# Project(ing) Europe

How filmstrips depicted the story of European integration
to Dutch schoolchildren in the early post-war years:
a perspective on concepts of Europe
between 1950 and 1967

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# Introduction

'Stories constitute the single most powerful weapon in a leader's arsenal.'
*Harvard Professor of Education Howard Gardner*

Stories structure the chaotic world around us and provide it with meaning. Their social function is to help us know who we are and where we come from, rooting our identity in past, present, and possible futures. However, narratives are not only formative to individuals, but position states and societies as well.[1] They tell about in- and exclusion, beginnings and endings, the mores and morality that bind a community. As the above quotation already points out, such stories are never innocent.

One very powerful narrative is the story of European unity. It has been told over and over again and has recurring tropes and themes: throughout the ages, Europe has been – and sometimes still is – regarded as the epitome of Christendom, of Freedom and Democracy, of Civilization.[2] Yet, this story is not a straightforward one. Several, sometimes divergent ideas have shaped its plot. These ideas came clearly to the fore in the years following World War II, when Europe turned into a political project. Some said that the unification of the continent would be a safeguard against the continual conflicts between its nation-states.[3] Meanwhile, others believed cooperation would revive the ruined nations of Europe and help them rebuild their empire.[4] Then there was America, which wanted to remake the 'old' world in the image of the 'new'[5]: would the dream of a 'United States of Europe' soon prove to be real?

The battle for and defense of political unity on the continent was not only fought in conference rooms, parliamentary assemblies, and meetings between heads of state. It also permeated the public arena in the form of a full-fledged propaganda campaign. For instance, the European idea was promoted by the federalist European Movement, as part of the Marshall Plan, and through the channels of the Information Service of the European Communities. From magazines to movies: all types of media were used to tell the story of European unification. One of these media was the filmstrip (fig. 1): a now long forgotten means to project a sequence of still images on a large screen. Filmstrips were mostly used in an educational setting: in the 1950s, they were well integrated into the Dutch classroom (fig. 2).
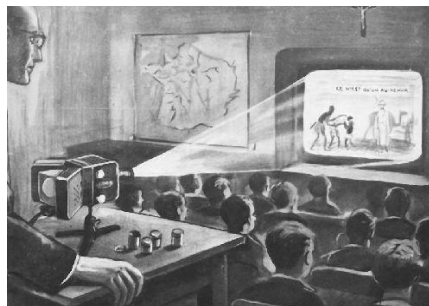


Fig. 1 (left):
*End slide from one of the filmstrips promoting European unity*

Fig. 2 (right):
*Impression of a filmstrip lesson*

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[1] Martin Alm, "Europe in American World History Textbooks," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 12-3 (2014): 239.
[2] See Pim den Boer, "Europe to 1914: The Making of an Idea," in *The History of the Idea of Europe*, ed. Kevin Wilson & Jan van der Dussen (London: Routledge, 1993), 53.
[3] Bram Boxhoorn and Max Jansen, *De integratie van Europa. Een historische balans* (Bussum: Coutinho, 2002), 23.
[4] Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 70.
[5] Richard J. Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity: The American Committee on United Europe, 1948-60," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 8-1 (March 1997): 186.

*Topic of research*

In this thesis, I analyze narratives of Europe from the early years of post-war European integration. On the basis of filmstrips used in Dutch primary schools, I reconstruct the story of Europe's rise from the ashes of war, its ambivalent rescue by America, the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and the road towards further economic integration. Through the lens of the filmstrip projector, the federalist belief in an almost mythical Europe will come to the fore. However, we will also see how in the 1960s this belief gradually disappeared from view. What remained was the narrative of a successful institutionalized 'Europe of the Six'[6], a Europe that was both more united and more divided than ever before.[7]

Of course, the filmstrips are but a representation of the multifaceted reality of Europe: the perspective of any tale depends on the one telling it. Commissioned by different institutions, these filmstrips speak for the zealous Marshall planners and their Europe-wide propaganda campaign, for the federalist European Movement and its support from the CIA. They are also a mouthpiece of the European Community, whose Information Service wanted to instill 'European thinking' among its nation-bound citizenry. Each filmstrip results in a different account of what came to be known as 'Europe'. Thus, the analysis of this unique set of sources is underpinned by the following research question: *Which stories of European integration come to the fore in filmstrips used in Dutch primary schools between 1950 and 1967 and how do they relate to concepts of Europe extant at that time?*

The period 1950-1967 was chosen because the first filmstrips about European integration were published in the early 1950s, as an informative part of the Marshall Plan. The year 1967 marks the enforcement of the Merger Treaty, which combined the judicial, legislative, and administrative bodies of the European Communities. This initiated a new phase in the Community's public information campaign, of which the filmstrips of the 1960s formed an integral part. Furthermore, around this time the filmstrip was gradually replaced by other, more technically advanced audiovisual teaching aids.

**The filmstrip as historical source**

Educational filmstrips are an untapped historical source. As far as I know, no extensive research has been published on this topic in the Netherlands[8], apart from the explorative studies by Marja Roholl and Eelco Kramer.[9] The unfamiliarity of the filmstrip among historians is probably caused by two

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[6] Until 1973, the European Community consisted of six countries, namely: France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Together, these countries were called 'The Six'.

[7] This change in 'storytelling' partly mirrors the transformation in the Dutch intellectual debate about European integration. For a concise introduction, see Jieskje Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate on European Integration, 1948-present. On Teachings and Life," *Journal of European Integration History* 17-2 (2011): 197-218.

[8] Recently, a French student wrote a Master's Thesis about the representation of Germany in French filmstrips. See Valentine Michez, "Résistance temporelle du film fixe" (MA Thesis, Université Lumière Lyon II, 2016).

[9] See Marja Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos. Hoe de lagere scholen in Nederland via filmstrips kennismaakten met het Marshall-plan," in *Van Strohalm tot Strategie. Het Marshall-plan in perspectief*, ed. R.T. Griffiths et al. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1997), 49-58; Eelco Kramer, "Papoea's in beeld. Filmstroken als tijdgeest 1939-1958," *Lessen* 10-1 (Summer 2015): 22-25. In an article about the cultural legitimacy of atomic energy in the Netherlands, F.W. Geels and B. Verhees also briefly refer to 2 filmstrips of the US Information Service to explain the 'articulation of a pro-nuclear discourse' in Dutch society. See F.W. Geels and B. Verhees, "Cultural

difficulties – one of a methodological and one of a more practical nature. With regard to the first difficulty, it stands out that the study of images – whether moving or static – is still perceived as treacherous territory for historians. While source criticism of written documents is very much embedded within the historical profession, the use of visual evidence has long remained suspect.[10] This 'problem' will be more thoroughly addressed in chapter 3 of this thesis. For now, it is enough to state that visual sources, like their written counterparts, offer a rich supply of historical information, as long as one knows how to 'read' them. The filmstrips under review do not literally tell the story of European integration. They select, omit, exaggerate and color their tale in a way that is convenient to their makers and fits their purpose as educational means. However, their *representation* of Europe still tells us much about the hopes and dreams of that time, while their existence demonstrates the importance attached to the European youth 'as key player' in the democratic future of a united Europe.[11]

The second difficulty involves the accessibility of filmstrips for historical research. Filmstrips are difficult to assess systematically, for in most archives, the collection has not been (fully) organized, and sometimes, there is no viewing equipment available to properly study the strips.[12] Somehow, it seems to me as if the filmstrip is considered the poor relation of the archive. Perhaps this has to do with its reputation as a cheap and replaceable medium, a teaching aid that is much less glamorous than the beautifully crafted study prints ('schoolplaten') by J.H. Isings[13], or its sophisticated big brother, the educational film[14], as we will see in chapter 2. Also, the sheer abundance of filmstrips might slow down the archiving process: in the 1950s and 60s, every school had a shoebox full, resulting in today's never-ending stream of materials offered for preservation purposes.

Still, over the last few years some interesting developments have taken place. First of all, the Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum ('National Educational Museum') has digitized part of its collection of filmstrips and made it available to researchers in their museum catalogue TMS.[15] The institution holds the largest collection of educational filmstrips in the Netherlands: as of yet, is has sorted and digitized 20% of the approximately 7,000 filmstrips in its possession. Another interesting project is the still growing website filmstroken.nl, which is a sort of privately-run online archive set up by filmstrip enthusiast Jos Verbeek.[16] The website's listings form a welcome addition to the incomplete

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legitimacy and framing struggles in innovation journeys: A cultural-performative perspective and a case study of Dutch nuclear energy (1945-1986)," *Technological Forecasting & Social Change* 78 (2011): 910-930.

[10] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 15.

[11] Frank Mehring, "The Promises of 'Young Europe': Cultural Diplomacy, Cosmopolitanism and Youth Culture in the Films of the Marshall Plan," *European Journal of American Studies* 7-2 (2012): 5.

[12] This is the case with the filmstrips in the collection of the Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme (HDC). However, due to the friendly help of collection manager Hans Seijlhouwer, I was able to study the filmstrips using an illuminated slide sorter (called 'dia-sorteerraam') and a magnifying glass.

[13] See for example Jacques Dane, "J.H. Isings," in *De verbeelders. Nederlandse boekillustratie in de twintigste eeuw*, ed. Saskia de Bodt (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2014), 212-214.

[14] Media scholar Eef Masson has published several books and articles on the use of film in the classroom. See for example Eef Masson, *Watch and Learn: Rhetorical Devices in Classroom Teaching Films after 1940* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

[15] TMS stands for 'The Museum System'. Researchers may digitally browse the catalogue on site.

[16] See http://www.filmstroken.nl. The records of the Onderwijsmuseum are far from complete: often, the filmstrips themselves contain few production details, while the accompanying booklets have been lost. Also,

records of the Onderwijsmuseum. Furthermore, beyond our national borders German researchers have recently established the online accessible *Deutsches Bildbandarchiv*, which contains German lantern slides and filmstrips from the period 1915 to 1980.[17] However, on the whole the sources remain scattered: there are still thousands of uncatalogued filmstrips dispersed over different archives and institutions, tucked away in cigar- and shoeboxes, unlisted and unseen.

*Archival digging*

Of the 1,482 *catalogued* filmstrips in the archive of the Onderwijsmuseum, 24 are directly connected to Europe.[18] This means the term 'Europe' or a derivative thereof is used in the title or description of the filmstrip. Only a few of these filmstrips are concerned with European integration. Interestingly, most of these 'integration' filmstrips are not independent productions by Dutch filmstrip companies, but have been commissioned by third parties, such as the Mutual Security Agency (MSA), an organization established by the American government to administer the Marshall Plan from 1952 onwards. As it turns out, the filmstrips have been part of a larger educational campaign to propagate the 'European idea' among Dutch schoolchildren. This might also explain why the subject of European unification has been a blind spot to filmstrip publishers: according to Roholl, they probably thought that the topic had received enough attention.[19]

*Selection of sources*

At the heart of this thesis stands the in-depth analysis of six individual filmstrips about European integration. Issued between ca. 1950 and 1967[20], the filmstrips have been commissioned by 3 different organizations, namely the MSA, the European Movement and the Information Service of the European Communities. The filmstrip selection makes it possible to address the 'Europe' campaigns of these different parties and compare and contrast their take on European integration. More importantly, the small filmstrip sample functions as an experimental playground to formulate a method for qualitative filmstrip research.[21] Though the six filmstrips form the focal point of my analysis, I have also looked at the wider filmstrip collection of the Onderwijsmuseum to stitch together the patchwork of stories and images of which they are part.

All selected filmstrips have been produced by the Dutch filmstrip company Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, and its forerunner, Filmstudio Nieuwendijk. In the pillarized educational landscape of the 1950s and 60s, Fibo catered to a broad range of schools, and sometimes published specific filmstrips for both Protestant and Roman Catholic education.[22] Fibo also produced filmstrips for third parties, such as

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many older filmstrips have never been systematically categorized, which makes it more difficult to ascertain their origin.

[17] See http://www.deutsches-bildbandarchiv.de.

[18] This number is on the low side. Further investigation indicated that filmstrips belonging to the so-called 'Marshall series' almost always contained some sort of reference to European integration, as will be pointed out in chapter 4. However, this did not come to the fore in the metadata of the filmstrips.

[19] See Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 54.

[20] None of the filmstrips mention the exact date of publication.

[21] Though both Eelco Kramer and Marja Roholl published articles about the way educational filmstrips display respectively colonial Papua and the Marshall Plan, they do not make their method of analysis explicit. See Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 49-58; Kramer, "Papoea's in beeld," 22-25.

[22] This is especially the case with regard to religious topics. The Fibo catalogue of 1966 mentions that these filmstrips are respectively monitored by a depute of cardinal Bernardus Alfrink (1900-1987), and the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society). In the Fibo catalogue of 1982, biblical filmstrips are no longer presented in this manner. The accompanying explanation attests to the depillarization and imminent

the promotional bureau of the Nederlands Hervormde Kerk.[23] However, most of its employees had a Catholic background. Among its contributors were children's literature writer Alphons Timmermans and KRO[24] journalist Leni Verstegen, who both worked on several of the filmstrips that were part of the Marshall campaign. Regarding the six filmstrips under review in this thesis, it is very likely that they were widely distributed across the educational spectrum – a claim that will be further substantiated in chapters 4 and 5. This broad circulation is not surprising: in the early post-war years, the idea of European integration was supported across Dutch society, with the exception of minor orthodox Protestant and communist groups.[25]

**Approach**

This thesis combines theories from different scholarly disciplines to reach a fuller understanding of the way Europe is presented in filmstrips. It draws upon the idea of linguistic evaluation to explain why a mere selection of six filmstrips is still worthwhile. Furthermore, it explores the dynamic interplay between a filmstrip's captions and its images by means of the concepts of 'anchoring' and 'iconotext'. To highlight the construction of power through language, it also distinguishes between different narrative modi that come to the fore in the filmstrip captions. In chapter 3, I will give a full account of the theories underpinning my research. There, I will also formulate an approach to analyze filmstrips in a structural way.

*Thesis structure*
To disentangle the different 'Europes' present in the filmstrips, this research proceeds as follows. The first chapter offers a short overview of the history of the European idea, which, as we will see, underwent significant changes since its first appearance as a geographical entity in Greek antiquity. The chapter critically assesses different ways of thinking about Europe and discusses their impact on ideas of European integration. The second chapter takes a look into the Dutch classroom of the early post-war years, to find out more about the ins and outs of the filmstrip as a medium. Exploring the filmstrips' educational dimension brings to the fore matters of power, citizenship, and morality as well, for ethics are an integral part of education.[26] The question why filmstrips are an interesting source to cultural historians will be addressed in chapter 3. This section explains the methods and ideas underpinning this study of filmstrips, and asserts the immense value of images to historical research. Then, we will move on to the core section of this thesis: the filmstrips and their account of European integration. Here, the stories of six filmstrips will be analyzed in detail. The filmstrips are divided into clusters according to their institutional origin, on the assumption that this influenced the narratives. Thus, chapter 4 analyzes the filmstrips that were part of the American propaganda campaign of the Marshall Plan. It also discusses the filmstrips that were published by the European Movement in the 1950s, for they too are connected to this campaign, as will become clear in this chapter. Chapter 5 addresses the educational aspirations of institutional Europe, which is followed by

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secularization of Dutch education: 'Knowing the contents of this book is (…) not only meaningful for those who regard the Bible as God's revelation. Those who see the Bible as a historical document are given a wealth of valuable information as well.' See *Filmstroken voor School, Huis en Vereniging* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, 1966), 17-18; *Diareeksen en filmstroken voor modern, visueel onderwijs* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, 1982), 25.

[23] Meant is the Dutch Reformed Church, the largest Christian denomination in the Netherlands.

[24] KRO stands for Katholieke Radio Omroep (Catholic Radio Broadcasting).

[25] Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate", 203.

[26] See Dienke Hondius' introduction in *Oorlogslessen: onderwijs over de oorlog sinds 1945* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2010), 43.

an analysis of those filmstrips that were commissioned by the Information Service of the European Communities in the early and mid-1960s. Eventually, all storylines will come together in the conclusion of this thesis. Here, I will place my findings in the broader context of the historiography of the idea of Europe. I will also reflect upon the use of filmstrips in historical research, and offer some recommendations for further study.

*Editorial notes*
In this thesis, the interaction between text and image plays a pivotal role – both theoretically and practically. More than 70 filmstrip slides will be described in detail. For their display in the main text a rather small image format has been chosen, as not to interrupt the storyline too much. Please consult the appendix on page 93 and further to have a closer look at the discussed slides. The appendix also offers an English translation of the filmstrip captions: throughout this thesis, the original Dutch captions have been cited to accurately convey linguistic nuances. However, all cited Dutch literature has been displayed in English. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

All reproductions of filmstrip slides are courtesy of the Onderwijsmuseum, with the exception of the filmstrip *K.S.G.*, which is courtesy of the Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme ('Historical Documentation Center for Dutch Protestantism'). The photograph on the front cover is my own.

# I Europe: star in her own story

The institutional realization of European 'unity' emerged at several crossroads in history. Hence, the study of European integration touches upon a wide range of issues, such as the post-war Reconstruction of Europe under American and Soviet supervision, the fall of the Iron Curtain, the unfolding of the welfare state, and the process of decolonization in Third World countries.[27] Of course, the *idea* of a unified Europe had lain dormant for years, being roused from time to time but never acquiring a stable institutional form. Yet, after the turmoil of two world wars, Europe would rise from the ashes.

To contextualize the perspective on European unity put forth in the filmstrips, this chapter takes a brief look at the history of the idea of Europe, followed by a review of different theories of European integration. Ever since its appearance as geographical entity in Greek antiquity, the meaning of Europe has mutated and multiplied: from subaltern category in cartographic T-O schemes[28], to a Christian republic standing strong against the Ottomans, finally crystallizing in today's contested view of Europe as a peaceful union defending human rights. Against the backdrop of such changing constructions, scholars often argue that 'Europe' does not truly exist. As German historian Wolfgang Schmale explains, 'Europe has always represented more of an imagined than a clearly definable quantity.'[29] From a postmodern perspective, Europe is above all the subject of hopes and dreams, not something one can pinpoint on a map.

*Border constructions*
Despite its many meanings in the imaginary realm, Europe has been associated with very real places, peoples, and phenomena. Indeed, the simplest way to define Europe is by means of its geography: opening a random atlas of the world, almost anyone can point out Europe in a flash. But what does it mean to locate Europe in this way? The question 'Where is Europe?' has proven controversial for centuries: the answer is not only about geographical 'facts' but also about what is included and what not. The seemingly objective organization of space displayed in an atlas is in itself the result of historical choices and considerations rooted in European thought.[30] Hence, American geographer

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[27] See Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori, "Introduction," in *European Union History. Themes and Debates*, ed. Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1.
[28] T-O is an abbreviation of *orbis terrarium* and refers to the outlook of medieval maps that depicted the world as a letter T inside an O: the *Tanais* or Mediterranean divided the three continents Asia, Africa and Europe, which were encircled by the *Oceanus*. Jerusalem formed the center of the map.
[29] Wolfgang Schmale, "Europe as Cultural Reference and Value System," *European History Online* (2010): 3, accessed June 7, 2016: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010-en.
[30] Alexander B. Murphy, "Relocating Europe," in *Engaging Europe: Rethinking a Changing Continent*, ed. Evelyn Gould and George J. Sheridan Jr. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 81-82.

Alexander Murphy argues 'there is a fundamentally self-referential dimension to locating Europe; we locate Europe within a framework of Europe's own making.'[31] In the same vein, Danish professor Jan Ifversen states that the geographical classification of Europe rests 'on a conceptual and ideological basis which relies on a certain image of the world'.[32] Thus, this classification is applied to, and not necessarily present in, the landscape – as the following survey will clarify.

In medieval times, Europe was not clearly delineated by territorial means. Murphy explains such a categorization would have been contradictory to the socio-political patchwork of the time, with its loose, feudal relations of power.[33] Instead, Europe was perceived in religious terms, with Christendom as uniting factor. This perception shifted against the backdrop of Enlightenment thought, when philosophers propelled the idea of natural law. From now on, nature became 'the ultimate framework on which human social rules should be built.'[34] Physical or 'natural' features gained importance in thinking about the boundaries of Europe. Whereas medieval *mappae mundi* were 'idealized conceptions of God's plan on earth'[35], modern maps rooted Europe's distinctiveness in the physical landscape. This led to recurring discussions about the frontiers of Europe, with Russia as a stumbling block. For example, in the sixteenth century the eastern border of Europe ran from the Black Sea to the White Sea. In the eighteenth century however, the Urals formed Europe's definite borders. Meanwhile, the advance of the nation-state propelled the idea that the world could be cut up into 'neat cultural-political spaces'.[36] Territory was no longer defined in natural, but political terms. As a result, the borders of twentieth-century Europe were increasingly politicized: the 'Europe' on the map became more and more synonymous to the free, capitalist Europe-idea of the West. This also led to the geographical construct of the Eurasian continent, for how could the USSR ever be part of Europe?[37] Nowadays, the borders of Europe often coincide with the political space of the European Union.[38]

In the filmstrips under review in chapters 4 and 5, maps are frequently used as explanatory device. Like statistics and graphs, their presence carries an air of objectivity. Yet, they too are the result of the choices and considerations of their maker. Therefore maps should be read as rhetorical claims: their depiction of the world fits into a certain story about European integration. Depending on the storyline of the filmstrip, the map of Europe sometimes encompasses all of Eurasia, while at another instance it only consists of 'The Six': those countries that made up the European Community until 1973.

*Towards a Grand Narrative of Europe*
As the simple question 'Where is Europe?' demonstrates, to define is to divide. The biblical story of Creation is already one of separation: light from dark, day from night. Separation also goes to the heart of the concept of Europe, rooted itself in Christian tradition. To describe Europe inherently means to delineate, to distinguish between who is 'in' and who is 'out'. Hence, stories of Europe

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[31] Murphy, "Relocating Europe," 82-83.
[32] Jan Ifversen, "Europe and European Culture. A Conceptual Analysis," *European Societies* 4-1 (2010): 2.
[33] Murphy, "Relocating Europe," 82.
[34] Ibid., 88.
[35] Ibid., 83.
[36] Ibid., 89.
[37] Schmale, "Europe as Cultural Reference and Value System," 3.
[38] Murphy, "Relocating Europe," 83.

always touch upon issues of in- and exclusion, power and weakness, freedom and oppression – oppositions that may have been deservedly criticized or unjustly overruled, but that are inescapable. Historian Bo Stråth summarizes this problem as follows:

> 'Europe can only be realized in the mirror of Others. So if Europe does not exist without non-Europe, and non-Europe does not exist without Europe (…) symbolic and geopolitical boundaries must be urgently reconsidered, and seen as historically and discursively shaped.'[39]

Over time, the idea of Europe has been shaped most notably in opposition to the emerging xenostereotypes of the Orient, Eastern Europe, and America.[40] Rooted in medieval hostilities between two monotheistic world views, the concept of Europe as Christendom first gained momentum in the wake of the crusades. In his call for Holy War in 1095, Pope Urban II (ca. 1042-1099) labeled Europe as the last bulwark of the true faith.[41] The capture of Constantinople in 1453 and the rise of the Ottoman empire further developed the idea of a Christian Europe united against the 'Turkish peril'[42]: Europe and *res publica christiana* became increasingly synonymous.[43] In fact, Christendom 'substituted Europe as a concept for unification'.[44] In the Renaissance, the term 'Europe' came in vogue among the continent's elites. Certain movements and ideas were retroactively labeled as uniquely European, while discoveries and conquests outside Europe further propelled the idea of Europe as beacon of civilization and bringer of the Faith.[45] Paradoxically, in the following centuries Europe would fall prone to religious warfare and become more and more internally divided, divisions that would also come to the fore in the way Europe was being perceived. For instance, French king Louis XIV (1638-1715) was proclaimed the defender of Catholic Europe, while his contemporary William of Orange (1650-1702) put himself on the stand as the 'preserver of the liberty of Europe', notably against the French peril.[46] The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) dealt a final deathblow to the credibility of Christianity as uniting force, paving the way for a more secular conceptualization of unity on the continent.[47]

In the era of Enlightenment, eighteenth-century scholars first developed a single European narrative. In *Europe: A History* (1996) Norman Davies describes how after years of religious strife, 'it became an embarrassment for the divided community of nations to be reminded of their common Christian identity'.[48] The idea of an enlightened Europe 'filled the need for a designation with more neutral connotations'.[49] This resulted in a Grand Narrative of Europe that framed European culture as the

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[39] Bo Stråth, "A European Identity. To the Historical Limits of a Concept," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5-4 (2002): 397.
[40] Stråth uses this term to refer to stereotypes that imply strangeness or difference (*xeno-*), which in turn lead to *autostereotypes* in the self-understanding of non-European cultures that incorporate the Western gaze. See Stråth, "A European Identity," 395.
[41] Den Boer, "Europe to 1914", 28.
[42] Stråth, "A European Identity," 391.
[43] Den Boer, "Europe to 1914," 37.
[44] Stråth, "A European Identity," 392.
[45] Den Boer, "Europe to 1914," 43-48.
[46] Ibid., 25.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 7.
[49] Davies, *Europe: A History*, 7.

'the agent of progress leading to a peak of human development'.[50] It presented a secular, teleological view of history in which the past was only prelude to a better, brighter present and future under European sway. This linear process, with progress as its main motive, was directly grafted on a biblical approach to history: a story of redemption, with Europe in the lead. Of course, it also resulted in an 'asymmetric view of the world'.[51] Though the divide between Christianity and Islam receded somewhat into the background, the pompous self-perception of Europe met its antithesis in the despotic Orient.[52] Meanwhile, curiosity for everything exotic reinforced positive stereotyping of other civilizations, which, according to Stråth, questioned the European self-image 'as a civilizing project'.[53] Thus, the Orient 'was a mirror in which one could discern many different and competing images, and it was also a mirror where one saw what one wanted to see.'[54]

Besides the Orient, Eastern Europe took on the role of another important 'Other' in the Grand Narrative of Europe. Following the example of Voltaire – who never set a foot in Russia but still wrote as if he knew all – the philosophers of Enlightenment put the center of civilization in the European West, turning Eastern Europe into a rather 'ambiguous' space.[55] Though not truly barbaric, this part of the continent displayed at least some sort of developmental deficit. Thus, the Eurocentric story of Enlightenment not only pitted Europe against the rest of the world, but also differentiated *within* Europe. Gradually, the concept of Europe would mutate into a Western European one,[56] inventing a jealous half-sister along the way: 'Europe, but at the same time, not Europe'.[57]

In his book *Formations of European Modernity* (2013), British historian Gerard Delanty points out that the Grand Narrative of Europe is still influential today, even though it is largely discredited in academia. In fact, the narrative functions as the founding story of the European Union, ascribing it with 'a foundational origin and an oppositional "Other"' that gives it 'form and meaning'.[58] As the following section will show, the secular, humanist conception of Europe as civilization became the catalyst behind many modern endeavors of political integration.

**Making Europe: from idea(s) to institution(s)**

After the Second World War, the concept of Europe moved 'from the realm of the image (…) to that of the idea'[59] and became a political undertaking. At last, European unity would materialize into institutions. This process was not linear, though the ever-persistent Grand Narrative of Europe leads

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[50] Schmale, "Europe as Cultural Reference and Value System," 18.

[51] Ibid.

[52] In his influential work *Orientalism* (1978) cultural critic Edward Said describes the Orient as a 'daydream' of Europe's own making, against which the West defined itself from the eighteenth century onwards. According to Said, this stereotyping of the Orient was embedded in an unbalanced power structure: it resulted in the 'corporate institution for dealing with the Orient' and was instrumental to the economic and political dominance of Europe, a process he labeled 'Orientalism'. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978).

[53] Stråth, "A European Identity," 392.

[54] Ibid., 393.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Schmale, "Europe as Cultural Reference and Value System," 18.

[57] Stråth, "A European Identity," 393.

[58] Gerard Delanty, *Formations of European Modernity. A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 4.

[59] Schmale, "Europe as Cultural Reference and Value System," 25.

us to believe otherwise.[60] Instead, the integration of Europe has been shaped by many differently motivated efforts, some of which evaporated into oblivion, while others had a more lasting presence. Indeed, at the end of the 1940s, Western Europe was already entangled in a web of intergovernmental organizations: there was the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), which coordinated Europe's request for Marshall help and served as an American-backed platform for economic consultation. On a military level, Atlantic cooperation proved all-powerful with the realization of the NATO under American guardianship. Finally, there was the Council of Europe, the only organization without direct US interference. The result of long deliberations, the Council was a disappointing, watered-down version of the 'United States of Europe' envisioned by federalist enthusiasts across the continent.[61] Apart from its successful groundwork on human rights, it never expanded into the influential organization it set out to be and it was not able to carry the political integration of Europe towards the next level. In the 1950s, the 'organizational pluriformity'[62] of Western Europe further increased: an additional five institutions saw the light of day, resulting in a 'Europe of the Six' and a 'Europe of the Seven'.[63] Meanwhile, the countries of Eastern Europe became strongly tied to the Soviet Union by means of the political Cominform, the economic Comecon and the military Warsaw Pact.[64] In their survey *De integratie van Europa* (2002), Bram Boxhoorn and Max Jansen therefore remark that 'by the end of the 1950s, it increasingly looked like Western Europe progressed towards economic division, rather than unity.'[65]

The mushrooming of experiments of integration had everything to do with the fact that European unity was thought of in myriad ways and that these ideas often remained vague and implicit.[66] To illustrate: the Council of Europe mentioned plans for 'an economic and political union', while the Schuman Declaration of 1950 was seen as a first step towards 'a European federation'. In 1957, the European Economic Community (EEC) promised to build 'an ever closer union'.[67] Yet, what such a union would look like remained unclear.[68] Still, at least all parties involved agreed that some form of (political) unity was essential to guarantee peace and stability in Europe.[69] With regard to the Dutch intellectual debate on European integration, historian Jieskje Hollander writes that

> '(…) even critics were in favor of the movement towards a United Europe.
> Although the practical elaborations of the ideal led to discussions, there was
> no difference of opinion about the great end in view.'[70]

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[60] The recent publication of Belgian historian Patrick Pasture is especially powerful in unmasking this story as teleological, imperialist, and self-congratulating. See Patrick Pasture, *Imagining European Unity since 1000 AD* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[61] Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 71-73.
[62] Ibid., 79.
[63] Ibid., 73, 125-26.
[64] Ibid., 79.
[65] Ibid., 125.
[66] Ibid., 174.
[67] Ibid., 183.
[68] Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 202.
[69] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, viii.
[70] Hollander, "The Dutch intellectual debate," 203.

*The demise of the nation-state*

After the Second World War, many believed that national frontiers formed the fault lines of Europe and hollowed out its unity from within. They presented a strong, supranational Europe as the solution for the recurring rivalries between nation-states. This idea was especially persistent among European federalists and dated back to the Interbellum, when countless initiatives for political unity saw the light of day: from the Pan-European Union (1923)[71] of Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972) and the much smaller Association for European Co-operation (1926), to the Briand Plan (1929) and a subsequent memorandum of the French government (1930). The content of these plans varied considerably. Yet they all presented European integration as a powerful antidote against the blind patriotism that had led to the folly of World War I.[72] Though these federalist initiatives never gained much footing, the notion became widespread that some form of political unity was essential to keep the nations of Europe in check.[73] Thus, the rise of Europe became linked to the demise of the nation-state.[74]

The federalist idea of Europe takes center stage in the influential work of German historian Walter Lipgens. According to Lipgens, organizations like the European Movement were the motor behind European integration after the Second World War.[75] Much indebted to the pioneers of the Interbellum, they also stood in direct lineage to the ideas of wartime resistance movements, of which the *Manifesto di Ventotene* (1941) served as a good example.[76] After 1945, Euro-federalists drummed up a remarkable amount of popular support and enthusiasm for the European idea, Lipgens argues.[77] He thus provides the history of European integration with a bottom-up incentive and highlights the 'continuity in aim and rationale'[78] between Interbellum federalism and post-war initiatives. However, in light of new archival findings, his thesis has become largely obsolete. As British historian Martin J. Dedman points out, the only European institution that came about through direct interference of the European Movement was the ineffective Council of Europe[79], which represented 'not only the highpoint but also a dead-end'.[80] Notwithstanding their political insignificance, Hollander writes that the Euro-federalists left an important mark on the Dutch debate

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[71] In his book *Pan-Europa* (1923), Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed his Pan-European Union as an alternative to the ineffective League of Nations. According to Kalergi, the countries of Europe ought to conduct a common economic and foreign policy to safeguard peace and stability on the continent. Cooperation was of the utmost importance, for Bolshevism was rapidly reaching Europe's gates, while the growing tensions between minority groups threatened to destroy Europe from within. In Kalergi's plan, the Soviet Union, the US and the Commonwealth were supposed to retain their status as separate power blocks. See Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 112-115; Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, chapter 2.

[72] Martin J. Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union, 1945-95. A History of European Integration* (London: Routledge, 1996), 16.

[73] Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 58.

[74] Ibid., 23.

[75] See Walter Lipgens, ed., *A History of European Integration, vol. 1, 1945-47* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

[76] The *Manifesto di Ventotene* was written by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi and called for a federal Europe with a European constitution to prevent totalitarianism from overtaking European countries. It derived its name from the island on which Spinelli and Rossi were held captive. The manifest circulated widely among resistance movements in Italy. Spinelli later became an active member of the European Federalist Movement, which adopted his text as the blueprint for a new Europe. See Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, chapter 2.

[77] Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union*, 10.

[78] Ibid., 19.

[79] Ibid., 11.

[80] Ibid., 30.

about European unity: between 1948 and 1957, 'deliverance by federalization'[81] was the overall theme.

The federalist dream of a supranational Europe was far removed from political reality. As Dutch historian Pien van der Hoeven points out in her overview study *Hoed af voor Marshall* (1998), massive participation in the OEEC did not mirror enthusiasm for European cooperation:

> 'The only commonality between the participating countries was that they all lay on the western side of the Iron Curtain. (…) It was not the will to collaborate that had brought them together in Paris; it was the prospect of American economic support.'[82]

Many politicians saw European cooperation merely as a way to rebuild a strong, independent economy that would help them recover national sovereignty.[83] Franco-German rapprochement also fits into this story: the containment of Germany into a larger European whole would not only curtail its power and solve the 'German question', but also unlock its industrial potential for the European market.[84] Economic historian Alan S. Milward has even argued that Europe in fact rescued the nation-state[85], undermining the federalist idea that integration and nationalism are diametrically opposed. The persistence of nationalist thinking is also put to the fore by Belgian historian Patrick Pasture, who states that European cooperation was not only driven by a quest to 'enhance peace on the continent'[86] but also by the Eurocentric, imperialist wish for 'nation-empires'[87] to retain or regain their global power, especially with regard to Françafriqe.[88] Faced with irreversible decolonization, the European project finally turned into a neocolonial quest for dominance in Africa: through association treaties with its 'overseas territories', the European Community benefited 'from the exploitation of

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[81] Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 200.

[82] Pien van der Hoeven, *Hoed af voor Marshall. De Marshall-hulp aan Nederland en de oprichting van de Nederlandse Participatie Maatschappij, 1948-1998* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1998), 56.

[83] Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 70.

[84] During and briefly after the war, cooperation without Germany was considered as a serious option, especially by arch enemy France. In 1944, the so-called Morgenthau Plan proposed ruthless measures to turn Germany into a rural state, to prevent it from becoming a threat ever again. However, the plan was quickly dismissed: from an economic perspective, Europe needed the German industry. See Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 164.

[85] According to Milward, Europe is not an ideal, but a means to an end. He perceives a fundamental difference between the reality of the European integration process and the way 'Europe' was sold to the public. Amidst post-war anxiety, the Soviet menace, and the A-bomb, integration served the need for national security and economic stability, Milward argues. It did not contribute to the demise of the nation-state, but in fact helped it to survive. Thus, his thesis discredits the 'classical belief' embodied by Lipgens that European unification was empowered by federalist ideas. It also turns the idea topsy-turvy that integration inherently meant a decrease of national power. See Alan S. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51* (London: Methuen, 1984) and *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

[86] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, viii.

[87] Ibid., 201.

[88] During the Congress of The Hague in 1948, colonialism was still very much part of the European project. For example, the Union of European Federalists (UEF) stated that the unification of Europe was only feasible 'if the links [that] unite it with countries and dependent territories (…) are taken into account.' The French Prime Minister Paul Reynaud proposed to 'jointly exploit the riches of the African continent', while British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin hoped that such an exploit would turn Europe into a 'Third Force' besides America and the USSR, remarking that 'as soon as we can afford to develop Africa, we can cut loose from [the] US.' See Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, chapter 9.

Africa's resources in return for the latter's "development" – mainly to create a market for European products.'[89]

*An American Europe?*
Meanwhile, American support for European unity had everything to do with the ideological connection between welfare and democracy. In the view of the US, economic prosperity was the best possible way to 'contain' communism: 'Liberal values required both prosperity and stability, which further stimulated the growth of these principles', Pasture explains.[90] The liberalization of trade fitted into a capitalist ideology, while a prosperous Europe would serve as a market for American goods. Furthermore, European integration was seen as a chance to promote American federalism as a blueprint for a 'United States of Europe'.[91] Conversely, the weakened European states needed American protection. None of them had any military clout: after the Second World War, Europe was morally and financially indebted to the US and its armies were annihilated.[92] This made European countries perceptible to American pressure: more than once, they reluctantly subscribed to some form of cooperation in exchange for American dollars and protection.[93] Thus, the United States had a formative impact on European integration. Pasture writes:

> 'Though European historians tend to downplay the impact of the US on the
> European integration process between 1950 and 1960 (…), it remains hard
> to imagine how the plans for a new post-war order that were developed by
> Europe's leaders, especially France, might have led to a unified Europe or
> even a lasting peace, as the most likely result would have been a "Versailles
> with a vengeance". (…) Apart from the USSR and the UK, no European state
> possessed enough remaining political and economic leverage to decide upon
> its own future, let alone that of the rest of the continent (…).'[94]

The Atlantic alliance would serve as a cornerstone of the post-war geopolitical order. Nonetheless, the relationship between Europe and America remained a complicated one.[95] In his book *Spiegelpaleis Europa* (2011), Dutch cultural historian Joep Leerssen describes the relation between Europe and the US in terms of 'auto-image' and 'hetero-image'.[96] Europe sees itself as an opposite of the United States (auto-image), but is also influenced by the way Americans see it (hetero-image). As an 'economic competitor and cultural foe'[97] America took on the role of Europe's significant other.

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[89] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 197.
[90] Ibid., 172.
[91] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 186.
[92] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 198.
[93] For example, the founding of the Western Union (1948), a military pact between Great Britain, France and the Benelux, was mainly symbolic. It functioned as a showcase of the European willingness to cooperate, which was an American prerequisite to enter the NATO talks. See Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 67-70.
[94] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 198.
[95] Especially France feared to become economically and culturally dependent on the United States and frequently tried to turn Europe into a more independent bloc under French leadership. See Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 99-101.
[96] These terms are comparable to Bo Stråth's xeno- and autostereotype. See Joep Leerssen, *Spiegelpaleis Europa. Europese cultuur als mythe en beeldvorming* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2011), 188.
[97] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 198.

Yet, America also operated 'as a powerful model and ideal for where Europe should be heading'.[98] Friendliness and animosity concocted a complicated picture, which Leerssen explains as follows:

> 'The cross pollinations between American auto/hetero-images on the one side and European auto/hetero-images on the other side have become increasingly complicated, because important authors migrated from one continent to the other (…) and more significantly, because our collective imagination is shaped by an English literary and filmic corpus that rests more and more on a global foundation.[99]

In chapter 4, I will further elaborate upon the interplay between American and European perceptions of each other and their impact on ideas of integration, for this dimension plays an important role in the so-called Marshall filmstrips I discuss there.

*An intricate web*
The history of the European idea reveals an intricate web of arguments and motivations for European unity. On the one hand, the apologists for a federal Europe dreamt of a new order that would replace the nation-state, or at least keep it in check. Europe was more than an economic project: it was an ideology, complete with 'eschatological traits'.[100] On the other hand, many politicians merely perceived of cooperation as a means to 'save' the nation from economic ruin. Furthermore, European integration was thought of and refuted as a bottom-up idea that generated mass support, which led to political change. And it was seen as a 'historical necessity'[101], a claim either rooted in a firm belief in historical progress or in the irreversibility of integration as a method: once cooperation in one field was well under way, it would automatically 'spill over' to another area.[102] Meanwhile, the integration process tied Europe securely to the United States. Despite this dependency relationship, nostalgic dreams of Europe as an independent global power lived on. The (former) colonies, the Soviet bloc, and America all functioned as mirrors in which Europe took on different shapes and forms.

The perspectives on European integration had in common that unity – in whatever form – would automatically lead to peace on the continent. Of course, the question remains what this 'peace' entailed: after 1945, Europe became divided into two blocs, was kept in check by an 'armed' peace between two atomic superpowers, and engaged in bloody colonial wars on the other half of the globe.[103] Hence, Pasture argues that the European 'discourse of peace and reconciliation' turned a

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[98] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 198.

[99] Leerssen, *Spiegelpaleis Europa*, 188.

[100] Anjo G. Harryvan, "De historiografie van de Europese integratie, 1945-1985," in *Europese eenwording in historisch perspectief. Factoren van integratie en desintegratie*, ed. W.A.F. Camphuis and C.G.J. Wildeboer Schut (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1991), 26. The idea that Europe is destined to do 'a work of salvation' particularly comes to the fore in the messianic statements of the 'founding fathers' of Europe. Thus, Robert Schuman proclaimed: 'Enfin debout l'Europe! L'humanité attend ton existence et compte sur ton exemple.' See also François Visine, *30 Ans d'Europe, 1945-1975* (Paris: Éditions Techniques et Économiques, 1975), 72.

[101] Daniele Pasquinucci, "Between Political Commitment and Academic Research: Federalist Perspectives," in *European Union History. Themes and Debates*, ed. Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 70.

[102] Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 139.

[103] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 2.

blind eye to 'many conflicts at Europe's margins', which reaffirms that the story of Europe is predominantly a Western one.[104] It also demonstrates that the idea of European progress required 'a mythical interpretation'[105] of history: storylines that did not contribute to its progressive plot – such as slavery or the atrocities of World War II – were seen as aberrant, atypical, non-European.[106] Meanwhile, other developments, values, and ideas were stripped of their 'diverse origins' and presented as uniquely Western instead, resulting in a 'culturally cleansed concept' of Europe.[107] This is one of the reasons why, in recent times, the colonial incentive for European integration has been completely overruled by the emerging image of 'Europe the fair'.[108]

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[104] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 204-205.
[105] Ibid., 205.
[106] Evelyn Gould and George J. Sheridan Jr., "The Idea of Europe: A Collaborative Pedagogical Project," in *Engaging Europe: Rethinking a Changing Continent*, ed. Evelyn Gould and George J. Sheridan Jr. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005) 15.
[107] Glynis Cousin, "Rethinking the concept of 'western'," *Higher Education Research & Development* 30-5 (October 2011): 591-92.
[108] Pasture, *Imagining European Unity*, 191.

# II Conquering the school: a short history of filmstrips

*'Visual language is a means to expand one's horizon, (…) to enrich one's mind.'*
*J.L.M Peters, Dutch film pioneer*

*'1.75 m celluloid is not a filmstrip yet!'*
*Anonymous Dutch teacher*

Filmstrips are a relative unknown medium. Though common in their own time, there has not been much scholarly interest in this teaching aid. In this chapter, I will explore why filmstrips were more or less taken for granted in educational research. But first I will explain what filmstrips are, how they were used and why they became a popular form of teaching in Dutch schools after the Second World War. To contextualize the medium in its historical setting, I will also pay attention to the public debate about the role of the visual in Dutch education from 1918 onwards. As the quotations at the start of this chapter illustrate, both film and filmstrip were highly praised *and* deeply criticized for their educational worth. Thus, visual media really had to 'conquer' the school.[109]

*Filmstrips as a medium: common and cheap*
Filmstrips are short stretches of 35 mm celluloid, containing up to 30 or more still images arranged in sequential order. A filmstrip projector was used to show the images on a large screen (fig. 3). A white wall or sheet would also do.



*Fig. 3: A 1947 Dutch filmstrip projector manufactured by NEAM. © Luikerwaal.nl*

From the 1930s onwards, schools started to use filmstrips to prop up their resource-based teaching ('aanschouwelijk onderwijs'), first in addition to and later replacing glass lanterns. Meanwhile, study prints ('schoolplaten') remained ubiquitous in every classroom.

Although modern technology had already permeated the classroom with the founding of the Nederlandse Onderwijsfilm[110] (NOF) in 1918, filmstrips proved to be revolutionary in their own way, opening up new horizons for teacher and pupil alike. The educational films of the NOF had been accessible to few: only in the bigger cities, schoolchildren could pay the occasional visit to the school cinema, and not many schools could afford the expensive equipment to host showings themselves. Filmstrips, however, provided an accessible alternative, being cheap, easy to use and requiring very little storage space. In the 1950s the usage of filmstrips really took flight: most schools owned a projector and teachers had hundreds of filmstrips at their fingertips, covering a wide array of topics (see fig. 4).

Most filmstrips were accompanied by a teacher's guide, containing a description of the slides, accompanying commentary, and other information relevant to the chosen lesson. In the early years, such guides merely consisted of a slip of paper with some typed text, while later filmstrips came with more professional booklets. Some filmstrips displayed captions on-screen, leaving out the teacher's

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[109] J.L.M. Peters, *Visueel onderwijs. Over de grondslagen voor het gebruik van de film en de filmstrip in het onderwijs* (Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1955) 52.
[110] Literal translation: Dutch Educational Film.

guide altogether, as is the case with the selection of filmstrips under review in my research. Other filmstrips were used in combination with radio broadcasts ('schoolradio'). The instructor would hear a bell ringing, signaling to switch to the next slide. The NCRV[111] produced hundreds of such filmstrip stories. Later on, technical advancements allowed the projector to advance the film automatically and play sound by means of a tape recorder, resulting in the disappearance of the 'live' aspect of the filmstrip lesson.
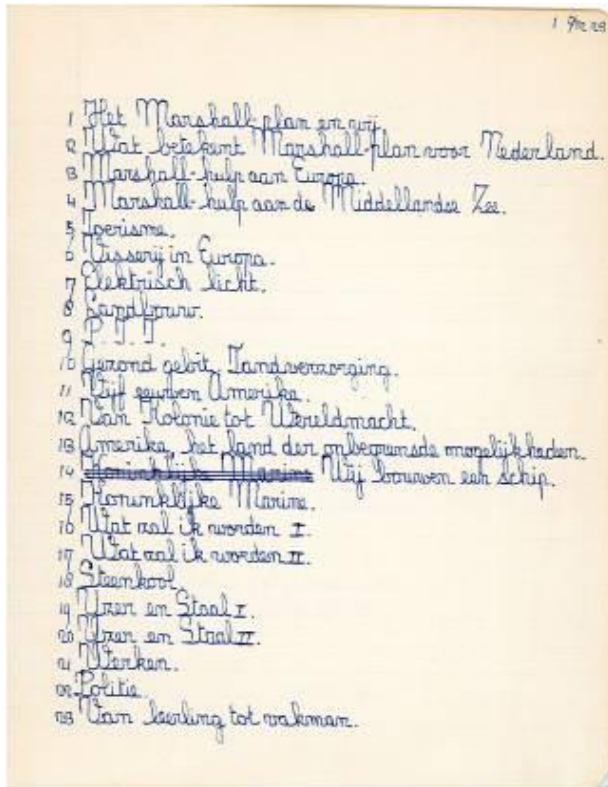


*Fig. 4: A page from a teacher's notebook, summing up the available filmstrips on different subjects.*

Filmstrips were a relatively inexpensive way to reproduce a series of images, from instructive diagrams to photographs and cartoons. Their cheapness was one of the reasons filmstrips were so popular in the Reconstruction years: they formed a rich resource-based environment at a time when there were few educational materials at hand.[112] Most filmstrips contained up to 36 pictures, some even more. Often, their makers were not too choosy when it came to the selection of images.[113] They promoted quantity over quality, a striking difference from the carefully compiled lantern slides or study prints.[114] As we will see in the following chapter, this characteristic influenced the way filmstrips presented a topic – in this case, the topic of European integration.

*The filmstrip: an educational powerhouse?*

In the 1950s, filmstrips were commonly accepted in the classroom. In one of the few early publications about the educational use of visual media, J.M.L Peters writes that in 1955, at least 4,000 Dutch schools frequently used film or filmstrips in their lessons.[115] Whether these visual aids reached their full potential remained to be seen:

> 'Concerning the value of these teaching resources, their nature, their
> effects, their form and content, and the way that they are to be handled,
> so many different and often incorrect views exist – if one has an opinion at

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[111] NCRV stands for Nederlandse Christelijke Radio Vereniging (Dutch Christian Radio Association).

[112] In one of the few available studies about educational filmstrips, Marja Roholl points out that before 1948, there was a lack of almost everything, including proper study materials. Teachers got preferential treatment when they wanted to purchase certain items deemed necessary to carry out their profession – indicating the need was indeed very dire. See Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 52.

[113] See also Elshout, *De filmstrook. Schets van een theoretische basis voor een nieuw leermiddel* (Breda: Parcival, 1961), 6.

[114] Kramer, "Papoea's in beeld," 22.

[115] Peters, *Visueel onderwijs*, 52.

all – that a thorough reflection on the foundations of visual education is definitely called for.'[116]

Explaining the possibilities of film and filmstrip, Peters encourages teachers to make abundant use of these visual aids, proposing ways to inspire, illustrate, instruct, contextualize or summarize their lessons. Highlighting the advantages of film(strip) teaching, he introduces the concept of 'the monopoly of the visual'.[117] According to Peters, looking at a film or filmstrip may be preferable to looking at reality, for the film(strip) enables optical identification, shows aspects of reality that are not accessible in real life (such as a close-up of a rare bird) and makes the invisible visible through the use of special lenses, image sequence or delayed play. It is this 'monopoly', this assemblage of unique qualities that turns film and strip into an educational powerhouse.[118]

Despite these assets, teachers and pedagogical professionals alike had certain reservations about the use of film(strips) in the classroom. For a start, they feared mental passivity in their students.[119] Furthermore, they saw this kind of 'plaatjes kijken'[120] as a poor excuse for teaching. Besides, many teaching professionals feared infringement of their authority, of not 'being the one in the know'. On top of that, moving images were originally associated with all kinds of bigger and smaller evils.

*The danger of the visual*
With the opening of the first cinemas, a debate unfolded about the value of film, its educational possibilities and its influence on children. Progressive thinkers linked to the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) and the left wing of the Catholic People's Party (KVP) wanted to utilize films to bring about societal change, exploiting their impact 'as part of a progressive social democratic program'.[121] On the opposite side of the political field, right-wing Protestants feared the 'demoralizing' effect of cinema. From their point of view it was difficult, if not impossible, to perceive the didactic qualities of moving images.[122] Their critique was part of a Europe-wide anti-film discourse, 'a scientific-sounding discourse about cinema and children', centering on the corrupting, decadent and immoral qualities of film.[123] Opponents of film pointed to the causal link between the rise of film and youth criminality, the possibility of eyesight damage in young children, and the abundant depiction of depravity and wickedness in films. Their worries stemmed from a patriarchal conception of the child as 'defenseless, impulsive and susceptible'[124] and finally resulted in a successful call for state censorship in almost all Western European countries.[125] However, at the same time the Dutch government issued a report with regard to school cinemas, pronouncing its support for educational films and calling for a 'central institute for educational and civilizing cinema'.[126]

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[116] Peters, *Visueel Onderwijs*, 52.
[117] Literal translation of the Dutch term 'monopolie der beeldtaal'. Peters, *Visueel onderwijs*, 20.
[118] Ibid., 20-21; 39-40.
[119] Ibid., 7.
[120] 'Plaatjes kijken' means 'looking at pictures' in Dutch. The statement has a deprecating, belittling undertone.
[121] Floris Paalman, "Een kwestie van betrokkenheid: Films van de Gemeentelijke Schoolbioscoop in Rotterdam, 1920-1933," *Lessen* 2-4 (June 2009): 22.
[122] Ed van Berkel, "Onderwijsfilm. Domein van pioniers en doordouwers," *Lessen* 2-4 (June 2009): 14.
[123] Daniel Biltereyst, "School van verderf. Filmkeuring en de bescherming van kinderen in België, 1914-1940," *Lessen* 2-4 (June 2009): 24.
[124] Belgian judge Paul Wets cited in Biltereyst, "School van verderf," 24.
[125] Ibid., 23-24.
[126] Van Berkel, "Onderwijsfilm," 16.

The fear for the corrupting influence of film heavily affected the production of educational films and other visual materials before and after the Second World War. Analyzing productions of the NOF, film historian Eef Masson concludes that educational films were presented as anything but films: faced with fierce suspicion of the new medium, the NOF tried very hard 'to cover up the "film-like" quality' of the materials it offered.[127] Over and over again, the NOF stressed the didactic qualities of its films, in order to avoid any association with the 'empty' entertainment of the cinema. This resulted in short, slow-paced, black-and-white movies, without sound or so-called cinematic 'tricks'. Only these type of films were believed to be suitable for the delicate minds of children and contributed to a 'pedagogical teacher-student relationship and an appropriate, solemn atmosphere in the classroom'.[128] Thus, the NOF presented its educational films as 'solid and plain learning materials', negating the emotional and aesthetic aspects of the medium.[129]

In the mid-1950s, attitudes started to change. Influenced by the emergence of film studies as academic discipline, film was taken more seriously, resulting in a sensitivity for cinematic aesthetics and an appreciation of the study of film in its own right. Also, new educational principles influenced the perception of film as teaching aid. Masson writes how proponents of the new media stated film had in itself a stimulating effect on children:

> 'Children were supposed to harbor a natural interest for the medium – an interest that could then be "transferred" to the lesson that had to be learned through film.'[130]

Gradually, both viewing pleasure and aesthetics came to be seen as an important part of a film's educational success. The NOF brought these new insights into practice with the production of its first full-length historic feature film: *Vondel, het leven van een groot Nederlander* (1954). According to Peters, by then director of the NOF, 'a film's instructive purposes (…) [will] be all the better when the film is aesthetically successful as well.'[131] Under his leadership, the first educational film accompanied by sound was introduced. A watershed, for until then sound had been perceived as distracting: commentary and interpretation belonged to the teacher's domain. Also revolutionary was the production of the first educational animation film in 1958. Hitherto, animation had been closely associated with entertainment: the technique had only been used for clear didactic purposes, such as the schematic representation of certain scientific processes or biological phenomena.[132]

A pioneer in educational film, Peters nevertheless agreed with his contemporaries that visual media carried certain dangers in them against which children had to be protected. According to Peters, the visual is more direct, more encompassing than the verbal and tends to overrule critical thinking. All too soon, visual entertainment leads to a 'lack of critical faculties and good taste' among the

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[127] Eef Masson, "De onderwijsfilm als didactisch middel en creatief product," *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 17-1 (2014): 30.
[128] Masson, "De onderwijsfilm als didactisch middel", 30.
[129] NOF brochure cited in Bert Hogenkamp, "Om scherp te stellen: veranderingen bij de Nederlandse Onderwijs Film, 1958-1963", *Lessen* 2-4 (June 2009): 7. See also *Het paedagogisch en didaktisch gebruik van de film* (Amsterdam: NOF, 1948).
[130] Eef Masson, "Leesles – De grote karekiet: nestbouw en broedverzorging," *Lessen* 2-4 (June 2009): 28.
[131] Peters cited in Hogenkamp, "Om scherp te stellen," 8.
[132] See Hogenkamp, "Om scherp te stellen," 8-10.

masses.[133] Looking to the example of the United States, Peters even foresaw a 'moral, social and cultural problem (…) of the first order' with the introduction of TV and its 'all-singing, all-talking, all-nothing'[134] programming. He writes:

> 'Modern man is more or less beset by visual language. He has barely learned
> to use or understand this language and is more or less at the mercy of it.
> When this language is (…) used for the wrong purposes, he will become a
> victim of it.'[135]

His and other statements reflect the all too recent confrontation with German propaganda, just as the debate about state censorship and the possible dangers of film should be read in the context of interwar tribulations: poverty, unemployment, and imminent mass uprising.[136] With regard to the rejection of film on religious grounds, biblical warnings against the idolatry of images and Jesus' statement that 'the light of the body is in the eye'[137] play an important role. In short: societal views and experiences determined to a great extent one's reaction to the new medium.

Despite his reservations, Peters was a firm believer in film education. Yes, film and filmstrip had their drawbacks, but they also had immense potential. Since Dutch culture was becoming more and more visual, the school should not ban new media, but embrace the double task of both using and educating them in a responsible manner.[138] Helping children to critically 'read' visual language was of the highest importance, for 'today's education determines the cultural vision of the future'.[139] Thus, Peters stated that film and filmstrip were not mere 'teaching aids', but an important part of modern culture, of modern life: 'The greater the role of the visual in our culture, the more important this element should be in education.'[140]

**Towards a filmstrip theory**

Peters' preliminary research on visual education is one of the few studies available treating the subject of filmstrips – and only against the background of the development of film in general. Scholarly attention to filmstrips was and remains low. This may have something to do with the fact that the filmstrip business was but a small player compared to the motion picture industry, with its large – and paying! – entertainment audiences.[141] Furthermore, unlike film, filmstrips were mainly used within schools and other teaching environments, areas that only recently became of interest to scholars of history, film and media studies. Possibly, the relatively limited duration of the filmstrip's popularity in education also plays a role: in contrast to filmstrips, film never disappeared from the

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[133] Peters, *Visueel onderwijs*, 54.

[134] Ibid. Here, Peters cites an unnamed American critic. The statement refers to the 1929 musical film *The Broadway Melody* that presented itself as 'all talking, all singing, all dancing' – the summit of visual entertainment.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Biltereyst, "School van verderf," 24.

[137] See Matthew 6:22-23, trans. King James Version. In his Sermon on the Mount, Jesus warns that 'The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!'

[138] Peters, *Visueel onderwijs*, 54.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid., 54-55.

[141] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 6.

teacher's toolkit, offering a rich array of material to study changes and continuities in its content, usage and reception in the classroom. On top of that, archival fragmentation complicates filmstrip research – a matter already discussed in the introduction of this thesis.

The scholarly lack of interest in filmstrips was also of concern to Ben Elshout, teaching professional and contemporary of Peters. In 1961, he wrote *De filmstrook*, a manual for teachers in primary education. In the introduction, he complains:

> 'There would be no objection to the lack of literature regarding the filmstrip
> and filmstrip theory if the produced filmstrips were of a high standard.
> However, the critical user knows that there are few strips he is enthusiastic
> about. There really has been thought too little about the filmstrip as a
> medium. As a result, almost nothing has been published.'[142]

Therefore, Elshout makes an attempt to formulate a filmstrip theory himself, based on the evaluation of a large amount of existing filmstrips. Central to his analysis is the idea of the filmstrip as 'beeld-reeks', as image sequence.[143] Elshout perceives the filmstrip *as a whole*, as 'a delineated series of images representing a unit of knowledge'.[144] Thus, when analyzing a filmstrip's message, it is important to take into account the coherence between the different frames of a filmstrip, for it is here that meaning is constructed: 'Together, two consecutive images express (…) something more and different than their individual content.'[145] Through image sequence, filmstrips make the invisible visible, 'sometimes literally, but definitely figuratively.'[146]

According to Elshout, a filmstrip's coherence is always expressed in the abstract, as an idea perceptible in the mind, but preferably in both the abstract *and* the visual. The more feeble a filmstrip's coherence, the less convincing its message. He explains: 'Thirty images about the same subject do not constitute a filmstrip, just like a stack of 30,000 stones does not constitute a house.'[147] Conversely, the message is strongest when filmstrip frames are both abstractly and visually linked, 'for, in a way, one image evokes the other.'[148] Elshout suggests different ways in which images can be visually linked. For example, a connection is created through repetition of certain visual elements, through a rendition of the same object from different angles, through continuing a point of view or depicting different phases of the same process.[149] Analyzing these intrinsic references helps to discover the (lack of a) filmstrip's structure. As a result, it is possible to divide the filmstrip into periods, units and elements, corresponding to a book's chapters, sections and paragraphs.[150]

For Elshout, a well-made filmstrip only takes one subject under review and follows a clear train of thought, conveyed by a plain narrative structure. It also presents its subject in both an *instructive* and *affective* way. Instructive content is knowledge-based, while affective content appeals to the emotions of the viewer. For example, the closer a camera is to its subject, the more involved the

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[142] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 6.
[143] Ibid., 8.
[144] Ibid., 18.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., 19.
[149] Ibid., 20-21.
[150] Ibid., 24.

viewer will be. Elshout argues that a very abstract filmstrip still needs some affective content for the message to sink in.[151] This is in line with Peters' belief that emotions and aesthetics make a better educational film.

Elshout's research is one of the few practical examples offering a methodical analysis of a filmstrip's effective quality. His approach will be further explored in the following chapter, in discussing the different methods underpinning my research.

*Differences between film and filmstrip*
Though educational practices regarding film and filmstrip sometimes overlap, the two media differ considerably. Of course, the most obvious distinction is the filmstrip's static quality, as opposed to the movement of film. As a consequence, the filmstrip shows a *moment* in time, a 'frozen' situation, while a film is able to display movement or action *through* time. Furthermore, a film's viewing pace is dictated by the medium itself, while the tempo of a filmstrip presentation is controlled by the teacher or another external source, like the accompanying tape or radio broadcast. And although film may present reality in a more realistic and enthralling way, appealing to the viewer's emotion, a filmstrip leaves time to observe this represented reality, resulting in a detached attitude. In the first case, the viewer (virtually) participates, in the second, he is a mere spectator.

In the same vein, a filmstrip's causality is created by the spectator, while a movie dictates its own story: 'Regarding the filmstrip, the spectator himself must fill in the missing links between the displayed actions.'[152] According to Elshout, it is exactly this quality that turns the filmstrip into a worthwhile teaching aid, for it demands active participation of the student. Moreover, the medium requires live commentary and explanation, thus acknowledging the role of the teacher. In this light, both Peters and Elshout reject the usage of filmstrip captions: 'Projecting captions is completely unnecessary and even annoying. The habit is born out of the user's laxity (…).'[153] Peters even fears captions may make the teacher obsolete – confirming the concerns of his time.[154] Acknowledging the teacher's authority, he presents the teacher as important link between student and filmstrip: 'He does not only "show" the film or strip, but also acts, in place of its creator, (…) as the one who "speaks" to the students through visual language.'[155] Meanwhile, Elshout warns against excessive monologues of teachers instead, insisting in capital letters that a filmstrip 'SPEAKS in IMAGES (…). The spoken word is merely an "illustration" by the image.'[156]

Against the backdrop of this discussion, it is interesting to note that most filmstrips I came across were provided with captions. Possibly, filmstrip creators preferred their message to be clear-cut, adding an extra layer of meaning to the images at hand. In the following chapter, I will further explore the relation between the construction of a filmstrip's meaning and the combined use of image and text.

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[151] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 11-15.
[152] Peters, *Visueel onderwijs*, 21.
[153] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 17.
[154] Peters, *Visueel onderwijs*, 41.
[155] Ibid., 48.
[156] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 11.

*A new approach to teaching?*

As this chapter demonstrates, the introduction of film and filmstrip in the Dutch classroom created quite a stir. While some feared the impact of images on the young mind, others heralded these new media as bringers of social change. Many educators believed film would forever change the way we learn and teach. Likewise, Elshout links the educational use of filmstrips to a new approach to teaching. In his opinion, education is more than just 'learning about something': 'Words like *learning* material reflect a narrow and outdated view of the school's educational task.'[157] Instead, the 'spiritual enrichment'[158] of the pupil should take center stage – a notion that also comes to the fore in Peters' research. Praising the possibilities technology brings, Peters writes how visual language will broaden the student's 'horizon'[159] and help him to 'conquer the world'[160]:

> 'Educating an active sense of citizenship (…), of democracy, of world citizenship (…) would be futile if there were no modern visual aids to help the child to become familiar with the practical experiencing of these concepts.'[161]

Elshout's book equally rings of such enthusiasm. Explaining the significance of the filmstrip, he writes: 'With its versatility, richness, flexibility and expressiveness, the filmstrip perfectly fits such an educational ideal, surpassing all other teaching materials (reading board, flannelgraph, letter card, etc.).'[162]

In hindsight, such gusto seems somewhat excessive. Yet, though the filmstrip silently disappeared from view, new technology *did* conquer the classroom: nowadays, no school is without a digital chalkboard ('digibord'), integrating all kinds of visual teaching aids into one device. Of course, the question remains to what extent the use of such technology genuinely changes the *way* we teach and learn.

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[157] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 5. Literally, the text reads: '*leer*-middel en *leer*-ling zijn woorden die een verengde en verouderde opvatting van de onderwijstaak van de school weerspiegelen.'
[158] Ibid. Elshout speaks here of 'geestelijke verrijking'. The English term 'spiritual' does not quite capture the essence of the Dutch word, while 'mental enrichment' also seems a rather weak translation to me.
[159] Peters, *Visueel onderwijs*, 36.
[160] Ibid., 51
[161] Ibid., 45.
[162] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 5. Literally, the text reads: 'In het kader van zulk een onderwijsideaal past de filmstrook, die in veelzijdigheid, rijkdom, plooibaarheid en uitdrukkingsvermogen alle andere leermiddelen (leesplankje, flanelbord, letterkaart enz.) overtreft.'

# III Methodology

Throughout the ages, historians and their amateur predecessors have used images as 'historical evidence'[163], as British historian Peter Burke explains in his publication *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (2001). Images prove key to study the past, especially when written sources are scarce or altogether lacking. Yet, the use of images in historical research has long been suspect and only recently became accepted within the historical profession. While source criticism of written documents traditionally comprises 'an essential part of the training of historians', the critical evaluation of visual evidence remains a less developed aspect of historiography.[164]

In this chapter, I will briefly reflect on the use of images in historical research, before moving on to describe several theories that have influenced the way pictures are studied. Next, I will explain the different methods underpinning my research, combining theories from different scholarly disciplines. Finally, I will come back to Elshout's analysis of filmstrips described in chapter 2, using it as a blueprint for my own account in the following chapters.

*Distorting images*

Analyzing images for historical research has many pitfalls. The well-known expression 'the camera never lies' is a good starting point to clarify this. Though photographs may (un)intentionally radiate a documentary feel, they too are a product of their maker's meanings and expectations and the conventions of their time.[165] Often, seemingly realistic photographs are staged, while portraits do not so much record social reality as social illusions.[166] Also, the medium itself has its limitations, while technical advancements influence the way photographs are made, disseminated and perceived. The context in which a photograph is presented further complicates its meaning: the exact same image may serve different purposes in a museum, a filmstrip, or a magazine.

Thus, 'even photographs are not pure reflections of reality'.[167] Still, an image's distortion of reality may be of great interest to historians, for this distortion is in itself a reflection of 'mentalities, ideologies and identities'.[168] According to Burke, 'the material or literal image is good evidence of the mental or metaphorical "image" of the self or of others.'[169] Thus, the filmstrips presented in this study do not at all reveal *the* reality about European integration. Instead, they offer evidence of the way European integration has been *represented* by different interest groups publishing these strips. As teaching material, they shed light on what children were suppose to learn about Europe; the sheer fact of their existence already indicating a certain concern with a 'European' upbringing.

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[163] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 9-10, 14.
[164] Ibid., 15.
[165] Ibid., 19.
[166] Ibid., 23, 28.
[167] Ibid., 30.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.

*Different approaches, different results*

The most influential theories shaping the interpretation of images in recent times are Erwin Panofsky's iconography, the semiotic approach of structuralists like Roland Barthes, and post-structuralist views on image and text.

Though dated, iconography still influences the way images are studied. Introduced in the 1930s as a reaction against the predominantly formal analysis of paintings at the expense of subject matter, Panofsky argued that images cannot be understood without knowledge of the context in which they are made. Thus, to interpret the message of an image it is necessary to be familiar with the cultural codes of the time. Nowadays, Panofky's idea of 'reading' images has become commonplace, though iconography itself has been criticized for being too intuitive in its juxtaposing of images and for its claim to lay bare 'the' meaning of an image, 'without asking the question, meaning for whom?'.[170] Yet, the method's eye for detail remains of vital importance to anyone interpreting visual evidence, as Burke explains:

> 'The historian needs to read between the lines, noting the small but
> significant details – including significant absences – and using them as clues
> to information which the image-makers did not know they knew, or to
> assumptions they were not aware of holding.'[171]

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, structuralists changed the way images were perceived, deciphering them as a 'system of signs'. They applied semiotics – or the study of signs – to other fields of study, proving that everything can be studied as 'text'. To quote the famous words of French philosopher Roland Barthes (1915-1980): 'I read texts, images, cities, faces, gestures, scenes, etc.'[172] Like iconography, semiotics centers on finding 'the' meaning of an image. It reduces the image to code, leaving no room for ambiguity or human agency. The idea that an individual image or text is a compilation, a selection (*parole*) of a larger repertoire (*langue*)[173], proves very helpful when looking for certain themes and formulae and makes one aware of the in- and exclusion of elements, of what is chosen and what is not. Furthermore, semiotics draws attention to the internal organization of a text, the way meaning is created through oppositions and associations.[174] Though the method has many shortcomings, structuralists like Barthes 'made us see what semiology can do for the understanding of cultures and social practices and their expressions in images', as art historian Peter Wagner explains.[175]

In the 1970s, structuralists were increasingly criticized for being too rigid and a-historical in their reading of texts. With the emergence of post-structuralism, the approach to pictures changed once more, emphasizing the capacity of images to take on multiple meanings. This is called 'polysemy'. According to French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), polysemy becomes apparent in the

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[170] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 40.

[171] Ibid., 188.

[172] Roland Barthes, "Writing Reading," in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 34.

[173] These terms were introduced by Swiss linguistic pioneer Ferdinand De Saussure (1857-1913), one of the founding fathers of semiotics.

[174] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 171-175.

[175] Peter Wagner, "Introduction: Ekphrasis, Iconotexts, and Intermediality – the State(s) of the Art(s)," in *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*, ed. Peter Wagner (New York: Walter de Gruyter 1996), 2.

'deconstruction' of a text through 'close reading'.[176] The idea of polysemy fits neatly into our postmodern age, in which individualism is applauded, power democratized and Truth abolished. Yet, it is also met with fierce criticism, for the post-structuralist assumption that 'any meaning attributed to an image is as valid as any other'[177] denies relevant issues of power and context. Thus, some scholars label deconstruction as 'relativistic anarchy', while others appreciate its ' liberating insight into what has been unsaid as well as said, the "traces" and silences of a discursive universe.'[178]

Iconography, semiotics and poststructuralist theory still influence the way images are 'read', as will become clear in the section below. Here, I will formulate an eclectic approach to the interpretation of filmstrips.

**'Reading' filmstrips**

Though primarily a visual medium, the multi-leveled character of the filmstrip presents the researcher with the task of taking different aspects of text and image into account, without losing sight of the filmstrip as a whole. Hence my analysis of filmstrips is based on a combination of different concepts from art history, literary theory, and narratology. I place these concepts within a methodological framework provided by British scholar Gillian Rose, who offers a concise account of the interpretation of images in her book *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (2012).

*An interpretive framework: image sites and modalities*
According to Rose, the meaning of an image becomes manifest at three sites: the site of the image (what an image looks like), the site of production (how and by whom an image is made) and the site of the audience (how an image is perceived). Within these sites, different modalities are at work on a compositional, technological, and social level. Scholars almost always favor a certain site or modality, depending on their research topic, source selection and point of view. Hence, Rose explains that 'many of the theoretical disagreements about visual culture, visualities and visual objects can be understood as disputes over which of these sites and modalities are most important, how and why.'[179]

In my research, I will primarily center on the site of the image and the site of production. In doing so, I will pay considerable attention to what Rose calls the 'social modality', meaning 'the range of economic, social and political relations, institutions and practices that surround an image and through which it is seen and used.'[180] As a cultural historian, I am naturally interested in this modality for it enables me to *historicize* my sources. After all, 'relations, institutions and practices' change over time, influencing the way Europe is depicted. The social modality of images is somewhat comparable to Burke's description of 'social context', especially since Rose applies this modality to all three sites of meaning-making. According to Burke, the social context of an image is formed by

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[176] Susan A. Crane, "Language, Literary Studies, and Historical Thought," in *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, ed. Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 325.
[177] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 177.
[178] Crane, "Language, Literary Studies, and Historical Thought," 327.
[179] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 20.
[180] Ibid., 20.

> 'the general cultural and political "background" as well as the precise circumstances in which the image was commissioned and also its material context, in other words the physical location in which it was originally intended to be seen.'[181]

Burke positions his approach to images as a 'third way'[182], as a critique 'against classical iconographers and post-structuralists alike'.[183] He argues that images are culturally constructed while also constructing culture themselves, being 'testimonies of past social arrangements and above all of past ways of seeing and thinking'.[184] It is exactly this matter that goes to the very heart of the cultural turn in history. As historian Miri Rubin explains, cultural history does not ask *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, 'but rather "How was it for him, or her, or them?"'[185]

When looking closely, an image may contain many clues regarding its meaning to maker and viewer. As Burke points out, attention to detail is key.[186] Hence, in any decent analysis of images the image itself should at least be taken into account. My compositional interpretation of filmstrips draws on the art historical concept of 'the good eye', comprising 'a way of looking (…) that is not methodologically explicit but which nevertheless produces a specific way of describing'.[187] Art historians used this concept as a way to judge the 'quality' of a painting as art. Panofsky's criticism already made clear that this isolated way of looking elevates the site of the image and its compositionality to the primary level of meaning-making. I however am not interested in questions of art/Art, but use 'the good eye' as a *tool* to describe each filmstrip in a coherent way. To me, this way of looking is a mere starting point: the intrinsic quality of an image surely contributes to its meaning, but to contextualize this meaning, I will take other aspects into account as well.

The site of production draws attention to the context in which an image is made. On a technological level, it deals with questions about the (im)possibilities of the medium and the way this governs a filmstrip's compositionality. For example, the introduction of color changed a filmstrip's appearance, as well as its appeal to the spectator. Also, due to the inexpensive way of reproducing a series of photographs, filmstrip makers sometimes used pictures of low quality, investing in image quantity rather than quality. This influenced the way Europe is depicted (see also chapter 2). On a social level, the parties involved in the compilation and production of filmstrips preferred a certain representation of 'Europe' that reflected their own aims and beliefs. At the same time, their story of 'Europe' was mediated by social, economic and political conditions.

With regard to my sample of filmstrips, a complete reconstruction of the process of production is impossible: many production details have never been decently recorded or have been lost over time. For example, none of the filmstrips contain a publication date, or the names of the writers, photographers, and illustrators involved. Yet, all of them have some kind of reference to the party issuing the filmstrip, offering a lead as to why these filmstrips were made. What was the importance

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[181] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 178.
[182] Ibid., 184.
[183] Ibid., 178.
[184] Ibid., 185.
[185] Miri Rubin, "What is Cultural History Now?," in *What is History Now*, ed. David Cannadine (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 81.
[186] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 188-89.
[187] Irit Rogoff cited in Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 52.

of 'Europe' to those involved in the Marshall Plan? And why did the Information Service of the European Communities produce educational filmstrips? Thus, taking a closer look at the site of production opens up new perspectives, broadening my understanding of the way Europe is depicted in these filmstrips.

My choice to focus on the site of the image and the site of production has certain shortcomings. For instance, the way a filmstrip activates, contests or confirms ideas about Europe does not necessarily reflect how students and teachers interpreted this message at the time – an issue related to the site of the audience. Since filmstrips were displayed within the context of the school, this authoritative setting probably added to their credibility, prompting a certain reaction from teacher and student alike. Nonetheless, matters of filmstrip reception are beyond the scope of my research. Empirical research of reading strategies would be necessary, as well as gathering other circumstantial evidence: a reconstruction of the original viewing setting would of course be impossible. An oral history approach might also be fruitful, for example in the form of interviews with teachers and students who used these filmstrips at the time. Yet, such an attempt is problematic in other ways: a recollection of things past is always colored by things present and never the same as the first-hand experience of an event. Like images, words mediate our relation to the world.

Rose's description of different image sites and modalities offers a useful framework to arrange and combine different approaches to visual evidence. I will now further investigate the way a filmstrip's meaning becomes manifest at the site of the image and the site of production by means of evaluation theory, the concepts of anchorage and iconotext, and the use of different narrative modi.

*Why even one filmstrip is worth looking at: evaluation theory*
Concentrating on the site of production, evaluation theory claims that the most important aspect in understanding a text or image is what its maker intends to show. Though I believe meaning is also constructed through the compositionality of a filmstrip, evaluation theory is useful to justify the use of a small sample of sources, positioning them in a broader context.

In its most basic sense, linguistic evaluation means 'the indication whether the speaker thinks that something (a person, thing, action, event, situation, idea, etc.) is good or bad.'[188] This 'evaluation' of the speaker – or writer or maker – does not merely reflect an opinion, but is embedded in the society in which the text is produced[189], which in turn makes it difficult for the reader – or spectator – to challenge certain aspects of it, since he is part of that same society. Consequently, the voice of even one author still tells us something about the society in which a text is produced and perceived. Thus, evaluation theory makes a very strong case for the study of a small selection of texts, such as my sample of filmstrips.

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[188] Geoff Thompson cited in Keith Crawford, "The Role and Purpose of Textbooks," *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 3-2 (2003) 9.
[189] The location of the author within a system of conventions or discourses challenged eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notions of the artist or writer as 'genius' and gave rise to the idea of 'the death of the author'. This theoretical rupture was instigated in the late 1960s by French thinkers such as Lacan, Barthes and Foucault, who described individuality as an ideological construct. See Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 26; Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142-148; Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," in *Language, Counter-Memory*, *Practice*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and  Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 113-138.

*Anchorage & iconotext: do words speak louder than pictures?*

Going back to the site of the image, the notions of 'anchorage' and 'iconotext' provide me with a theoretical basis to interpret a filmstrip's interplay between image and text, between frame and caption. Though an image may acquire different meanings in different contexts, its 'polysemy' can be manipulated through written text. According to Barthes, labels or captions 'anchor' the meaning of an image, guiding the reader

> 'through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others; it remote controls him towards a meaning chosen in advance.'[190]

Likewise, Wagner argues that without text, images 'would not make sense, or rather (...) would be open to many interpretations or readings.'[191] Drawing attention to the mutual interdependency of text and image, he coins the term 'iconotext', meaning 'an artifact in which the verbal and the visual signs mingle to produce rhetoric that depends on the co-presence of words and images.'[192] Wagner's concept may be used to analyze images that display words or writing, as is the case with filmstrips, as well as texts that use images, like an illustrated history textbook. The relation between text and image may be referential, allusive, explicit or implicit.[193]

Like films, filmstrips 'are iconotexts displaying printed messages to aid or influence the viewer's interpretation of the images.'[194] The notions of anchoring and iconotext inform us that every minor detail, like the title of a filmstrip, mediates our expectations and offers some kind of interpretive cohesion to the separate frames at hand. Devices like captions, titles and labels create cross-links (that may or may not be visually enforced) between individual slides and prompt a certain reading of what is shown, filling the visual gaps between slides and securing a storyline. Barthes even goes so far as to say that captions have 'repressive value', for it is 'at this level (...) [that] the morality and ideology of a society are above all invested.'[195] In the same vein the American scholar Susan Sontag writes:

> 'Words do speak louder than pictures. Captions do tend to override the evidence of our eyes; but no caption can permanently restrict or secure a picture's meaning.'[196]

This brings us back to the worries of Elshout and Peters in chapter 2, who opposed the use of captions in filmstrips: in their eyes, the power to interpret the visual should reside in the hands of the teacher.

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[190] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 28.
[191] Peter Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), 9.
[192] Wagner, "Introduction," 16.
[193] Ibid., 15.
[194] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 159.
[195] Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 28.
[196] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 108.

*Stating the obvious: different narrative modi at work*

Finally, Norman Fairclough's linguistic approach to the intrinsic properties of discourse[197] offers a means to evaluate different narrative modi at work in filmstrip stories about 'Europe' – modi that either confirm, complicate or reject perceptions of European integration present at the time. The method proposed by Fairclough applies mainly to the social modality of the image site and explains 'how people use language to construct their accounts of the social world'.[198]

According to Fairclough, the construction of power through language happens on two levels: on the one hand, power is exercised through the application and stabilization of meaning, for example in an argumentative equation. This tactic frequently comes across in my selection of filmstrips (such as in 'America equals freedom'). On the other hand, power is exercised through the naturalization of this process, resulting in the invisibility of the argument at work.[199] The meaning of a statement becomes so firmly established, that it actually appears 'to *lose* [its] ideological character' and seems '*neutral* in struggles for power, which is tantamount to it being placed outside ideology'.[200] To analyze the extent of this naturalization, Fairclough looks at different linguistic aspects of a text to reveal its relation to hegemonic discourse. I will distinguish between 3 such narrative modi, based on experimental textbook research by Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe and Kathrin Zehr.[201] The first modus is one of 'common sense'. An assumption is presented in brief terms, 'thus evidently not considered as requiring back-up via a detailed rationale'.[202] The author presumes the reader possesses enough a priori knowledge to correctly interpret the statement and reconstruct causality. As such, the statement is a direct expression of hegemonic discourse. German philologist Katharina Baier explains:

> 'Grundsätzlich markieren [sie] den Punkt, an dem ein Diskurs zur Ideologie
> wird und auf der Höhe seiner Macht steht. Umgekehrt sind Opponenten des
> Diskurses weitgehend machtlos. Sie können sich einer Behauptung, die im
> Modus der common sense Annahmen formuliert wird, kaum wiedersetzen,
> schon allein deshalb, weil sie kaum als Behauptung erkennbar ist.'[203]

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[197] Fairclough's method is commonly known as Critical Discourse Analysis. It is based on the assumption that if practices are discursively shaped and enacted, the intrinsic properties of discourse should constitute a key element of their interpretation. Fairclough combines analyses on a micro, meso and macro level. The approach described here has to do with the first dimension, the analysis of language texts on a micro level. See also Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (London: Longman, 1989) and Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman, 1995).

[198] Fran Tonkiss, "Analysing Discourse," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Clive Seal (London: Sage, 1998), 247-48.

[199] Fairclough, *Language and Power,* 91-92.

[200] Ibid., 92.

[201] These researchers are involved in the international cooperative project on 'Teaching the Cold War – memory practices in the classroom' of the Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, Germany. They examine how Swiss, German and Swedish history textbooks interpret the Cold War, assuming they bear the marks of hegemonic discourses from different times. Using narrative modi to code their texts, they try to find out to what extent images of the Western Self and Eastern Other(s) are stabilized in these textbooks. See Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe, and Kathrin Zehr, "Schulbücher als Seismographen für diskursiven Brüche. Ein neuer Ansatz in der kulturwissenschaftlichen Schulbuchforschung dargestellt am Beispiel der Analyse von Schulbucherzählungen über den Kalten Krieg," *Eckert. Working Papers* 4 (2014).

[202] Barbara Christophe, "Uncertain Facts about an Age of Certainties. The Cold War in West German Textbooks," *Eckert Bulletin* 14 (2014): 12.

[203] Baier et. al, "Schulbücher als Seismographen," 9.

The second modus takes the form of justification, signaling that an assumption is unstable. Contrary to the common sense modus, the argument is made visible in order to convince. The argumentation is either offensive or defensive. For instance, the writer provides an understandable rationale for his claim, or refutes a counter-argument.[204] The third modus presents statements in an ambivalent way. This points to unstable or unresolved interpretations. As with common sense assumptions, the argumentation remains invisible. Often, ambivalent assumptions become apparent in passive, impersonal phrasing, 'signaling that responsibility for what is (…) described must not be explicitly assigned'.[205] In other instances, vagueness is evoked through an illogical chain of arguments or the use of unclear syntax.

In the filmstrips under review, the narrative of European integration is not constructed through language alone, but through the interplay between image and text. Still, the tracking of different narrative modi is a useful technique to uncover the strategies of persuasion applied in the captions of filmstrips, captions that play an important role in directing the interpretation of the images they frame.

**How to… analyze a filmstrip**

In this chapter, I have tried to ground my approach to filmstrips in visual and linguistic theory, addressing a variety of concepts in the hope of doing justice to this multifaceted medium. Now, I will briefly return to Elshout's analysis of filmstrips previously discussed in chapter 2. As was pointed out, his filmstrip guide for teachers offers the only available example of a systematic filmstrip analysis.[206]

In his booklet *De filmstrook*, Elshout is primarily concerned with the image site of filmstrips. His way of looking at filmstrips is a tool for teachers, helping them to discern which filmstrips are most effective in a classroom context. Elshout also wants to inspire filmstrip makers to improve the quality of their products. Obviously, the aim of my own research is completely different. I am interested in the way filmstrips tell the story of European integration, and I do not necessarily want to ascertain the 'effective quality' of the medium – though issues of quality certainly influence the power of the message a filmstrip conveys. Nevertheless, Elshout's approach provides me with a good example of a 'close reading' of filmstrips.

According to Elshout, a well-rounded examination of a filmstrip takes five different aspects into account. First, he describes the technical details of a filmstrip, such as its subject matter, the number of frames used, its image quality, and color. Since my examination of filmstrips moves beyond the site of the image, I will also add the production details of a filmstrip here, and offer contextual information about the social institutions and practices that shaped the way the filmstrip was made. As evaluation theory showed us, the intentions of the maker (and/or commissioning party) are an integral part of the societal framework in which a text or image is produced. Therefore, this aspect offers a valuable perspective on what Burke calls the 'social context' of a filmstrip.

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[204] Christophe, "Uncertain Facts," 13.
[205] Ibid., 14.
[206] Though both Eelco Kramer and Marja Roholl published articles about the way educational filmstrips display respectively colonial Papua and the Marshall Plan, they do not make their method of analysis explicit. See Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 49-58; Kramer, "Papoea's in beeld," 22-25.

Second, Elshout uncovers the narrative structure of the filmstrip, dividing it into different components, which he calls 'periods', 'units' and 'elements'.[207] This model is a helpful tool to uncover the logic behind the filmstrip, for the meaning of a filmstrip becomes apparent in its image sequence (see also chapter 2). Elshout's organizational format enables me to 'read' a filmstrip like a book or a story, instead of a loose series of images. In this, his approach echoes that of structuralists like Roland Barthes. The metaphor of 'reading' also explains why Elshout's third step is to take a closer look at the opening and ending of a filmstrip: the beginning and the end are key to any well-written story. Hence, Elshout states that the first and last slide should display at least some affective content for the message to be convincing.[208] The fourth step draws Elshout further into the filmstrip story, as he takes a closer look at the individual images that constitute a filmstrip's argumentation. Here, Elshout adheres to Burke's emphasis on attention to detail. Finally, he explores the abstract and visual references within the filmstrip to describe how its coherence is created. Here, I will look at textual references as well, for in my selection of filmstrips text has an 'anchoring' function. However, it is obvious Elshout does not include this aspect in his examination, following his aversion to captions.

Set against the theoretical background described in this chapter, Elshout's approach offers a good starting point to explore the image site of the filmstrip. Therefore, I have roughly followed the steps spelled out by Elshout in my research, as will become clear in the following chapters.

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[207] Elshout, *De filmstrook*, 24.
[208] Ibid., 14.

# IV Winning minds and hearts: Marshall filmstrips

*'Confront the Moscow party line with the American assembly line.'*
*Paul Hoffman, ECA administrator*

Of the six filmstrips under review, four are part of the so-called 'Marshall series': a set of filmstrips commissioned by the Economic Cooperation Agency (ECA) and its 1952 successor, the Mutual Security Agency (MSA). Both agencies were established by the American government to administer the Marshall Plan. The Dutch company Fibo-Beeldonderwijs produced and distributed the Marshall strips but did not interfere with their content:

> 'The (…) strips were not compiled by Fibo-Beeldonderwijs but were
> manufactured by us on behalf of various agencies, which allowed the
> possibility to sell the strips.'[209]

It is not surprising Marshall planners compiled educational material about European integration as part of their propaganda campaign. As we have seen in chapter 1, after the Second World War European unity was very much an American project. Even more so, it was one of the main conditions of the European Recovery Project (ERP) – the official name of the Marshall Plan. Besides, ERP officials were saddled with the task of winning the 'minds and hearts' of Europeans.[210] Where better to begin than the schools, the cradle of a brand new generation?

In this chapter, I will analyze the filmstrips *Verenigd Europa I*, *Verenigd Europa II*, *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen- en Staal-Gemeenschap*, and *K.S.G.* First, I will offer some background information on the production site of the Marshall filmstrips. Why were these filmstrips issued? And why was the propagation of European unity such an important part of the Marshall Plan? Since *Verenigd Europa I* and *Verenigd Europa II* are a co-production of the MSA and the European Movement, I will also look at the cross-links between the euro-federalists and their American sponsors. The second part of the chapter moves from the site of production to the site of the image and takes a closer look at the filmstrips themselves. The chapter concludes with a brief summary, in which all four filmstrips are taken into account.

**An American release**

From 1950 to 1953, the ECA and MSA commissioned 32 different Marshall filmstrips and distributed them for free to pre-selected schools and organizations, such as primary and advanced primary schools (called ULO)[211], Sunday schools, scouting clubs and other youth associations.[212] The filmstrips

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[209] *Filmstroken voor School, Huis en Vereniging*, 27.
[210] ECA Administrator Paul Hoffmann cited in Bernadette Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda in Italy and Ireland, 1947-1951," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 23-4 (2003): 322.
[211] ULO stands for Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs and refers to a level of education comparable with the junior high school level in the United States. The ULO had been created in 1920 and was in fact a continuation of the so-called MULO (Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs). At the time, the ULO was considered a part of Dutch primary education: often, both school types resided in the same building, under the same headmaster. Nowadays, the ULO level would be equal to the Dutch school track VMBO (Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs).
[212] With regard to this issue, Fibo director Jaap van den Nieuwendijk writes the following in a letter to the liberal ('vrijzinnig') Christian youth club 'Vrije Vogels': 'Following your request for free Marshall Plan filmstrips, we inform you that the filmstrips issued between September 1950 to July 1953 can no longer be provided to

were also available at request.[213] From 1954 onwards, Fibo had permission to add the filmstrips to its own collection and sell them to interested parties for the price of *ƒ* 4,50.[214] In the meantime, the United States Information Service (USIS) released a series of educational filmstrips as well, in addition to the ECA and MSA series.[215] In all, the total number of available Marshall filmstrips came to 61 – at the least.[216] Though the strips frequently appeared in Dutch school catalogs and inventories of the 1950s and 60s, it is difficult to ascertain their impact.[217] The omnipresence of Marshall material may be credited to its free availability and does not automatically mean it was avidly used or even wanted by the schools themselves. However, the fact that Fibo decided to add the strips to its own collection may imply they were definitely valued.

The Marshall filmstrips were specifically aimed at Dutch children between 8 and 15 years old[218] and covered a wide array of topics. In an exploratory study, Dutch scholar Marja Roholl states the strips 'strongly' called upon Dutch schoolchildren to 'play their part' in the reconstruction of 'a new Europe after American example'.[219] Though few filmstrips directly discuss European integration, the issue hovers in the background of every story. For example, filmstrip titles often allude to the benefits of American support in a European, not a national, framework.[220] Furthermore, all filmstrips contain some sort of reference to European unity, regardless of their topic. Thus, the ECA filmstrip *Visserij in Europa* presents the fish industry as an economic endeavor that brings the continent together. It contains phrases like: 'Het bedrijf wordt uitgevoerd door Engelsen, Belgen, Nederlanders, Duitsers en Denen'[221] and '[De] Europese volkeren (…) gaan ter walvisvangst'.[222] In the same filmstrip, words like 'modern' or 'modernization' always appear in relation to America or American support.[223] The frequent recurrence of such word pairs is a powerful tool to establish meaning (see Fairclough's theory in chapter 3). In this case, America becomes synonymous to technical progress.

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new applicants.' See HDC, coll. nr. 966, "Vrijzinnig christelijk jeugdhuis van de VCJC Arnhem," letter Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, December 21, 1953.

[213] In another letter to the same youth club, Van den Nieuwendijk writes: 'We have now incorporated your organization in our index card system and each newly published free filmstrip, for which your organization is eligible, will be sent to you forthwith.' See HDC, coll. nr. 966, "Vrijzinnig christelijk jeugdhuis," letter Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, Novermber 15, 1954.

[214] Ibid.

[215] See Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 50.

[216] The archive of the Onderwijsmuseum contains 61 different Marshall strips. However, the archive may not be complete.

[217] Of the USIS filmstrips, 3,000 copies were produced for distribution. Unfortunately, exact data about the circulation of the ECA and MSA filmstrips are not available. See Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 53.

[218] Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 50.

[219] Ibid.

[220] There are two filmstrips called *Marshall-Hulp aan Europa*, which respectively discuss the ERP in Western Europe and in the Mediterranean. A title like *Visserij in Europa. Een broodwinning voor velen* also implicates a European perspective on Reconstruction.

[221] *Visserij in Europa. Een broodwinning voor velen* (Driebergen: Foto en Film Nieuwendijk, ca. 1950), Marshall filmstrip nr. 5, 24x36 mm slides, 36 frames, comp. P. Rijpma, commissioned by ECA, 10.

[222] *Visserij in Europa*, 16. The filmstrip ends with a picture of a young boy who carries a gigantic sponge. The caption reads: 'Zo'n enorme spons is een zeldzaamheid! Kon men daarmee maar Europa's zorgen voor voedsel, kleding en wederopbouw wegwissen!'

[223] The filmstrip contains 3 references to American (or Marshall) help. All three references contain the word 'modern'. See *Visserij in Europa*, 7, 26, 34.

*Peacetime propaganda: a Trojan horse?*

The Marshall filmstrips were but a tiny part of a large-scale publicity campaign the US unfurled in all ERP countries. David Ellwood labels this undertaking 'the largest peacetime propaganda effort directed by one country to a group of others ever seen'.[224] Propaganda (or 'information' as it was euphemistically called[225]) was intrinsic to the ERP: each country that received Marshall help signed a clause for the dissemination of information. The bilateral agreement between the Netherlands and the United States stated that

> 'wide dissemination of information is desirable in order to develop
> understanding for our joint effort and mutual assistance, which is essential
> to achieving the objectives of the program.'[226]

The vague phrasing of the information clause soon turned out to be a Trojan horse: few countries had anticipated the full-blown scale of US propaganda.[227] The Dutch Press Service of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, which cooperated with the Dutch ECA mission to streamline the ERP campaign, even feared the public would be 'overfed' by the American 'publicity bombardment'.[228] This fear was not unfounded: a 1949 ECA poll revealed that though most Dutch respondents were familiar with the Marshall aims, they were also concerned that the US was sending 'money and goods to dominate us and to influence (…) Dutch business and politics.'[229]

The dissemination of ERP publicity was coordinated by the ECA Information Division in Paris. This powerful and professionally-run organization had 'an almost unlimited supply of "counterpart" funds'[230] at its disposal and secured 'an outpouring of press releases, publications, posters, photos, radio programs, newsreel stories, documentary films, and exhibits'[231]. Set up to inform the public through its 18 country missions, its output was governed by the following objectives:

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[224] David Ellwood cited in Ralph Dingemans and Rian Romme, ed., *Nederland en het Marshall-plan. Een bronnenoverzicht en filmografie, 1947-1953* (The Hague: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1997), 23. See also David Ellwood, "The Message of the Marshall Plan" in *The Marshall Plan forty years after: lessons for the international system today*, ed. David Ellwood (Bologna: The Bologna Center of John Hopkins University, 1989). According to Dingemans and Romme, Ellwood puts too much emphasis on the American side of the ERP campaign, thus overlooking how governments of ERP countries often actively participated in propagating the Marshall Plan themselves. In case of the Netherlands, the public information office of the Dutch government ('Regeringsvoorlichtings-dienst') played an important role.

[225] See Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda," 312.

[226] Dingemans and Romme, *Nederland en het Marshall-plan*, 23. For the full text of the bilateral agreement, see *Herwonnen Welvaart: De betekenis van het Marshallplan voor Nederland en de Europese Samenwerking* (The Hague: Ministerie voor Buitenlandse Zaken, 1954), 205.

[227] David Ellwood, "'You Too Can Be Like Us'. Selling the Marshall Plan," *History Today* (October 1998): 33.

[228] Van der Hoeven, *Hoed af voor Marshall*, 113.

[229] Ibid., 114. The conclusion of the confidential research report read that it was most important to convince 'the Dutch people (…) of the *fair* intentions of the Marshall Plan. The Dutch people must be freed from the fear that there might be secret clauses and that there might exist undisclosed obligations to the US.' At the time, the results of the ECA poll were not made public.

[230] Albert Hemsing, "The Marshall Plan's European Film Unit, 1948-1955: a memoir and filmography," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 14-3 (1994): 270. To bridge the dollar gap, 'counterpart funds' were the local currency ERP countries paid in exchange for an equal amount of ERP goods. This money was kept in a special fund and was used to finance ECA-approved reconstruction projects in each country. Five percent of the counterpart funds were paid to ECA, to cover 'administrative' costs, which for instance included the making of Marshall films. Hemsing writes that 'no one foresaw what this levy would grow to, as American aid mounted.'

[231] Hemsing, "The Marshall Plan's European Film Unit," 269.

1. To give Europeans the facts and figures on Marshall aid
2. To stimulate productivity
3. To promote the idea of a European community[232]

Thus, all information methods and ECA messages 'stressed how ERP goods and supplies to (…) ERP countries would permit increased output, lead to maximum employment, improve the standard of living and deepen European co-operation'.[233]

The information campaign of the ERP had a two-fold aim. On the one hand, the ECA had to convince US Congress of the value of the Marshall Plan to secure its funding. On the other hand, the population of the ERP countries had to be informed about the aims of the program. Only then, Marshall help would be successful – or at least, that is what ERP policy makers believed. To them, it was not just the amount of dollars that counted. The adoption of American values, such as economic growth, modernization and prosperity, was just as important: it proved the best 'recipe' to conquer communism, foster democracy and achieve greatness.[234] To put it bluntly: the ERP had to 'confront the Moscow party line with the American assembly line'[235], as former car salesman and ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman explained.

*'You too can be like us'*
From its beginning, Marshall aid was used as political leverage to enforce European integration. European countries interested in Marshall help had to formulate an aid proposal *together*, 'no shopping lists' allowed.[236] From 1950 onwards, the amount of Marshall dollars not only depended on a country's economic position, but also on its efforts to push for European unity.[237] Why were the Americans so interested in the European project? As we have seen in chapter 1, a united Europe was not only of economical advantage to the US, but also served as an ideological battleground. Americanization should propel Europe in the direction of mass-production and mass-consumption to prevent communism from taking ground. It involved a 'wide-ranging effort to modernize Europe's industries, markets, unions and economic control mechanisms' in the American image.[238] In her excellent study of Marshall aid in the Netherlands, Pien van der Hoeven remarks: 'According to the Americans, free trade was the panacea that guaranteed both welfare and democracy.'[239] Marshall propaganda reflected this in the 'crudeness of its insistence on the American way as the solution to every problem', as David Ellwood writes.[240] With the Great Depression fresh in mind, selfish protectionism and stubborn nationalism were deemed a huge hindrance to the recovery of the European economy, threatening international trade and the monetary system of Bretton Woods. 'Europe must federate or perish' went the American saying.[241] Besides, cooperation would offer a solution to the 'German question' and fill the moral and ideological vacuum left by the war.[242] A

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[232] Hemsing, "The Marshall Plan's European Film Unit," 270.
[233] Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda," 314.
[234] Ibid., 312.
[235] Paul Hoffman cited in Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda," 312.
[236] Van der Hoeven, *Hoed af voor Marshall*, 53.
[237] Ibid., 82.
[238] Ellwood, "'You Too Can Be Like Us,'" 33.
[239] Van der Hoeven, *Hoed af voor Marshall*, 21.
[240] Ellwood, "'You Too Can Be Like Us,'" 39.
[241] Van der Hoeven, *Hoed af voor Marshall*, 67.
[242] Ibid., 29.

'United States of Europe' was needed, as Churchill had so triumphantly shouted in a radio broadcast.[243] Little did he know this 'United States' had to coincide neatly with the American perception of federalism as 'an ideal political model' for Europe's future.[244]

According to British historian Bernadette Whelan, the guiding principle of the Marshall Plan was 'to re-make the old world in the likeness of the new'.[245] This pursuit came to the fore in the ERP slogan 'You too can be like us',[246] which was elaborated upon in the Marshall filmstrips in many ways. At the same time, the kinship between both continents was a recurring theme as well. Hence, a filmstrip labeled *Kinderen in de Verenigde Staten* ends with the remark that 'de kinderen van het jonge Amerika zijn als de kinderen van het oude Europa.'[247] Another case in point is the filmstrip *Handen ineen*, which rewrites Euro-American history in order to promote Atlantic cooperation. The filmstrip is a striking example of the way USIS tried to shape the perception and attitude of European children towards America.[248] Starting with the travels of Columbus, it tells the tale of the discovery of the riches of the New World, which added up to 'goud, geluk, avontuur en vrijheid van godsdienst'.[249] European explorers had the best intentions (fig. 5): 'Men kocht grond van de Indianen en knoopte onderhandelingen met hen aan'.[250] Meanwhile, America, 'dat wist wat het wilde',[251] was particularly generous on the receiving end: 'Alles wat Europa ontvluchten wilde, nam Amerika op.'[252] When the story is halfway, the American struggle for independence is framed as a sensible request that the British government granted without hesitation.[253] Then, the filmstrip goes on to explain how technical progress fuelled the exchange of peoples, goods, and ideas between Europe and the US. Here, cultural exchange requires some justification: apparently, the classification of American art as

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[243] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 191. Aldrich writes that Churchill was 'personally more enthusiastic about Franco-German reconciliation than European unity' but had nevertheless been 'the central figure' at the 1948 Congress of The Hague, calling for 'a European parliament with effective powers over political union.' In America, Churchill was the best known 'evangelist' of European unity. His personal contacts and networking proved vital to the mobilization of US government funds for the financial rescue of the penniless European Movement. However, returning to power in 1951, Churchill increasingly opposed federalist ideas.

[244] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 186.

[245] Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda," 311. See also Van der Hoeven, *Hoed af voor Marshall*, 67. Van der Hoeven writes that many Americans with ties to the continent had 'a missionary desire to let the Old World join in the blessings of the American system.'

[246] Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda," 311.

[247] *Kinderen van de Verenigde Staten* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1953-54), Marshall filmstrip nr. 38, 24x36 mm slides, amount of frames unknown, comp. Alph. Timmermans, commissioned by USIS, 35. The filmstrip also contains interesting references to the American issue of race. Occasionally, a black child is displayed (slide 6, 10), always amidst a group of white children. Also, a Chinese boy of immigrant parentage is presented as studious example (slide 13), confirming the stereotype that all Asians are diligent and quiet. Especially curious is the photograph of a group of children washing hands (slide 10). The caption reads: 'De zwarte handjes van de blanken worden weer helemaal blank. Maar de zwarte handen van de zwartjes blijven zwart.'

[248] Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 52-53.

[249] *Handen ineen* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1953-54), Marshall filmstrip nr. 46, 24x36 mm slides, 36 frames, comp. by Alph. Timmermans, commissioned by USIS, 11.

[250] *Handen ineen*, 13. This is the only time the filmstrip mentions Native Americans. Issues of colonization and slavery are not referred to.

[251] Ibid., 17.

[252] Ibid., 15.

[253] Ibid., 17.

valuable and worthwhile needs a firm defense.[254] The filmstrip ends with a call for mutual understanding and cooperation (fig. 6):

'Daarom handen ineen voor intensief contact! Want we hebben elkaar nodig op elk gebied. We worden rijker door samenwerking!'[255]


13. Men kocht grond van de Indianen en knoopte onderhandelingen met hen aan. *Fig. 5*


35. Daarom handen ineen voor een intensief contact. Want we hebben elkaar nodig, op elk gebied. We worden rijker door samenwerking! *Fig. 6*

*Mutual security*

The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 took the ERP campaign into a different direction, highlighting military rather than economic objectives. In 1952, the ECA was succeeded by the MSA. The original Marshall slogan 'You too can be like us' changed to 'Prosperity makes you free'.[256] Though productivity and European unity remained important issues, the American message was now crafted around 'mutual security': American aid gave Europeans 'a fighting chance' and made 'Europe strong enough to discourage any aggression.'[257] To fortify Europe's military power, cooperation was of vital importance, for separately 'the nations of Free Europe *are* weak, *are* dangerously exposed'.[258] Also, for Europe to remain 'unassailable', it was crucial to keep producing 'more food, more machines, more of nearly everything'.[259]

In Marshall filmstrips like *Wij, mieren* and *Struthio de Struisvogel* (fig. 7) the militarist approach of the MSA clearly comes to the fore.[260] Not so much informative as affective in content, these strips warn children against 'het kwade'[261] and urge them to be vigilant. Both strips are engaging cartoon stories that carry captions like: 'Het is verkeerd de gevaren, die ons bedreigen, niet te "willen" zien.'[262] And: 'Om het goede te behouden, moeten wij een open oog houden voor het kwade, want dàn alleen kunnen wij het kwade bestrijden en weren.'[263]

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[254] *Handen ineen*, 31-34.
[255] Ibid., 35.
[256] Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda," 319.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid., 25. The citations are extracted from the official objectives formulated by the Paris Information Division in August 1950, responding to the outbreak of the Korean War which 'intensified the psychological and ideological need to defeat communism'.
[260] See also Roholl, "Het Marshall-plan in een schoenendoos," 56-57.
[261] *Struthio de struisvogel* (Driebergen: Filmstudio Nieuwendijk, ca. 1952-53), Marshall filmstrip nr. 28, 24x36 mm slides, 31 frames, commissioned by MSA, 30.
[262] *Struthio de struisvogel*, 29.
[263] Ibid., 30.

*Fig. 7 Title slide of* Struthio de Struisvogel

The changing tone of American propaganda led to many a suspicious eye. The war in Korea – 'a faraway country of which no-one knew anything'[264] – the rearmament of West Germany and the overt American campaigning for a European Defense Community (EDC) gave rise to the fear that Europe would become a pawn in the military scheme of the US.[265] Even the US government itself thought it had overplayed its hand: it feared its activities were perceived as 'undue US intervention' and had provoked 'more public antagonism than support'.[266] As a result, America relied more and more on covert actions and secret funding of groups through which it could solidify its influence in Europe, the pro-federalist European Movement proving a good example.[267] In light of this information, it is not surprising two of the three Marshall filmstrips about European unity were commissioned by both the MSA and the Dutch branch of the European Movement.

How did the ECA and MSA objectives pan out in the Marshall filmstrips about European unity? Did the concept of America as 'idea nation' find its way into the stories? And what did Europe look like through American eyes? To answer these questions, we have to take a closer look at the three filmstrips themselves.

**A joint effort: the MSA and the European Movement**

In contrast to the other Marshall filmstrips, *Verenigd Europa I* and *Verenigd Europa II* were a joint effort of both the MSA and the European Movement. An umbrella organization that brought together different pro-unity groups, the main objective of the European Movement was to 'generate a popular groundswell of support for federalism through the initiation of major propaganda campaigns in all countries'.[268] The idea that mass propaganda was *the* effective instrument to foster European unity corresponded with American perceptions of ideological warfare and had everything to do with US worries about 'the success of Eastern bloc propaganda efforts'.[269] To counter Soviet propaganda, the CIA secretly supported the European Movement, channeling money through a liaison organization called the American Committee on United Europe (ACUE).[270] Later, the ECA and MSA also offered 'discreet assistance'.[271] The European Movement was of interest to the US because

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[264] Ellwood, "The Propaganda of the Marshall Plan in Italy," 233.

[265] See Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 110-113.

[266] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 208. With regard to Marshall propaganda, David Elwood writes 'the militarization of all the effort, coming together with the prospect of general rearmament, cost the promoters of productivity and prosperity as the solution to all ills very dearly'. See Ellwood, "'You Too Can Be Like Us,'" 37.

[267] See Richard J. Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," for a detailed account of the role of the CIA in propagating European cooperation. This was mainly done through liaison organizations such as the 'American' and 'Free' committees. Being set up during the early post-war years, these committees secretly channeled millions of dollars to 'genuinely independent vehicles', like the European Movement, that 'seemed complementary to American policy' and were being sponsored to 'speed them up'.

[268] See Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 198.

[269] Ibid., 206.

[270] Ibid., 184-185. In 1949, the CIA saved the European Movement from bankruptcy. The money transfers through the ACUE were not made public because presumably, communist propaganda would exploit this 'as proof that [the Euro-federalists] were puppets of the American imperialists'. Also, the leadership of the European Movement feared it would be accused of US interference by its own members. See also page 194.

[271] Ibid., 194.

it could speak with an 'authentic Europe voice'[272], had 'influence potential', favored rapid rather than gradual integration, avidly promoted federalism, and wanted to turn the Council of Europe into a parliament with effective powers. This fitted neatly into the American perception of a united Europe (see chapter 1). According to Richard J. Aldrich, covert US funding made up approximately one half to two thirds of the budget of the European Movement and ran into millions of dollars.[273] Most funds were directed to activities aimed at the European youth.

The black-and-white filmstrips *Verenigd Europa I* and *Verenigd Europa II* contain respectively 31 and 34 slides, opening and end slides included. They both end with a slide that displays the flag of the European Movement, the emblem of the MSA reading 'voor een hechte vrije wereld', and the Fibo logo. The date of the filmstrips is unknown, though references to certain events imply the strips were made in the mid-1950s. For example, the first filmstrip mentions the flood of 1953. Since an air photograph of Amsterdam[274] does not include the National Monument on Dam Square, the filmstrip was issued before 1956, the year the Monument was built. This is confirmed by the second filmstrip, *Verenigd Europa II*, which presents the European Defense Community (EDC) as a promising work in progress.[275] Hence it is likely this filmstrip was issued before August 1954, when the French National Assembly rejected the establishment of the EDC.

The title slides (fig. 8a & 8b) of both filmstrips are identical, showing an illustration of a globe, with Europe at its center. A close-up of Europe is presented in a beam of light. The close-up contains both Western and Eastern European countries. Great Britain is also included, though it was not part of the economic and political union until 1973. The eastern border runs from Poland all the way down to Albania and Greece. Rumania and Bulgaria seem to be incorporated, the Baltic States are not. Visually, attention is drawn to the western part of Europe. For example, the beam of light is positioned at the left side of the continent. Also, this side of the illustration is slightly out of proportion and more detailed: the Netherlands are clearly discernible and a tad too big in relation to other, Eastern European countries on the map. This impression is intensified by the location of the flag of the European Movement, whose pole is planted in the 'heart' of Europe: somewhere between France and Germany. Its 'E' is almost as big as the continent itself and flutters proudly over the dark unknown: the USSR.


Fig. 8a


Fig. 8b

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[272] Aldrich, "The Struggle for the Mind of European Youth," 192.
[273] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 185.
[274] *Verenigd Europa I* (Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1953-56), Marshall filmstrip nr. 29, 24x36 mm slides, 31 frames, commissioned by MSA and Europese Beweging, 3.
[275] *Verenigd Europa II* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1952-54), Marshall filmstrip nr. 30, 24x36 mm slides, 34 frames, commissioned by MSA and Europese Beweging, 17, 18, 22.

What follows is a series of illustrations, cartoons, maps, and photographs, framed within a story about inevitable historical progress towards European unity, the hindrance of borders, and the necessity of collaboration as a condition for welfare and enduring peace. Each filmstrip takes a slightly different angle, though the main argument remains the same: 'Eendracht maakt macht, tweedracht breekt kracht'.[276]

For the sake of structure, I will first discuss in more detail the filmstrip *Verenigd Europa I*, followed by the filmstrip *Verenigd Europa II*.

**Europe: a national awakening**

In *Verenigd Europa I*, the makers prop their story about Europe with examples drawn from national history, though international events such as the crusades or Napoleon's march on Russia make a brief appearance. The birth of the Dutch nation is set as an example for the awakening of European solidarity. Comparisons are used abundantly: between past and present, primitive and cultivated, the Netherlands and Europe. The story is a defensive one, larded with passages about 'unnecessary' strife and collaboration gone wrong. The filmstrip presents European integration as the solution to an economic problem: every conflict, including the Second World War, is exclusively explained from an economic perspective. It is a question of who owns the goods, of stashing and sharing. Open borders and a free market will decrease the tension between states, secure peace, and bring happiness to all – for surely, welfare *is* happiness and beyond Europe, the age of reason has not yet dawned. European unification: it is the capitalist gospel of the free world.



Fig. 9 Prehistoric Europe: a village of cabins on stilts

Based on Elshout's evaluation of filmstrips (see chapter 3), it is possible to divide *Verenigd Europa I* into the following periods (or chapters): first, the filmstrip describes the development of modern civilization (1). Then, it goes on to explain how the Netherlands became one nation (2), followed by a period about the need for European unity (3). Finally, the strip concludes with a practical example of the benefits of European cooperation (4) that appeals to the emotions of the viewer. Thus, *Verenigd Europa I* consists of 4 periods that, taken together, tell the story of the *necessity* of European integration: the filmstrip is not about the 'what' or the 'how' of Europe, but about the 'why'. The following section takes a closer look at the way this story is composed.

*How far we have come*
The first period of the filmstrip comprises slides 2 to 9. It explains the advance of modern civilization by way of the development of human dwellings. Thus, the filmstrip compares the dolmens of Drenthe to present Amsterdam, and current New Guinea villages to prehistoric European towns. A drawing of a group of cabins on stilts (fig. 9) explains how far we, Europeans, have come. The caption reads:

> 'Maar een paar duizend jaar geleden was het in Europa al niet veel beter.
> Resten van dergelijke paalwoningen zijn gevonden in Zwitserland, Duitsland,

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[276] *Verenigd Europa II*, 31.

enz. Zelfs tot bij Maastricht! Natuurlijk waren deze paalwoningen heel wat rommeliger dan we op deze reconstructie zien.'[277]

Fortunately, progress has been made – in Europe at least. This comes to the fore in the usage of words like 'beter' and 'groter'[278] and phrases like 'wat een verschil'[279] and 'een hele stap vooruit'.[280] Yet, security remained a problem: fortified towns are shown to stress the constant risk of war in medieval times.[281]

Slides 10 to 16 explain this lack of security, taking a national perspective: the Netherlands was not a country yet! At this point, the second period begins and a new argument is introduced: cooperation is not only a prerequisite for peace, but also the road to welfare. The filmstrip presents the protectionism of Count Dirk III of Holland as a bad example: his lucrative tariff business was a hindrance to free trade. The writers seem to suggest that nowadays, no man in his sound mind would go about his business like that. However: 'Men begreep toen nog niet, dat door samenwerking welvaart voor ALLEN kan worden verkregen.'[282] Here, the story makes an interesting outing: instead of the previous negative examples from national history, it introduces a European-wide phenomenon: the crusades. It is argued that though the Middle Ages were marked by division and strife, the crusades offered a unifying experience:

> 'Alleen het Christendom wist, óver de grenzen heen, een zekere eenheid te scheppen. De Kruistochten waren dan ook niet een strijd van het ene land tegen het andere, doch van Christenen tegen Mohammedanen.'[283]

The next transboundary event is Napoleon's conquest of Europe. While the violence of the crusades is not questioned, Napoleon's campaign to force European unity 'door geweld en overheersing' is deemed foolish: 'Natuurlijk liep dat op niets uit' reads the caption of a defeated-looking Napoleon, stuck with his troops in a snowy, desolate landscape.[284] The contrasting validation of the two events is further emphasized by the direction of movement the images suggest: the war ships of the holy knights sail from left to right, which corresponds to our reading direction (fig. 10). Napoleon and his troops however, walk from right to left, which subconsciously evokes sentiments of reversal and retreat (fig. 11).
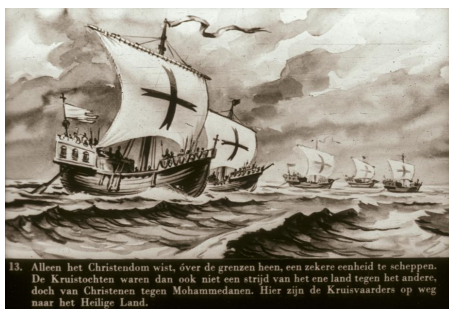


*Fig. 10*



*Fig. 11*

[277] *Verenigd Europa I*, 5.
[278] Ibid., 6.
[279] Ibid., 3.
[280] Ibid., 6.
[281] Ibid., 7-9.
[282] Ibid., 12.
[283] Ibid., 13.
[284] Ibid., 15.

The second period ends with the birth of the Netherlands: King William I presides over the nation, embodying 'werkelijk[e] nationale eenheid'. The makers stress that unification is a long process that takes hard work: '20 eeuwen heeft het geduurd voor het zover was.' It is also a natural turn of events, the irrevocable course of our history: '[Z]oals het bij ons ging, ging het bij ongeveer alle landen in Europa.'[285]



*Fig. 12 The map of Europe: a children's drawing?*

After this nationalistic interlude, slides 17 to 22 further elaborate on the necessity of European unification. Hence, the third period starts with a map of Europe. The map displays the shifting of inner borders, leaving a chaotic impression of tangled lines (fig. 12). The 'foolishness' of the whole situation is emphasized by the following statement: 'Heeft hier een kinderhand krasjes over de kaart van Europa gemaakt?'[286]

The next slide shows a picture of three landmarks, indicating the Dutch, Belgian and German border by Vaals (fig. 13). The sober image has an almost cemetery feel to it. The caption speaks of 'een zeer kunstmatige afbaking'.[287] Indeed, instead of a river, ravine or mountain range separating two regions, the makers chose to show three artificial markers. This adds to the argument that borders are unnatural *and therefore* unnecessary: 'Van verschil aan de ene of andere zijde is natuurlijk geen sprake.' [288] The absence of any people in the photograph further enhances this artificialness. Is it not time to lay our – imagined – differences to rest?

Subsequently, the filmstrip shows how closed borders have a negative effect on the economy. A very informative photograph (fig. 14) presents the consequences at a glance: a roadblock, a sign with the text 'Douane / Zoll', a currency exchange office, a stationary car with a rolled down window, a customs officer beside it. Note that the signs put the Dutch language first: this is probably a picture of a Dutch border crossing. The whole scene breathes an uncomfortable stillness. The idea of backwardness seems slightly emphasized by the car in the background, seen from behind. If we keep going like this, things *will* be on their return.

Though borders are 'een rem voor Europa's welvaart' and hinder the 'gezonde ontwikkeling van handel en verkeer'[289], a more turbulent effect becomes apparent in slide 20: war!
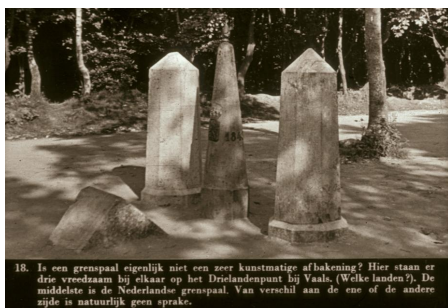
 *Fig. 13*     *Fig. 14*

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[285] *Verenigd Europa I*, 16.
[286] Ibid., 17.
[287] Ibid., 18.
[288] Ibid.', 18.
[289] Ibid.', 19.

*The greedy selfishness of nations*

A map dotted with little soldiers (fig. 15) presents the greedy selfishness of the European nations: when 'bordered in', disaster is inevitable. The result? The ruins of Rotterdam (fig. 16) epitomize the implosion of a continent. Note that the war is explained purely from a European, economic perspective. World War II is the ultimate anticlimax: a catastrophe born out of the nationalist strife for one's own turf. Nazism, fascism and German guilt – it is not part of the story. Of *this* story, anyway.


Fig. 15


Fig. 16

What good can come of this? 'In de moderne oorlog telt men alléén maar verliezers.'[290] Hence, the filmstrip shows no images of victorious liberation parades, triumphant soldiers or successful reconstruction efforts, but a charcoal painting of a man and a woman amidst the ruins of their home (fig. 17). The woman carries a sack with her belongings, clamping some pots and pans under her arm. Is she fleeing? Or is she on her way to help someone else? Thus, in contrast to the other slides of this section about European unification, this last image makes a very emotional appeal to its audience.

*International solidarity*

The filmstrip concludes with the promise of solidarity that brings European cooperation close to
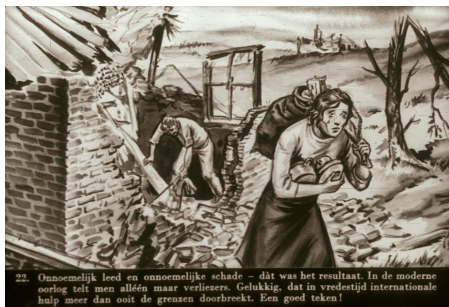

Fig. 17 Modern war only knows defeat.

home again: slides 23 to 29 show the international response to the flood of 1953. The period starts with an informative slide: a map displays the flooded areas, as well as the amount of lethal victims. This factual content is followed by a chain of mid-action photographs and impressive close-ups: American amphibious tanks, French military engineers, British helicopters, Italian firemen and the Austrian Red Cross all underline the statement that 'internationale hulp meer dan ooit grenzen doorbreekt.'[291]

The story ends close to home, with Queen Juliana and her husband filling the last slide, bestowing the filmstrip with some royal credibility. The overarching theme of the filmstrip becomes manifest in the urgent rhetoric of the last words, written in capital letters:

> 'HULP BIJ TAKEN, DIE EEN LAND ZELF NIET AAN KAN, - ZOU DAT OOK NIET MOGELIJK ZIJN, WANNEER GÉÉN RAMP DE MENS TREFT? ALS HET OM DE WELVAART VAN EUROPA GAAT?'[292]

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[290] *Verenigd Europa I*, 22.
[291] Ibid., 22.
[292] Ibid., 29.

**Europe as civilization**

Though likely occupied with the idea of inevitable integration, *Verenigd Europa II* takes a somewhat different approach than the previous filmstrip. It does not dwell on national history, but takes a wider perspective, presenting Europe as a civilization comparable to Ancient Egypt and Greece. The content of the filmstrip is also more diverse: it raises not only economic, but also cultural, political, and military arguments for European integration and explains how this integration takes form institutionally. Thus, while *Verenigd Europa I* is very much a plea for European unity, explaining the 'naturalness' of such a development, *Verenigd Europa II* is more explicit about the shape and form this Europe should take.

In both the first and second filmstrip, comparisons are at the heart of the story. This time, the United States appear as alluring archetype. Yet between the lines, Europe is presented as a power in its own right, *provided* that the nations of Europe work together. Metaphors also play a role. For example, the allegory of the European nations building a raft together figures frequently and evokes the impression that integration is a 'life saver' – in a sea of troubles. Another argumentative vehicle is the problem-solution dichotomy. In *Verenigd Europa II*, most cartoons are structured this way: the black-and-white approach allows them to explain the causes and effects of the Benelux, the nascent European Defense Community (EDC) and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in relatively easy terms.

Like *Verenigd Europa I*, this filmstrip can also be divided in 4 periods. Within these periods, the story is less straightforward. The arguments are also more complicated and drawn out. Probably, *Verenigd Europa II* was intended for a more mature audience, like the students of the ULO instead of primary schoolchildren. The filmstrip starts with a period about the demise of Europe (1). It then presents the US as an enlightening example (2). The third period contains 15 slides and meanders along different European institutions, such as the Council of Europe, the EDC and ECSC (3). The last period emphasizes the popular support for a 'United States of Europe' and looks ahead towards a glorious, European future (4).



*Fig. 18 Disaster tourism?*

*A continent in ruins*
The filmstrip opens with touristy photographs of the Parthenon in Greece and the Great Sphinx in Egypt, reminiscent of the faded glory of the Ancient world: 'Van de vroegere welvaart, rijkdom en macht is niets meer over.'[293]

The photographs form a prelude to the third slide, which shows a cartoon of post-war Europe (fig. 18). A group of sightseers leaves a tour bus, exploring the ruins of our civilization. Apparently, Europe is on its way to become a 'bezienswaardigheid' like Greece and Egypt, an attraction for tourists mesmerizing over its prominent past.[294] The whole situation reverberates Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918). However, there is a way out of this depressive cycle: death can be cheated! Hence, the whole filmstrip centers around the rather Trump-like question: 'How to make Europe great again?' The answer is twofold: first, look to the leading example of America. And

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[293] *Verenigd Europa II*, 3.
[294] Ibid., 4.

second, strive towards a united Europe, 'want ieder mens ziet wel in, dat je SAMEN méér bereiken kunt dan op je eentje.'[295]

*From citizen to customer*
The next period contains slides 5 to 9 and explains why and how the welfare economy of the US should be copied to the European market. A photograph of a factory car park illustrates the affluence of the average American; a bicycle shed the backwardness of the Dutch workers (fig. 19-20). The contrast between America and the Netherlands is verbalized in capital letters: 'WIJ doen het maar met een fiets, hoogstens een bromfiets!' [296]


Fig. 19


Fig. 20

In the slides that follow, the wealth of America is explained with the confident claim that every citizen is also a customer, hence population expansion equals economic expansion:

'De U.S.A. tellen 16 keer zoveel inwoners als Nederland. D.w.z. dat er 16 keer zoveel "klanten" zijn. En hoe meer klanten, hoe groter voorspoed.'[297]

A cartoon makes this argument more clear (fig. 21): on the left side, we see an American market booth. It is in splendid state, has a busy clientele, and is overseen by a smiling 'Uncle Sam'. On the right stands a Dutch stall. It is much smaller, looks shabby, and – with only one female customer in line – shows a bored salesman. The next slide offers the solution: the establishment of the Benelux (fig. 22). Though the booth looks still torn, progress has been made: 'Het aantal klanten verdubbelde daardoor.'[298] Interestingly, the female customer has been replaced by two male clients. Perhaps they have more purchasing power and bring in the big guns?
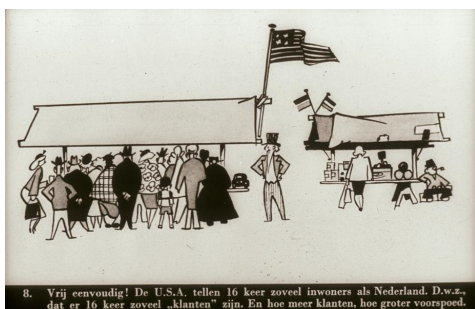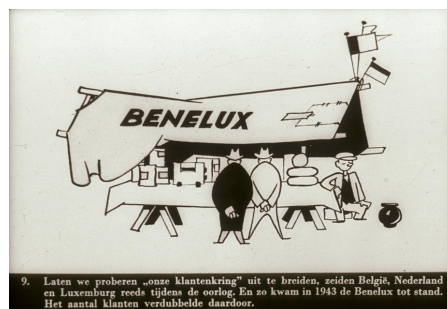

Fig. 21


Fig. 22

[295] *Verenigd Europa II*, 28.
[296] Ibid., 7.
[297] Ibid., 8.
[298] Ibid., 9.

*Legitimate photographs*

After this brief lesson in economics, the filmstrip resumes its tale along the tune of 'better together'. Through slides 10 to 25, the third period illuminates the different phases of European integration in more or less chronological order. Following the founding of the Benelux, attention is paid to the Congress of Europe (fig. 23) and the subsequent founding of the Council of Europe. Interestingly, *Verenigd Europa II* is the only filmstrip that mentions this institution. It gives away the federalist nature of the filmstrip: the European Movement envisioned the Council of Europe as *the* vehicle for European unification and actively lobbied for the expansion of its political tasks. Hence, the filmstrip underlines the royal, political, and popular support for the Council by means of a series of photographs. As we have seen in chapter 3, the photographic medium has an objective feel, which makes it a perfect choice to carry this part of the story. Figure 23 depicts the gathering of the political elite (labeled 'belangrijke personen') in The Hague in 1948. Queen Juliana of the Netherlands is also present. The caption reads: 'Ook nu, als Koningin, stelt Zij belang in het streven naar een "Nieuw Europa".'[299] According to historians Anne Bruch and Eugen Pfister, an image like this refers to the iconographic tradition of conference photographs. They argue that such photographs are 'one of the central topics in European iconography' and bestow the integration progress with an air of legitimacy.[300] Images of friendly gestures and exchanges between statesmen are also used this way. For example, in the beginning of the filmstrip there appears a photograph of the figureheads of the allied governments in London exile, Dutch premier Gerbrandy amongst them (fig. 24). The intimate setting of the picture suggests close collaboration, and not only symbolizes 'the friendship and cooperation (…) of the individuals, but of the nations and peoples they [represent].'[301]


Fig. 23


Fig. 24

The pictorial approach to the establishment of the Council of Europe is somewhat different. This time, a photograph of the formality itself – like the Council's first session – is dropped in favor of two others: first, a picture is shown of the city center of Strasbourg, featuring the Dom (fig. 25). Second, we see a picture of the town square, with the same Dom in the background (fig. 26). The first image could be straight from a visitor's guide: the scenic cityscape is accompanied by similar phrasing. But why highlight the Dom when the Council of Europe resides at the city's university? Throughout the ages, the Strasbourg Cathedral has been violently disputed. After 1945, the church became a symbol of inter-confessional, inter-national reconciliation: it represented the coexistence of Catholic and Protestant culture[302], the rapprochement between Germany and France, and the hope for enduring

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[299] *Verenigd Europa II*, 13.
[300] Anne Bruch and Eugen Pfister, "What Europeans Saw of Europe: Medial Construction of European Identity in Information Films and Newsreels in the 1950s," *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 10-1 (2014): 39.
[301] Bruch and Pfister, "What Europeans Saw of Europe," 39.
[302] Built between 1176 and 1439, the Dom was assigned the Protestant faith in 1524, reclaimed by the Catholics in 1681, and briefly turned into a 'Temple of Reason' during the French Revolution.

peace in an endless warzone. Was it not here, in the Alsace-Lorraine region, that the nineteenth-century philosopher Ernest Renan (1823-1892) uttered the phrase: 'L'existence d'une nation est un plébiscite de tous les jours'?[303] Well, the people chose to be neither German nor French, they chose to be European. Or at least, that is what the next photograph shows us (fig. 26).


Fig. 25


Fig. 26

We see a great multitude, gathered to celebrate the creation of the first European institution after World War II. Apparently, the enthusiasm for 'Europe' is enormous. Yet, a Dutch newspaper writes the 'Straatsburgers' have mainly come out of sensation, 'and it is indeed an event, even the bitterest cynic will not deny that.'[304] Other pictorial accounts reveal the people have come to listen to the speech of former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (fig. 27), who once again used the famous



Fig. 27 Churchill addresses the crowd on Place Kleber in Strasbourg, August 12th 1948.
© Council of Europe

V-sign. Though the Council proved to be fairly powerless, Churchill nevertheless described it as an instrument to 'enable this illustrious continent to regain in a world organization its place as an independent member, able to look after itself.'[305]

Thus, regarding the Council of Europe, the filmstrip shows 3 sequential photographs. They bestow the institution with political, royal and popular support, while pictures of the Dom underline the cultural-historical importance of its birth.

*A raft at sea*

As mentioned before, the metaphor of the raft plays a prominent role in this filmstrip story. After the euphoria of the liberation – illustrated with a picture of queen Wilhelmina amongst a jubilant crowd[306] – reality dawned: Europe lay in shambles. Chaos engulfed the continent and its leaders. A caption reads: 'De landen hadden het gevoel in een woeste stroom stuurloos te worden meegesleurd.'[307] Above the caption, we see a cartoon of a wild sea (fig. 28), dotted with logs. Each log represents a country. Little figures hold on to the wreckage; it is every man for himself. Then, a raft is formed (fig. 29). Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg join forces and sail the seas together. A short while later, the raft appears again, this time with all six countries aboard (fig. 30). The ECSC has become a fact and

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[303] Ernest Renan cited in John Dunn, *Western Political Theory in Face of the Future* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 70. See also Patrick Weil, "The lessons of the French experience for Germany and Europe," in *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe*, ed. David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook (London: Routledge, 1996), 74-87.

[304] "Straatburgs Politieke Achtergrond," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, August 10, 1949.

[305] Winston Churchill quote and photograph obtained from the Council of Europe's official 'flickr' account. Accessed January 26, 2017, https://www.flickr.com/photos/councilofeurope/3055896186.

[306] *Verenigd Europa II*, 10.

[307] Ibid., 11.

'behoedt de deelnemende landen voor armoede en ondergang.'[308] After explaining the workings of the ECSC – 'het grondgebied der zes landen [is] geworden tot één gemeenschappelijk land'[309] – the raft resurfaces in a calmer sea, now surrounded by other shipwrecked countries (fig. 31). Note that Turkey is also amongst them. Two bureaucratic-looking anglers on the back of the raft throw their lines out to catch. Without success: 'Waarom blijven die andere landen toch maar steeds alléén spartelen?'[310]



11. De verwarring was overal groot. De landen hadden het gevoel in een woeste stroom stuurloos te worden meegesleurd. Ieder kon zich slechts met moeite op eigen balkje drijvende houden.

Fig. 28



12. De „Benelux" bond drie stammetjes aan elkaar. Dat vlot was nu niet meer helemáál aan de woeste stroom overgeleverd. Een verstandig besluit! En ook andere landen zeiden: samenwerking! Ja, daar zit toch wel wat goeds in.

Fig. 29



19. Ondertussen is ons vlot-van-drie in 1952 al weer wat groter geworden. Zes landen sloten zich aaneen in de Kolen- en Staalgemeenschap. Dit is het zgn. plan-Schuman, genoemd naar de Franse staatsman, die het ontwierp.

Fig. 30



25. Zo drijft ons „vlot van zes" verder en behoedt de deelnemende landen voor armoede en ondergang. Maar waarom blijven die andere landen toch maar steeds alléén spartelen?

Fig. 31

The choice of metaphor is an interesting one. The most basic of boat designs, the improvised construction of a raft evokes associations with words like 'emergency' and 'shipwreck'. It makes one think of Odysseus' journey or Robinson Crusoe's quest for survival. The taming of nature comes to mind: for must not 'every society pledged to order (…) resolve (…) how to turn death into a life-enhancing ally rather than a fateful antagonist'[311]? Hence, this metaphor brings us back to the first three slides of the filmstrip: can European society be saved?

*Stereotyping*
In all four cartoons, national stereotypes are used for recognition. In figure 28, we see a Marianne-like France (the only woman) with a bonnet[312] reminiscent of the Phrygian cap, a dark-faced Italy with headscarf (the only colored one), and 'der Deutscher Michel', recognizable for his nightcap. However, the next cartoon shows different typecasts. For example, 'Holland' is first painted as a sort of 'Dik Trom'-like figure with pipe (fig. 28). Yet figure 29 shows the puppet wearing a traditional farmer's costume with clogs and a cap, which brings the Gouda cheese market to mind. Its provincial name has changed to 'Nederland'. In the same cartoon, Belgium is transformed from indistinctive

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[308] *Verenigd Europa II*, 23.
[309] Ibid., 21.
[310] Ibid., 23.
[311] Barry Sandywell, *The Beginnings of European Theorizing: Reflexivity in the Archaic Age. Logological Investigations Volume 2* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 23.
[312] In Antiquity, the Phrygian cap was associated with the freeing of slaves. In the French Revolution, it returned in the form of a red bonnet and became the symbol of 'liberté', in an attempt 'to translate into visual language the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity'. See Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 61.

laborer into a lookalike of the fictional Belgian detective Hercule Poirot, a 'quaint, dandified little man', who 'was hardly more than five feet four inches but carried himself with great dignity', had an 'almost incredible' neat attire and a 'very stiff and military' moustache.[313] Meanwhile, Luxembourg has exchanged its hat for a round, flattish 'French' beret.[314] Probably, two different cartoonists are at work here, and/or two different sets of cartoons have been combined – something that occurs more often in filmstrips of the ECA and MSA. While figure 30 again uses the plainer stereotypes of the first cartoon, the other, more detailed style is resumed in figure 31 and in most other caricatures in the filmstrip.

*A Europe in its own right*

In *Verenigd Europa II*, prosperity is one of the main arguments for further European integration: 'Doch allereerst: om tot welvaart te komen zullen de grenzen niet zo'n grote belemmering voor het verkeer mogen vormen.'[315] At the same time, economic cooperation is but a first stage, a prelude to something much bigger and all-encompassing. This comes to the fore in the following captions:

> 'En dan: Handen in één! (...) We blijven NEDERLANDERS, natúúrlijk!! Maar –
> we zullen ook eens een beetje "Europees moeten denken".[316]

> 'En dan komt ongetwijfeld eens de tijd, dat de vlag van het nieuwe Europa
> wappert van torens en woningen, van schepen en molens!'[317]

The European Defense Community (EDC) was one attempt to create such a 'new Europe', the filmstrip argues. Would the nations of Europe be prepared to sacrifice their military sovereignty? Slides 16 to 18 explain the necessity of this step. The starting point: the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953) demonstrates the lack of security in the world. The filmstrip's use of a real photograph underlines the seriousness of this statement, showing a tank and a column of smoke (fig. 32). The



*Fig. 32 The Korean War*

problem: though the NATO ensures the safety of Europe, this institution is ruled by the US, Canada and Great Britain. Other member countries are merely 'kleingoed'.[318] This is illustrated by a cartoon that shows a stern-looking 'Uncle Sam', surrounded by a Canadian cowboy and Englishman 'John Bull', amidst a group of small fry (fig. 33). The size of the puppets corresponds to the geographical dimension and importance of the countries they represent. The solution: six countries will join forces in the EDC and forge a 'Klein Europa'

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[313] Captain Arthur Hastings describing his best friend Hercule Poirot in Agatha Christie's novel *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* (1916).
[314] The so-called French beret is of contested origin: it transformed from a seventeenth-century woolen shepherd's hat into an industrially produced fashion item. Though frequently associated with Basque separatism, it also has become a symbol of France, at least amongst those outside of France. The beret was adopted as military headgear by many countries – Luxembourg amongst them.
[315] *Verenigd Europa II*, 30.
[316] Ibid., 31.
[317] Ibid., 32.
[318] Ibid., 17.

of 200 million souls (or customers!). The caption below the celebratory cartoon (fig. 34) mentions that 'Dit "Klein Europa" (…) ten slotte [zal moeten] uitgroeien tot een "Verenigd Europa".'[319]
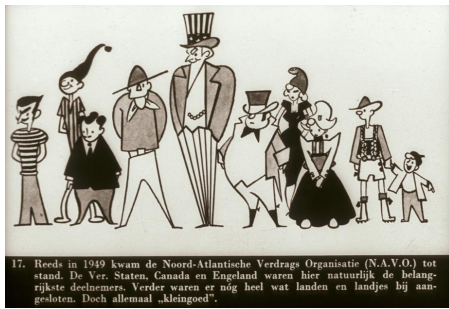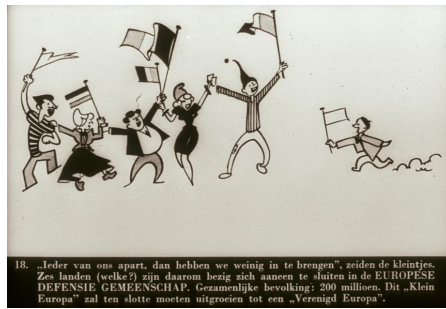


Fig. 33



Fig. 34

*We, The People*

A celebration of Europe – the fourth period of the filmstrip is exactly that. Slides 26 to 32 are also an expectation of things to come. According to the writers, there is still much to be wishing for: the European nations should expand their cooperation beyond the field of the ECSC and the upcoming EDC and more countries should be willing to join forces. Fortunately, the European public is very enthusiastic, the filmstrip claims. Its youth reads *Nieuw Europa*, the magazine of the European Movement (fig. 35): 'Het blad van deze organisatie wordt met aandacht gelezen en besproken.'[320] Its citizens vote for a supranational Europe, with its own government, parliament, and constitution (fig. 36).
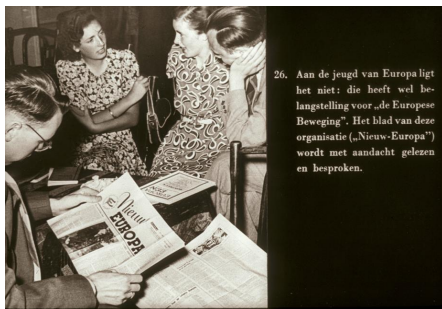


Fig. 35



Fig. 36

Here, the filmstrip refers to 2 unofficial test referendums held in Bolsward and Delft. They were organized by the European Movement in December 1952. According to Dutch scholars Joop van Holsteyn and Josje den Ridder, these test referendums offer the most 'tangible' proof of Dutch attitudes towards European integration. Still, it is very problematic to interpret their outcome: only a very small segment of the population participated in the poll, while the proposed concept of European integration remained rather vague.[321] Slide 28 of the filmstrip depicts the complete ballot paper, which reads:

> 'Meent U, dat de Europese volkeren bepaalde gemeenschappelijke belangen
> voortaan gezamenlijk dienen te behartigen, en wenst u daartoe een
> VERENIGD EUROPA onder een EUROPESE OVERHEID en met een

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[319] *Verenigd Europa II*, 18.

[320] Ibid., 26.

[321] Joop van Holsteyn and Josje den Ridder, "Europinie: Nederlandse burgers en houdingen ten aanzien van Europa," in *Van Aanvallen! naar verdedigen? De opstelling van Nederland ten aanzien van Europese integratie, 1945-2015*, ed. Hans Vollaard et al. (The Hague: Boom bestuurskunde, 2015), 362.

DEMOCRATISCHE VERTEGENWOORDIGING, te omschrijven in een EUROPESE GRONDWET?'[322]

To this question, voters could answer 'yes' or 'no'. But what did such an answer really mean? Who belongs to the 'Verenigd Europa' proposed in the ballot paper? Apart from an ambiguous reference to the 'Europese volkeren', the text does not elaborate on this matter. What should be the task of the 'Europese overheid'? The text brings up 'bepaalde gezamenlijke belangen' but does not clarify this statement, nor does it dwell on the policy areas these 'belangen' should involve.[323] All in all, 163 people participated in the polls. Apparently, this was enough to receive the Dutch people's sanction, for the filmstrip tells us:

'Meer dan 93% antwoordde: Ja! Natúúrlijk. Want ieder verstandig mens ziet wel in, dat je SAMEN méér bereiken kunt (…).'[324]

With the people's support, nothing can thwart the future of Europe. The filmstrip points out that collaboration might be difficult, but 'moeilijkheden zijn er immers om overwonnen te worden?'[325] All we need is a 'doorbraak', a breakthrough.[326] Hence, the filmstrip shows an illustration of a very sturdy truck, gathering speed and snapping the border barrier like a twig (fig. 37). Picture and caption echo the 'Doorbraak-gedachte' of the post-war years: this progressive idea is now applied to Europe, instead of national politics. With freedom of movement at its heart, the people of Europe will come to 'think European': their national pride will not disappear but will be supplemented with a European consciousness. Finally, a European flag (or more precise: the flag of the European Movement) will flutter on our very own windmills (fig. 38): it is what the People want and the future will bring.



*Fig. 37*



*Fig. 38*

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[322] *Verenigd Europa II*, 28.

[323] With regard to these issues, it is interesting to take a look at the polls of the Dutch Institute for Public Opinion (NIPO) from the 1940s and 50s. After World War II, NIPO frequently interviewed Dutch citizens 'from all walks of life' about European integration. In a 1947 poll, most participants agreed that the Benelux, France, England, Swiss and the Scandinavian countries belonged to the 'United States of Europe'. There was less consent about the inclusion of Italy, Germany and Spain. The participation of some Eastern European states and Russia was considered outright negative. Interestingly, the poll also shows that 37% of the respondents did not know the meaning of the term 'United States of Europe'. In 1953, the NIPO poll showed many respondents were positive about the concept of a 'United States of Western (!) Europe', but rather doubted the idea of the reduction of the Netherlands to a Dutch province in this European state. Van Holsteyn and Den Ridder, "Europinie," 359-362. See also *Zo zijn wij. De eerste vijfentwintig jaar NIPO-onderzoek*, samengesteld door NIPO (Amsterdam: Agon Elsevier, 1970).

[324] *Verenigd Europa II*, 28.

[325] Ibid., 29.

[326] Ibid., 30.

**The gospel of coal and steel**

The third Marshall filmstrip I here discuss has been commissioned by the MSA. It predominantly takes an economic outlook and concentrates on explaining the workings and benefits of the ECSC. This viewpoint already comes to the fore in the title of the strip, which simply reads: *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*. The white letters of the title are set against a dim, black-and-white picture of a large excavator machine used in the brown coal industry.[327] In the slides that follow, photographs of sturdy mineworkers, heavy machinery, and busy factories epitomize the filmstrip's emphasis on productivity as the key to welfare and peace.

The filmstrip has been published between 1952 and 1956, after the enforcement of the ECSC but before the dissolution of the Saarland as French protectorate: it still shows this region as separated from Germany.[328] The somewhat amateurish layout suggests this is an older filmstrip, made not long after 1952, an assumption that is further strengthened by the reference to 'Filmstudio Nieuwendijk' on the end slide, which was a forerunner of the Fibo company that produced the *Verenigd Europa*-series.

The structure of this filmstrip is rather straightforward. Yet, considering its information density, it was probably aimed at the students of the ULO and the upper grades of primary school. The filmstrip can be divided into 3 periods. The first period contains slides 2 to 7 and narrates the decline of Europe and the rise of America's power (1). It also explains the widening gap between the two continents : unlike the US, the European countries chose to fight rather than unite. The second period (2) might be separated into three 'units' or paragraphs: slides 8 to 11 describe the necessity of European cooperation in the area of coal and steel, followed by a paragraph about the aims and workings of the ECSC (slides 12 to 16). The period concludes with a description of the organizational structure and policies of the ECSC (slides 17 to 24). The third and last period pays attention to the social consequences of these policies and addresses lingering doubts about the benefits of cooperation (3).

*Old and ailing or young and strong?*
Like *Verenigd Europa II*, the filmstrip starts with the rise and fall of Europe and blames internal wrangling for the continent's ruin. It then propels the Schuman Plan as a last chance for recovery. Thus, slide 2 describes how before 1914, Europe was on top of the world, at least economically. The continent was 'de werkplaats, de leverancier en de credietgever van de rest van de wereld'.[329] A Churchill-like figure with pipe and bowler hat accompanies this caption (fig. 39). He stands before a map of Europe, dotted with little doodles of products and goods native to each region. National borders are absent, suggesting a peace and unity not really present at the time. The gentleman holds several lines in his hand. Each line controls a sea ship that bears the name of one of Europe's colonies, which are described as 'een bron van welvaart'. [330] Thus, Europe literally holds the reins of success.

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[327] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap* (Driebergen: Filmstudio Nieuwendijk, ca. 1952-53), Marshall filmstrip nr. 31, 24x36 mm slides, 36 frames, commissioned by MSA, 1.
[328] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 12.
[329] Ibid., 2.
[330] Ibid.

How different the map looks after the war! The nations of Western Europe are boxed in between high walls (fig. 40), for 'elk land denkt alleen aan zichzelf en als het niet goed gaat, worden tolmuren opgericht (…).'[331] France and Germany are the two biggest fighters: 'Marianne' and 'Michel' have started a big row in the middle of the map. The puppets that represent the other countries look shocked and watch from a distance. Will things turn sour again?
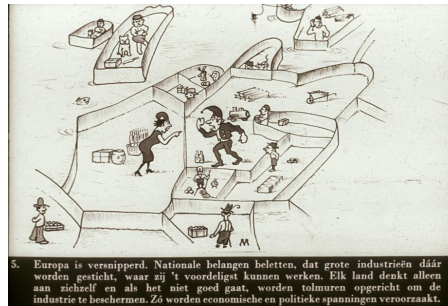


Fig. 39



Fig. 40

The following slide presents the third cartoon in a row. French statesman Robert Schuman has cut the continent to pieces and puzzles over a way to permanently unite Europe (fig. 41). The puzzle is not easy to solve: '(…) het oude Europa kent immers zoveel nationale tegenstellingen.'[332] The caption describes Europe as 'old', which tacitly suggests that a new, better, *united* Europe will replace the ailing continent. The unspoken comparison between old and young, Europe and America, ailing and strong, also echoes in the filmstrip's contrasting photographs of European rubble cities and a booming Manhattan.[333] With this in mind, the gentleman in figure 39 seems outdated. He will never keep up in a world of jet planes and skyscrapers. Though the Europe-US dichotomy does not dominate the storyline, the United States hover in the background as admirable example, as a country that attained the status of World Leader because its 50 states formed 'reeds lange tijd tezamen één groot geheel en één grote markt (…).'[334] The American success story is a lesson to be learned.



Fig. 41 *European unity: a difficult puzzle.*

*Divided or united?*
In the caption below the Schuman cartoon (fig. 41), another dichotomy comes to the fore, namely the contrast between East and West. As is the case in figure 38, only Western European countries are depicted. Under the finger of Schuman, Germany has shrunk to the size of the FRG. The politician merely looks at 'het gedeelte [van Europa], dat nog vrij is en nog democratisch wordt geregeerd'.[335] This one-sentence explanation is *the only statement* that explicitly addresses the division of Europe. No other filmstrip pays attention to this fact, at least not directly. In most cases, Eastern European countries just fail to show up. As soon as the European idea becomes concrete, the Iron Curtain is a given.

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[331] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 5.
[332] Ibid., 7.
[333] Ibid., 3-4.
[334] Ibid., 4.
[335] Ibid., 7.

*The promise of the ECSC: peace and politics*

As mentioned before, the ESCS was always meant to be a first step towards further economic and political integration, at least in the eyes of the euro-federalists. This aspiration already materialized in the choice for the organization's name. In his much-read history of European integration *Europe Recast* (2004) Irish academic Desmond Dinand argues that picking 'the word *community*, rather than simply *association* or *organization* connoted common interests that transcended economic goals.'[336] Moreover, the preamble of the Treaty claimed that cooperation in the areas of coal and steel not only provided 'common bases for economic development', but also furthered 'the works of peace' by raising 'the standards of living'.[337] Thus, the creation of the ECSC laid 'the foundation of a broad and independent community among peoples (…), giving direction to their future common destiny.'[338]

The lofty language of the preamble of the Paris Treaty (1951) reverberates in the Marshall filmstrips about European integration. In the filmstrip currently at issue, the Treaty is called 'een vredesverdrag'[339], generating 'grotere kracht en welvaart, (…) iets wat Europa hard en hard nodig heeft'.[340] The end slide summarizes the aspirations of the ECSC as 'verheffing van de levensstandaard, vergroting en verzekering van de werkgelegenheid', leading to 'grotere welvaart, aaneensluiting der volkeren en vrede'.[341]

At the time of the filmstrip's publication, the integration of Europe was still at an early stage and comprised only two economic sectors: coal and steel. Still, the caption below figure 42 states somewhat matter-of-factly that 'men weet, hoe in Straatsburg aan de *politieke* éénwording wordt gewerkt'.[342] It is not clear whether this statement refers to the Council of Europe, to the ECSC, or both.[343] Anyhow, the viewer is made aware that political unity should 'noodzakelijk samengaan met economische éénwording'.[344] This might seem like a reversal of arguments, especially with regard to the neo-functionalist belief in 'spill-over' (see chapter 1): the filmstrip claims further economic integration is necessary to keep up with political (!) developments, instead of the other way around. In hindsight, we know cooperation between European countries first took the form of economic integration, while progress towards political involvement has been glacially slow. However, in the early 1950s it was not yet clear where the path towards unity would lead. According to Hollander, this time 'was characterized by great faith in a supranational and, ultimately, federal future.'[345] The question 'whether economic integration without political integration was possible at all' was seldom asked.[346] The then-recent establishment of the ECSC fuelled 'the idealists in their strivings' and gave them the impression that tangible results would be soon within reach.[347]

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[336] Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast. A History of European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 46.

[337] ESCS Treaty cited in Espen D.H. Olsen, "The origins of European citizenship in the first two decades of European integration," *Journal of European Public Policy* 15-1 (January 2008): 45.

[338] ECSC Treaty cited in Olsen, "The origins of European citizenship," 45.

[339] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 16.

[340] Ibid., 12.

[341] Ibid., 35.

[342] Ibid., 8. Italics added.

[343] Of the ECSC institutions, only the rather powerless Common Assembly was seated in Strasbourg. The other institutions were provisionally located in the City of Luxembourg because the ECSC member states failed to reach an agreement about their location.

[344] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 8.

[345] Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 203.

[346] Ibid., 202.

[347] Ibid., 201-202.

The belief that victory would be near also comes to the fore in the cartoon to which the caption about political unity refers (fig. 42). It displays a row of men, half of them carrying tools, the other half with briefcases. They walk resolutely towards the same goal: 'economische eenwording'.[348] Of course the gentlemen embody the political aspect of this goal, while the laborers have their own part to play. Still, the movement of both groups is synchronous, their faces are identical. Bigwigs and common folk all march in step. The first result is the signing of the Schuman Plan in 1951, 'een belangrijk begin!'[349], as the following slide exclaims. However, there is still a long way to go – a sentiment that crops up again and again in these early filmstrips.
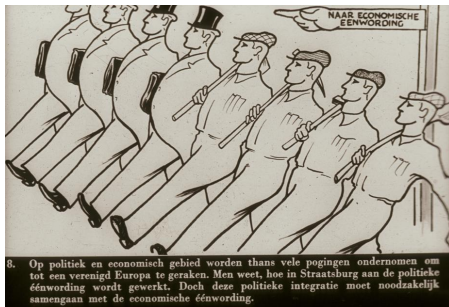

Fig. 42


Fig. 43

After this zealous introduction, the story takes a more factual approach. It shows photographs of the Treaty's signing and of Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, who are subsequently mentioned as 'designer' and 'pacemaker' of the ESCS.[350] Further on, we become acquainted with the key institutions of the ECSC: the High Authority, the Common Assembly, the Special Council, and the Court of Justice. Dutch involvement is highlighted through photographs of the Dutch government's representative D.P. Spierenburg, Minister of Economic Affairs J. Zijlstra, and judge P.J.S. Serrarens. Together, they bring the far-off European organization closer to home. Short, concise captions explain the workings of the ECSC. Its Assembly is described as a 'boven-nationaal orgaan', which represents and secures the interests of workers, producers and consumers. The High Authority is portrayed as powerful: 'De beschikkingen (…) hebben dezelfde kracht als die van de nationale regeringen.'[351] The following cartoon makes clear that these are no empty words (fig. 43): when the High Authority issues a tax for businesses, everyone has to pay up! The 'passing of the hat' explains how ECSC-decisions have consequences for all member states. Together, we share the blessings and the burdens.

*The face of Europe*

As we have already seen in other filmstrips, the use of photographs emphasizes the importance of certain moments, persons and institutions and bestows them with weight and credibility. However, in this particular filmstrip, the people affected by the ECSC also get a face. Of the nineteen photographs in the filmstrip, six depict common folk. Their faces first appear at the beginning of the filmstrip (fig. 44). Here, a narrow alley is depicted. Its buildings tower above a group of barely visible, poor-looking women and children. The scene's anonymity makes the photograph perfectly suitable to the filmstrip's argument: without cooperation, Europe will suffer like these people suffer.[352] Next, we are confronted with a welder, his face invisible because of a protective mask (fig. 45). The picture

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[348] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 8.
[349] Ibid., 9.
[350] Ibid., 10.
[351] Ibid., 20.
[352] Ibid., 6.

is not so much a factual rendition of the process of welding, but a symbolic one: 'Het doel van de Europese Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap is het lot van Duitsland, België, Frankrijk, Italië, Luxemburg en Nederland aaneen te lassen.'[353]
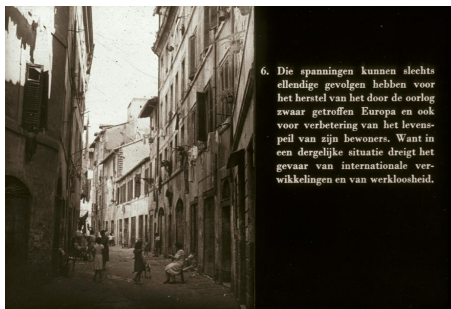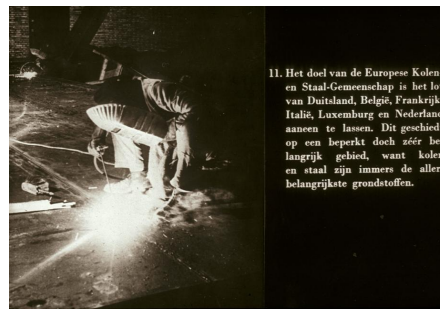

*Fig. 44*


*Fig. 45*

The third and fourth photograph are more accessible, almost personal. Figure 46 shows the end of a workday at the mine. The workers pour out onto the street. They seem worn and tired, but satisfied. Some happily look into the camera. Their multitude visually supports the caption's statement that 10% of the labor force works in the coal- and steel industry.[354] Big numbers are summed up, emphasizing the productivity increase so vital to the ERP.[355] It is these men that do the work. They secure Europe's success. And they will profit from the ECSC.


*Fig. 46*
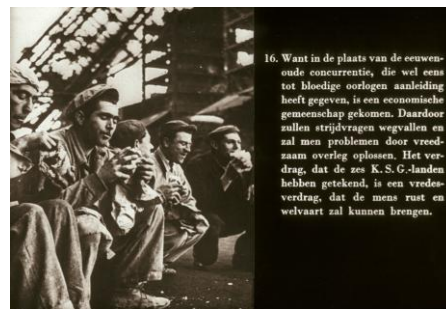

*Fig. 47*

Shortly after, we come across a picture of workers enjoying their lunch (fig. 47). The group looks peaceful, cozy even, all the more so because the previous slide shows an American army vehicle driving into unknown dangers.[356] The action and vigilance of that scene intensifies this picture's untroubled and laid-back feel. 'This is what a community looks like', the message seems to be. For a community of peace came to replace 'de eeuwenoude concurrentie' and the bloody wars in its wake, the caption reads. From now on, 'strijdvragen zullen wegvallen' and problems will be solved through 'vreedzaam overleg'.[357] For all we know, these workers might lead different lives. They come from different parts of the country (or even Europe). Yet they share their lunch, their agape meal. All is well, for the ECSC is 'een vredesverdrag, dat de mens rust en welvaart zal kunnen brengen'.[358]

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[353] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 11.
[354] Ibid., 14.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Ibid., 15.
[357] Ibid., 16.
[358] Ibid.

*Financially fair and socially square*

The next-to-last photograph (fig. 49) illustrates the social problems that arise from the ECSC policies. This is remarkable in itself: not many filmstrips (or other Marshall material, for that matter) pay attention to the shadows cast by European integration and free market policy. The *Verenigd Europa*-series only briefly refers to cultural differences and clashing interests hindering mutual understanding. Here, however, the filmstrip tries to convince the viewer of the benefits of the ECSC: it highlights its care for workers who will lose their jobs due to competition, stresses the protection of Dutch wages and explains that it is not the amount of money that counts, but what you can buy with it. In doing so, the story applies the narrative mode of justification (see chapter 3): it preempts critical remarks that, although not mentioned as such in the text, come down to this:

1. Some businesses are not prepared for free market competition, resulting in their demise. Our workers will lose their jobs!
2. Without the protection of national tariff borders, cheap materials from other countries will flood our markets in times of crisis and make our industries obsolete. Our workers will be driven away!
3. To maintain a strong position within the ECSC market, companies will lower their wages to secure low production costs. Our workers will earn less!

The filmstrip uses 5 slides to counter the first argument. It explains that many companies did not feel the need to modernize or work efficiently, due to their privileged position. The free market puts an end to this idleness. However, some businesses will not survive the race to the top and are in fact non-viable: 'men denke aan een steenkolenmijn met een moeilijk bereikbare kolenlaag.'[359] An illustration further unpacks this statement. We see a very deep mineshaft, with an immense pile of ordinary stones hauled up to create the shaft on the left, while on the right only a very small pile of coals can be found. How pointless and futile it all looks! Yet, the ECSC does not simply give up on these companies: 'Men kan (…) dergelijke ondernemingen – en hun werknemers! – niet de dupe van de nieuwe gemeenschap laten worden.'[360] The succeeding slide shows a drawing of a sick, gaunt-looking old man, hooked up to an intravenous drip feed (fig. 48). He is nourished with money from the 'aanpassingsfonds'. In this way, he will hold out just a little while longer. The next image puts a face on his misery (fig. 49). We see a group of laborers wearing gasmasks, covered in soot. How they must suffer! Fortunately, the ECSC helps and educates these 'zwakke broeders' so they can find better jobs in newly launched branches of industry.[361]
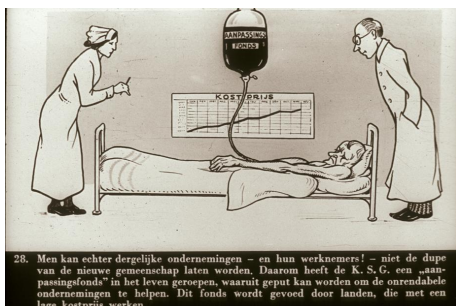


Fig. 48



Fig. 49

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[359] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 27.
[360] Ibid., 28.
[361] Ibid., 29.

The second argument speaks of fear for national interests. Figure 50 vividly illustrates this by showing how cheap coal from Germany floods the Netherlands, driving away Dutch laborers and destabilizing the country. The picture addresses lingering fears of German domination as well as the Netherland's endless struggle against water. This time, the deluge will not come from the sea, but from the dark pits of our neighboring country. However, the ECSC will keep such danger at bay in a tidy and orderly way. Thus, the next slide shows a neatly dressed man who quietly checks the prices of the steel blocks he wants to buy (fig. 51). He pays a fair price, for within the borders of the Six, coal and steel all have the same market value. The flood is kept at bay.
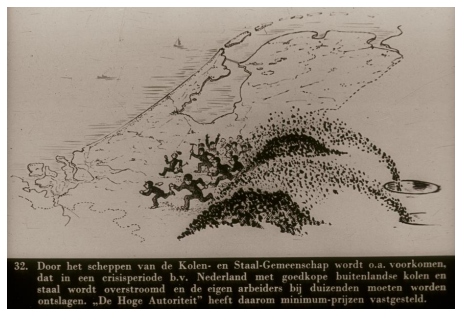

Fig. 50
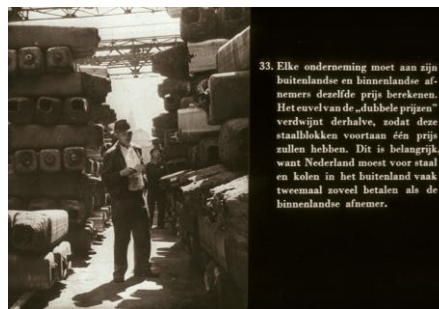

Fig. 51

The third argument is refuted in a less elaborate way. Yes, the ECSC will favor cheap production, resulting in reduced prices 'waarvan alle inwoners (…) zullen profiteren'.[362] However, we will just have to believe that low production costs will not be achieved through cutting back wages. 'Dit zal nooit gebeuren!', the cartoon promises (fig. 52).[363]

Taken together, these slides stifle any doubts about the beneficence of European cooperation by summing up all its advantages in a justifying way. The ECSC will bring welfare (fig. 48-49)[364], social stability (fig. 50), fair prices (fig. 51) and wage protection (fig. 52). But most importantly, it will bring peace, waving away 'een eeuwenoud strijdpunt'[365] between Germany and France with an olive branch. From now on, the ESCS will watch over us (fig. 53). In her saintly presence, no harm will be done.


Fig. 52
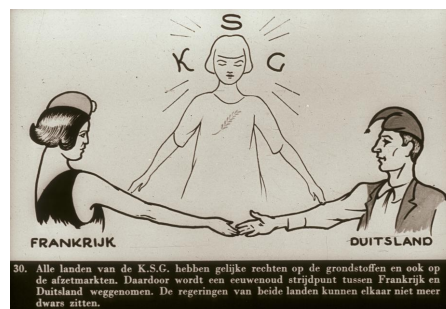

Fig. 53

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[362] *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 34.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid., 31.
[365] Ibid., 30.

**No man is an island**

The last filmstrip I here discuss is a particular case. Though its content matches the stories of other releases by the ECA, MSA, and USIS, the strip contains no reference to one of these institutions. Yet, there is reason to believe it somehow fits into the Marshall framework. For example, the end slide mentions the filmstrip has been compiled by 'Alph. Timmermans'. Interestingly, Timmermans compiled the bulk of the Marshall series.[366] Furthermore, the filmstrip is coded with the number 507. Browsing one of the few remaining Fibo catalogues in the archive of the Onderwijsmuseum, it appears that all filmstrips with a number in the 500s were commissioned by other institutions 'that allowed the possibility to sell'.[367] Apparently, these commissioned filmstrips got another code as soon as they were added to Fibo's own collection. To illustrate: the MSA filmstrip *Verenigd Europa I* is allotted number 579 in the Fibo catalogue, though it was previously coded number 29 in the Marshall series. Therefore, I suspect the same has been the case with this filmstrip, which is simply titled *K.S.G.*[368] The fact that that the strip is not mentioned in the 1966-catalogue is not surprising, for by this time, its story would have been hopelessly out of date. Still, my conclusion is not completely watertight. For instance, I do not know for sure whether Fibo removed the logos of the commissioning parties from the filmstrips it adopted into its own collection. Thus, there is also the possibility that this filmstrip is an independent production by Fibo.

The black-and-white filmstrip *K.S.G.* was probably published in the early 1950s. The filmstrip's language suggests that the ECSC has just come into being, for it is often talked about in the future tense: 'We *zullen* het beter krijgen als de Kolen- en Staalgemeenschap goed functioneert.'[369] And, with regard to the social policy of the ECSC: '*In de toekomst* komen er in de zes land nog 20.000 arbeiderswoningen bij.'[370] The filmstrip is exceptionally engaging: the abundant use of cartoons, drawings, and photographs contributes to a lively story that is very accessible to a young audience.

The filmstrip contains 34 slides and an end slide. It can be divided into the following periods: first, slides 2 to 12 tell the story of human progress by means of the metaphor of a deserted island (1). Then, the filmstrip presents human cooperation as the catalyst behind this progress (2). The third period falls apart into two 'units', or paragraphs: first, the filmstrip shows the haltering effect of national borders on the European economy. Then, it presents the US as a leading example and causally links the unity of the American continent to its higher degree of welfare (3). The story ends with the establishment of the ECSC, which is described in slides 28 to 34 (4).[371]

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[366] Of the 29 USIS filmstrips in the VJCJ-collection, 23 are compiled by 'Alph. Timmermans'. See HDC, coll. nr. 966, "Vrijzinnig Christelijk Jeugdhuis".

[367] *Filmstroken voor School, Huis en Vereniging*, 27.

[368] K.S.G. is a Dutch abbreviation for 'Kolen- en Staal-Gemeenschap', Coal and Steel Community. Interestingly, the adjective 'European' is left out.

[369] *K.S.G.* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1952-53), Fibo filmstrip nr. 507, 24x36 mm slides, 35 frames, comp. Alph. Timmermans, 34. Italics added.

[370] *K.S.G.*, 33. Italics added.

[371] The filmstrip *K.S.G.* is part of the HDC archive and has not been digitized yet. Therefore, most of the slides depicted here are of lesser quality than the footage of the other filmstrips.

*A shipwrecked life?*

The filmstrip opens with a rather suspenseful 'what-if' story. The first caption reads: 'Als je na een schipbreuk aanspoelde op een onbewoond eiland, zou je zeker heel raar staat te kijken.'[372] The text accompanies a cartoon of a thin, sad-looking man in rags, groping for land. Behind him the remains of a shipwreck disappear into the crashing waves. In the slides that follow, a comparison is made between the primitive world of the man on the deserted island, and the world we live in, 'de bewoonde wereld'.[373] To visually strengthen this opposition, the island is depicted by means of illustrations, while the real world is represented through photography. This results in the following image sequence:


Fig. 54


Fig. 55


Fig. 56


Fig. 57

Well-stocked supermarket shelves are bliss in comparison to the 'kokosnoten en wilde vruchten'[374] the castaway has to collect (fig. 54-55), while buying a piece of fresh meat from the butcher's shop is less problematic than the man's hunting for animals, 'met grote moeite en levensgevaar en met de primitiefste middelen' (fig-56-57).[375] Note that in both pictures a woman does the shopping. In slide 9, the two worlds come together in one cartoon (fig. 58): on the left side, we see a man in a comfortable chair by the hearth, smoking his pipe and reading a book by electric lamplight. Judged by his clothes, he is probably just home from work: the scene affirms the traditional role division of the 1950s. On the right side, the islander sits by his self-made fire, looking very cold under the naked sky. The caption verbally confirms the division between both scenes: it talks about 'een stralende haard' and 'een gezellige kamer', while on the island life is 'moeizaam', 'moet je je redden'.[376]

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[372] *K.S.G.*, 2.
[373] Ibid., 3.
[374] Ibid., 5.
[375] Ibid., 7.
[376] Ibid., 9.

*Fig. 58*


*Fig. 59*

Then, a new argument is introduced, which clarifies what the story is really about: the comforts of our modern world, which make it so much more attractive than the forsaken island, have been created through *cooperation*. Figure 59 shows a very dense picture, full of energy. It depicts all modern ways of transport against the backdrop of a modern cityscape: cars, planes and trains, as well as a clock, a man on a phone, a power pylon, radio masts, a biker with a wireless under his arm. The caption reads: 'En nu spreken we nog niet over de vele andere uitvindingen, die door eendrachtig samenwerken tot heil van de hele mensheid zijn gedaan.'[377] Here, the primitive world of the islander disappears from view: it is no match for modernity.

The filmstrip continues with a cartoon of a smiling globe (fig. 60). It offers all its riches to its inhabitants, as long as they work together: 'Onuitputtelijk is de schoot van moeder aarde en ze geeft graag en gul aan wie haar in eendracht exploiteren.'[378] Note that the word 'exploiteren' is used in a neutral way and does not yet carry any negative connotations. The globe is surrounded by people on ladders who build, chop, and extract. Their activity is overall industrial: mineshafts are placed, coals



*Fig. 60 Happily exploiting the globe*

towed away, we see a water tap, a plane, two cooling towers. The cartoon depicts different racial stereotypes in a striking way: the non-European figures – like the woman wearing a rice hat, the 'African' atop of the world (!), and the fellow displayed in Arabian garb who swings from a ladder – have no facial features. Their faces are simply black (or blacked out?), while the white, European people are portrayed with eyes and a mouth.

The filmstrip's emphasis on cooperation puts the island metaphor into a new light: in a forlorn place, there is nobody to cooperate *with*! Thus, to be stuck on an island not just means one is condemned to a hard life, but also marks a dead-end in the progress of human existence. This state of being is always the result of a crisis – remember the shipwreck in the opening slide?

*From prehistory to modernity*
The second period further elaborates upon the need of cooperation for human progress. As in the filmstrip *Verenigd Europa I*, it explains that it took people a while before they understood the benefits of cooperation.[379] Thus, the filmstrip quickly strides through the history of mankind, starting

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[377] *K.S.G.*, 10.
[378] Ibid., 11.
[379] Ibid., 12. The caption reads: 'Wat door eendracht bereikt kan worden, dat wisten de bijen al reeds vanaf hun eerste bestaan. Maar de mens heeft het moeten leren in de loop van duizenden jaren.' Compare to *Verenigd Europa I*, 12.

with a prehistoric man in a cave: '(…) hoe armzalig en triest is zijn bestaan'.[380] The man is forced to cooperate with other cavemen to defend himself against 'de grote wilde dieren'.[381] Then, a very Dutch-looking dwelling appears on the screen: out of the collective battle against the water, a small community arises. Finally, the story lands in the modern world: 'En tenslotte, na vele eeuwen, zijn er landen en volken.'[382] This world is immediately brought back to the proportions of Europe: the filmstrip displays a map which includes all European countries from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean, from Britain to the Polish border.[383] Apparently, the outline of modernity correspond to that of the European continent.

By means of the same map, the filmstrip also visually introduces Europe for the first time. However, the only *verbal* reference to Europe appears in slide 28.[384] Later on, it once mentions the Six and the Community.[385] Elsewhere, the filmstrip merely refers to Europe by visual means – if at all.[386] Perhaps the verbal absence of 'Europe' has to do with the filmstrip's modest approach: unlike the other Marshall filmstrips, its tale is confined to the establishment of the ECSC. It does not directly allude to the necessity of further European integration, nor does it paint any future vistas of a unified Europe. The last slide simply states:

> 'We zullen het allen beter krijgen als de Kolen- en Staalgemeenschap goed
> functioneert. Er zal meer welvaart komen, omdat er meer grondstoffen
> gewonnen worden. En hier heeft iedereen voordeel van.'[387]

Still, there are many parallels between the *K.S.G.* filmstrip and the other Marshall publications. For example, it presents cooperation as the motor behind historical progress – something that also comes to the fore in *Verenigd Europa I*. Also, the filmstrip explains European unity as natural and inevitable, although it does not connect this assumption to any political design for further European integration. Moreover, the story portrays the borders of Europe as an artificial invention that is only visible on maps, not in reality, and presents these borders as a hindrance to the economy – a recurring argument in all Marshall filmstrips.[388] And: because the states of America cooperate, the US is rich and Europe is not[389] – an assumption that resurfaces in *Verenigd Europa II*.

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[380] *K.S.G.*, 13.

[381] Ibid., 14.

[382] Ibid., 17.

[383] Ibid. Interestingly, all the filmstrip's maps show an undivided Germany, with Berlin as its capital city. Perhaps this has to do with the fact that the allies of West Germany did not acknowledge the existence of an East German state? In accordance with the Hallstein doctrine (1955), the Netherlands perceived the government of the FRG as the only legitimate representative of Germany. The topographical choice may also indicate that the division of Germany was perceived as temporary. See Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 106.

[384] Ibid., 28. The caption reads: 'De grote Fransman Jean Monnet werd door dit enorme verschil getroffen. Wat in Amerika gebeurde, moest ook in Europa mogelijk zijn.'

[385] Ibid., 30, 33.

[386] Ibid., 17-19.

[387] Ibid., 34.

[388] Ibid., 18-19, 20-23.

[389] Ibid., 24-27. The caption of slide 26 reads: 'Door die eenheid en samenwerking zijn de VS machtig en rijk.'

*Fig. 61 The Six, a happy family*

*A happy family?*

The filmstrip ends with the establishment of the ECSC. The founding of this organization is solely motivated by US competition: 'Wat in Amerika gebeurde, moest ook in Europa mogelijk zijn', reads the caption below a portrait of Jean Monnet.[390] Thus, the need for Franco-German reconciliation is completely absent from this story – a striking difference with the other Marshall filmstrips. Moreover, the *K.S.G.* narrative does not once refer to World War II, or any other conflict for that matter. The story of this 'Europe' is not driven by a quest for peace. It is a tale about connectedness and material progress. Hence, the final cartoon (fig. 61) shows the Six gathered around the dining table like a happy family, eating... a huge cake! Between the lines, the filmstrips tells us that we, Europeans, all belong together. For 'no man is an island', as British poet John Donne (1572-1631) already knew:

"No man is an island entire of itself;
every man is a piece of the continent,
a part of the main; if a clod be washed
away by the sea, Europe
is the less (…)."[391]

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[390] *K.S.G.*, 28.

[391] A modern translation of John Donne's 'Meditation XVII' from *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624). Cited in Dennis L. Bark, *Americans and Europeans dancing in the dark: on our differences and affinities, our interests, and our habits of life* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2007), 86.

**Chapter synopsis: what does 'Europe' look like in the Marshall filmstrips?**

In this chapter, we have come across four different filmstrip stories about Europe. Together, they offer a rich palette of visual storytelling. Each filmstrip brings a different Europe to the fore. In *K.S.G.* this is the Europe of the Six, though cooperation in itself is presented as a universal principle – a principle that somehow seems to be only properly applied in 'de bewoonde wereld', a.k.a. the West. In *Verenigd Europa II*, integration is presented as a grand vista that will resurrect European civilization and make the continent great again. This dream is within reach for all European nations, even Turkey, as long as their people are willing – and they are! *Verenigd Europa I* is primarily a tale about the horrific European past: the only way to get out of this death trap is by means of integration. It thus presents a strong Europe as the perfect solution for all national and international troubles and as the best guarantee for security, solidarity, and peace. Peace is also the prevailing argument in *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*. Here, the concept surfaces on many levels: on the individual level, the ECSC secures one's job and a fair income. With regard to society, it sustains peaceful labor relations. On the scale of nations, it brings about reconciliation between France and Germany, which results in peace for the whole continent. Or: half the continent, for only Western Europe is still free and democratic.

The Marshall narratives are visually connected by a series of photographs, images and cartoons that resurface throughout the filmstrips. The shipwrecked outcast in *K.S.G.* might get rescued by the raft of *Verenigd Europa II*, while the truck in that same filmstrip could also break through a wall in *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-Gemeenschap*, whose hard-working laborers may in turn move into the workers' housing realized in *K.S.G.* Meanwhile, French Marianne and German Michel hop from filmstrip to filmstrip, crashing border barriers, waving at customs officers, jumping fences, barricades, and barbed wire – when not busy fighting.

Another recurring theme is the comparison between Europe and the United States. Europe is past, while America is present, the poster hero of the post-war age. In *Verenigd Europa II* the comforts of the American way of life receive extensive coverage. The filmstrip *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap* speaks of an 'old' and a 'new' world. *K.S.G.* contrasts the bordered map of Europe with a borderless map of the American states and compares the income of the 'average Joe' with our 'Jan Modaal'.[392] The American image is largely absent from *Verenigd Europa I*. This filmstrip only refers to the US in relation to the 1953 rescue operation, emphasizing its collaboration with other, European, participants, thus drawing attention to the Atlantic alliance instead of American dominance. Other mirror images in the Marshall filmstrips are provided by everyone and everything 'primitive', non-modern, or non-Western, such as New Guinea in *Verenigd Europa I* and the deserted island in *K.S.G.* Implicitly, Eastern Europe also plays an 'othering' role: its sheer absence suggests the East-West divide has already become largely accepted. Finally, the self-image of Europe is reflected in the blurry mirror of the nation-state.

In the Marshall filmstrips, the position of the nation-state is rather ambivalent. On the one hand, its birth and demise are presented as a passing phase in human progress: both *Verenigd Europa I* and *K.S.G.* argue that throughout history, cooperation started out small, then evolved in scope, comprising peoples and nations, and finally reached beyond nationality towards European unity. In

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[392] See *K.S.G.*, 26-27.

*K.S.G.* this process is uncomplicatedly linear. *Verenigd Europa I* however recalls a rather rocky road: the filmstrip bears witness of many failed attempts towards integration, resulting in a constant stream of conflicts and wars. Overall, the Marshall filmstrips present national borders as the root of all evil, with the exception of *K.S.G.*, which only perceives of them as a mere economic hindrance. Still, the quest for European unity nowhere results in the abolition of the nation or the national. Perhaps *Verenigd Europa II* draws closest to this fate: on the one hand, it claims that each country holds on to its own identity, on the other hand it *replaces* the Dutch flag with a European one.[393]

The frequent use of stereotypes, flags, royal figureheads and other national symbols in the Marshall filmstrips point to an interesting paradox: in order to foster a *European* consciousness, the stories rely on *national* images. At the same time, one may argue that the filmstrips' communication of European integration is already a symbolic act in itself, which supra-nationalizes the audience's reality. The filmstrips make the viewer acquainted with the institutions of the Community, not only to explain how 'Europe' works, but also to turn the European ideal into a tangible venture. In the same vein, founding father Jean Monnet stated that 'national issues' would be 'transformed into common European issues (…) only (…) through legislation and institutions.'[394] In the following chapter, his dream of a European Community will come into full focus.

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[393] Compare slides 31 and 32 of *Verenigd Europa II*.
[394] Jean Monnet cited in Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 203.

# V Through the lens of the Community: a European campaign

The 'founding fathers' of the European Community[395] trusted that its citizens would naturally believe in a united Europe and endorse its political realization, *if only* they were well-informed and well-educated. Hence, they put much effort in the enlightenment of the European public through public information and education.[396] According to Canadian scholar Isabelle Petit, their approach to 'inform'[397] far surpassed the narrow scope of the Paris and Rome Treaties: the High Authority and subsequent Commission[398] not only desired to ensure 'an effective implementation of the Common market in 1957 or the Single Market in 1987', but also wanted 'to foster a EU identity that the founding fathers and subsequent "Europeans" considered necessary for achieving their goals of creating "an ever closer union"'.[399] Petit's statement refutes neo-functionalists like political scientist Ernest Haas, who embrace 'a *laissez-faire* philosophy'[400] and see the processes of European socialization and identity formation as 'mere by-products of economic dynamics'.[401] Instead, Petit argues that from its outset, the Community actively intervened in a number of areas 'closely associated with the development of social imaginaries'.[402]

One of these areas of intervention was the field of education. In this chapter, I will analyze two filmstrips that were issued by the Information Service of the European Communities. In 1958, the Service opened a bureau in The Hague, following its offices in Paris, Bonn and Rome.[403] The bureau frequently published educational materials about Europe, such as brochures, informative cartoons, and teaching supplements, as well as a school paper.[404] It also commissioned the filmstrips *Wij bouwen Europa* and *Naar een Verenigd Europa*. These publications were an integral part of the public information policy of the European Community. Therefore, I will first address this policy in more detail, in order to bring the production site of the filmstrips into full focus. In what way did the Community inform its 'European public'? What was the aim of this information offensive? And why was education such an important part of it? The second part of the chapter concentrates on the

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[395] Before the Merger Treaty of 1967, the Europe of the Six in fact consisted of three different bodies: the ECSC, the EEC, and Euratom. Together, they formed the European Communities. However, in both the literature and the filmstrips themselves, these institutions are often referred to in the singular. Therefore, I too use the term 'Community' instead of 'Communities', unless the context demands otherwise.

[396] Isabelle Petit, "Dispelling a Myth? The Fathers of Europe and the Construction of a Euro-Identity," *European Law Journal* 12-5 (September 2006): 661.

[397] Though 'eager to inform', the Community did not invest in a so-called dialogue with its citizens. Describing this top-down approach, Petit explains the 'information-education process was undertaken in a more traditional matter.' See Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 664.

[398] In her article, Petit refers to both the High Authority and the European Commission as 'the Commission'. However, the term 'European Commission' only came into use from 1967 onwards, when the three executive bodies of the ECSC, EEC and Euratom were merged into one Commission. Before the Merger Treaty, the two Commissions and the High Authority were often referred to as the 'European Executives'.

[399] Isabelle Petit, "Agir par mimétisme: la Commission européenne et sa politique d'éducation," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38-3 (September 2005): 629.

[400] Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 662.

[401] Ibid., 664.

[402] Ibid., 663.

[403] See "Bureau der Europese Gemeenschappen in Den Haag," *Algemeen Handelsblad,* April 9, 1958.

[404] See "Voorlichting voor scholen over Europese gemeenschappen," *Leeuwarder Courant*, June 3, 1959. The school paper was published in association with the Dutch press.

filmstrips themselves. Here, it will become clear how the objectives of the Information Service panned out on the screen.

**Addressing 'the great European family': a public information policy**

Many years before a definition of European citizenship was officially formulated in the Maastricht Treaty (1991), the European Community was already concerned with 'the idea of an inclusive European public, comprised of all Europeans'.[405] The idea to imbue the population of the Community with a sense of Europeanness was in fact at the heart of the European project – though one could argue in how far this ambition was a mere castle in the air. Hollander argues that the early 1950s were characterized by a great faith in the potential of the people as a unifying force,[406] a faith that perhaps became most apparent in statements of the European 'founding fathers' themselves. For example, in 1964 Robert Schuman proclaimed:

> 'Minds must be prepared to accept European solutions (…). This cannot be overemphasized: European unity will not occur either solely or even mainly through European institutions; the institutions will be created as European thinking evolves.'[407]

In 1955, his contemporary Jean Monnet had already emphasized this aspect, explaining how the building of Europe, 'like all other peaceful revolutions, needs time (…) the time to adjust minds'.[408] That same year, Walter Hallstein more blatantly argued:

> 'We want to change people. We want people to (…) stop seeing themselves only as members of a State in ways inherited from our pasts; we want them to consider themselves also as members of the great European family. But this assumes a change in habits of thought.'[409]

It is against this background the public communication policy of the Community took form, giving rise to countless initiatives, the production of educational filmstrips amongst them.

*Communicating Europe*
The ECSC had no explicit mandate with regard to public communication. Yet, Article 5 of the Treaty of Paris (1951) called for enlightenment and facilitation of 'the interested parties by collecting information, organizing consultations and defining general objectives', which gave the High Authority enough wiggle room to unfold its plans.[410] Soon, the legal obligation to 'the interested parties' was interpreted as an appeal to enlighten the whole European public 'in its widest extension'.[411] In 1952, the Information Service of the High Authority was established. Over the years, the Service and its name would undergo numerous organizational changes, like the European institutions themselves. In 1958, it turned into the Common Press and Information Service of the European Communities – the

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[405] Jackie Harrison and Stefanie Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy, 1951-1976," *Contemporary European History* 24-2 (2015): 238.
[406] See Jieskje Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 197-218.
[407] Robert Schuman cited in Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 665.
[408] Jean Monnet cited in Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 664.
[409] Walter Hallstein cited in Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 666.
[410] Cited in Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 241.
[411] Jean Monnet cited in Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 242.

body that also issued the filmstrips discussed in this chapter. In 1961, the Service was subdivided into 8 units. The 'Publications' unit received 34% of the total budget, while the department entrusted with 'University information, youth, and popular education' received 27%, which amounted to 16.3 million in 1963.[412] The allocation of funds gives us an impression of the Service's priorities: publicity and education by far outranked the other units in financial weight.

In the early years of European integration, campaigns ambitiously aimed at 'all' Europeans were launched to mobilize the people's legitimizing power.[413] According to media scholars Jackie Harrison and Stefanie Pukallus, these campaigns backed a communication policy that sought to 1) make the European institutions more familiar and 2) show the relevance of Europe to its inhabitants.[414] Building a relationship between the Community and its inhabitants was a top priority, for the 'ideal' of a European public and its reality were miles apart.[415] Indeed, the Community was fairly concerned about the people's involvement. In 1959, President of the EEC Commission Walter Hallstein lamented that

> '(…) the average citizen (…) feels somewhat lost when confronted with an edifice whose structure appears to him complicated; he easily imagines that Europe is a matter exclusively for technicians, economists and a few political figures upon whom it is difficult for him to exercise any influence. This opinion is obviously erroneous, but it has the advantage of showing us where we must apply our effort.'[416]

From 1951 to 1962, the Information Service employed what Harisson and Pukallus call a 'popularist' approach, targeting the general public through popular media. On the one hand, the Community tried to influence the press, fostering good relations with agencies and journalists to secure positive coverage of European matters.[417] On the other hand, it organized its own fairs and workshops, created a few short films and documentaries[418], and – most interesting to our topic – published general information brochures, with a circulation figure of over 3 million exemplars in 1962.[419] The brochures applied straightforward, simple language, were accompanied by cartoons, information boxes, some clear-cut statistics, and diagrams. With regard to vocabulary, the frequent use of certain phrases and expressions composes a distinctive lingo that also comes to the fore in the Service's filmstrips. For example:

> a 'United Europe', 'Europe to unite its strengths', 'uniting of Europe'
> 'an ever closer union', 'closer union of people'

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[412] Percentages derived from the sums recorded in Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 249.
[413] Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 242.
[414] Ibid., 240-41.
[415] Ibid., 240.
[416] Walter Hallstein, "Europe is on the move: political and economic policies", speech delivered to the Royal Institute of International Relations in Brussels, November 10, 1959. Accessed June 7, 2017, http://aei.pitt.edu/14932.
[417] The Community was well-aware of the power of mass media. For example, Jean Monnet feared misinterpretations by the press could 'risk the success of European integration'. Hence, it was important to him 'to develop relationships with news agencies and journalists in order to manipulate their views'. See Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 242.
[418] See for example the documentary *Histoire d'un Traité*, distributed in 1954.
[419] Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 244.

> 'benefits
> 'confidence'
> 'peace', 'reconciliation'
> a 'new European way of thinking'[420]

Such phrases demonstrate that the brochures provided more than just a matter-of-fact explanation of the workings of the European institutions; they also highlighted the dreams and aspirations of the Community. This was exactly what Jean Monnet envisioned when he stated that public information should go beyond a mere enumeration of 'technicalities', and make the public 'feel part of a common destiny' instead.[421] Yet, the Service brochures did not always meet these high expectations. Political scientist François Foret points out that the main argument in all information booklets is whether something contributes to the interest of Europe, and, consequentially, to the interest of the individual reader. Time and again, the reader is turned into 'the consumer searching for his profit rather than the citizen involved in a quest for general interest'[422] – something that also happens in the filmstrips. Moreover, the Community's aspiration to reach *all* Europeans burdened the Service with the desperate task to address a non-defined audience, Foret argues. Combined with 'the lack of any reliable impact indicator', this reinforced the idea 'of a European message addressed to its citizens as a bottle launched into sea.'[423]

In the mid-1960s, the public communication policy of the Community shifted from 'popularist' to 'opinion-led' because of insufficient funds. The disappointing results of the 1962 Community-wide Gallup poll also played a role.[424] From now on, the Information Service hoped to reach the general public through its targeting of specific groups, like Community employees, academics, and people connected to pro-European civil society associations – so-called 'multipliers' or 'opinion-makers'.[425] Schoolteachers also played an important role: through the distribution of teaching materials about European integration, the Service hoped to positively influence the European youth.[426]

*Educating Europe*
Before 1992, the Community was not authorized to directly involve itself with education. Still, educational scholar Raymond Ryba argues that up to that point, 'a long road toward the establishment of a European dimension in education had already been travelled.'[427] In the same vein,

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[420] See Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 246.
[421] Jean Monnet paraphrased in Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 244.
[422] François Foret, "Dire l'Europe. Les Publications grand public de la Commission européenne: entre rhétoriques politique et bureaucratique," *Pole Sûd* (2001): 89. Translated from French: '(…) [Le] modèle proposé au lecteur est celui du consommateur poursuivant son intérêt particulier davantage que celui du citoyen impliqué dans une démarche d'intérêt général.'
[423] Foret, "Dire l'Europe," 81. Translated from French: 'L'absence de tout indicateur fiable et complet de l'impact des publications tend à renforcer l'idée d'un message communautaire émis à l'adresse des citoyens comme on lance une bouteille à la mer.'
[424] The Gallup poll proved a watershed. It showed that despite the efforts of the Information Service, knowledge of and emotional connectedness with the European Community was low. See Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 247.
[425] Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 237-238.
[426] Ibid., 248.
[427] Raymond Ryba, "Toward a European Dimension in Education: Intention and Reality in European Community Policy and Practice," *Comparative Education Review* 36-1 (February 1992): 11.

Petit states that in the 1950s and 60s, 'education was already a key issue' in the Europe of the Six.[428] With regard to higher and professional education, the European Executives often called upon Treaty articles that referred to 'professional training'.[429] However, it proved more difficult to legitimize their 'meddling' in primary and secondary education. To illustrate: the Community's support for the establishment of so-called 'European schools' resulted in a 'virtual uprising' among its member states, who feared European interference in their national educational affairs.[430]

Why was education such a stumble block? Petit explains how the school 'is the area perhaps more closely associated than any other with the shaping of minds or social imaginaries, the habits of thought and belief that form the cornerstone of human communities (…).'[431] Here, the national interests of the member countries came into full clash with European ideals. In fact, the Community tried to recreate the exact same mechanisms that had been instrumental in the formation of national identities a century earlier.[432] For example, Robert Schuman proposed to rewrite curricula and 'detoxify' children's history books. He proposed to battle 'poisonous' nationalism with a healing dose of Europeanism:

> 'On the pretext of feeding into nationalistic sentiments and worship of our glorious past, we often fail to recognize the duty to be impartial and truthful (…). [We] must show up, highlight, the real Community of ideas, hopes and aspirations that have existed *forever* between the nations in varying degrees (…).'[433]

In doing so, Schuman proposed a teleological view of Europe: he claimed that the European nations had always belonged together, though national strife had hitherto thwarted the continent's destiny to be united.

Not authorized to develop a coherent educational policy, the Community limited its actions to single, disjointed projects, such as the Europe in School-competition, teachers' trips, the launch of an educational journal, and the establishment of European Schools, the first one being founded in Luxemburg in 1954. These schools not only served the needs of Community officials and their families, but also functioned as experimental space for the 'raising' of truly European citizens and the development of a post-national curriculum.[434] The motto of the European Schools – inscribed in Latin (!) on their walls – perhaps most truly reflect what Europeanness should look like in the eyes of the Community:

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[428] Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 668.

[429] Ibid., 671.

[430] Legal experts hurried to say the creation of 'primary and secondary schools, even if only for Community official's children, had no organic linkage either with the Community's goals or its mission'. See Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 673.

[431] Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 668.

[432] Ibid., 674.

[433] Robert Schuman cited in Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 665. See also Robert Schuman, *Pour l'Europe* (Paris: Les Éditions Nagel, 1964), 50-51.

[434] To illustrate: the schools' 'leading by example' comes to the fore in an article in *De Driemaster*, a monthly published by the JOVD, the youth organization of the Dutch liberal party VVD. The article pays elaborate attention to history teaching at the European School of Luxembourg and critically assesses the Dutch curriculum in its light. See Bote de Boer, "Geschiedenisonderwijs in Europees verband," *De Driemaster* 10-1 (January 1958): 1-2.

> 'The young pupils educated in contact with each other, freed from their
> earliest years from the prejudices which divide one nation from another,
> and introduced to the value and beauty of different cultures, will have a
> growing sense of their common solidarity. Retaining their pride in and love
> for their own countries, they will become Europeans in spirit, ready to
> complete and consolidate the work that their fathers have undertaken for
> the advance of a united and prosperous Europe.'[435]

The Community also invested in close ties with teachers through professional organizations, such as the European Association of Teachers (AEE). Furthermore, it disseminated teaching materials through its Information Service. The Dutch brochure *Het schoolboek aangevuld* proves a good example. Published in 1961, the booklet urges teachers to make themselves acquainted with European issues: 'Events and facts that may be of major importance, but which the writers of our textbooks could not have anticipated.'[436]

*A teacher's perspective*
Though teachers and policy makers alike called for a 'European dimension' in education, the materials published by the Service were eyed suspiciously. Ryba writes that teachers lamented the lack of 'real teaching materials' and considered most Service publications as 'public relations material' that was unsuitable for teaching.[437] Also, calls for 'more Europe' overloaded the curriculum, for the topic was added, not integrated into the curriculum.[438] Such critical remarks also come to the fore in a 1960 article of teaching professional Alan de Rusett, in which he bemoans that countless organizations and movements pour 'their literature and other attentions upon our schools'.[439] Because the teacher lacks the time to properly assess these materials, he is too easily tempted to use them, De Rusett argues: 'When the European Communities can give him a "schools kit" which contains a filmstrip, lecture notes, a brief guide to the Community entitled "The Facts", two wall maps, five charts and three posters, he is impressed.'[440] A situation that is unwelcome, for more often than not, there is 'no distinction between the products of salesmanship and those of scholarship'.[441] Furthermore, the offered teaching materials are seldom coherent. De Rusett explains:

> 'A teacher has only to read the literature, and imbibe the spirit of these
> agencies, to realize that in all sincerity they are promoting different
> perspectives, and concepts of different, confusedly overlapping, even
> conflicting "loyalty areas" (…). Is the "Europe" of the Communities the
> "Europe" of United Europe? Is that "Europe" the same as Western
> Civilization? Is that Civilization the same as "European Heritage"? Of what

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[435] An English translation of the School's Latin engraving in Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 667. See also *Bulletin from the European Community for Coal and Steel* 17 (1956): 12.

[436] *Het schoolboek aangevuld* (Den Haag: Voorlichtingsdienst Europese Gemeenschappen, 1961), 4.

[437] Ryba's remarks are based upon the results of an official survey among teachers of the Community's member states, combined with the outcomes of a supplementary ATEE poll (ATEE stands for Association for Teacher Education in Europe). Ryba, "Toward a European Dimension in Education," 21.

[438] Ryba, "Toward a European Dimension in Education," 18.

[439] Alan de Rusett, "The World, the Teacher and the School," *International Relations* 2-1 (1960): 50-51.

[440] De Rusett, "The World, the Teacher and the School," 54-55.

[441] Ibid., 54.

does this consist – as in one presentation it is shared by the Soviet Union
and in another is defended by an "Atlantic Community"?'[442]

These questions also come to the fore in my analysis of the filmstrips published by the Information Service of the European Communities. How does the Community present itself to the European youth? Does its perception of integration differ from earlier renderings by the Marshall campaign? To sum up: what *does* Europe look like through the lens of the Community?

**Building Europe**

*Wij bouwen Europa* is the first of two filmstrips under review that have been issued by the Information Service of the European Communities. Though most filmstrips in my selection mention neither writer nor illustrator, this one states the name of its compiler: journalist and former chief of KRO school radio[443] Leni Verstegen, who also contributed to several of the Marshall filmstrips.[444] The filmstrip consists of 31 slides, including a title and end slide. It was produced after the establishment of the EEC in 1958, but before 1962, when the CAP[445] came into force. Many of its images also appear in *Naar een verenigd Europa*, another Service filmstrip. *Naar een verenigd Europa* is a bit shorter: it contains 24 slides. Its plain language suggests it was aimed at a younger target group. It was issued after 1962, when the open market had turned from fiction into fact. Hence, the title of the first filmstrip, *Wij bouwen Europa*, suggests a personal involvement and common effort, while this urgency is absent in the second filmstrip. Here, the story is more matter-of-fact. Simple, straightforward language and clear-cut comparisons add to an atmosphere of contentment and confidence: this is what integration looks like, this is how history goes. The progressive movement suggested by its name – *Naar een verenigd Europa* – is to be found in the enlargement[446] of Europe, rather than the realization of further integration between the Six.[447]

The filmstrip *Wij bouwen Europa* consists of four periods. First, slides 2 to 7 explain the necessity of cooperation by means of a metaphor (1). Then the establishment of the ECSC is discussed: the filmstrip pays attention to its *raison d'être*, its conception, and its organizational structure (2). The

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[442] De Rusett, "The World, the Teacher and the School," 54.

[443] In 1958, school radio became a joint venture of NCRV, AVRO, VARA and the KRO, the four most important public broadcasting organizations in the Dutch pillarized media landscape. Within this cooperative framework, each organization added its own 'voice' to the school programming. See Hans Knot, "Kennismaken en kennis maken met de schoolradio. De radio in dienst van het onderwijs," *Soundscapes* 11 (August 2008), accessed June 5, 2017, http://www.icce.rug.nl/~soundscapes/VOLUME11/Schoolradio.shtml.

[444] See for example *Presidenten van de Verenigde Staten* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1950-1953), Marshall filmstrip 52, 24x36 mm slides, amount of frames unknown, comp. Leni Verstegen, commissioned by USIS. And *Godsdienst in de Verenigde Staten* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1950-53), Marshall filmstrip 58, 24x36 mm slides, amount of frames unkown, comp. Leni Verstegen, commissioned by USIS. As radio maker and journalist, Leni Verstegen had made quite a name for herself: she is frequently mentioned in Dutch newspaper articles of the 1950s, often in relation to high-profile events, such as the coronation of British queen Elizabeth II (where she was 'the only female reporter'). When Verstegen suddenly decided to leave the KRO and move to Portugal in 1958, Catholic daily *De Tijd* devoted an article to her. See "Vrouw naar Kroning," *De Telegraaf*, May 1, 1954; "Niet zitten te zitten," *De Tijd*, September 24, 1958.

[445] CAP stands for Common Agricultural Policy. It was introduced in 1962 to arrange free movement of agricultural products and fix common prices.

[446] *Naar een verenigd Europa* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1962-67), filmstrip, 24x36 mm slides, 24 frames, commissioned by Voorlichtingsdienst Europese Gemeenschappen, 23.

[447] Though it would take until 1973 before Denmark, Ireland and the UK joined the Six, the first accession negotiations started in 1961. They were thwarted by President De Gaulle of France.

third period contains slides 15 to 22 and makes up the largest part of the story (3). It discusses the need for a 'new Europe' without borders and shows what this Europe will look like in very materialistic terms. The fourth period (slides 23-28) discusses the benefits of nuclear energy (4). A summarizing slide at the end of the period brings together the storylines of the ECSC, the EEC, and Euratom (slide 29), while a picture of Queen Juliana bestows the story with some royal consent – apparently an approved formula (slide 30).

*A European home*
The opening slide of the filmstrip shows a continent that is under construction: while its inner borders are dissolved, a crowd of unidentifiable workmen is hammering away at its fringes. The map displays the Europe of the Six as an independent entity that floats into space, as if no other Europe exists (fig. 62). It resembles the logo of the Information Service on the end slide which also displays the six countries as one contiguous land mass (fig. 63). Thus, the filmstrip's story takes place within a certain geographical framework: its construction site is the Europe of the Six.


Fig. 62


Fig. 63

In *Wij bouwen Europa*, the story of European integration hinges on the metaphor of the European home. Throughout the filmstrip the image appears of a plain house, squeezed in between an American skyscraper and the Russian Kremlin. With every step towards integration, the house grows a little bigger and starts to look more comfortable and complete. In the end, it is a full alternative to the neighbors' residences: Europe stands its ground amidst 'de grote buren' (fig. 67).[448] Its positioning reverberates the idea of Europe as a buffer between two Cold War fronts, though this is not made explicit in the filmstrip.

The first period starts with a slide of six identical men, each in possession of a building commodity (fig. 64). However, due to their separateness 'hebben ze geen van allen een onderdak'.[449] They are without a home. Then the men decide to trade their goods. Now, they can each make a 'klein, eenvoudig'[450] home for themselves, resulting in 6 small buildings (fig. 65). Meanwhile, other builders have entered the scene: on the left we see Uncle Sam working on a majestic skyscraper, while a Kremlin-like building arises on the right. Finally, the six men move beyond exchange towards cooperation. Now, they can build a big house, 'waarin ze allemaal prettig kunnen leven'.[451] A house that is not inferior to its surroundings (fig. 66).

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[448] *Wij bouwen Europa* (Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1958-62), filmstrip, 24x36 mm slides, 31 frames, comp. Leni Verstegen, commissioned by Voorlichtingsdienst Europese Gemeenschappen, 19.
[449] *Wij bouwen Europa*, 2.
[450] Ibid., 3.
[451] Ibid., 4.

Here, the story shifts, taking pains to explain the building metaphor: 'Wat voor afzonderlijke mensen geldt, geldt ook voor de groepen mensen die in verschillende landen wonen.'[452] Like the six men, countries have goods and supplies they can exchange.[453] While closed borders have often led to strife and social misery in the past, the ECSC brings peace through cooperation, the second period explains.[454]

Following the success of the ECSC, it is time to dream bigger: 'Waarom bouwen we niet samen een nieuw Europa, waarin we allen prettiger en vriendschappelijker leven?'[455] It is argued that the realization of a common market will establish such a house.[456] Adorned with flags, the building turns into a house for all six nations, celebrating their differences as they live happily together in one welcoming home (fig. 67).



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig.66



Fig. 67

The metaphor of the European home is an interesting one. It suggests affective involvement, for it appeals to the most basic human needs and longings: we *feel* at home – in our house, or with someone we love. Without a home something is not right: we are homesick, homeless. Despite this emotional layer, the filmstrip's imagery mainly consists of sober maps and drawings. The few photographs that are used do not trigger individual partaking or empathy – apart from the woman in figure 70 and the portrait of a smiling Queen Juliana at the end of the filmstrip.[457] Unity is solely framed in economic terms. Hence, the realization of a common market will be the main characteristic of the new European home.[458] As is the case with the Community's information brochures analyzed

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[452] *Wij bouwer Europa*, 5.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Ibid., 9-11.
[455] Ibid., 19.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid., 30.
[458] Ibid., 19, 22.

by Foret, the audience of the strip is primarily addressed as consumer.[459] Unlike *Verenigd Europa II*, this story does not mention a common European heritage that unites the peoples of Europe: such an argument for integration would only raise questions about the frontiers of Europe and undermine the filmstrip's equation of Europe to the Europe of the Six. Still, the perspective on integration is somewhat broadened in the last slide. Here, the filmstrip ties economic welfare to Europe's mission to civilize the world by means of a quote from Queen Juliana of the Netherlands (1909-2004):

> 'Wanneer wij de handen ineenslaan en elkander helpen, dan kan Europa een
> overvloed van stoffelijke rijkdom gaan verwerven en een rijkdom aan
> culturele waarden gaan verspreiden, gedragen door morele kracht.'[460]

*Echoing pictures*

At the time of the filmstrip's publication, the house of Europe is far from finished. With the exemption of coal and steel free trade is still blocked, though the recently founded EEC strives to soon sweep away all toll barriers, the filmstrip argues.[461] To explain the situation's direness, the story relies on scenes we have come across earlier: there is a picture of a truck crashing into a brick wall (fig. 68) that takes us back to the van thundering through the border barrier in *Verenigd Europa II* (fig. 37, page 58). Another image (fig. 69) laments the hassle of the border control that strikes every tourist as odd, which echoes the argument put forth in *Verenigd Europa I* that borders are both unnatural and unnecessary (fig. 13-14, page 49).[462]


7. Maar wat wij graag uitvoeren, willen onze buren dikwijls niet binnenlaten. *Fig. 68*


17. Iedereen die buitenlandse reizen maakt, valt dit op. Maar meenemen van goedkope artikelen van het ene land naar het andere, wordt meestal niet toegestaan. Ook de toerist moet zich aan grenscontrole onderwerpen. *Fig. 69*

But there are differences too. Both *Verenigd Europa*-filmstrips refer to European integration in a very broad, general way. They neither define nor limit the countries involved, with the – often implicit – exception of Eastern Europe. *Wij bouwen Europa* narrows the scope, shrinking the continent to the dimensions of Europe as political project. Hence, six different currencies are depicted in figure 69. Six flags hang from the European home (fig. 67). And every map the filmstrip displays only shows the Europe of the Six. This results in the absurd situation that only half of Germany appears on the scene when World War II is discussed.[463] The Europe presented here has become so tied to its political reality that it leaves little room for the sweeping vistas of the first hour. Obviously, this filmstrip is not a publication of an idealistic organization like the European Movement, nor an American propaganda piece, but the release of a political body with its own interests and dynamics. The storyline of the filmstrip also illustrates that the political landscape had changed considerably since

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[459] See for example *Wij bouwen Europa*, 22. Here, the filmstrip displays a cartoon of a market booth that sells Italian leather shoes for profitable 'Europa prijzen': 'Wie later op de kleine markt van zijn dorp of stad slentert of langs de winkeletalages loopt, zal de voordelen van de grote Euromarkt met eigen ogen kunnen zien.'
[460] *Wij bouwen Europa*, 30.
[461] Ibid., 16, 20.
[462] Ibid., 18.
[463] Ibid., 10.

the early post-war years. The East-West divide ruled out any involvement of Eastern Europe, while internal quarrelling turned a possible enlargement of the Community into a painstaking process. Hence, in this filmstrip the 'gospel' of the Euro-federalists clashes with the reality that is European integration. This 'clash' was also perceivable at the time. For example, in 1958 Dutch historian Pieter Geyl fussed that 'the Europe they are talking about, is not Europe. (…) The Europe of the Six, that "little Europe", (…) has nothing to do with a true European ideal.'[464]

*The atom without the bomb*
In *Wij bouwen Europa*, Euratom enters the scene for the first time. Set up in 1957, the European Atomic Energy Community aspired to create a specialist market for nuclear power in Europe. Considerable attention is paid to this new phenomenon. The filmstrip stresses the unrivalled strength of nuclear energy – comparing 1 kilogram of uranium to 130 wagons of coal – and points out its economic, medical and agricultural uses.[465] It also obliquely refers to nuclear competition, asserting that 'alle landen kernenergie willen gaan gebruiken'.[466] The nuclear arms race is not mentioned, nor are the dangerous side-effects of nuclear radiation. Instead, we come across the photograph of a woman undergoing medical treatment (fig. 70). The picture does not quite fit in with the more static images that form the lion's share of the filmstrip. The intimate close-up evokes connotations of 'man versus machine', yet the scene also breathes security: the girl looks peaceful, safely guarded by the equipment surrounding her. According to Dutch scholars F.W. Geels and B. Verhees, photos like this 'linked' nuclear energy to people's daily lives, enhancing its 'experiential commensurability'.[467] Nuclear power is not something to be afraid of: within the right hands, it will heal instead of destroy. Thus, it is Euratom – and not the atomic bomb – that forms the third pillar fortifying 'het huis van het nieuwe Europa' (fig. 71). Together with the ECSC and the EEC it constructs 'een hechte grondslag voor welvaart en vrede'[468] – a slogan that reverberates the MSA catchphrase 'voor een hechte, vrije wereld'.[469]


Fig. 70


Fig. 71

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[464] Pieter Geyl cited in Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 202-203. See also Pieter Geyl, *Studies en strijdschriften: bundel aangeboden aan de schrijver bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht* (Groningen: Wolters, 1958), 470.
[465] *Wij bouwen Europa*, 23, 26-28.
[466] Ibid., 24.
[467] Geels and Verhees, "Technological Forecasting and Social Change," 918. According to Geels and Verhees, in the 1950s 'frames and discourses [were developed] that removed the negative associations between nuclear energy and the atom bomb' in order to create 'cultural legitimacy' for 'the civilian development' of nuclear power. This also comes to the fore in a 1956 children's book about 'the atom as genie, ready to grant humanity's wishes', which was published by Walt Disney and later made into a television episode of *Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color*.
[468] *Wij bouwen Europa*, 29.
[469] See the end slides of *Verenigd Europa I, Verenigd Europa II* and *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*.

**Europe: a success story**

The filmstrip *Naar een verenigd Europa* has the most confident take on European integration so far. It also contains a clearly defined concept of what this integration entails. Without using superlatives, it paints a very favorable picture of the Europe of the Six. Made in the wake of the unfolding 'Wirtschaftswunder', the filmstrip shows color photographs[470] of all kinds of economic activity (fig. 72), accompanied by statements such as 'de fabrieken draaien op volle toeren'.[471] Times have changed, socially as well as economically. Hence the filmstrip also includes a picture of a woman in an active economic role (fig. 73). Carrying a spool of thread, she literally contributes to 'een belangrijke tak van handel en industrie' in the European economy.[472] Hitherto, women have only been depicted in a passive position as consumer, housewife or mother.



12. De fabrieken draaien op volle toeren.    *Fig. 72*



16. Textiel is in de Europese Gemeenschap een belangrijke tak van handel en industrie.    *Fig. 73*

The filmstrip's structure is plain. Three periods can be distinguished: first, slides 2 to 5 explain that the member states of the Community belong together (1). The second period contains slides 6 to 16 and discusses both the establishment and successes of the ECSC and ECC (2). Then, slides 17 to 21 briefly address nuclear energy (3). The story concludes with a celebratory image of a strong Community (slide 22), and invites others to join in (slide 23).

Unlike earlier filmstrips, *Naar een verenigd Europa* hardly pays any attention to the rationale behind European cooperation. 'Samenwerken is beter', the filmstrip merely states.[473] There are no explanatory references to a Franco-German feud over coal and steel, the looming post-war malaise or the fear for social instability. The Second World War is briefly mentioned as part of the filmstrip's chronology, but does not play an important role in the story's overall plot.[474] The story's confident tone comes most to the fore in its abundant use of matter-of-fact statements: this filmstrip clearly enters the realm of 'naturalization' (see chapter 3). The text contains hardly any binaries and does not have to justify its claims. The time for heaven-and-hell comparisons is definitely over.[475] Economic cooperation has become an irrefutable fact. The urgent call of the reconstruction years to work harder, make an effort and put differences aside, is completely absent. Accompanied by a celebratory cartoon (fig. 75), the next-to-last slide reads like a proclamation: 'Onze zes landen

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[470] In the 1960s Fibo began to publish its first color filmstrips. Sometimes, the original black-and-white images were colored in, as is the case with the images in this particular filmstrip.
[471] *Naar een verenigd Europa*, 12.
[472] Ibid., 16.
[473] Ibid., 3.
[474] Ibid., 7.
[475] In the 1960s, the Dutch debate about European integration was no longer dominated by the 'evangelism' of the euro-federalists, though 'they still made themselves heard'. See Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 204.

werken samen in de Europese gemeenschap, die sterker en groter is dan één land alleen.'[476] Europe has become a success story.

*The nation, Europe, and the world*
What does this thriving Europe look like? To start with, the filmstrip explains how Europe consists of different countries, in the same way that the Netherlands consist of different provinces (fig. 74). Together, the countries form 'één geheel'.[477] Within this entity, however, the nations of Europe are still clearly discernible (fig. 75). Member state flags pop up frequently throughout the story, especially with regard to the European institutions: the ECSC, ECC and Euratom are represented by three times six flags.[478] As in the Marshall filmstrip *K.S.G.*, borders are only perceived as hindering free trade, however they are no longer refuted as 'unnatural'.[479] The nation still stands.

In *Naar een verenigd Europa*, the scope of integration is confined to the European economy, which mirrors the integration process of the 1960s. The story does not call for integration in other areas, nor does it harbor any grand designs for the future, as is the case with most Marshall filmstrips. Yet, the filmstrip's language is less conclusive: the subject of integration is always phrased in general terms, while defining adjectives, such as 'economic', are completely absent from its captions.[480] On the one hand, this may imply 'integration' has become synonymous to the economic sector. On the other hand, the absence may also indicate an 'ambivalent' narrative mode (see chapter 3), for in a way, the filmstrip does not verbally anchor the meaning of integration, which leaves the possibility for various interpretations. This ambivalence neatly fits the inconclusiveness of the European project, which Boxhoorn & Jansen characterize by its 'vagueness (…) and the lack of effort to provide it with concrete meaning.'[481]



4. Onze provincies vormen samen één geheel: Nederland. Zo vormen zes landen samen de Europese Gemeenschap.    *Fig. 74*



22. Onze zes landen werken samen in de Europese Gemeenschap, die sterker en groter is dan één land alleen.    *Fig. 75*

Another important aspect of *Naar een verenigd Europa* is the presentation of Europe as a power in itself. For example, at the beginning of the story the European Community is compared to the United States, equating the Six with America in a self-assured manner (fig. 76). Though smaller, Europe has almost as many inhabitants, the caption reads.[482] For the first time, Europe is unequivocally mentioned in the same breath as the leader of the Free World. Also, the caption states the inhabitants of the Six belong to the Community *in the same way* as the Americans belong to the

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[476] *Naar een verenigd Europa*, 22.
[477] Ibid., 4.
[478] Ibid., 6.
[479] Ibid., 13-15.
[480] See for example *Naar een Verenigd Europa*, 4, 10, 22.
[481] Boxhoorn and Jansen, *De integratie van Europa*, 174.
[482] *Naar een Verenigd Europa*, 5.

United States[483] – something that would not have been possible in the Marshall filmstrips. Here, the filmstrip echoes the claim made in *Wij bouwen Europa*: Europe has turned into 'een huis dat er mag zijn naast de grote huizen eromheen'.[484]


5. Wel is de Europese Gemeenschap veel kleiner dan b.v. de Verenigde Staten van Amerika, maar beide hebben ongeveer evenveel inwoners.
*Fig. 76*


23. De Europese Gemeenschap staat open voor andere landen die zich willen aansluiten.
*Fig. 77*

Europe has thus become strong and prosperous. Is there nothing left to wish for? Until now, the borders of the European Community have been confined to the Six. Yet, Europe is much bigger, stretching all the way from southern Spain to northern Scandinavia, from the island of Britain to the Ural (fig. 77). 'De Europese Gemeenschap staat open voor andere landen die zich willen aansluiten', reads the caption of the last slide.[485] Who does not want to belong to such a powerhouse? Yet, being willing is not enough, history tells us. Membership applications by the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark (1961), Norway and Spain (1962) all were rejected or withdrawn at first. It would take until 1973 before the Six would admit other countries to their inner circle.

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[483] *Naar een Verenigd Europa*, 5.
[484] Ibid., 4.
[485] Ibid., 23.

**Chapter synopsis: what does 'Europe' look like in the filmstrips of the European Community?**

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Community filmstrips is the way that they answer the question: 'Who belongs to Europe?' From their very beginning, both filmstrips confine Europe to the Europe of the Six. The Marshall filmstrip *K.S.G.* also adopts this narrow vision at the end of its story: the happy family of its last slide could easily move into the European home built in *Wij bouwen Europa*.[486] However, the starting point of *K.S.G.* is more universal – a universalism that does not feature in the stories of this chapter.

What is the driving force behind the Europe of the Six? In the Marshall filmstrips, the quest for peace weaves through European history like a red thread. However, this storyline barely comes to the fore in *Wij bouwen Europa* and is actually absent in *Naar een verenigd Europa*. Leading instead is the economic  (or consumer's) perspective. Europe is all about the good life, a house in which it is 'prettig (…) leven'.[487] Moreover, this way of living – which strikingly equals the American dream of the Marshall filmstrips – is our own achievement. *We* built Europe.

The filmstrip *Naar een verenigd Europa* offers a more detailed account of what the continent now looks like. It is a Europe of booming factories: the photograph in slide 12 mirrors the aerial view of Manhattan in *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*.[488] It is a Europe of luxury items, available to everyone: the market booth of the Six could stand proudly next to Uncle Sam's stall in *Verenigd Europa II*.[489] It is a powerful Europe: though a bit smaller than the US, it has just as many inhabitants. Finally, the Europe of the Six is a shining example for the rest of the continent: it has dethroned America as inspiring model for welfare and unity.

*Wij bouwen Europa* is the only filmstrip under review in which the Soviet Union plays an exemplary role alongside the US. In the story, both superpowers have their own appealing home. In between both houses Europe emerges as a 'third force'. The fact that this Europe is dependent on American military protection in the form of the A-bomb does not alter this. Actually, the Atlantic alliance is absent in both Community filmstrips. Instead, the filmstrips focus on the internal cohesion of the European Community, which is made up of six different nations that pull together. Its connectedness to the rest of Europe and the world is addressed from this perspective only.

In short: the Marshall filmstrips of the 1950s present European integration as a work in progress – necessary and promising, but unfinished. The filmstrips of the European Community show that, a decade later, Europe has arrived. However, it would probably not be recognizable to the dreamers of the first hour.

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[486] See *K.S.G.*, 34.
[487] *Wij bouwen Europa*, 4.
[488] See *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 4.
[489] See *Wij bouwen Europa*, 22; *Verenigd Europa II*, 8.

# Project(ing) Europe: a conclusion

This thesis began with the remark that stories play a pivotal role in the positioning of individuals, states and societies and therefore are never innocent. The Mutual Security Agency of the American government, the federalist European Movement and the Information Service of the European Communities all told such formative stories about Europe. Through filmstrips, they promoted 'the idea of a European community'[490] among Dutch schoolchildren, as was one of the objectives of the Marshall Plan. From a 1950s federalist perspective, they presented unification as a last resort to save the continent from ruin. And in the 1960s, filmstrips issued by the Community celebrated the economic success of the Europe of the Six, but kept silent about political integration and literally ignored the rest of Europe.

Now that all filmstrip slides have passed before our eyes, it is time to formulate a final answer to the question posed in the introduction of this thesis: *Which stories of European integration come to the fore in filmstrips used in Dutch primary schools between 1950 and 1967 and how do they relate to concepts of Europe extant at that time?*

In chapter 2 we have seen how in the early post-war years, filmstrips became a popular teaching aid in the Dutch classroom. Due to their cheapness and small storage format, they were an accessible means for teachers to illustrate their lessons. Yet in the 1930s, the introduction of the medium had led to quite a stir. Teachers feared that the filmstrip would impair their authority and diminish them to mere 'button pushers'. Also, film itself was believed to be both morally and physically harmful to children. In the 1950s, attitudes started to change. Visual media like the filmstrip came to be seen as the ultimate method to capture the attention of children and instill them with knowledge. From now on, viewing pleasure and aesthetics were no longer perceived as detrimental to educational aims, but as contributing to learning effectiveness. Hence, it was not at all surprising that organizations like the MSA chose to disseminate their message of a united Europe through filmstrips. Furthermore, it was probably easier to provide teachers with extra teaching materials on a narrowly defined topic, than to write an addendum to existing textbooks, for 'Europe' had not been integrated into the curriculum yet. Besides, due to the scarcity of school supplies in the Reconstruction period, Marshall filmstrips were very appealing to teachers. In the 1960s, the publication of filmstrips by the Information Service of the European Communities proved a good way to present Dutch schoolchildren with the 'official' view on European integration and simultaneously circumvent restrictions on the Community's meddling in education. Here, tensions between Europe and the nation-state came clearly to the fore: as a powerful tool for identity building, education was perceived as one of the pillars of the nation. The Community's efforts to use this tool for its own ends met with fierce opposition from national governments.

In chapter 3, I have formulated a qualitative method to analyze filmstrips, based on the multi-leveled character of the medium. Characteristic of the filmstrip is its image sequence: the celluloid strip consists of a series of images that together form a coherent story. Thus, the meaning of a filmstrip is not only constructed through its singular frames, but also through the abstract and visual coherence *between* these frames which, contrary to educational film, has to be stitched together by the

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[490] This was one of the objectives that governed the output of the ECA mission. See Hemsing, "The Marshall Plan's European Film Unit," 270.

spectator himself. To trace this coherence I have divided the selected filmstrips into periods, units and elements, an approach first described in a 1961 teacher's manual of teaching professional Ben Elshout. His theory to 'read' a filmstrip like a book reverberates the idea of French philosopher Roland Barthes that everything can be studied as 'text', opening up perspectives on the visual from narratology and literary studies. One of these perspectives draws on the post-structuralist concept of 'polysemy': the idea that an image takes on multiple meanings. Yet, in the filmstrips under review the images are accompanied by texts, leading the viewer's interpretation in a certain direction – a practice called 'anchorage'. Since captions plays such a formative role, I have paid considerable attention to the way meaning is established through language. I have made a distinction between three different narrative modi to analyze in how far a statement is presented as 'neutral', which, according to linguist Norman Fairclough, indicates that it is part of hegemonic discourse. This brings us back full circle to the beginning of this conclusion: stories – whether verbal, visual, or both – really have the power to construct a persuasive view of the world.

**The story of European integration**

The story of European unity has always been a battlefield of different perspectives. In chapter 1 we have seen how in medieval times, Europe became synonymous to Christendom, an idea that gradually gave way to more secular interpretations of unity. Thus, in the era of Enlightenment a Grand Narrative of Europe came to the fore that seemed completely neutral and rational. This narrative presented the continent as the beacon of human progress: Europe had become a civilizing project. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, the idea of a superior Europe became the driving force behind Europe's imperialist undertakings. Though Christianity still played an important role in the demarcation of European culture, other 'opposites' took center stage. The Orient, perceived as both deviant and mysterious, came into sight as the antithesis of the West. Sometimes, the countries of Eastern Europe acted as Europe's 'Other' as well, playing the backward fool that every story needs. Indeed, the 'locale' of the story of Europe shifted more and more to Western Europe, turning its Eastern counterpart into a debatable sphere.

After 1945 plans to forge some kind of European unity – whether a loose intergovernmental association or a state-like federation – were all rooted in this Grand Narrative of Europe. The devastation of two world wars led many to believe that the European system of nation-states had failed miserably. A strong, unified Europe was needed to keep the individual countries in check and safeguard peace on the continent. But what should this Europe look like? And who should it include?

*Through American eyes*
In the filmstrips under review in chapters 4 and 5, different Europes come to the fore. Seen through American eyes, the Europe in the Marshall series is not only bankrupt, but also backwards. This best comes to light in the cartoon of the gentleman with a bowler hat (fig. 39), who embodies the 'old' Europe of before 1914 and does not fit into the modern, Americanized world anymore.[491] Of course, this raises the issue of American success. What makes America great (and, consequently, Europe as well)? The Marshall filmstrips list the following characteristics: first of all, the US is depicted as quintessentially modern, which means the country is technically advanced. Second, America is united and has a large population, which results in the country's high productivity and economic success.

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[491] See *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*, 2.

Taken together, these arguments support the overall claim for European unity: the US is prosperous and at peace – a state of being that Europe also should aspire to. Fortunately, Marshall propaganda promises that 'you too can be like us!'[492]

Another feature of this 'American' Europe was its federal outlook. Though propagated by both the MSA and the European Movement, this aspect is less visible in the filmstrips. Frequent references to the American nation only implicitly advocate a federal state form. The democratic character of Europe also remains in the background. Though a strong, 'free' Europe would function as a buttress in the Cold War, this is nowhere made explicit. The East-West divide is mentioned once, while words like 'democracy' and 'freedom' barely appear.

The most striking feature of the Marshall series is their portrayal of a Europe in crisis. Or perhaps it is better to state that the *nations* of Europe are in crisis. For according to the filmstrips, this crisis is completely due to a lack of cooperation between the European nation-states. The imminent downfall of Europe bestows the integration project with a sense of urgency: the metaphors of the shipwreck and the raft, the depiction of the flood of 1953, and references to the destructions of war all support this image. They also set the series apart from the Community filmstrips of the 1960s.

*A shrinking Europe*
In the filmstrips issued by the Community's Information Service, the map of Europe coincides with the political project of integration: Europe has shrunk to the Europe of the Six. Apparently, this does not raise any eyebrows: the reduction of Europe's size is nowhere defended or explained. The outlook of the Europe of the Six reverberates the 'American' Europe in the Marshall series. The Community filmstrips center on consumption, productivity, and prosperity. At the same time, Europe is portrayed as an independent power, which implicates it does not need to be saved by America anymore. In accordance with the then-current scope of European integration, calls for military or political collaboration are absent – an absence related to the incorporation of Europe in the Atlantic framework, though this issue is not addressed. Steering clear of all too idealistic language, this is a matter-of-fact story, indicating that European integration has become commonly accepted and is not in need of justification anymore – at least in the economic sphere. Thus, while some tropes have a continuing presence, feelings of crisis and urgency vanish completely in the 1960s filmstrips. 'Europe' is no longer an ideal, but an economic reality.

**From faith to doubt: Dutch perceptions of European integration**

In the 1950s, there existed great faith in the imminent unification of Europe on a supranational basis – a faith that also comes to the fore in the Marshall filmstrips. However, in the 1960s the slowness of the integration process gave rise to doubts about the feasibility of this ideal.[493] In the Netherlands a division emerged between those who wanted integration on an intergovernmental basis, and those still defending a supranational European state.[494] Supporters of the latter category let go of their former enthusiasm and increasingly framed their story in terms of national interest. At the same time, they also hoped for a 'new European order' – a contradiction that led to a 'schizophrenic frame

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[492] The official slogan of the Marshall Plan cited in Whelan, "Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda," 311.
[493] Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 206.
[494] Ibid., 206-207.

of mind'.[495] In these years Dutch media reporting became more critical as well: 'One endorsed cooperation, but only under certain conditions.'[496] Thus, having barely disappeared from view, the nation-state emerged once again as the dominant framework of thought.

In the Community filmstrips such criticism does not come to the fore. However, the developments sketched above may partly explain why these filmstrips merely address the Europe of the Six: a narrow outlook was the only way to avoid discussions regarding further integration and Community expansion, and concentrate on Europe's economic success instead. This economic focus mirrors developments in the Dutch press: in 1952, journalists reporting on the test referendums in Bolsward and Delft paid considerable attention to the socio-cultural aspects of European integration. In the 1960s however, media reports increasingly centered on economic issues and Dutch business concerns.[497]

In both the Marshall and the Community filmstrips there appear fault lines beneath the surface of the European idea. Frictions arise between the interests of institutional Europe and the nation-state, between the perceived unity of European culture and the political fragmentation of the continent, between the plea for a European identity and an appreciation of the national. This especially comes to the fore in the equation of European symbols with national ones, and in the filmstrips' difficulty to offer a sound definition of European integration – apart from the idea that integration is essentially 'good' and historically 'inevitable'.[498] Today, such conflicting opposites still typify the debate about European integration. What has changed however, is that these concerns no longer hover in the background. To illustrate: in the 1990s and 2000s Dutch press coverage of Europe is framed more and more in terms of 'conflict', which stands in stark contrast to the 'benefit framing' of earlier years: 'conflict now seems the inherent component of media reporting on the EU.'[499]

**Suggestions for further research**

The Marshall and Community filmstrips shed an interesting light on the representation of Europe in the post-war years. They show that Europe already permeated the classroom, even though it was largely absent from the official curriculum.[500] They offer insight in the workings of American propaganda and give evidence of the early fostering of a 'European civil consciousness' among Dutch youth.[501] Given the Community's many efforts in this area, it would be interesting to further investigate how 'Europe' was promoted in the school: often, research about the European dimension in education does not go back further than 1971, the year that the Community established its

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[495] Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 204.

[496] Rosa Van Santen and Rens Vliegenthart, "De Nederlandse media over Europa," in *Van Aanvallen? naar verdedigen? De opstelling van Nederland ten aanzien van Europese integratie, 1945-2015*, ed. Hans Vollaard et al. (The Hague: Boom bestuurskunde, 2015), 292.

[497] Van Santen and Vliegenthart, "De Nederlandse media," 293. See also P. Dekker et al., *Marktplaats Europa. Vijftig jaar publieke opinie en marktintegratie in de Europese Unie* (The Hague: SCP, 2007).

[498] In the 1950s, this 'inevitability myth' of European integration was present in all of Dutch society. See Robin de Bruin, "Dutch politics in the 1950s and the Myth of Inevitable European Integration," in *Globalisation, Europeanization and Other Transnational Phenomena: Description, Analyses and Generalizations*, ed. Jolán Róka (Budapest: Budapest College of Communication and Business, 2001), 382.

[499] Van Santen and Vliegenthart, "De Nederlandse media," 289.

[500] G.H. Oonk, *Europa en het onderwijs* (Alkmaar: Stichting Europees Platform voor het Nederlandse Onderwijs, 1995), 182, 186.

[501] Harrison and Pukallus, "The European Community's Public Communication Policy," 233.

Education Committee.[502] Such an approach might also be helpful to find out why the desired 'socialization' and 'rapprochement' between Europe and its citizens has not occurred: education is still very much a national affair and the institutional arrangements that evoke, propagate and stabilize national identities are firmly in place.[503] However, today's attempts to revitalize the European project are going down the same road, and the current debate on integration does not offer many novelties. In the words of Jieskje Hollander:

> '(...) little or no attention has been paid to the historical development that
> Dutch thinking on the subject went through. Journalists, jurists, sociologists
> and students of politics come up with questions as if they were brand-new,
> but also the few historians who enter the debate, omit to give it a more
> historical dimension.'[504]

*The filmstrip in the spotlight*

This thesis is not only about stories of European integration, it is also about working with an unfamiliar historical source: the educational filmstrip. In recent years, the study of textbooks has already permeated the historical profession. Other (audiovisual) teaching materials generate less interest. However, like textbooks, such materials are the 'products of specific power relations' that 'express the self-image of society' and belong to those 'arenas where history is represented (...) communicated and used.'[505] Thus, these underrated sources are definitely relevant to cultural historians concerned with questions of meaning and discourse. With regard to educational filmstrips, there is a wealth of compelling subjects to choose from. Especially remarkable are the many filmstrips about Biblical topics, which provide insight into religious education in the Netherlands from an original angle. Taking a more general perspective, it would be interesting to study the companies involved in filmstrip production: while the distribution of educational films was streamlined by the government-funded NOF, filmstrip companies like Fibo, EnPeCe, CPLI, and Polygoon more or less developed their own programs, resulting in a fragmented production landscape.[506] Charting this landscape would help to place filmstrip research in a wider context, for it addresses why, how, by and for whom filmstrips were made. The same holds true for the site of the audience: to gain a better understanding of filmstrip education, it would be useful to somehow trace classroom practices and filmstrip reception. Finally, the digitization of filmstrip archives opens up new possibilities for historical research on a quantitative basis.

Today, filmstrip research is still in its infancy. Through the analysis of European projections in filmstrips of the 1950s and 60s, this thesis has contributed to bringing this unique source more into the spotlight.

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[502] Ryba writes that though the Committee only booked limited progress, the 'Community's "climate" itself changed (...)', leading to the idea of a 'People's Europe'. This gave an impetus to the Community's education policy. See Ryba, "Toward a European Dimension in Education," 12-13.

[503] Petit, "Dispelling a Myth?," 661, 679. Some scholars take a very cynical approach to this topic. For example, Olivier Baisnée argues that 'communication and, later on, public opinion have been considered by EU pioneers as ways to overcome the limited competences of the European institutions.' See Olivier Baisnée, "The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It's Worth Wondering…)," *European Journal of Communication* 22-4 (2007): 493.

[504] Hollander, "The Dutch Intellectual Debate," 197-98.

[505] Alm, "Europe in American World History Textbooks," 239.

[506] Masson, *Watch and Learn*, 71.

# Appendix: filmstrip images and captions

This appendix offers a complete overview of all filmstrip slides used in this thesis, accompanied by their original Dutch captions and an English translation. The slides are ordered according to their appearance in the text. The number of the image corresponds with the figure's number in the thesis.

Figures 2, 3, 4, and 27 are omitted from this overview, for they do not display filmstrip images.

**Fig. 1: End slide of filmstrip *Verenigd Europa I* and *Verenigd Europa II***
'This filmstrip has been commissioned by the European Movement in cooperation with the Mutual Security Agency'.

The text on the MSA emblem reads: 'For a close-knit, free world'. The Dutch word 'hecht' means something like close, tight, solid, keeping together.



**Fig. 5: Slide 13 of filmstrip *Handen ineen***
'One bought land from the Indians and started negotiations with them.'
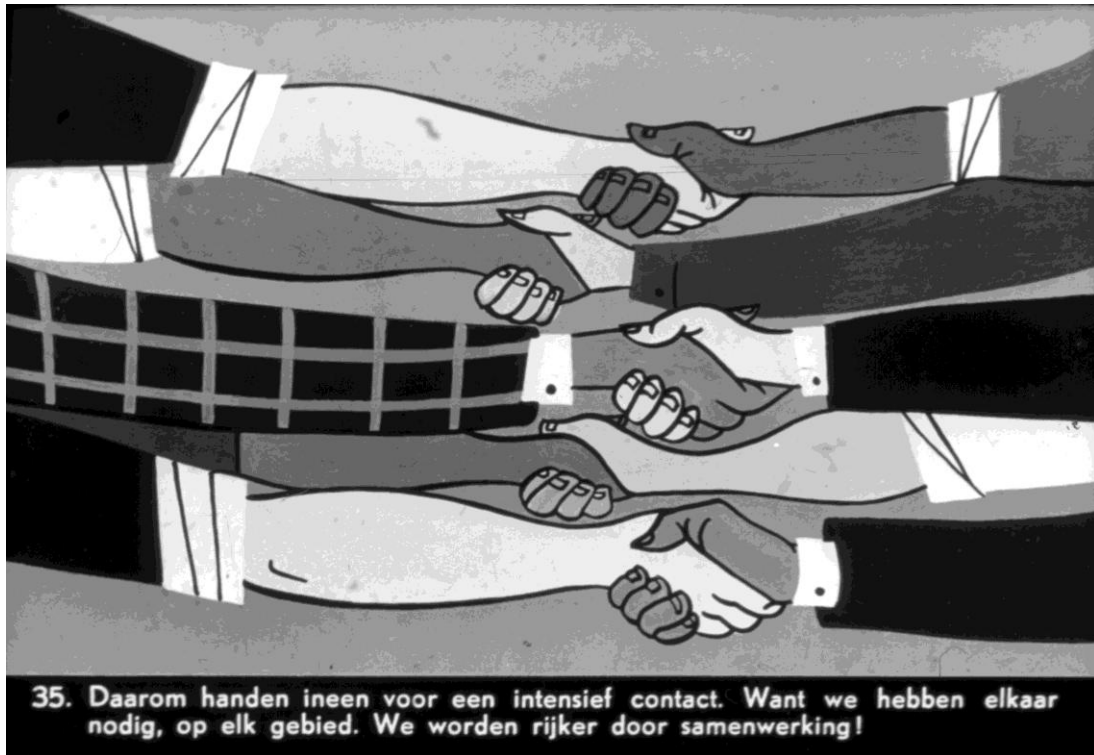
**Fig. 6: Slide 35 of filmstrip *Handen ineen***
'Let's join hands and be in intensive contact. For we need each other, in every area. We become richer through cooperation!'



**Fig. 7: Title slide of *Struthio de Struisvogel***
'Struthio the Ostrich'

**Fig. 8a: Title slide of *Verenigd Europa I***
'United Europe I'



**Fig. 8b: Title slide of *Verenigd Europa II***
'United Europe II'

5. Maar een paar duizend jaar geleden was het in Europa al niet veel beter. Resten van dergelijke paalwoningen zijn gevonden in Zwitserland, Duitsland enz. Zelfs tot bij Maastricht! Natuurlijk waren deze paaldorpen heel wat rommeliger dan we op deze reconstructie zien.

**Fig. 9: Slide 5 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'But a few thousand years ago it was not much better in Europe. The remains of such stilt houses have been found in Switzerland, Germany etc. Even all the way up in Maastricht! Of course, these stilt villages were much more messy than this reconstruction shows us.'
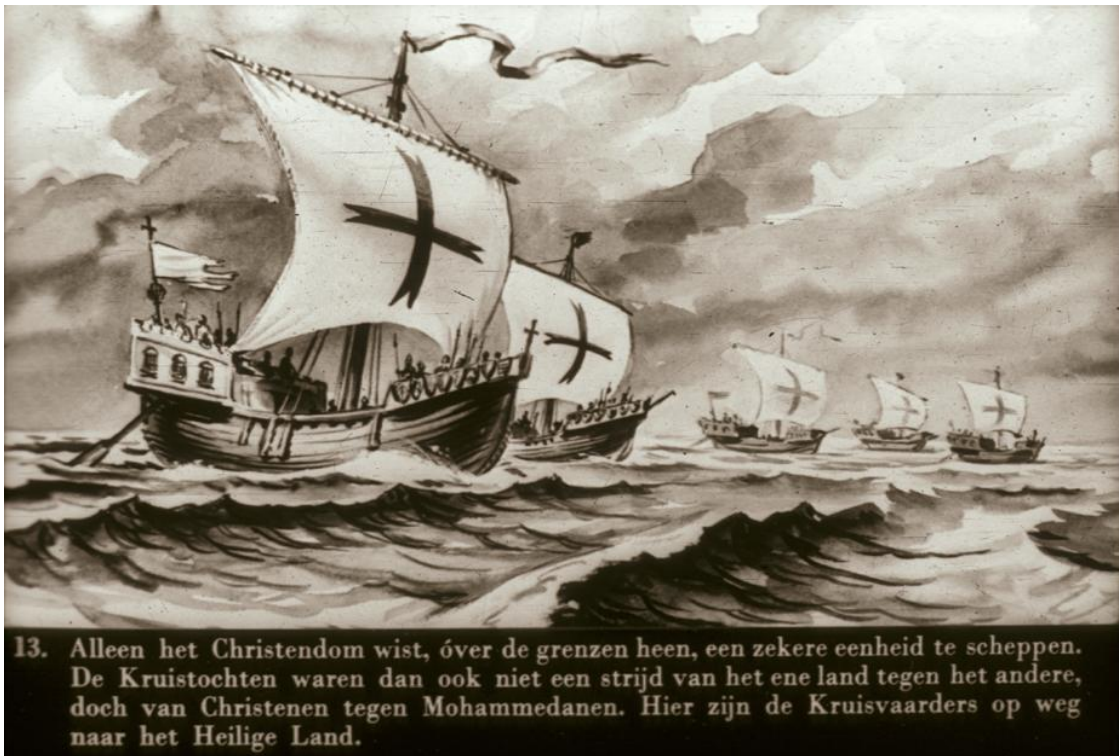


13. Alleen het Christendom wist, óver de grenzen heen, een zekere eenheid te scheppen. De Kruistochten waren dan ook niet een strijd van het ene land tegen het andere, doch van Christenen tegen Mohammedanen. Hier zijn de Kruisvaarders op weg naar het Heilige Land.

**Fig. 10: Slide 13 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'Only Christendom knew how to create a certain unity *beyond* borders. Hence, the Crusades were not a struggle of one country against another, but of the Christians against the Mohammedans. Here, the Crusaders are on their way to the Holy Land.'

**Fig. 11: Slide 15 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'In the "French period", Napoleon sought to establish the unity of Europe by means of violence and domination. Of course, this amounted to nothing.'



**Fig. 12: Slide 17 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'Did a children's hand make doodles on the map of Europe here? No! These are borderlines, changed time and again by numerous wars over the course of thousands of years. Of course, *this* way Europe could not achieve peace and welfare.'
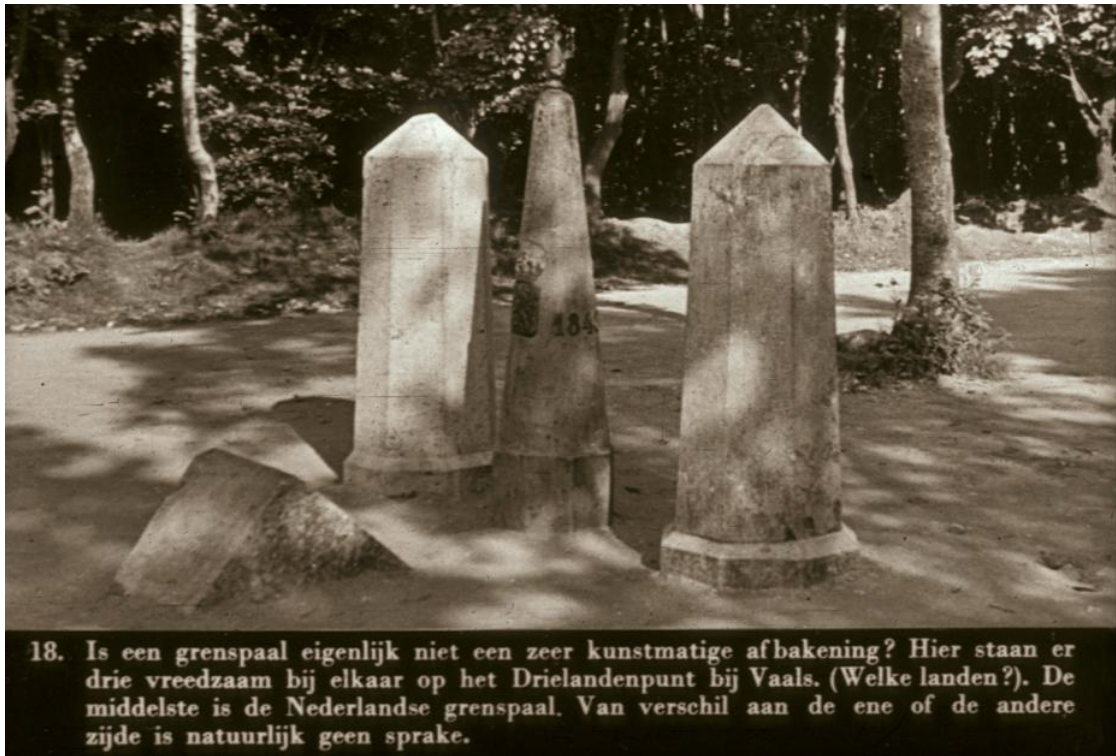
18. Is een grenspaal eigenlijk niet een zeer kunstmatige afbakening? Hier staan er drie vreedzaam bij elkaar op het Drielandenpunt bij Vaals. (Welke landen?). De middelste is de Nederlandse grenspaal. Van verschil aan de ene of de andere zijde is natuurlijk geen sprake.

**Fig. 13: Slide 18 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'Is a boundary post in fact not a very artificial demarcation? Here, three of them stand peacefully together at the border triangle in Vaals. (Which countries?) The one in the middle is the Dutch landmark. Of course, there is no difference between one side or the other.'



19. Toch vormen grensscheidingen een rem voor Europa's welvaart. Douane-onderzoek, invoer- en uitvoerbepalingen, enz. belemmeren een gezonde ontwikkeling van handel en verkeer.

**Fig. 14: Slide 19 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'Still, boundaries slow down Europe's prosperity. Customs research, import and export regulations, etc., obstruct the healthy development of trade and transport.'

20. Ieder land verdedigde eigen bezit en trok zich van de belangen van zijn buren zo weinig mogelijk aan. Natuurlijk leidde dat ieder ogenblik tot verwoestende oorlogen.

**Fig. 15: Slide 20 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'Every country defended its own property and worried about its neighbors' interests as least as possible. Of course, this led to devastating wars at any moment.'



21. En hier zien we dan het resultaat: Rotterdam in puin. Na de tweede wereldoorlog (1939–1945) telde Europa tientallen gebombardeerde steden. Ons werelddeel was veranderd in een chaos en de welvaart was vernietigd.

**Fig. 16: Slide 21 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'And here we see the result: Rotterdam in ruins. After the Second World War (1939-1945) Europe counted dozens of bombed-out cities. Our continent had turned into chaos and its prosperity had been destroyed.'

**Fig. 17: Slide 22 of *Verenigd Europa I***
'Indescribable suffering and indescribable damage – *that* was the result. Modern war only knows defeat. Fortunately, in peace time international aid is transcending boundaries more than ever. A good sign!'



**Fig. 18: Slide 4 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'After two world wars, Europe was quickly on the way to becoming such a sight as well. A poor population, living among ruins – not a pretty prospect!'

6. In Amerika bezitten tal van arbeiders zèlf een auto. Kijk maar eens naar dit autopark bij een fabriek. Menige vakman verdient er voldoende om zich de weelde van zo'n „eigen wagentje" te kunnen veroorloven.

**Fig. 19: Slide 6 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'In America, plenty of workers have a car of their own. Just take a look at this factory car park. Many a craftsman here earns enough to afford himself the luxury of his own wagon.'



7. Zo ver zijn we in Europa nog niet. WIJ doen het maar met een fiets, hoogstens een bromfiets! – Maar waaròm wordt er in de Ver. Staten meer verdiend dan hier, vroeg men zich af.

**Fig. 20 Slide 7 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'We have not come this far in Europe yet. WE have to make do with a bike, a moped at best! – But why are the wages in the United States higher than here, one kept wondering.'
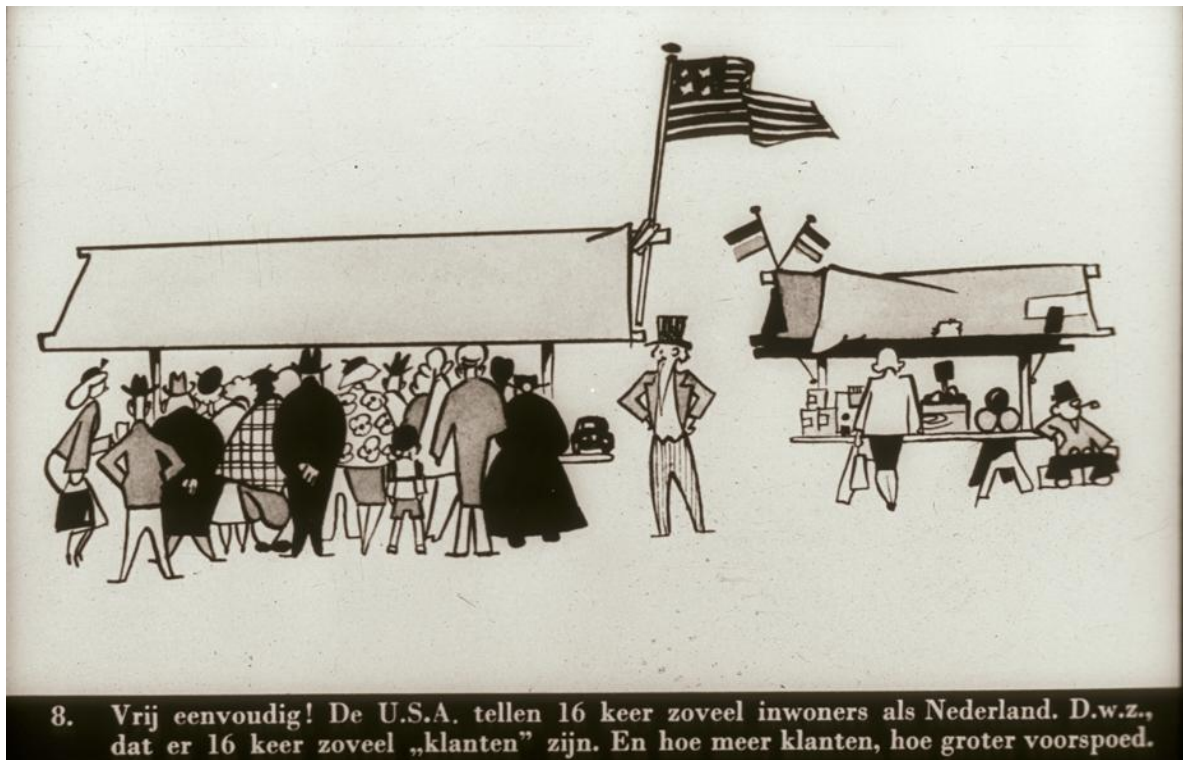
**Fig. 21: Slide 8 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Easy enough! The USA have 16 times more inhabitants than the Netherlands. This means there are 16 times more "customers". And the more customers, the more prosperity.'
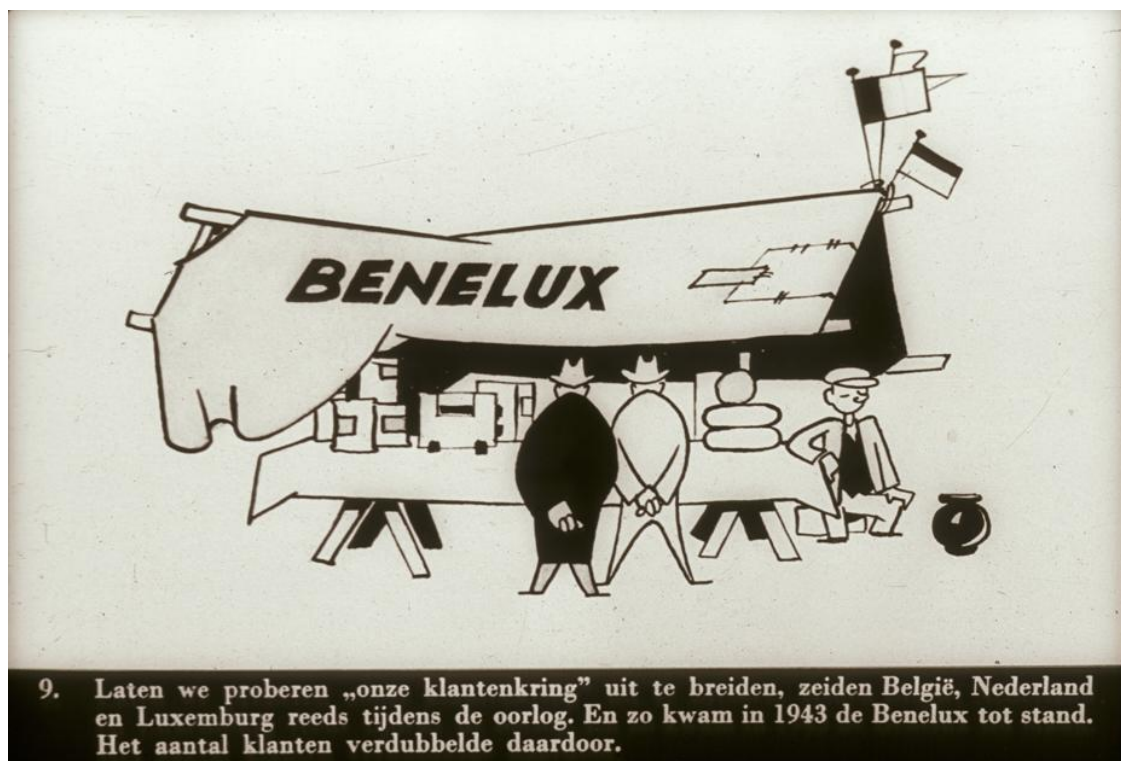


**Fig. 22: Slide 9 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Let us try to expand "our customer base", said Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg already during the war. That is how in 1943, the Benelux was established. The number of customers doubled because of this.'

13. Zo kwam in 1948 in de Ridderzaal te Den Haag het eerste „Congres van Europa" bijeen. 750 belangrijke personen uit allerlei landen bespraken hier de toekomst van Europa. En achter de tafel H.K.H. Prinses Juliana. Ook nu, als Koningin, stelt Zij belang in het streven naar een „Nieuw Europa".

**Fig. 23: Slide 13 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Thus, in 1948 the first "European Congress" convened in the Knight's Hall in The Hague. Here, 750 important persons from many countries discussed the future of Europe. And behind the table Her Royal Highness Princess Juliana. Today, She still finds it important to strive for a "New Europe" in her role as Queen.'



5. Verdreven door Duits geweld vroegen de uitgeweken Regeringen te Londen zich reeds tijdens de oorlog af: hoe herstellen we de welvaart onzer landen na de oorlog? En – waardoor is Amerika toch zo welvarend?

**Fig. 24: Slide 5 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Expelled by German violence, the exiled Governments in London already wondered during the war: how will we restore our countries' prosperity after the war? And – why is America so prosperous?'

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**Fig. 25: Slide 14 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Strasbourg! The beautiful, ancient Dom with its only tower rises high above the city. The other tower has never been finished. From time to time, the "Parliamentary Assembly" of the Council of Europe convenes in this city.'
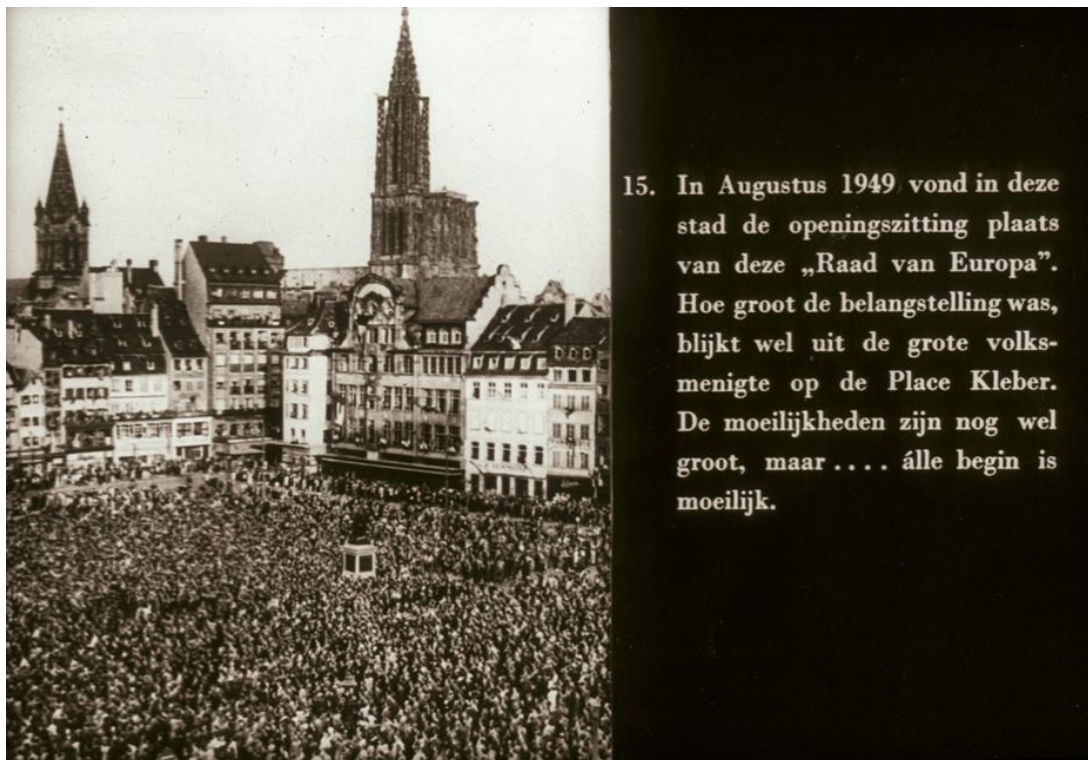


**Fig. 26: Slide 15 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'In August 1949, the inaugural session of this "Council of Europe" took place in this city. The huge crowd gathered on Kleber Square showed interest was keen. The difficulties are still many, but… *all* beginnings are difficult.'

11. De verwarring was overal groot. De landen hadden het gevoel in een woeste stroom stuurloos te worden meegesleurd. Ieder kon zich slechts met moeite op eigen balkje drijvende houden.
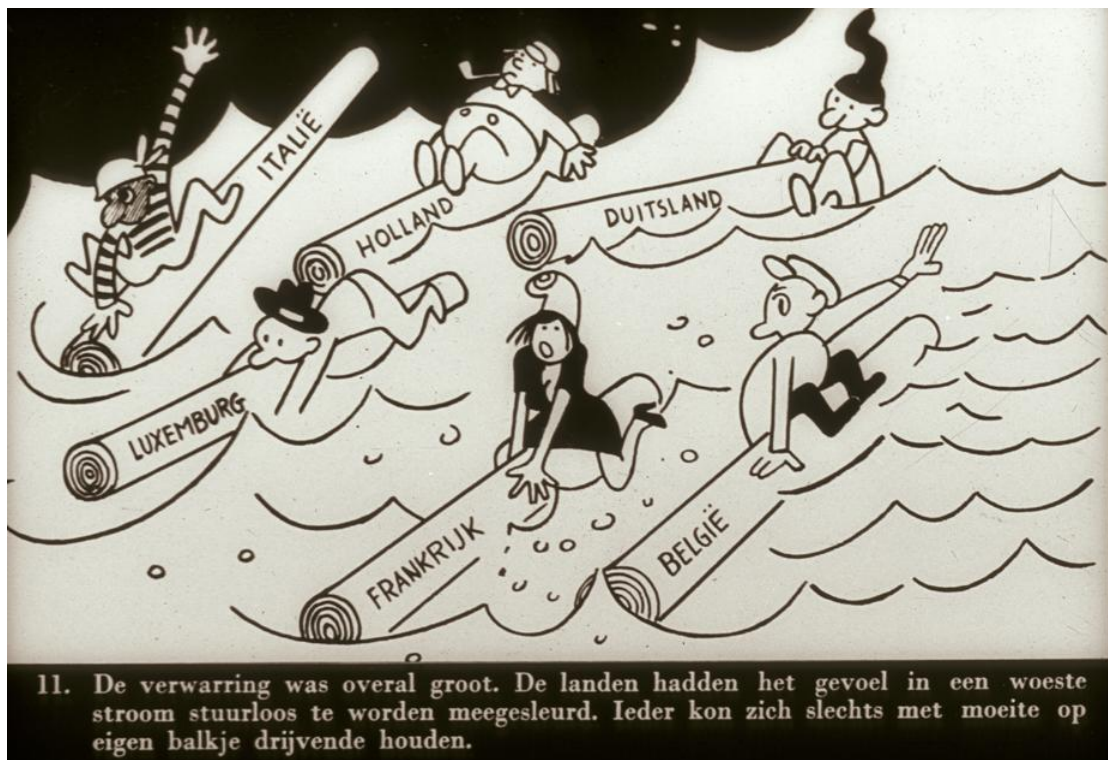
**Fig. 28: Slide 11 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'There was great confusion everywhere. The countries felt like they were left rudderless, being carried away by a wild current. With difficulty, each managed to keep floating on its own little log.'



12. De „Benelux" bond drie stammetjes aan elkaar. Dat vlot was nu niet meer helemáál aan de woeste stroom overgeleverd. Een verstandig besluit! En ook andere landen zeiden: samenwerking? Ja, daar zit toch wel wat goeds in.

**Fig. 29: Slide 12 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'The "Benelux" bound three logs together. From now on, that raft was not completely surrendered to the wild stream anymore. A wise decision! Hence other countries also said: cooperation? Yes, there might be some good in that.'
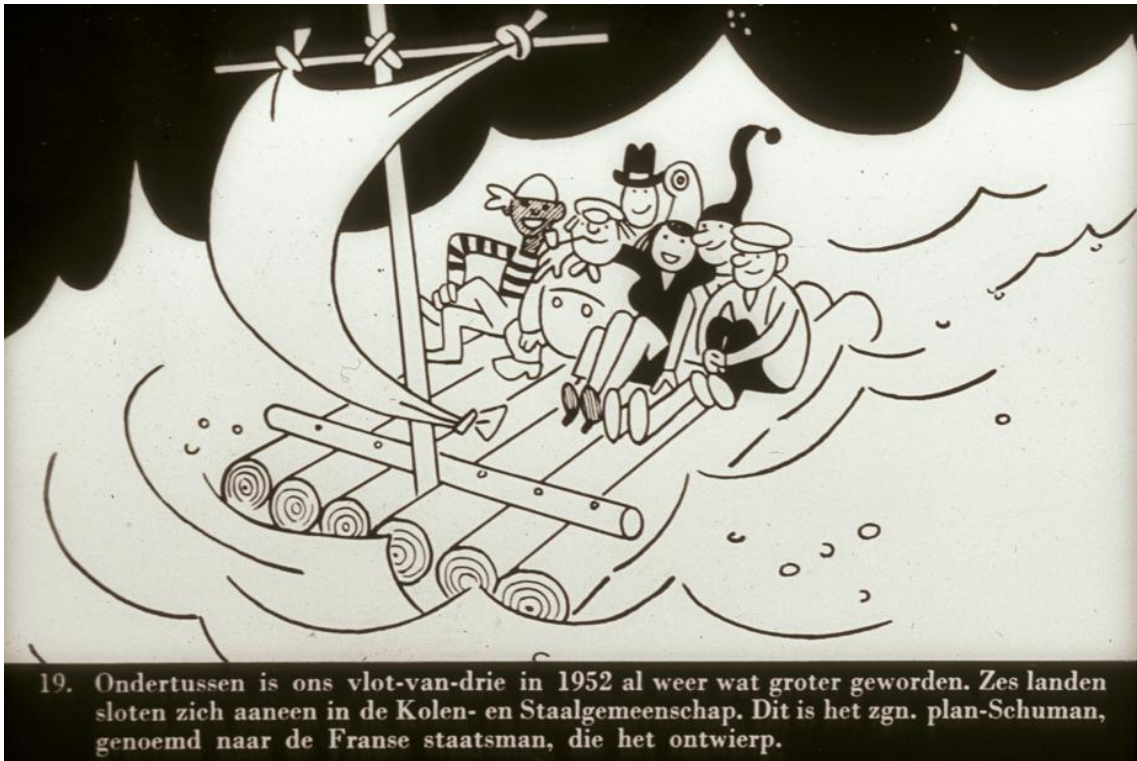
**Fig. 30: Slide 19 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Meanwhile, our raft-of-three has become a little bigger in 1952. Six countries joined forces in the Coal and Steel Community. This it the so-called Schuman Plan, named after the French statesman who designed it.'
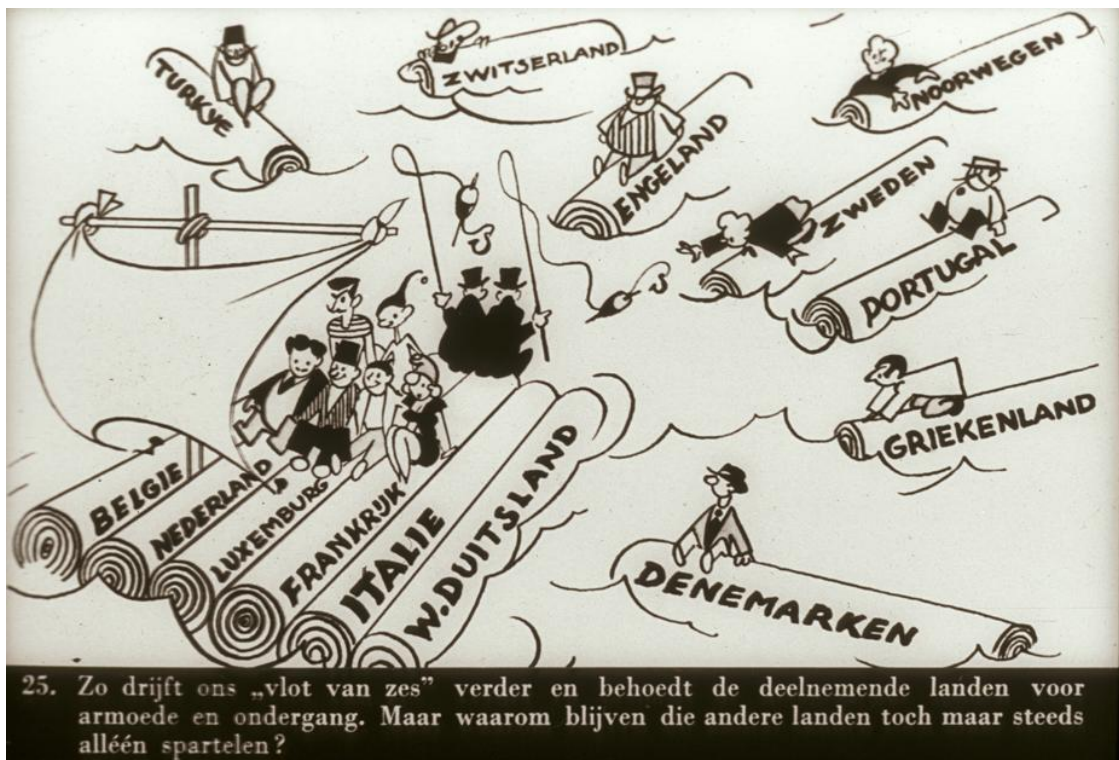


**Fig. 31: Slide 25 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Thus, our "raft of six" floats along and protects the participating countries against poverty and downfall. But why do the other countries keep struggling on their own?'

16. Helaas — al spoedig na 1945 moest ook al weer met oorlogsdreiging rekening worden gehouden. Een verdedigingsgemeenschap bleek niet gemist te kunnen worden. Korea is een voorbeeld van de jammerlijk verstoorde vrede.

**Fig. 32: Slide 16 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Unfortunately – soon after 1945 another war threat had to be taken into account. A defense community proved to be indispensible. Korea is an example of the sadly disturbed peace.'
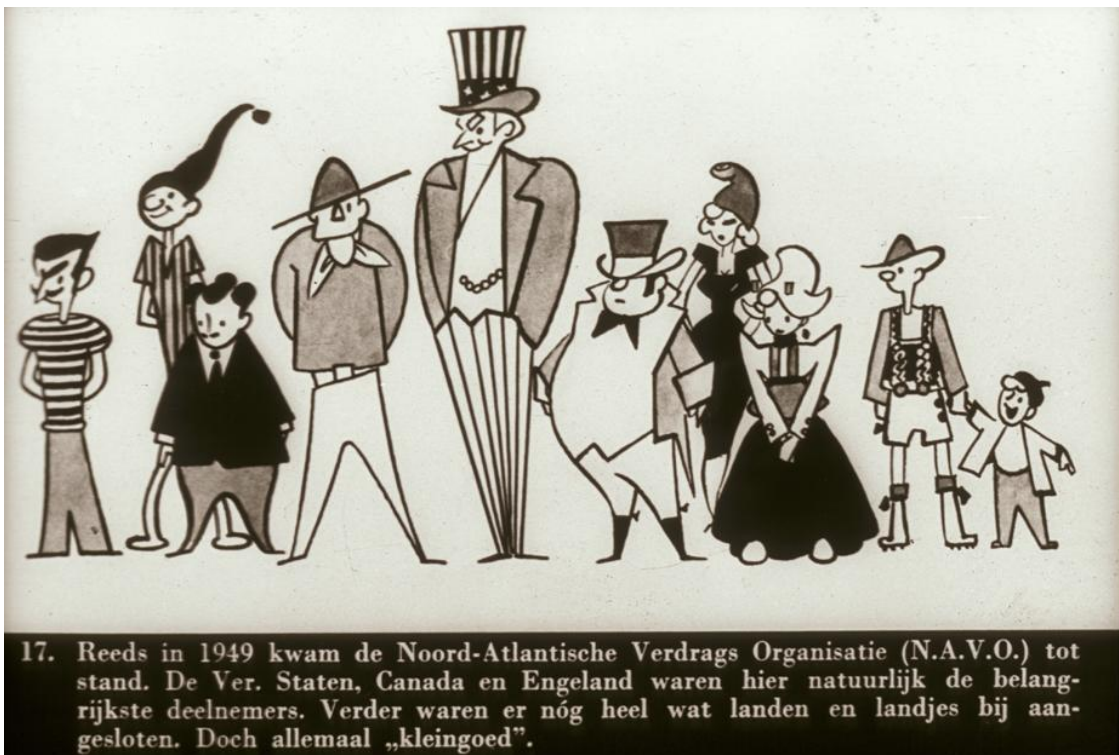


17. Reeds in 1949 kwam de Noord-Atlantische Verdrags Organisatie (N.A.V.O.) tot stand. De Ver. Staten, Canada en Engeland waren hier natuurlijk de belang-rijkste deelnemers. Verder waren er nóg heel wat landen en landjes bij aan-gesloten. Doch allemaal „kleingoed".

**Fig. 33: Slide 17 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'Already in 1949, the NATO was established. The United States, Canada, and England were its most important participants, of course. Besides, a lot of other countries, big ones and little ones, joined in. All "small fry", however.'
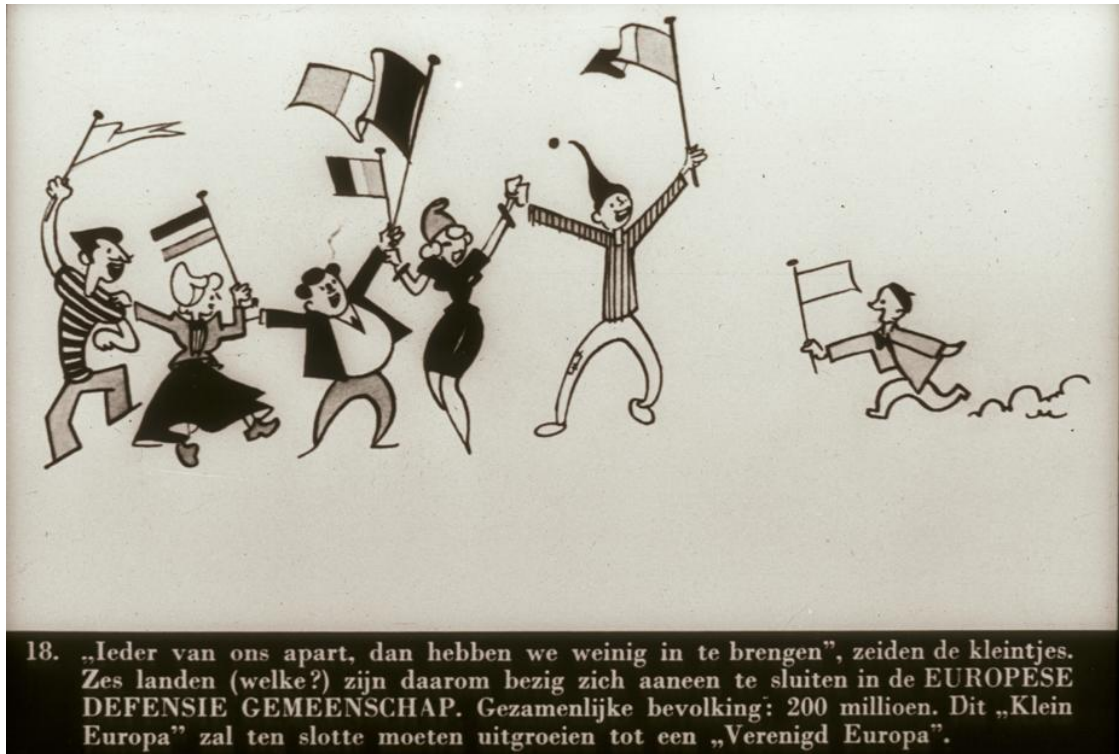
18. „Ieder van ons apart, dan hebben we weinig in te brengen", zeiden de kleintjes. Zes landen (welke?) zijn daarom bezig zich aaneen te sluiten in de EUROPESE DEFENSIE GEMEENSCHAP. Gezamenlijke bevolking: 200 millioen. Dit „Klein Europa" zal ten slotte moeten uitgroeien tot een „Verenigd Europa".

**Fig. 34: Slide 18 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'"Each one on its own, then we have nothing to say", said the little ones. Therefore, six countries (which?) are busy organizing themselves into the EUROPEAN DEFENCE COMMUNITY. Joint population: 200 million. Eventually, this "Small Europe" will have to develop into a "United Europe".'
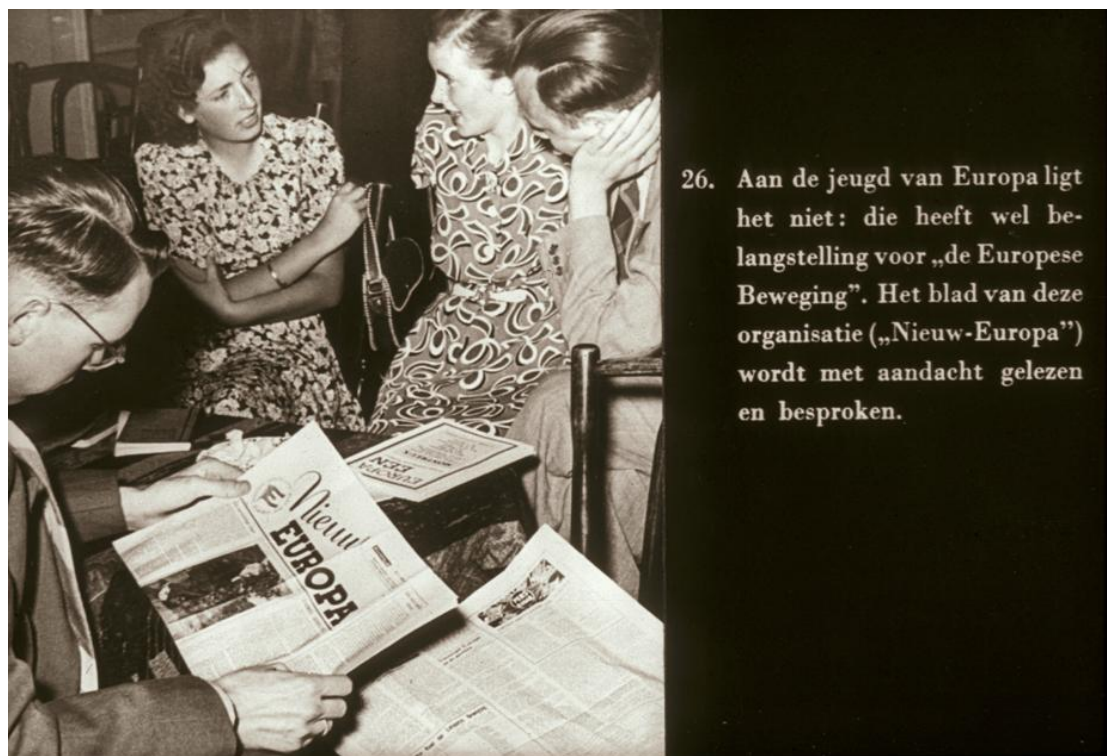


26. Aan de jeugd van Europa ligt het niet: die heeft wel belangstelling voor „de Europese Beweging". Het blad van deze organisatie („Nieuw-Europa") wordt met aandacht gelezen en besproken.

**Fig. 35: Slide 26 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'It is not the fault of the European youth, who is definitely interested in the "European Movement". The magazine of this organization ("New Europe") is being read and discussed with attention.'

**Fig. 36: Slide 27 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'And what does the public think about all this? In Bolsward and Delft, pilot elections have been held about the question whether one desired a United Europe. One could air one's opinion on a voting ballot.'



**Fig. 37: Slide 30 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'But first of all: in order to achieve prosperity, the borders should no longer form such a hindrance to mutual transportation. They have to be BREACHED, as one calls it.'

**Fig. 38: Slide 32 of *Verenigd Europa II***
'And then, surely, there will come a time that the flag of the new Europe flies from towers and houses, from ships and windmills!'



**Fig. 39: Slide 2 of *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap***
'Fifty years ago, Europe was the workshop, supplier, and creditor of the rest of the world. Moreover, the possession of overseas territories was a source of prosperity, because Europe could export its industrial products there.'
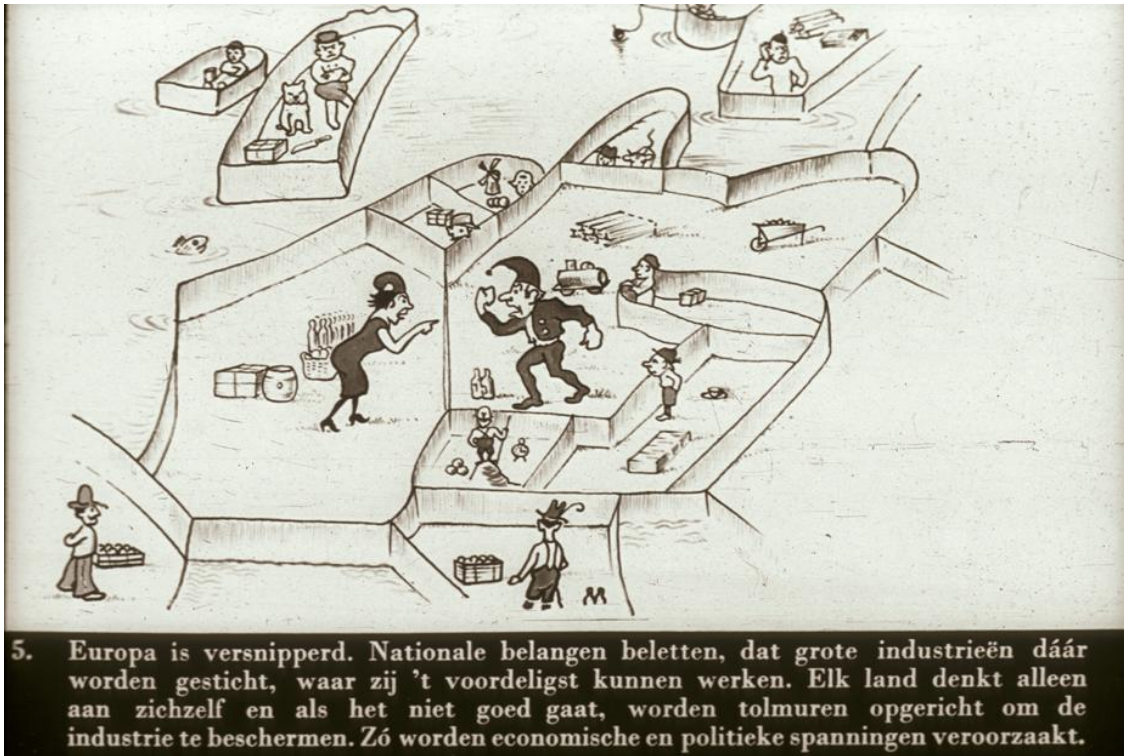
**Fig. 40: Slide 5 of *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap***
'Europe is fragmented. National interests hinder the establishment of large industries there, where they could be most profitable. Each country only thinks of itself and when things go wrong, trade barriers are erected to protect one's industry. This way, economic and political tensions arise.'



**Fig. 41: Slide 7 of *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap***
'In Europe, one is aware of these dangers and one considers means towards integration (unification) of our continent, at least of that part that is still free and democratically governed. This integration is extremely difficult, for the old Europe has so many national differences.'
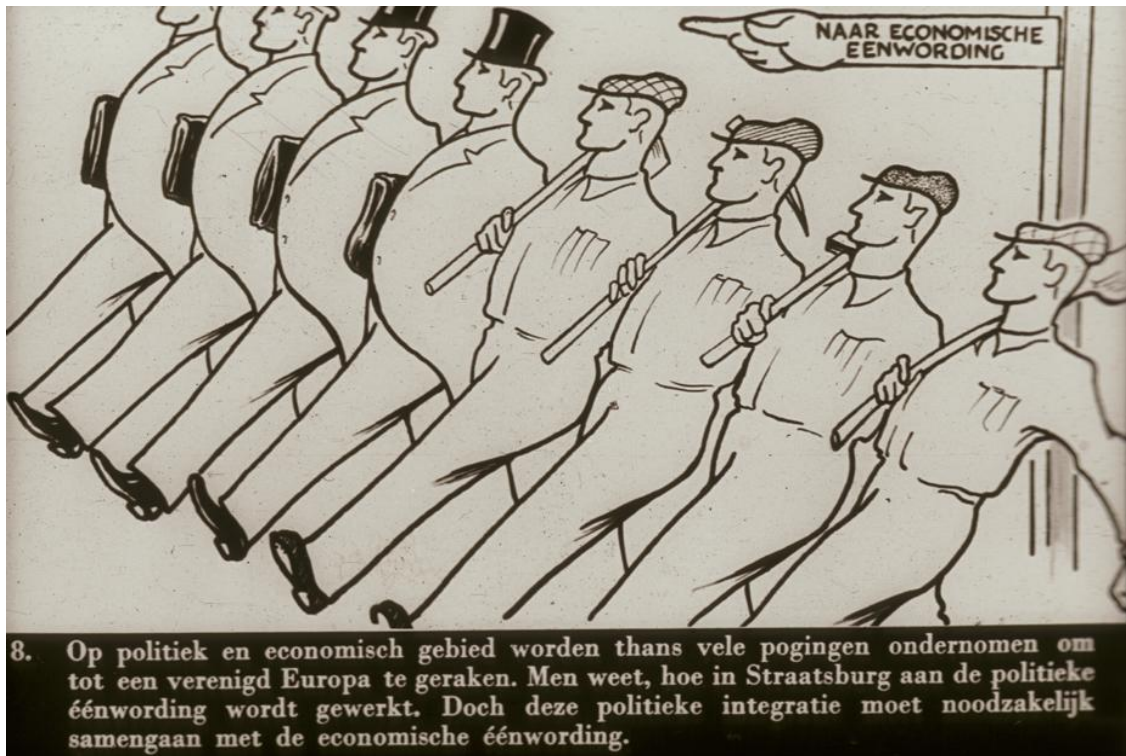
**Fig. 42: Slide 8 of *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap***
'Currently, on a political and economic level many attempts to a united Europe are being made. One knows, how political unification is being worked on in Strasbourg. However, such political integration should necessarily coincide with economic unification.'
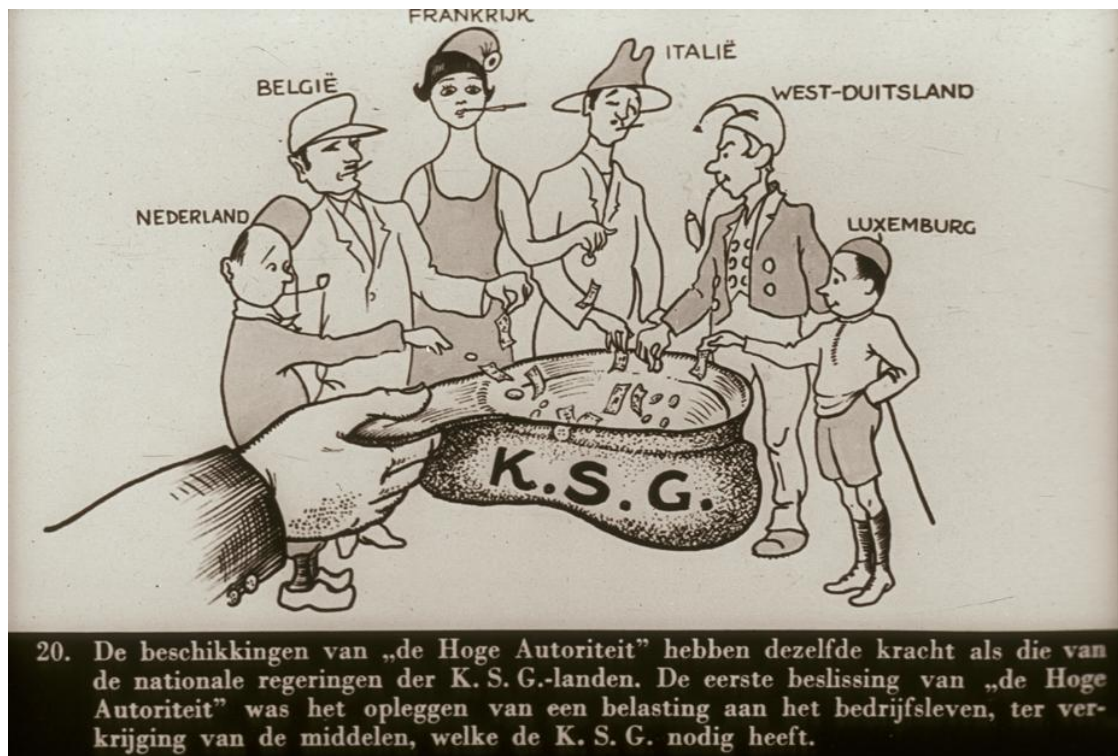


**Fig. 43: Slide 20 of *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap***
'The dispositions of "the High Authority" have the same power as those of the national governments of the CSC countries. The first decision of "the High Authority" was the imposition of a business tax, in order to obtain the resources the CSC needs.'
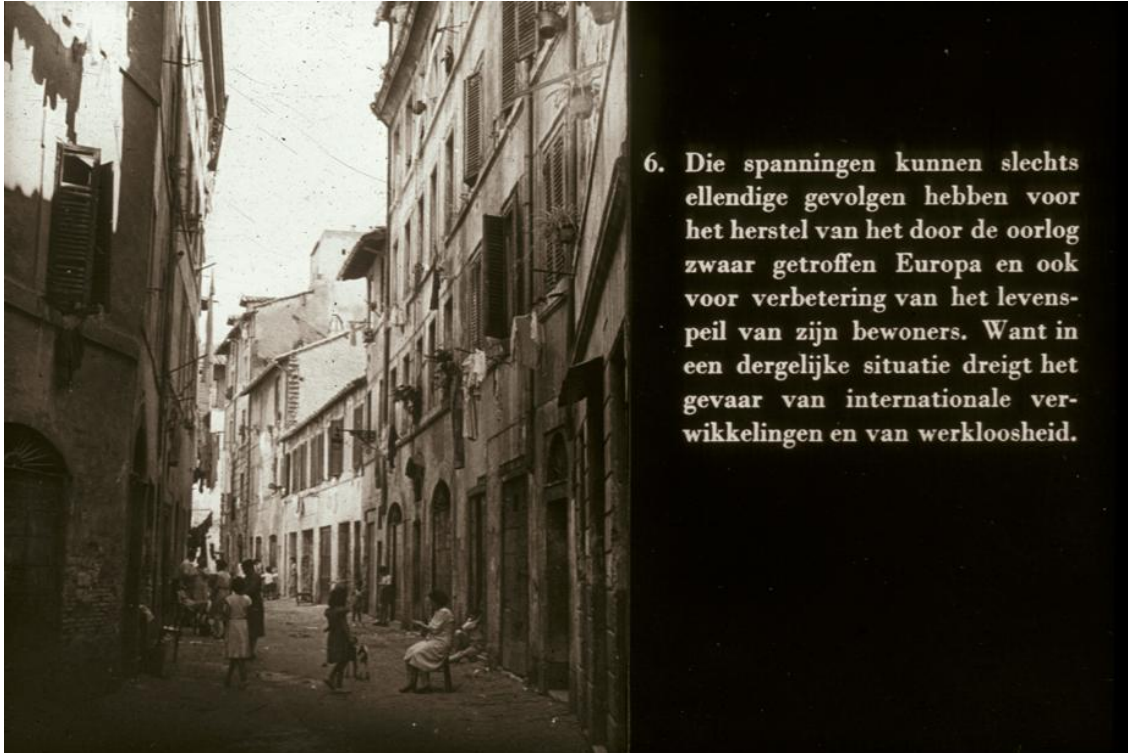
**Fig. 44: Slide 6 of** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'These tensions will only have disastrous consequences for the recovery of a Europe heavily hit by war, and also for the improvement of the living standards of its inhabitants. For in such a situation, there is a risk of international political complications and unemployment.'



**Fig. 45: Slide 11 of** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'The aim of the European Coal and Steel Community is to weld together the fate of Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. This happens in a limited, but very important area, for coal and steel are the most important raw materials.'

**Fig. 46: Slide 14 of the** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'In the six countries of the Coal and Steel Community approximately 240 million tons of coal and ca.
42 million tons of steel have been produced, which adds up to the total value of 19 to 22.8 million
guilders. 10% of the labor force works in the joint industries of the CSC countries, which amounts to
1.5 million people.'



**Fig. 47: Slide 16 of** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'For an economic community has come to replace the age-old competition, which sometimes led to
bloody wars. Thus, conflicts will disappear and problems will be solved through peaceful dialogue.
The treaty, that has been signed by the six CSC countries, is a peace treaty that will bring peace and
prosperity to the people.'
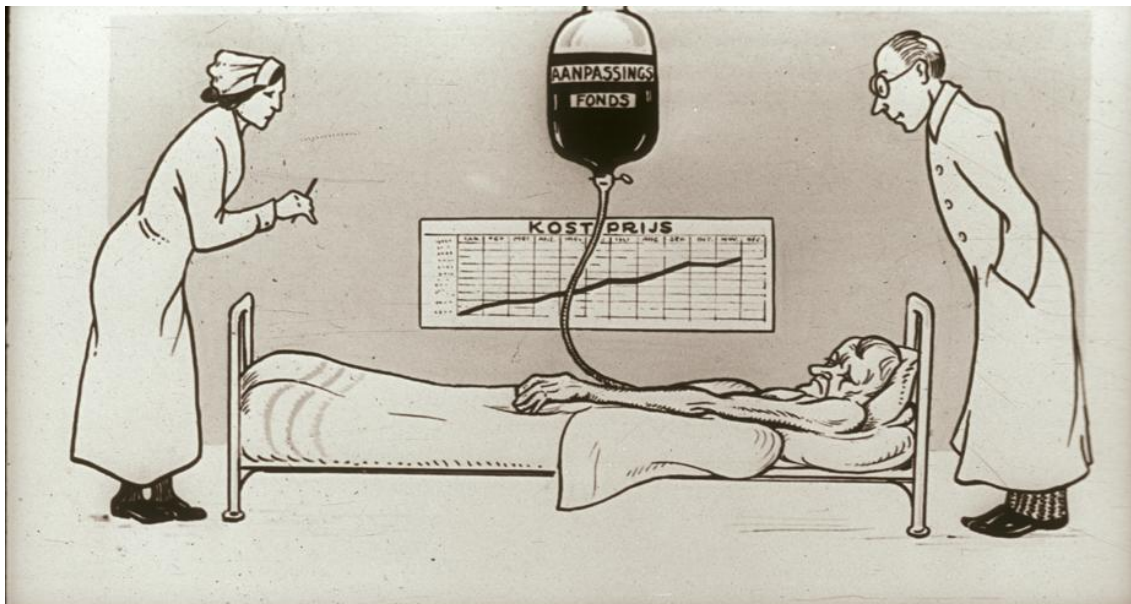
28. Men kan echter dergelijke ondernemingen – en hun werknemers! – niet de dupe van de nieuwe gemeenschap laten worden. Daarom heeft de K. S. G. een „aanpassingsfonds" in het leven geroepen, waaruit geput kan worden om de onrendabele ondernemingen te helpen. Dit fonds wordt gevoed door landen, die met een lage kostprijs werken.

**Fig. 48: Slide 28 of** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'However, one cannot let such companies – and their employees! - be the victims of the new community. Therefore, the CSC has set up the "adaptation fund", which can be used to help unprofitable companies. This fund is being fed by countries producing at a low cost price.'



29. Dank zij het aanpassingsfonds kunnen de zwakke broeders hun ondernemingen moderniseren of – indien 't niet anders kan – omschakelen. Het stelt hen in de gelegenheid werkloos geworden arbeiders een wachtgeld- en werkloosheids-uitkering te geven en hen om te scholen voor arbeid in bestaande of nieuw op te bouwen industrieën.

**Fig. 49: Slide 29 of** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'Thanks to the adaptation fund, the weak brothers are able to modernize their companies, or – if there is no other option – to convert. It gives them the opportunity to pay unemployed laborers a waiting allowance and unemployment benefits, and retrain them for a new profession in one of the existing or newly realized industries.'

**32.** Door het scheppen van de Kolen- en Staal-Gemeenschap wordt o.a. voorkomen, dat in een crisisperiode b.v. Nederland met goedkope buitenlandse kolen en staal wordt overstroomd en de eigen arbeiders bij duizenden moeten worden ontslagen. „De Hoge Autoriteit" heeft daarom minimum-prijzen vastgesteld.

**Fig. 50: Slide 32 of *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap***
'For instance, the creation of the Coal and Steel Community prevents that, in a crisis period, the Netherlands will be flooded with cheap coal and steel from abroad, which would result in the unemployment of thousands of laborers. Therefore, the "High Authority" has set minimum prices.'
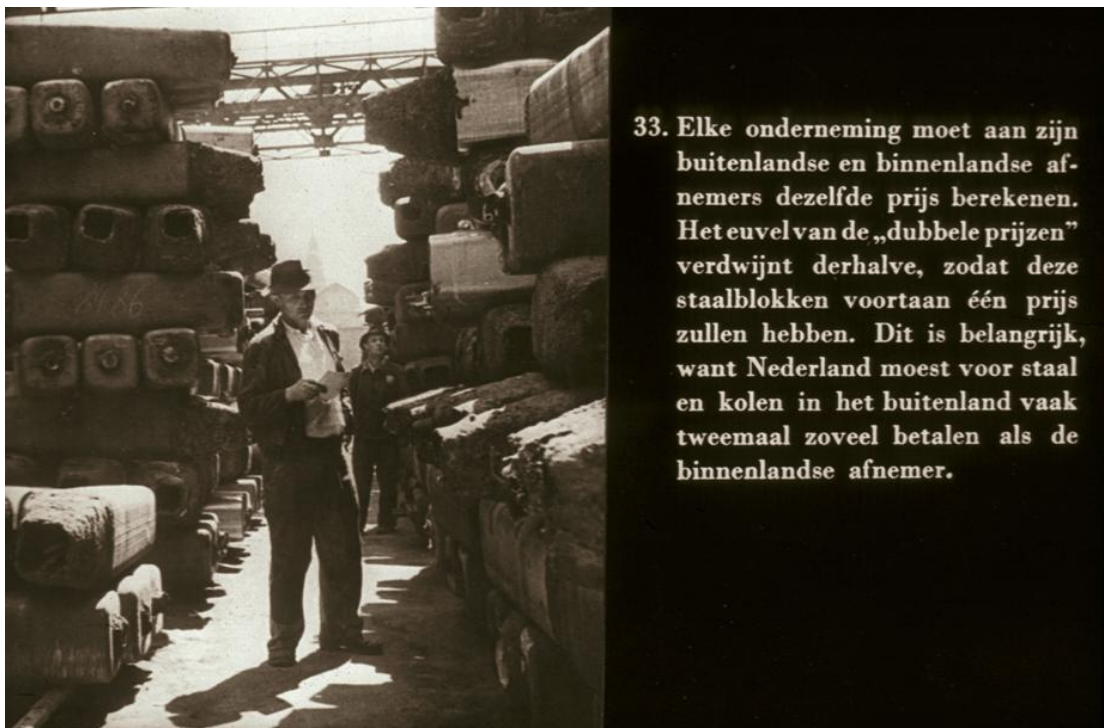


**33.** Elke onderneming moet aan zijn buitenlandse en binnenlandse af- nemers dezelfde prijs berekenen. Het euvel van de „dubbele prijzen" verdwijnt derhalve, zodat deze staalblokken voortaan één prijs zullen hebben. Dit is belangrijk, want Nederland moest voor staal en kolen in het buitenland vaak tweemaal zoveel betalen als de binnenlandse afnemer.

**Fig. 51: Slide 33 of *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap***
'Every company has to charge one price for its domestic and foreign buyers. Thus, the problem of "double prices" will disappear, so that from now on, these steel blocks will all have the same price. This is important, for abroad, the Netherlands often had to pay twice as much for steel and coal as the domestic buyer.'

**Fig. 52: Slide 34 of** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'Contraction of production in the best-equipped companies, caused by the CSC, means cheaper production and thus a price drop, of which all residents of the CSC community will benefit. However, it will never be allowed that cheaper production is realized at the expense of wages.'
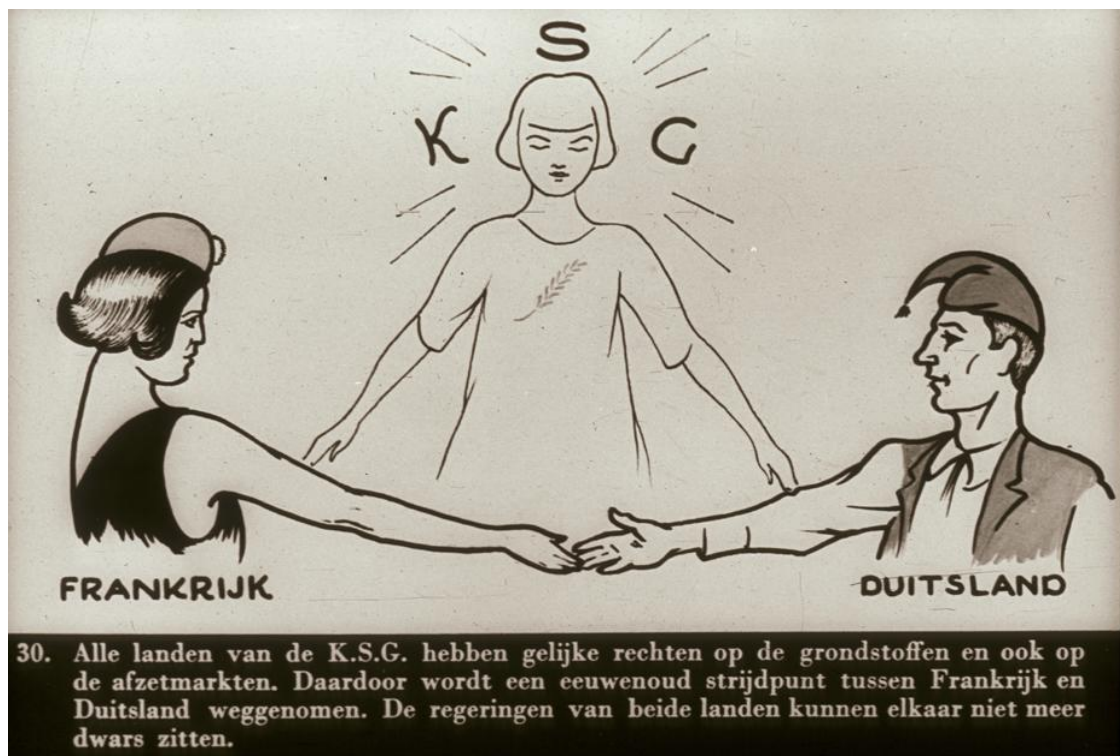


**Fig. 53: Slide 30 of** *Van Schuman-Plan tot Kolen-en-Staal-Gemeenschap*
'All countries of the CSC are equally entitled to raw materials as well as sales markets. This way, an age-old conflict between France and Germany will be resolved. The governments of both countries can no longer thwart one another.'

4. In de bewoonde wereld loop je een winkel binnen en koopt al het voedsel dat je nodig hebt.

**Fig. 54: Slide 4 of** *K.S.G.*
'In the inhabited world* you walk into a shop and buy all the food you need.'

*'Bewoonde wereld' is most commonly translated as 'civilized world', which would also fit this story. However, this translation does not quite match the feel of the Dutch word 'bewoond'.*



5. Hier zou je je na veel moeite moeten voeden met kokosnoten of wilde vruchten.

**Fig. 55: Slide 5 of** *K.S.G.*
'After a great deal of trouble, you would have to feed yourself here with coconuts or wild fruits.'

**Fig. 56: Slide 6 of** *K.S.G.*
'In the inhabited world, you drop by the first butcher's shop you see and buy every kind of meat that you want.'



**Fig. 57: Slide 7 of** *K.S.G.*
'On your island however, you would have great difficulty with hunting for wild animals, using the most primitive of means while putting your life at risk.'

**Fig. 58: Slide 9 of** *K.S.G.*
'In the inhabited world you warm your numb limbs at a glowing hearth in a cozy room. On your island you have to save yourself with a fire of wood, which takes a lot of effort to build.'



**Fig. 59: Slide 10 of** *K.S.G.*
'And we have not even mentioned yet the many other inventions that have been done in harmonious cooperation, to the salvation of all mankind. Just think about bikes, cars, trains, planes, radios, phones, and electricity.'

**Fig. 60: Slide 11 of** *K.S.G.*
'For there is no lack of resources. Inexhaustible is the womb of mother earth and she gives happily and generously to those who exploit her in unity.'



**Fig. 61: Slide 34 of** *K.S.G.*
'We shall all have a better future if the Coal and Steel Community is functioning well. There will be more prosperity, because more raw materials are being won. And that is of benefit to all.'

**Fig. 62: Title slide of _Wij bouwen Europa_**
The text in the image reads: 'We build Europe'.



**Fig. 63: End slide of _Wij bouwen Europa_ and _Naar een verenigd Europa_**
The text above the logo reads: 'This filmstrip has been commissioned by the Information Service of the European Communities'.

The text below the logo reads: 'Compiled by: Leni Verstegen. Produced by: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs N.V. – Zeist. Reproduction, in whatever form, is prohibited.'

**Fig. 64: Slide 2 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'If one man has only stones, another only wood, a third cement bags, a fourth roof tiles, a fifth nails, and a sixth tools, none of them have a shelter. They are all out in the cold.'



**Fig. 65: Slide 3 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'But if each one trades part of his material with the others, they are all able to build a small, simple house.'

**Fig. 66: Slide 4 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'When they put their materials together and collaborate, they may also build one beautiful, big house, in which they can all live comfortably. A house that would not look out of place among the large houses surrounding it.'



**Fig. 67: Slide 19 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'Why don't we build a new Europe together, in which we all live more comfortably and amicably? A Europe with one, common market. Then, the big neighbors will also take us more into consideration.'

**Fig. 68: Slide 7 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'But what we like to trade, our neighbors often do not want to accept.'



**Fig. 69: Slide 17 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'This stands out to everyone who travels abroad. Bringing cheap commodities from one country to the next is usually not allowed. The tourist too, has to submit to customs searches.'

**Fig. 70: Slide 27 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'In the field of medicine, nuclear energy can make an important contribution. By means of it, diseases can be detected and cured. Here, for instance, one uses it to find a disease in the brain.'



**Fig. 71: Slide 29 of *Wij bouwen Europa***
'Euratom is the third pillar that will support the house of the new Europe. Together with the ECSC and the EEC it forms a solid foundation for prosperity and peace.'

12. De fabrieken draaien op volle toeren.

**Fig. 72: Slide 12 of *Naar een verenigd Europa***
'The factories operate at full capacity.'



16. Textiel is in de Europese Gemeenschap een belangrijke tak van handel en industrie.

**Fig. 73: Slide 16 of *Naar een verenigd Europa***
'Textile is an important branch of trade and industry in the European Community.'

**Fig. 74: Slide 4 of *Naar een verenigd Europa***
'Together, our provinces form one, single unit: the Netherlands. Likewise, six countries form the European Community.'



**Fig. 75: Slide 22 of *Naar een verenigd Europa***
'Our six countries work together in the European Community, which is stronger and bigger than one country by itself.'
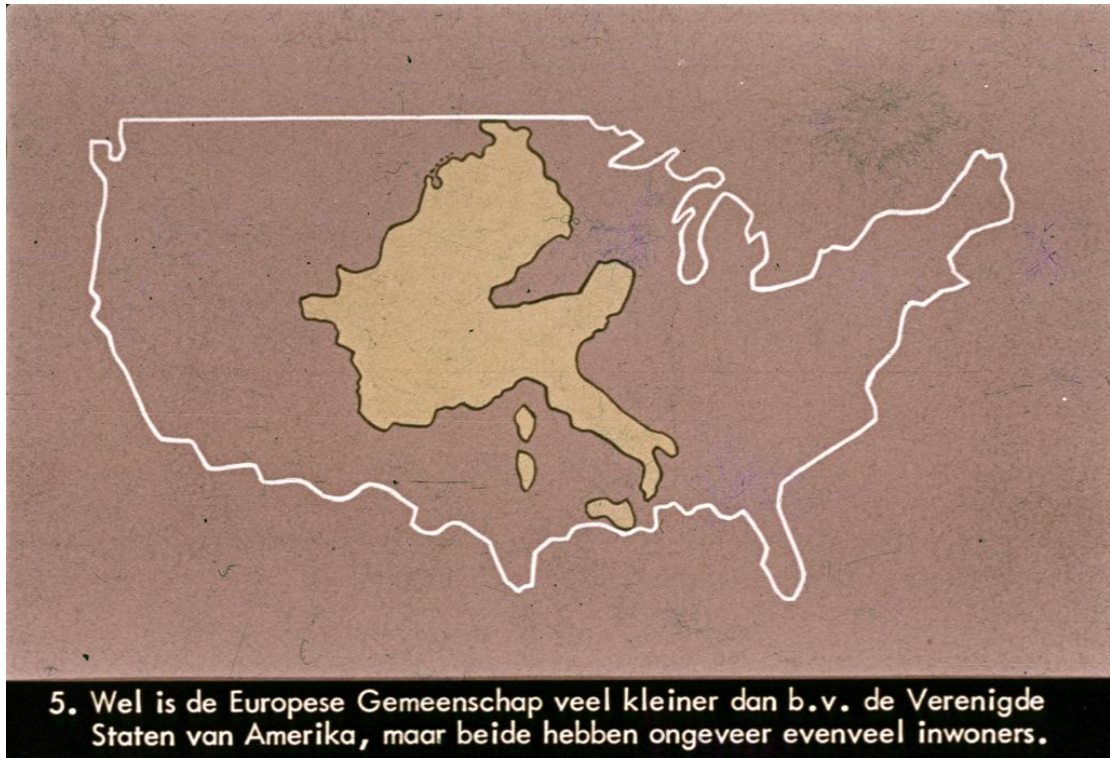
**Fig. 76: Slide 5 of *Naar een verenigd Europa***
'Still, the European Community is much smaller than the United States of America, for instance, though both have about as many inhabitants.'



**Fig. 77: Slide 23 of *Naar een verenigd Europa***
'The European Community is open to other countries that want to join.'

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*Kinderen van de Verenigde Staten*. Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1953-54. Marshall filmstrip nr. 38, 24x36 mm slides, amount of frames unknown. Compiled by Alph. Timmermans, commissioned by USIS. HDC: 966.

*K.S.G.* Zeist: Fibo-Beeldonderwijs, ca. 1952-53. Fibo filmstrip nr. 507, 24x36 mm slides, 35 frames. Compiled by Alph. Timmermans. HDC: 966.

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*Struthio de Struisvogel*. Driebergen: Filmstudio Nieuwendijk, ca. 1952-53. Marshall filmstrip nr. 28, 24x36 mm slides, 31 frames. Commissioned by MSA. OM: H042.028.

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