

Carlo Curti Gialdino, The Symbols of the European Union: the choice of the anthem

Caption: In his book entitled The Symbols of the European Union, Carlo Curti Gialdino, Professor of International Law at the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' and Legal Secretary at the Court of Justice of the European Communities from 1982 to 2000, outlines the steps which led to the choice of the European anthem.

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[...]

2. The Council of Europe and the choice of an anthem (1949–1972)

2.1. The need for a European anthem

Since the foundation of the Council of Europe, an anthem, along with a flag, has been regarded as one of the concrete measures most likely to demonstrate the reality of the European unification process to the general public. It was no accident that a 1950 report by the Secretary General of the Consultative Assembly referred to the essay by Daniel-Rops⁽¹⁵⁾, *Drapeau d'Europe* and, in particular, to the passage where, in connection with the flag, the writer remarked that 'the day that a European anthem salutes it as today the national anthem salutes the national flag in various countries, a great step will have been taken towards this essential union'⁽¹⁶⁾.

As had happened with the flag, following the foundation of the Council of Europe proposals aimed at the adoption of a European anthem started flowing into Strasbourg from individuals⁽¹⁷⁾ and associations, proposals which were accompanied by suggested lyrics and scores⁽¹⁸⁾. In particular, in 1955 Count Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed⁽¹⁹⁾ the *Ode to Joy* from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. That anthem was sung by the choir of St. Guillaume, Strasbourg, on 20 April 1959, to mark the tenth anniversary of the Council of Europe.

The lack of a European anthem, seen as a symbol and expression of European identity and solidarity, was felt particularly keenly in the context of celebrations of a European nature (pairings, Europe days, etc.). This need for an anthem was highlighted when, in 1955, the Consultative Assembly instituted the 'Europe Prize' and when, from 1961 onwards, it awarded 'Flags of Honour' to municipalities which had been particularly active in propagating the European idea; at such times, people felt a need to close the ceremony by singing an anthem.

In 1961, the Belgian section of the Council of European Municipalities commissioned a recording and started to distribute a 'European song'⁽²⁰⁾. Although the words were inspired by ideas of pairing and solidarity among the municipalities, the music was an adaptation of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*⁽²¹⁾. In addition, in April 1961, the bulletin of the Netherlands section of the European Movement contained an article on the subject of a European anthem. Having expressed some scepticism about the wisdom of creating new music⁽²²⁾, the writer indicated a preference for the last movement of the *Music for the Royal Fireworks* in D major (1749) by Georg Friedrich Händel. Furthermore, that music had been chosen by the Directorate of Information of the Council of Europe to introduce its radio broadcasts, and was later used by French radio and television broadcasting as background music for images of de Gaulle⁽²³⁾.

The 7th States General of the Council of European Municipalities, held on 15 October 1964 in the Palazzo dello Sport in Rome, revived the initiative by approving a resolution which expressed the hope that a European anthem would be adopted by the Council of Europe and the European Community.

It should be said that at that time, the *Ode to Joy* was enjoying great popularity in Germany, on both sides of the Iron Curtain⁽²⁴⁾. The music was not only played at official ceremonies in both the Federal and the Democratic Republic, but also whenever the two States entered a joint team in sporting events, such as the Oslo Winter Olympics in 1952 and the Tokyo Games in the summer of 1964, the *Ode to Joy* was used as the national anthem. The *Ode to Joy* had enjoyed this popularity even during the Third Reich, when the melody not only formed a compulsory part of the musical programme for Hitler's official birthday concert⁽²⁵⁾, but was played at the opening ceremony of the Berlin Olympics in 1936, and even rang out sadly in German concentration camps⁽²⁶⁾. However, the popularity of the *Ode to Joy* spread beyond German confines⁽²⁷⁾, and between 1974 and 1980 it was adopted as the national anthem of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) under the racist regime of Ian Smith⁽²⁸⁾.

Finally, the *Ode to Joy* enjoyed another burst of popularity when the fourth (and second) movements of the Ninth Symphony were featured in the novella 'A Clockwork Orange', written in 1962 by Anthony Burgess (1917–1993), and later in the film *Clockwork Orange*, directed by Stanley Kubrick in 1971, a film which resulted in Burgess's acquiring a world-wide reputation. The *Ode to Joy*, in the Wendy (formerly Walter) Carlos arrangement for the electronic synthesiser invented by the engineer Robert Moog, featured in the soundtrack for the film. Hence the huge popularity of the *Ode to Joy*, which is now a tune on everyone's lips, a tune, however, which has lost its power to involve and unite, having become a soundtrack for films, documentaries, advertising spots, sporting events and much else besides⁽²⁹⁾.

2.2. The Consultative Assembly chooses the *Ode to Joy*

Within the Council of Europe, at the beginning of the 1960s, the choice of anthem was entrusted to the Committee on Local Authorities of the Consultative Assembly. However, whilst recognising the need and urgency for a European anthem, parliamentarians were hard put to reach agreement on the procedures to be followed. In particular, some members proposed the idea of a competition, while others disagreed on the grounds that it would be very difficult to agree unanimously on the winner. And so it was that the procedure received a boost in December 1969 in the form of a memo from the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs to the Chairman of the Committee on Regional Planning and Local Authorities. On 11 March 1971, Kjell T. Evers, Chairman of the 'Round Table for Europe Day' and President of the European Conference of Local Authorities⁽³⁰⁾, asked René Radius, Chairman of the Committee on Regional Planning and Local Authorities, to request the Council of Europe to adopt the European anthem officially⁽³¹⁾. The request was examined by the Committee at a meeting in Paris on 22 April 1971 and was put on the urgent agenda; René Radius was appointed as rapporteur. That agenda provided for the immediate tabling of a draft resolution and the submission of a report accompanied by a recommendation which the Standing Committee could adopt on behalf of the Consultative Assembly. The Committee on Regional Planning and Local Authorities decided, in fact, that the time was right for the Consultative Assembly to initiate a move progressively to introduce a genuine European anthem. Once again the Committee was undecided as to how to proceed. Three options were considered: firstly asking an adjudication panel to make a selection from the 50 or so suggestions which had been received in the meantime by the General Secretariat, and secondly the option which had been under consideration for some time, involving the organisation of a Europe-wide competition open to all young composers. That method raised various significant problems such as the selection criteria for choosing the jury and the winning melody. A third option which began to gain ground was to select a well-known European composer with whom Europeans could identify. With that in mind various alternatives were examined, each one based on a practice which was by then becoming well established. The Eurovision Song Contest broadcasts⁽³²⁾ had chosen as their 'jingle' the Rondo from the Prelude to the *Te Deum*, opus 146, by the French composer Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704); the Council of Europe radio broadcasts alternated the *Music for the Royal Fireworks* with the *Water Music*, both by Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759). All of a sudden, however, the choice fell on the melody from Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*, which, as already mentioned, had been used on numerous occasions for European celebrations⁽³³⁾.

Although there was rapid agreement on the choice of music, there were several objections to the words of the *Ode* by Schiller. The main objection was that the words did not seem particularly suited to contemporary sensitivities, and in any case it was felt that they were not likely to revive an awareness of European identity. Thus a decision was made, in the course of the Committee's meetings in April and May 1971, to do without the words, so as not to prejudice the unanimous adoption of the anthem itself⁽³⁴⁾. Therefore, on 8 July 1971⁽³⁵⁾, at its meeting in West Berlin, the Standing Committee adopted Resolution 492 (1971) on behalf of the Consultative Committee⁽³⁶⁾, despite the protests of the Government of the German Democratic Republic. So it was that the Council of Europe adopted the European anthem⁽³⁷⁾ 'in the shadow of the Berlin Wall'⁽³⁸⁾.

The preamble to the resolution stated that the musical work chosen was representative of European genius, but also that its use was 'already becoming something of a tradition'⁽³⁹⁾. Thus the feeling of identity associated with Beethoven's artistic heritage was to act as a means of filling the void in terms of a historical basis for European integration, which was still lacking, or at best precarious. The resolution therefore proposed the acceptance by member countries as a European anthem of 'the Prelude to the *Ode to Joy*, in the fourth movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony'⁽⁴⁰⁾, recommended its use on all European occasions, if

desired in conjunction with the national anthem, and, finally, requested the Committee on Parliamentary and Public Relations, the Committee on Regional Planning and Local Authorities and the European Conference of Local Authorities to take all necessary steps to implement the resolution.

2.3. The Committee of Ministers adopts the *Ode to Joy* as the European anthem

As has been stated elsewhere⁽⁴¹⁾, the Consultative Assembly did not consult the Committee of Ministers, probably aware that by doing so it might drag out the decision-making process. However, the Committee of Ministers received the resolution by way of information and, after deciding initially, in September 1971, merely to ‘take note of it’, at its meeting of 11-12 January 1972 the Committee specifically examined the matter of the anthem and adopted a formal decision.

Some members of the Committee, whilst agreeing in principle with the Assembly proposal, wondered whether the Committee was competent to take a decision on behalf of other European organisations, since the Council of Europe did not represent the whole of Europe. The Chairman of the Committee responded by saying that at the ‘Round Table for Europe Day’, held in Paris on 16 September 1971, the principal European organisations, including the European Community, had requested governments to ensure that the European anthem was played ‘in as many municipalities and schools and at as many events as possible on 5 May 1972’. In the light of this, the meaning of the decision to be taken by the Committee of Ministers was that it had chosen an anthem ‘to Europeans’. Therefore the Committee of Ministers, meeting at Deputy level, adopted as a European anthem the Prelude to the *Ode to Joy* in the fourth movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony and agreed to recommend to their governments that steps should be taken to ensure that the European anthem was played in as many municipalities and schools and at as many events as possible on 5 May 1972⁽⁴²⁾. It also approved the wording of a letter whereby the Secretary General of the Council of Europe would make known their decision to the Presidents or Secretaries General of the European Communities and European intergovernmental organisations, and to the Presidents or Secretaries General of organisations having consultative status with the Council of Europe⁽⁴³⁾. Thus the anthem became official, on a formal level, as a result of the decision by the Committee of Ministers.

3. The European Communities and the adoption of the anthem (1984–1986)

As with the flag, the first steps taken by the European Communities in relation to the European anthem were very tentative, and did not bear the stamp of officialdom. This was true for the two ECSC flags and for the Euratom emblem, but was even more marked in the case of the anthem. Jacques-René Rabier, who at the time was Director of the Information Service of the High Authority, once said that a friend of one of his employees⁽⁴⁴⁾ had composed an anthem, a *Hymn to the United States of Europe*, which had no official status as it had not even been accepted by the High Authority. Rabier, however, thought that an anthem was not just an exercise in musical composition but also needed to be performed in order to see how the public reacted to it. He therefore got the well-known band of the Garde Républicaine of Paris to include it in their repertoire, and they played it at European events. Thus on 9 May 1959, as part of the Paris Fair, there was a European day, and the anthem was played in the presence of Enzo Giacchero, a member of the High Authority whose remit included information, and Michel Debré, General de Gaulle’s Prime Minister⁽⁴⁵⁾.

It was parliamentarians who were the first to react following the adoption of the *Ode to Joy* by the Council of Europe. A British MP launched an initiative in the British Parliament aimed at getting the Communities to adopt an anthem too, and he proposed organising a competition⁽⁴⁶⁾. Over the years the Community institutions, notably the European Commission, received scores, music and words written by private individuals⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Again, for the anthem as for the flag⁽⁴⁸⁾, the political catalyst was the Committee on ‘a People’s Europe’, created on 25-26 June 1984 by the Fontainebleau European Council. In its second report, the Committee noted that the ‘*Ode to Joy* was in fact used at European events’, stated that the Council of Europe recognised that ‘the anthem was representative of the European idea’, and recommended to the European Council that ‘this anthem be played at appropriate events and ceremonies’⁽⁴⁹⁾.

The Milan European Council of 28-29 June 1985 approved the proposals of the Adonnino Committee and instructed the Commission and the Member States, acting in accordance with their respective powers, to take the necessary implementing measures.

The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe authorised the Secretary General to inform the European Commission that it had noted ‘with satisfaction’ the proposals of the Adonnino Committee and the decisions of the Milan European Council of 28-29 June 1985, and gave permission for the European Communities to use the anthem (and the flag) of the Council of Europe⁽⁵⁰⁾.

The political decisions regarding the anthem were taken by the heads of the institutional triumvirate, the President of the European Parliament, Pierre Pflimlin, the President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, and the President in office of the Council, the Foreign Affairs Minister of The Netherlands, Hans Van den Broek, at an interinstitutional lunch on 12 March 1986. At the subsequent technical meeting of the Secretaries General of the institutions held on 20 March 1986, note was taken of the proposal contained in the final report of the *ad hoc* Committee on a ‘People’s Europe’ (the Adonnino Committee) regarding the choice of the Prelude to the *Ode to Joy* in the fourth movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony in the von Karajan arrangement published by Schott’s of Magonza, and they remarked that the anthem was already widely used by the institutions.

On 29 May 1986, on the occasion of the ceremony⁽⁵¹⁾ at which the European flag was raised for the first time in front of the Berlaymont Palace, the seat of the Commission, the Brussels Conservatoire brass band (Flemish section) played the *Ode to Joy*; immediately afterwards the Community choral society, conducted by Jean Jakus, sang the original setting in German of Schiller’s *Ode*⁽⁵²⁾.

Since then the prelude to the *Ode to Joy* has been played at European ceremonies, either alone or together with the national anthem of the country hosting the event. For example, it was played in Brussels on 10 July 2003 at the closure of the European Convention which approved the Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. Furthermore, the *Ode to Joy* opened the celebratory concert for the enlargement of the European Union held on 3 May 2004 in New York at the Glass Palace of the United Nations, and it was played at the Campidoglio in Rome at the end of the signing ceremony for the European Constitution⁽⁵³⁾.

The *Ode to Joy*, as a hymn to freedom, has also been sung and played in non-European countries. For example, in Tiananmen Square in Peking in 1989, as a sign of protest; Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony is also particularly well known in Japan, where it is played in December as the official music for the New Year celebrations. The European anthem has also been used on the occasion of military ceremonies such as the inauguration of Eurocorps in Strasbourg on 5 November 1993⁽⁵⁴⁾, and at various Euromarfor ceremonies⁽⁵⁵⁾.

[...]

(15) The pseudonym of Jean-Charles Henry Petiot (1901–1965).

(16) The extract from the report is quoted by C. LAGER, *Europe d’azur et d’or*, op. cit., p. 64.

(17) The first suggestion came in a handwritten letter of 26 August 1949 from Jehane-Louis Gaudet, a singing teacher in Lyon, to Paul-Henri Spaak, the first President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. The letter began with these words: ‘May I, as a mother who suffered all kinds of trouble in the last war, including internment (by the Germans), send you my 917th song. This song, or hymn, is an appeal to everyone in the world who desires peace unreservedly and aspires to join forces to bring about the United States of Europe. Why not make this the anthem of the United Nations? That would give an honest woman the chance of getting herself known. An extraordinary opportunity such as this does not come around very often [...]’. The letter was accompanied by the words and melody of the ‘*Chant de la Paix de Jehane-Louis Gaudet*, Council of Europe, Consultative Assembly, R. RADIUS, *Rapport sur un hymne européen*, doc. 2978, 10 June 1971. On 7 September 1949, an anonymous official from the Documents and Studies section of the Council of Europe thanked ‘Monsieur le Professeur J. L. Gaudet’ [!] on behalf of President Spaak, Council of Europe Archives, folder 2912, docs. 3 and 4.

(18) The proposals submitted included solemn hymns and triumphal marches with titles such as *Hymne de l’Europe unifiée* (C. Kahlfuss, 1949), *Invocata* (H. Horben, 1950), *Marche de l’Europe Unie* (M. Clavel, 1951) *Europa vocata* (H. Holenia, 1957), *Europa!* (P. Krüger), *Hymnus europeus*, *Vereintes Europa*, *Europe lève-toi!* (L. Alban, 1961) *An Europa* (E. Hohenfeldt and F. Schein, 1953), *La Marseillaise de la paix* (M. L. Guy, 1953), *PanEuropa* (C. Falk), *Inno all’Europa* (F. Durand and A. Autéri Sivori, 1958), *L’Européenne* (J. Lafont, 1960).

(19) Letter from R. Coudenhove-Kalergi to Paul M.G. Levy, Berne 3 August 1955, Council of Europe Archives, folder 2912, doc. 1.

The Count, stung by the rejection of his proposal for a Europe Day, asked Levy whether there was any point proposing an anthem. On 5 September 1955 in particular, Levy expressed the view that the Ninth Symphony proposal was excellent and the Count's sponsorship of it would not be counterproductive. Moreover, he pointed out that the time seemed right and that people would turn their attention to the anthem once the flag was adopted. He therefore invited the Count to 'promote the playing of the *Ode to Joy* from the Ninth Symphony on all European occasions', Council of Europe Archives, folder 2912, doc. 2. In this connection it may be remembered that Coudenhove-Kalergi had already had the *Ode to Joy* played on the occasion of the inaugural session of the Paneuropean Congress, held in Vienna on 4 October 1926.

(20) Words by F. Van den Brande, musical setting by Geo. Teirlink.

(21) A memo sent by the Belgian Section of the Council of European Municipalities in 1963 to the Secretariat of the Committee on Local Authorities of the Council of Europe explained that 'the choice of Beethoven's setting of the *Ode to Joy* has enabled us to avoid the pitfalls of a competition, in which it would no doubt have been very difficult to agree unanimously on the winner. Moreover, the tune is one which was taught in schools long before the Council of Europe was ever thought of' (see report by R. Radius, op. cit.).

(22) Paul M.G. Levy, writing on 3 April 1962 to van Aken, Secretary General of the Netherlands Section of the European Movement, said 'My own view is that we should avoid calling for another round of musical offerings, and I would be very much in favour of using a few phrases from a well-known piece such as Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* or Händel's *Music for the Royal Fireworks*. We could set very simple words to it and should avoid some of the complications which too often exercise the minds of our European institution-makers', Council of Europe Archives, folder 2191, doc. 13.

(23) Letter from P.M.G. Levy to the Belgian Senator A. Molter, 12 March 1962, Council of Europe Archives, folder 2912, doc. 3.

(24) D.B. DENNIS, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1996.

(25) D.B. DENNIS, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989*, op. cit., p. 162, points out that the Ninth Symphony was broadcast direct by German radio on the occasion of Hitler's birthday in 1937, conducted by Wilhelm Furtwängler, and this was repeated in 1942. Joseph Goebbels specifically requested that it be played in the conviction that the Symphony 'with its fighting and struggling' reflected Hitler's ability to guarantee 'triumph and joyous victory'.

(26) E. BUCH, *La neuvième de Beethoven*, op. cit. The *Ode to Joy* used to be played at the Terezin concentration camp, near Prague, in April 1944, on a piano which supplied the missing orchestra parts. Again in 1944, a choir of Jewish children rehearsed the *Ode to Joy* in the latrines of the Auschwitz concentration camp with a view to putting on a concert, but the concert never took place because the poor little singers had meanwhile been consigned to the gas chambers (D. SIMON, *L'Ode à la Joie. Mise au point*, in *Mémoire.-Net. Mémoire locale et Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, in 'http://www.memoire-net.org/artiche.php?id_article=229'. J. SCHMIDT, 'Not These Sounds': *Beethoven at Mauthausen*, in *Philosophy and Literature*, 2005, pp. 146-163.

(27) E. BUCH, *La neuvième de Beethoven*, op. cit., pp. 255-256, who notes that, in 1967, the *Ode to Joy* was played at the inauguration of the new NATO headquarters in Brussels. The NATO press service told a journalist from *Der Spiegel* who attended the ceremony that the performance was completely unofficial; indeed, the US general who presided over the inauguration had thought that it was the Belgian anthem.

(28) The words of '*Rise O Voices of Rhodesia*' were written by the South African Mary Bloom, and were chosen in a national contest.

(29) M. MARCELLI, *La Nona Sinfonia di Beethoven. Appassiona il dotto e l'ignorante*, in 'http://www.akuaria.com/musica/nona_di_beethoven.htm'.

(30) The Conference had held a meeting in Paris on 1 February 1971 (attended by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe and A. Dominicé, Chairman of the Ministers' Deputies), and had agreed unanimously on 'the appropriateness of adopting a European anthem which symbolises the faith of its citizens in a united Europe'.

(31) Letter from K.T. Evers to R. Radius, 19 March 1971 (doc. AS/LOC (22)37, Council of Europe Archives, folder 2912, no 14). In the letter K.T. Evers said that the Conference felt keenly that, 'in the building of a united Europe, following the adoption of a European flag and the institution of Europe Day, the question of a European anthem must be treated as a priority'.

(32) The European Broadcasting Union/Union Européenne de Radio-Télévision, a confederation of public-service radio and television broadcasters, founded on 12 February 1950, gave birth in 1954 to the Eurovision network.

(33) Paul M.G. Levy, who had originally been behind the choice of Händel's *Music for the Royal Fireworks* as the opening music for Council of Europe broadcasts, wanted that melody to be adopted as the European anthem. Levy did not like the *Ode to Joy*; indeed in a debate in 1990 at Louvain-la-Neuve, he claimed that the Council of Europe had adopted it 'against my will, if I may be so bold as to say so...' (F. DASSETTO, M. DUMOULIN, *Naissance et développement de l'information européenne*, op. cit., pp. 83-84).

(34) According to the Committee, 'the words of the "Ode to Joy" should be replaced later by a genuinely European text that might be selected by competition, but meanwhile Beethoven's tune could be proposed as a European anthem' (doc. AS/LOC (22) PV 10, item 4, Council of Europe Archives, folder 2912, doc. 15).

(35) The proposal for a resolution on the European anthem was tabled by Radius and others on 13 May 1971, Council of Europe, Consultative Assembly, *Documents de Séance*, II, 1971, doc. 2957.

(36) Council of Europe, Consultative Assembly, *Textes adoptés par l'Assemblée*, Strasbourg, 1971.

(37) E. BUCH, *La neuvième de Beethoven*, op. cit., p. 273.

(38) It is worth remembering, in this context, that Leonard Bernstein conducted a concert in Berlin on 25 December 1989 to celebrate the fall of the Wall, the programme for which included the *Ode to Joy*. On that occasion Bernstein changed the word *Freude* (joy) to *Freiheit* (freedom).

(39) E. BUCH, *Parcours et paradoxes de l'Hymne européen*, op. cit., p. 91, observes that 'The allusion to a few isolated renderings of Beethoven's work on "European" occasions might appear not to count for much; however, in addition to the practical advantages, it involved the general issue of the tradition itself. Tradition was one of the vital elements of European integration, and one of its stumbling blocks was that it lacked traditions, and even in some cases appeared to be going against existing ones.'

(40) The resolution refers to the Prelude to the *Ode to Joy*, meaning the instrumental section of the Ninth Symphony preceding the choral entry.

(41) A. LARCHER, *Le drapeau de l'Europe et l'hymne européen*, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

(42) The Swiss representative pointed out that in his country, the decision on playing the anthem in schools and municipalities lay within the competence of the cantons; however, the Confederation would make a recommendation to the cantons. The United Kingdom representative observed, on the other hand, that it was not customary in his country to play national or other anthems in schools; for that reason the British authorities would probably have to limit themselves to drawing the attention of schools and municipalities to the existence of the anthem. Finally, the German delegate said that the German Government welcomed any initiative to further the idea of European unity; however, it could not take a definite position before knowing the financial implications for the Council of Europe's budget of the Secretariat's new proposals (Council of Europe, *Conclusions of the 206th meeting of Deputies*, 11 to 18 January 1972, point XXIII, *Organisation of Europe Day*, p. 28).

(43) The text of the letter was as follows: 'In its 106th meeting in Strasbourg, from 11 to 18 January, the Committee of Ministers, meeting at Deputy level, examined the Assembly's proposal concerning acceptance by member countries as a European anthem of the Prelude to the *Ode to Joy* in the fourth movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (Resolution 492 of the Consultative Assembly). I have the honour to inform you that the Committee of Ministers unanimously approved the Assembly's suggestion, thus proposing that anthem to Europeans. It should be added that the Consultative Assembly recommended the use of this anthem on all European occasions, if desired in conjunction with the national anthem.'

(44) This was Michel Roveri, the pseudonym of Nadine Van Helmont's mother, who wrote the music and the orchestration, whereas the words were by Nadine Van Helmont, Editions Roveri, 30 bis, rue de la Ferme, Neuilly, Paris. Various letters from Nadine Van Helmont to Jacques-René Rabier (20 May and 1 July 1958, 17 September 1970, 20 April 1971, 31 December 1971 and 14 January 1972), and also the replies from Jacques-René Rabier of 26 April 1971 and 26 January 1972, are kept in the Robert Pendville collection at the Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Ferme de Dorigny, Lausanne.

(45) J.-R. Rabier in a speech in 1990 at a debate at Louvain-la-Neuve, in F. DASSETTO, M. DUMOULIN, *Naissance et développement de l'information européenne*, op. cit., pp. 83-84. The date indicated by Rabier (1 May 1958) has been corrected to 9 May in the light of information provided by Nadine Van Helmont on 22 January 1997 and held in the Robert Pendville collection, at the Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Ferme de Dorigny, Lausanne.

(46) In the Council of Europe, this initiative formed the subject of a question from RADIUS to Anthony Royle, representing the Chairman in Office of the Committee of Ministers. Replying in his capacity as a British Minister, he carefully avoided committing himself and merely stated that the Prime Minister, Edward Heath, had already stated in reply to a parliamentary question that it was not appropriate for the British Government to organise a competition. Personally he thought that it was logical for the Communities to have their own anthem, but the British Government had taken no 'final view' on the matter (Council of Europe, Consultative Assembly, Parliamentary question tabled by Mr RADIUS and reply by Mr Anthony Royle, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, representing the Chairman in Office of the Committee of Ministers), session of 25 January 1973, *Official Reports*, AS(24) CR 25, Council of Europe Archives.

(47) The Robert Pendville collection at the Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Ferme de Dorigny, Lausanne, in fact holds the following: *Europe, lève-toi* (words and music by L. Alban, arrangement by J. Rozi, 1961, sent to the Council of Europe), *L'Européenne* (words and music by J. Lafont, 1960, also sent to the Council of Europe), *Le Chant des Européens* (words and music by P. Devence, perhaps a pseudonym, 1962), *Sur un même chemin ...* (words by C. Rehaut, music by A. Pisart, 1963), *Inno europeo dedicato alla memoria di A. Moro* (words and music by O. di Marzo, 1978), *Chant de l'Europe* (words by J.-L. Vallas, music by Y. Desportes, 1980).

(48) See above, ch. II, para. 3.6.

(49) *Bulletin of the European Communities*, suppl. 7/85, p. 30.

(50) CM/Del/Concl (86)393, Item 4, p. 13, Council of Europe Archives.

(51) Announcing the ceremony, Commissioner Ripa di Meana added that the prelude to Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*, 'the new European anthem', would be played.

(52) The orchestra and choir also played an excerpt by a young composer from Antwerp, Jan van de Roost; also performing at the ceremony was Sandra Kim, the winner of the 1986 Eurovision song contest with the song '*J'aime la vie*', a symbol of hope and youth.

(53) The *Ode to Joy* was also played in Place Schuman, Brussels, on 11 December 2001, at the request of the Belgian Presidency of the European Union, to commemorate the passing of three months since the terrorist attacks in New York which destroyed the Twin Towers (see above, introduction, note 22).

(54) *Armée et Défense*, No. 616, Nov. Dec. 1993, p. 10.

(55) *Cols Bleus*, No. 2369, 26 October 1996.