametrically opposite approach. It sought to prevent future conflicts by establishing ethnically homogenous populations. With a view to solving the problems relating to minorities in Greece and Turkey, mass resettlements were carried out. At least 1.5

million people were forced to leave the towns and cities which historically had been their homes.

55. The victory of Fascism over democracy in Italy was a turning point in the post-war era. The concept of totalitarianism advocated by Benito Mussolini set an attractive example for the extreme right in other countries. Whilst the political and economic situation in western and central Europe stabilised in the mid 1920s, during this period many of the parliamentary democracies in the eastern part of the continent failed. Authoritarian regimes became the dominant form of government between the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The losers from the First World War - the 'have-nots' - pursued revisionist policies with the aim of overturning the provisions of the Versailles Treaty. At the same time, the victorious powers endeavoured to stabilise the political order in Europe.
56. In a direct response to the First World War, concerted efforts were made to bring about radical changes in international systems of governance. The 1928 Briand-Kellogg Pact represented an attempt, at State level, to outlaw war. Within one year, 54 States had joined the Pact. Across earlier lines of war, social forces, combined, for example, in the Pan-European Movement, sought to appeal to a European sense of responsibility and solidarity. These phenomena were confined to Europe's elites and found no echo in the population as a whole, however.
57. The world economic crisis which started in the United States in autumn 1929 had a massive impact on the economic, political and social situation in Europe. The failure of capitalism seemed to be complete and the market appeared to be discredited as a force for economic stability. Mass unemployment, social decline and hunger once again become familiar experiences for Europeans. In this apparently hopeless situation, radical alternatives - on the right and on the left - won many supporters. In broad sections of European society, democracy was written off as a form of government which could not solve society's problems and was therefore not viable.
58. The triumph of the National Socialists under Adolf Hitler in the German Reich proved fateful for the European continent. The Nazi takeover of power on 30 January 1933 was an important turning point in European history. The explanation for the rise of the NSDAP from an insignificant splinter party to the largest parliamentary group in the German Reichstag can be found in many specific events in German history, the most important factors being considered to be the country's traumatic defeat in the First World War, the massive impact of the world economic crisis and the failure of democratic parties. Immediately after assuming office as German Chancellor, Hitler started the process of eliminating democracy as a form of government in Germany. The transition to the dictatorship of the 'Führerstaat', in which ultimately only the will of Adolf Hitler counted, was a meteoric one. The internal consolidation of the Third Reich was already complete by summer 1934. At a very early stage, the National Socialists' visceral hatred of the Jews became clear and found legal expression in the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935.
59. A military coup, launched in July 1936 from the Spanish Morocco protectorate, marked the beginning of a three-year civil war in Spain, conducted with extreme brutality on both sides. The Iberian peninsula became an exercise ground for the totalitarian dictatorships, whilst the democratic major powers - France and Great Britain - declared themselves neutral. Francisco Franco's victory in spring 1939, which would have been impossible without German and Italian help, sealed Spain's future as a right-wing

dictatorship, which did not come to an end until the second half of the 1970s, after Franco's death.

60. Under cover of world events, Hitler succeeded in re-arming the German Reich. Hitler repeatedly provoked international crises; the western powers - and particularly Great Britain - put their faith in a policy of appeasement with a view to incorporating Nazi Germany into a peaceful, pan-European political system. The policy of appeasement reached its culmination at the Munich conference held in late September 1938, when the British and the French, unwilling to fight a war, sacrificed a democratic ally to Hitler's drive for expansion. The division of Czechoslovakia along ethnic settlement lines represented a triumph for Adolf Hitler's policy of exploiting the issue of minorities. Hitler himself regarded the Munich agreement as a serious defeat, however, since he was thwarted in his overriding aim of starting a major war.
61. Hitler succeeded in unleashing the Second World War only after he had come to an arrangement with his deadly ideological enemy, the Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, in the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact signed on 23 August 1939. In addition, in a secret additional protocol the two totalitarian dictatorships agreed to divide up their spheres of influence in central and eastern Europe. The fourth partition of Poland and the westward expansion of the USSR were key provisions of the additional protocol.
62. On 1 September 1939 the Second World War began when the German Wehrmacht invaded Poland. Two days later Great Britain and France declared war on the German Reich. The Polish armed forces were defeated within four weeks. Away from the fighting, serious crimes were committed against the Polish civilian population. The German campaign already bore the hallmark of a war of extermination. On 17 September 1939, as agreed, the Red Army invaded eastern Poland. The last Polish resistance was finally snuffed out in early October 1939; the country was now occupied by two totalitarian dictatorships.
63. Whilst the 'phoney war' continued into spring 1940 in the west, the Soviet Union started an aggressive campaign against its neighbouring states. In the Winter War of 1939-40 the Finns held their ground with great skill, suffering many casualties; nevertheless, they were forced to cede large areas of territory to the USSR. In summer 1940 the three Baltic States were occupied by the Red Army and subsumed into the USSR as Soviet republics.
64. Following the German Wehrmacht's victory over France in May and June 1940, Adolf Hitler stood at the zenith of his power. Only Great Britain, under the leadership of its new Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, carried on the fight against the Nazi dictatorship.
65. As early as in the summer of 1940 the first German plans were made for the war of racial hatred and extermination against the Soviet Union, which began on 22 June 1941. This ideological war was conducted on both sides with the utmost brutality and ruthlessness. The German occupation of Russia was characterised by a disregard for human life. Behind the German front lines, from the start of the campaign massacres of the civilian population were commonplace, with Jews the main target of the systematic killings..
66. Shortly after the German attack on the Soviet Union, Great Britain concluded a mutual assistance agreement with the USSR; the US did not join the war until after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 and Germany's declaration of war on 11 December 1941.

67. For many people, the German occupation of large parts of Europe was a traumatic experience. In all the occupied countries and areas, resistance groups rose up against their new German rulers; at the same time, collaboration was a phenomenon common to all the occupied countries.
68. The genocide of the European Jews was a key objective of Nazi policy. The process of depriving the Jews of their rights, persecuting them and ultimately murdering them took place in several stages, culminating in the concentration and extermination camps. In total, the National Socialists murdered some six million Jews.

Europe since the Second World War

69. At the latest when the tide of war turned at the Battle of Stalingrad in winter 1942/43, the Allies and the governments in exile began to plan for the time after a victory over Germany. During this period, London became an international laboratory for the testing of ideas as to how a future Europe should be shaped. Events in the period after the First World War were still fresh in the minds of all those involved. The complete occupation of the territory of the defeated enemy and the destruction of German-Prussian military power were two overriding aims of Allied policy. However, it quickly became clear that reconciling the main Allies' objectives would be virtually impossible: whilst the Soviet Union was determined to retain the territory it had gained over the period between 1939 and 1941, the western Allies attached great importance to the right of self-determination of the peoples concerned. The most heated debates concerned the future of Poland, and ultimately Stalin secured acceptance of almost all his demands. At the major war conference held in early February 1945 in Yalta, the USA, Great Britain and the Soviet Union decided that Poland would be shifted westwards, gaining former German territories, but losing eastern Poland, which would be incorporated into the Soviet Union.
70. At the same time, the 'Big Three' reached agreement in Yalta on the establishment of the United Nations: the permanent members of the Security Council were to be granted an absolute right of veto, thereby ensuring that the organisation could not take action against the leading world powers on the basis of majority decisions. Throughout the East-West conflict, the UN was one place in which the ideological confrontation between the two blocs was played out.
71. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed on 10 December 1948 is an important rallying point in the fight against repression and racism; this also formed the basis for building the new Europe.
72. The Red Army bore the brunt of the fight against Nazi Germany. Already during the last months of the war it became clear that Stalin was using his troops as a means of arbitrarily installing Communist rulers in the States of Central and Eastern Europe. His aim was to establish a buffer zone of satellite states to the west of the Soviet Union. As a result, the victory over Nazi Germany, formally sealed on 8 and 9 May 1945 with the unconditional surrender of the German Wehrmacht, evoked differing responses. Whereas in western Europe the arrival of the Allied troops could certainly be described as a day of liberation, the situation in Central and Eastern Europe was completely different: although the victory over Germany was also seen as a liberation, the euphoria was already mixed with fear of a new dictatorship.

73. The end of the fighting, which had claimed more than 50 million lives in Europe alone, triggered mass migrations on the European continent. With 12 to 14 million refugees and displaced persons – primarily from areas in what had been eastern Germany – Germany provided the largest group. At the Potsdam Conference held in July and August 1945 the main victorious powers reached agreement not only on the transfers of population, but also on the future of Germany, which was to be divided into four occupied zones. Even before the end of the conference, however, it became clear that the conflicting views of the Western victorious powers and the USSR could often only be papered over by means of uneasy compromises.
74. Immediately after the end of the war, a shift to the left took place in Western societies. The clearest sign of this development was the voting out of power, in July 1945, of Great Britain's wartime Prime Minister Winston Churchill; his place at the Potsdam Conference was taken by his successor from the Labour Party, Clement Attlee. Despite these political changes, the European colonial powers were determined to regain the control over their dependent territories in Africa and Asia which in many cases had been lost as a result of the war. Armed conflicts quickly broke out, for example in Dutch Indonesia or French Indochina, some of which were to continue for the next two decades.
75. The former Reich capital Berlin and the Austrian capital Vienna were divided into four zones, symbols of the emerging division of the continent. Berlin remained a focal point of the confrontation between the superpowers. However, the Cold War did not start in the centre of Europe, but rather on its periphery. After an initial period of restraint, US foreign policy under President Harry S. Truman shifted decisively towards confrontation with the Soviet Union. Curbing the Soviet sphere of influence, ultimately based on nuclear deterrence, became a constant aim of US foreign policy until the end of the East-West conflict.
76. Whilst the Soviet Union installed Stalinist governments in the countries within its sphere of influence, the Western powers focused on the democratisation of West Germany. The division between the respective spheres of influence ran directly through Germany and split the continent. Churchill's coining of the term 'Iron Curtain' (5 March 1946) summed up the new situation perfectly. Barely six months later, in a further epoch-making speech (19 September 1946), Churchill called for the establishment of the United States of Europe. Initially, these visionary ideas produced nothing in the way of practical results.
77. During this period, however, many institutions were established which advocated the idea of Europe. Their main proponents were initially Christian Democrat politicians from bourgeois backgrounds, such as Konrad Adenauer, Alcide de Gasperi, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and Paul-Henri Spaak.
78. More important for the immediate future was the American 'European Recovery Program', which, from mid-1947 onwards, offered European states the possibility of economic recovery. At the same time, in what was a *conditio sine qua non* for Washington, the recipient countries were required to cooperate with the US. A series of supranational organisations were quickly set up to coordinate the development measures. Democracy and the market economy were guiding principles during this period in the West.
79. In Eastern Europe the situation was completely different: under the leadership of the USSR, the States between the Baltic and Black Seas were subjected to forced Stalinisation. Resistance was overcome by means of brutal violence; the population

was terrorised by a combination of secret police repression and the arbitrary exercise of power. Deportation to the Soviet camps (GuLag) was an experience shared by many opposition figures in central and eastern Europe who rejected the path chosen by their countries. At the same time, progress was made with reconstruction in the States of the Eastern bloc; the worst destruction caused by the war was gradually overcome.

80. The external pressure exerted by the Soviet Union served to unite the nations in the West. In the Brussels Treaty signed on 17 March 1948, five Western European democracies agreed to defend one another against possible aggression from the east. At Britain's instigation, the United States and Canada were asked to join the defence alliance. The NATO Treaty was signed on 4 April 1949 in Washington, with quite a few European states remaining neutral. To this day, NATO forms the backbone of European security policy.
81. Three months before, the States in the Western European Union had established the Council of Europe (28 January 1949) with the aim of fostering cooperation among its member countries in the area of economic and social progress. As early as in August 1950, the Council of Europe accepted the Federal Republic of Germany, which had been newly founded in May 1949, as an associate member. On 18 April 1951 the European Coal and Steel Community was established, forming the nucleus of the European unification process and defusing traditional rivalries between France and Germany in the sphere of heavy industry. Following the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, a period of massive economic growth started in Western Europe, which lasted, with differing results from country to country, until 1973. This economic boom not only led to the stabilisation of Western European societies, but also offered many Europeans their first chance to invest in home comforts. Mass consumption became an identifying feature of Western industrial societies.
82. At the same time, this economic growth phase provided the resources needed to expand state welfare benefits. Over the decades, the welfare state became part of the European identity. It was a specifically European achievement and had its origins in Scandinavia. The explosion in birth rates following the end of the Second World War imposed new demands on state infrastructure. The requisite expansion of health and education systems changed Western European societies. Youth culture became a social phenomenon and the main conduit for the Americanisation of Western European societies.
83. The diversity of Western Europe stood in stark contrast to developments behind the 'Iron Curtain'. In the period up to Stalin's death on 5 March 1953, the dictatorial drive for uniformity continued unabated. During the power struggles to succeed the dictator the grip exerted by the state weakened. The bloody suppression of the popular uprising in the GDR on 17 June 1953 showed that the Communist hegemony in Eastern Europe ultimately rested on the bayonets of the Red Army. The policy of de-Stalinisation pursued by the new Kremlin strongman, Nikita A. Khrushchev, from February 1956 onwards shook the entire Soviet bloc. Whilst a political solution was found to the crisis in Poland, the popular uprising in Hungary was put down by the Red Army in November 1956; thousands of Hungarians died, hundreds of thousands fled into exile.
84. In the 1950s, the command economies in Central and Eastern Europe achieved perfectly respectable rates of growth. The provision of goods and services to ordinary people gradually improved. Nevertheless, over the years the Eastern bloc economies continued to fall ever further behind the competition in Western Europe. Only in one area was the Eastern bloc - which essentially meant the USSR itself - competitive and in some cases

a world leader: in that of arms technology. The shockwaves caused by the launch of the Sputnik satellite on 4 October 1957 undermined Western self-confidence and seemed to lend real substance to the triumphalist attitude displayed by the Soviet leadership.

85. Following the debacle suffered by Great Britain and France in the Suez crisis in autumn 1956, the pace of decolonisation increased once again. In the colonies, national liberation movements turned to armed force in order to overthrow the 'white man's rule'. Having gained independence, many newly founded states took their lead from the Soviet Union and opted for the Communist approach to modernisation. The political influence enjoyed by the European powers at world level was diminishing day by day.
86. One reaction to this loss of influence was the decision to establish the European Economic Community (EEC), which was formally ratified on 25 March 1957 in Rome. In organisational and legal terms, the EEC was the precursor of the current European Union. The idea behind the EEC was that the Member States should be so closely interlinked as to be structurally unable to wage war on one another. And the nature of relations among the Member States did indeed change: despite persisting national sensitivities, war was no longer an option.
87. One important turning point in the history of the Cold War in Europe was the building of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961. The Wall became the symbol of the division of the continent.
88. Following the process of stabilisation in Europe, the focus of the Cold War shifted to the Third World. The process of reconciliation between France and the Federal Republic of Germany - driven forward by Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer - was a key precondition for closer European integration. The three western dictatorships - in Spain, Portugal and Greece - initially remained shut out of the institutional integration process.
89. In January 1963 the French President blocked the United Kingdom's accession to the EEC. In the 1960s, de Gaulle's policy repeatedly led to serious crises within the EEC, crises which the organisation nevertheless managed to overcome. On 1 July 1967 the three European communities were merged to form the European Community (EC). One year later, the Customs Union abolishing duties on goods and services within the EC came into force. The EC became more attractive, increasing British interest in accession, which then came about on 1 January 1973. Denmark, Ireland and Norway signed the accession treaty together with the United Kingdom. However, in a referendum held in September 1972 the Norwegians voted against accession.
90. 1968 marked a turning-point in the post-war history of Europe, in both West and East. In Western societies, young people in particular rebelled against the establishment. The upheaval, which in France led to the brink of insurrection, was fuelled by a variety of sources. It was partly a conflict of generations and an expression of opposition to the American war in Vietnam. As a whole it was accompanied by a renaissance of neo-Marxist thought.
91. The violent suppression of the Prague Spring by Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968 was a signal of developments to come in the Eastern bloc. A mood of disillusionment gradually set in, especially among intellectuals: Soviet-style Communism appeared impossible to reform and ideologically petrified. The proclamation of the Brezhnev Doctrine confirmed that the USSR would brook no restrictions to its domination.
92. The late 1960s saw the start of an era dominated by towering figures in the Social Democratic movement. Willy Brandt from the Federal Republic of Germany, Bruno

Kreisky from Austria and Olof Palme from Sweden stood for the liberalisation of domestic policy and for a policy of détente with the Soviet Union. German Chancellor Brandt in particular found international resonance with his 'New Ostpolitik'. His symbolic gesture in Warsaw in December 1970, when he fell on his knees before the monument to the rising in the Jewish Ghetto, became an icon for the times. These efforts towards détente, which peaked with the signature of the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki on 1 August 1975, transformed the continent. Many contemporaries no longer regarded the Soviet Union as a threat; indeed, many statesmen in the West saw the dissidents striving for freedom and human rights in Eastern Europe rather as an irritant to détente.

93. In society at large in the 1970s a new ethos began to predominate, accompanied by growing prosperity and widespread car ownership. The transformation of values which had begun in the 1960s now embraced large sections of Western European society. Individualism and self-fulfilment became important points of reference. Greater sexual freedom became a sign of the times. Long hair and short skirts characterised the street scene in the great European cities. These new fashions and life-styles also had an impact on the other side of the Iron Curtain.
94. At the same time, in 1973 the 'oil crisis' put an end to the prolonged boom in the industrial states. In Western Europe the 1970s were marked by a serious economic crisis (stagflation) accompanied by the decline of traditional industries. Mining and heavy industry became losers in structural terms. Whole regions – such as the North of England, the Ruhr and Lorraine – became social problem areas with high unemployment. Other regions benefited from the shift to the tertiary sector and micro-electronics. The modern service society underwent a dynamic expansion.
95. Concurrently with this, a number of factors – such as the reports of the Club of Rome – led to a rethinking of economic growth and the environmental consequences of the exploitation of nature. In many Western European countries, citizens' pressure groups emerged which strove towards a cleaner environment and a better world. In some countries there were major social upheavals. 'Green' parties developed chiefly from citizens' pressure groups and left-wing grass-roots movements.
96. Both the structural changes in Western European economies and the trend towards environmental awareness left the states of the Soviet power bloc completely untouched. In the 1970s the Iron Curtain countries finally lost their technological link to the West. Meanwhile, in the West, developments in computer technology raced ahead.
97. However, in the mid-1970s these developments were not yet clearly discernable. On the contrary, in Italy and West Germany the state was challenged at its roots by extreme left-wing terrorists. Fighting terrorism with the weapons of a constitutional state was a major challenge which placed a great burden on the countries' political systems.
98. Southern Europe in the mid-1970s experienced democratic transformations. In Greece the Colonels' regime collapsed in 1974, and in that same year the Portuguese dictatorship ended. In both countries, as in Spain a year later, the dictatorial regimes were replaced by parliamentary democracies. The 'Carnation Revolution' in Portugal in 1974 also put an end to the wars in Africa: Portugal became the last country in Europe to grant independence to its colonies, Angola and Mozambique. Following the death of the dictator Franco on 20 November 1975, the peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain was a widely admired phenomenon which was later to influence events in the Eastern Bloc states in the late 1980s.

99. This process of democratisation eventually paved the way for Spain and Portugal to join the EU on 1 January 1986. Greece had already joined on 1 January 1981.
100. In 1979 the first elections for the European Parliament were held, and its constituent sitting was in July of that year. The rights of Parliament, initially very modest, were gradually extended.
101. In global politics there was a drastic cooling of relations between East and West. The disputes over the decision on 12 December 1979 to build up NATO armaments in reaction to the stationing of Soviet SS-20 missiles, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at Christmas 1979, led to new tensions. Meanwhile, in Poland, shortages led to a wave of strikes. Led by Lech Walesa, the independent trade union Solidarity was the first to openly dispute the Communist party's claim to leadership. This courageous initiative in Gdansk received spiritual support from the Polish Pope John Paul II, who had been in office since 1978. The situation in Poland became more acute. The new state and party leadership saw the only solution in the proclamation of martial law on 13 December 1981.
102. US President Ronald Reagan's deliberate pushing of ideological confrontation met with great mistrust and strong opposition in the USSR. At the same time, the US' new self-confidence tested NATO to the limits. The stationing of medium-range NATO missiles in 1983 led to an unprecedented reaction in society at large.
103. At the same time, in the later Brezhnev era, the USSR can be seen to have entered a period of stagnation from which his two successors were unable to break free. Only with the coming to office of Mikhail Gorbachev in March 1985 were new prospects opened up. Glasnost and perestroika became the new objectives of Soviet policy. These social transformations found a resonance principally in the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union. In the states of the Eastern Bloc too, relations between the Communist parties and the peoples of these countries began to change. Overall, an erosion of the Communist desire for domination could be perceived. Meanwhile efforts to halt the economic decline of the Soviet power zone were unsuccessful. The planned economies were less and less able to cope with the complex challenges of modern economic life. The Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster on 26 April 1986 not only claimed a host of victims, but also symbolised the backwardness of Soviet technology.
104. In the West, the 1980s stood in stark contrast to developments in the Eastern Bloc. In spite of many difficulties in adapting, the services sector and the micro-electronics industry formed the basis for a new boom. The personal computer began its triumphal rise. In the mid-1980s the Member States of the EC agreed on the further expansion of the European institutions. The foundations for the later European Union were laid during these years.
105. 1989 was an epoch-making year in European history. The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 was a global political event and a beacon for the future. The rule of the USSR and the Communist parties in the Eastern-bloc countries came to an end without violence (except in Romania). This process, for which the term 'Refolution' was coined, transformed the continent permanently. Peaceful popular movements used demonstrations to force the resignation of Communist leaders. Unlike in the 1950s and 1960s, the USSR did not intervene. The transition to democracy was achieved in most of the Eastern-bloc states by negotiation. In terms of their national history, the new states returned to the mainstream.

106. The GDR was a special case, and things happened differently there. Reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany, driven forward by Chancellor Kohl primarily with backing from US President George H.W. Bush, took place on 3 October 1990. The reawakening of national consciousness spilled over into the Soviet Union itself, which began to fall apart. Former nation states such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania re-emerged and reconnected with their long history. On 25 December 1991 the red flag was taken down over the Kremlin for the last time. Russia, with a much diminished territory, became the legal successor state to the Soviet Union. Between 1990 and 1993, eight Central and East European states joined the Council of Europe.
107. The renaissance of the nation state led to confusion in some quarters of West European public opinion. People began to question the ultimate objective of the development of the European Union, sealed by the Treaty of Maastricht in February 1992. It soon became clear that a federal European state was not politically feasible under the new conditions which now existed. At the same time, the Treaty of Maastricht and, in particular, the Treaty of Amsterdam, which, respectively, instituted and extended codecision for the European Parliament in European law-making, represented a step towards parliamentarisation in the European Union.
108. At the same time, following the end of the Cold War, new conflicts arose which had their origin in national minorities. That this was not only a problem in Central and Eastern Europe is shown by the long-lasting conflicts in Northern Ireland, the Spanish Basque country and Corsica. On 1 January 1993 the former Czechoslovakia divided peacefully into two states. The two successor states formed a customs union. The collapse of Yugoslavia, on the other hand, brought not only war to the continent of Europe but also suffering to hundreds of thousands of people. In these wars the European institutions played a shaming role. Self-inflicted organisational delays and military weakness helped to prolong the armed conflicts. Only when the US assumed military leadership was it possible to end the initial phase of hostilities (Dayton Agreement, 14 December 1995). To this day there are European troops stationed in the former Yugoslavia to monitor the cease-fire.
109. The enlargement of the EU gained pace. On 1 January 1995, Finland, Austria and Sweden joined. In December 1997 the eastward enlargement of the EU was stepped up and given a legal basis. At the same time, wide-ranging changes took place. The Second Schengen Agreement on 26 March 1995 led to the abolition of checks at internal EU borders. The introduction of the euro on 1 January 2002 as a means of payment in selected EU states strengthened the intermeshing of national economies. At the same time it was noticeable that the value placed on national currencies in many Euro zone countries – particularly the Federal Republic of Germany – was still deeply rooted.
110. The attacks of 11 September 2001 in the US marked the beginning of a new chapter in global politics. The terrorist threat of militant Islam affected Europe too. The attacks in Madrid (11 March 2004) and London (7 July 2005) showed that Europe was also a target for Islamist terrorist organisations. The war against Iraq under US President George W. Bush divided the continent. While France and Germany, for example, refused active participation, troops were sent by the UK and Spain, as well as countries from Eastern Central Europe.
111. On 1 May 2004 the largest single enlargement in the history of the EU took place. With ten new Member States – Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia – the number of EU states rose to 25. The division of the continent had finally been overcome. The new members were net

beneficiaries from the EU budget and enjoyed a wide range of advantages as a result of their membership.

112. On 1 January 2007 Bulgaria and Romania then joined. There was widespread resistance in the 'old' Member States to this large-scale eastward enlargement. Critics feared on the one hand the renationalisation of European politics and on the other hand a dilution of the integration process. At the same time, the prospect of accession is helping to stabilise the difficult process of transformation, with its accompanying hardships, in the countries concerned.

Questions for Europe's future

113. The future of the European Union remains open. There is no clear objective in sight, nor is there any agreement on where the EU's borders should lie. The closing section of the exhibition is intended merely to throw up questions, so as to make clear to visitors how open the situation is. At the same time, this approach makes it possible to react in the short term to new developments.

114. Possible questions to visitors:

- Is a further 'deepening' of the EU possible? How should we react to the referendum defeats on the EU Constitution? Is the Lisbon Treaty a viable compromise?
- When will the enlargement of the EU be completed? Can Turkey become a full member of the EU?
- How can the EU's democratic deficit be overcome?
- Why is the EU incapable of arousing any real enthusiasm among the general public in the Member States?
- How can the EU overcome its structural weakness in military matters, and in foreign policy in general?
- How can the EU react to the demographic change affecting all its Member States? Is encouraging immigration an effective response?
- Can the differing traditions on the form taken by the European social model be reconciled?
- What will the EU of the future look like? Will it develop into a form of federation or an association of states?

Outlook

115. The Committee of Experts has handed over this conceptual framework for a House of European History to the President of the European Parliament.
116. Following discussion on the competent bodies, and after the requisite political decisions of principle have been taken, it is essential that a suitably qualified design team be appointed. It will be the team's responsibility to create the institutional set-up and the basis for the central topics to be addressed, once the set-up and basis have been adopted. The Committee of Experts recommends that political decisions of principle be taken to set up the relevant bodies providing oversight and scientific advice for the House of European History.

The members of the Committee of Experts

Włodzimierz Borodziej (PL), Professor of Modern History, University of Warsaw

Giorgio Cracco (IT), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Turin

Michel Dumoulin (BE), Professor of History, Catholic University of Leuven at Louvain-la-Neuve

Hans Walter Hütter (DE), Professor, Chairman of the Foundation for the House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn

Marie-Hélène Joly (FR), Chief Curator, Deputy Director of the Remembrance, Heritage and Archives Directorate, Ministry of Defence

Matti Klinge (FIN), Emeritus Professor of Nordic History, University of Helsinki

Ronald de Leeuw (NL), Professor, retired Director of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

António Reis (PT), Professor of History, New University of Lisbon

Mária Schmidt (HU), Director, House of Terror Museum in Budapest

