

BOLOGNA-BALONEY – UNIVERSITY, AN INDEPENDENT STRONGHOLD OF FREE THINKING SINCE THE MIDDLE AGES, IS IN DANGER

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Abstract: Three conditions have to be fulfilled for a corporation style university to function:

1. Learned studies under the direction of masters.
2. A solidarity based community of masters and their students (My present dean is fond of citing the example of this solidarity, when all masters and students of the University of Pécs fought against the Turks during their intended occupation of Europe in the 15th century (Koltai, 2010, but compare with the more detailed analysis of the historian: Font, 2002, 474.)).
3. Unlimited independence from state and church authority – and taking into account today's reality, from international capital well on its way to globalize the entire world for itself.

The most defining feature of the institution university is this very unlimited independence: We can only speak of the birth of universities after establishing self-governance under the rule of elected deans and provosts. This freedom was guaranteed by the privileges confirmed in royal and papal bulls. This is how the most renowned institutions in Bologna, Paris and Oxford came into being more or less at the same time around the 13th century. And this community solely devoted to truth and working in the freedom of research and teaching is to be terminated by the disintegration-process named after Bologna.

The present paper will pursue an in-depth investigation of the sources of the “Bologna process”, its empirical effects both on students and academic staff and offer guidance as to how to re-establish and ensure scientific freedom and academic creativity.

Key words: Bologna process, University independence, scientific freedom, science management

If you are one of those committed to the Institution University you may certainly be fed up with the Bologna-baloney.

Discrediting the same Bologna, where – officially in 1088 – Europe's first university was founded.

Obviously a few *magisters* attracting a group of enthusiastic students would not have sufficed to call it a university, or else we could easily end up giving university recognition to every esoteric club today. „At least three conditions must be satisfied for a corporate body to be a university” (Reiser, 2010, 13):

Scientific studies under the masters' supervision.

A solidaric fellowship of masters and students (according to Koltai (2010) the 15th century masters and students of the University of Pécs were corporately armed to fight the occupants from the Middle East streaming into Christian Europe (cf. the research of the historian: Font, 2002, 474.)).

Complete independence from state and church power – and taking today's reality into account – complete independence from the influence of international finance globalizing the entire world to itself.

The most defining feature of a university is this complete independence: we can only speak of the birth of *the* University after self-determination and the governing by deans and rectors elected by and

from amongst the masters had been established. This was guaranteed by the privileges affirmed in papal, imperial and royal bulls. This is how famous universities came to life in Bologna, Paris and Oxford approximately at the same time in the 13th century. And this corporate fellowship solely devoted to deeper understanding of mankind and the world based on the freedom of research, doctrine and teaching is being cracked down by the subversive process now named after Bologna. The February 2001 resolution of the Conference of German University Rectors bluntly discloses, that „*the initiative pertaining to higher education in Europe was not proposed by the universities themselves but the politicians of the European Union*” (Conference of German University Rectors, 2001). Not even the parliament of the EU has ever discussed it. How exactly does the Bologna Declaration signed by 29 EU-potentates without the authorisation of their nations end? „*We expect Universities to respond promptly and positively and to contribute actively to the success of our endeavour.*” (Bologna Declaration, 1999) This is the manner of speech of tyrants, who issue their commands to their subjects unmistakably: „*Hoc volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*” - This I wish, thus I command. Let my will stand for a reason. (Juvenal, 1st Century AD). But whereas in Juvenal’s quotation the tyrant’s demand to put a slave to death was merely satirical, the dictate of today’s globalist tyrants to put University to death is bleeding reality.

The Association of German University Lecturers (AGUL) conducted a public debate on February 19th 2009 in Dresden entitled „*The Bologna-process: a Trojan horse in the system of higher education?*” (Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft, 2009). The delegates of the students, lecturers and non-scientific employees of the university have unanimously declared in their resolution that „*Enforcing the Bologna-process was an anti-democratic dictate of an illegitimate alliance of ministers responsible for higher education with the conference of rectors*” (2nd paragraph of the cited resolution). „*With reference to Bologna they are enforcing a number of processes, although neither the liquidation of a university diploma, nor the stamping out of the freedom of research and teaching are in any way related to 'Bologna'. The introduction of tuition fees for students and depriving students, professors and faculties of their rights of resolution cannot be traced back to 'Bologna' (much more so to the Conference of Rectors and political despotism)*” (3rd paragraph of the cited resolution). What does an anti-democratic dictate enforced by an illegitimate alliance leading to deprivation of faculty rights, the liquidation of the university diploma, and the stamping out of the freedom of research and teaching remind you of? Probably much more of the mafia than the respectable ministers of education and university rectors of a democratic state!

All the more acute the question arises: Why on earth will those concerned not protest loudly, since the brutal mutilation of their ancient rights is outrageously obvious? These issues were treated very differently in medieval Bologna and in the other university cities. In those days students and lecturers defended themselves by corporately moving to a neighbouring town, whenever they had had enough of the power abuse of local authorities. Completely relaxed they waited until the town fathers amended the honourable students, that they please return; henceforth everything shall be according to their demands.

In the days of French poet Francois Villon in the middle of the 15th century fighting and disorderly conduct had proliferated amongst students to such an extent that Paris police pulled out to take action against the students. But the university was not going to tolerate this intervention into its own jurisdiction, so they quit lecturing and church preaching immediately. The city had to give in. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%*c3*%*a7*ois_Villon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%c3%a7ois_Villon)) But in those days the spirit of solidarity prevailed, and both professors and students were proud of their esprit de corps. This habit has obviously been broken in both groups since.

Today we have to say NO to an economic perspective of higher education, ogling solely at the number of diplomas issued. We have to say NO to measuring achievement based exclusively on quantitative indices. We have to say NO to the Bachelor qualification; at least as long as it is unmistakably proven that our society needs and will employ people with this qualification. We have to say NO to every initiative aiming to force research and teaching to comply with the demands of financial interests, and organise university as a profit based business concern headed by an omnipotent manager. We have to say NO to unreflecting comparisons with institutions of higher education abroad not taking into account the peculiarities of that specific educational system, thus comparing apples with pears.

Without having to face any objection, our politicians and their followers heaved into the Conference of Rectors have been parroting their paroles for the last ten years, pretty similar in logic to those of the potentates of the gone by communist dictatorship: *The Bologna-process is „irreversible” and “unstoppable”, even if not everything is perfect yet, we are „on the right way”* (whoever the subject may be), and *„no one”* (and this subject hasn't been clarified either!) *„would want to return to the old university order”*.

In his analysis Morkel (2000) comes to the conclusion that a scandal is necessary. Only that could raise attention and move society. At last this scandal broke out in June 2009, when secondary school and university students protested and demonstrated in all states of Germany. Their indignation is well justified, so is their referring to the government promptly providing billions of Euros for the revival of banks gone bankrupt in their irresponsibly greedy speculation, while school and university education have been notoriously underfinanced: *„Bei den Banken seid ihr fix, für die Bildung tut ihr nix”* (approximate translation: You are quick at helping banks but you do nothing for education). Despite all the eye-wash, it becomes clearer than daylight who actually exercises power in our „democracies”! Can we really resent the students' posters saying that the bachelor degree has only been introduced to squeeze them through university faster, in order for international capital to take advantage of their poorly paid work force?

So students demonstrated. How about their learned professors? The older ones think: *„I can put up with these few years till pension, after me the flood”*. As for the younger ones fearing their promotion, they'll often just be opportunists and keep quiet. Many will defend themselves by claiming their hands are bound. Well, this is pure hypocrisy! The freedom of science, research, doctrine and teaching is guaranteed as basic right in the constitution of each of the member states (e.g. article 70 paragraph G in Hungarian Constitution valid at the time of writing). So what will coerce professors to tolerate the continued dismantling of their constitutional rights without objection? Who could stop us from posting a paid public summons in two of our best-read dailies with approximately the following content? *„The Bologna-process irresponsibly constrains the freedom of science, inhibits free research and devaluates the level of scientific qualification. Despite all its faults, University order as has been practised since the Middle Ages has led to far better results.”* To be followed by the signature of a hundred professors. This summons could appear every month, each time a different set of professors signing it. That way our politicians could hardly continue propagating their lies about university. (It was with this same method, that AGUL achieved that German defence minister, zu Guttenberg, who plagiarised his entire doctoral dissertation, was made to resign from all his offices in February 2011, despite the fact that the German Chancellor publicly offered him her full support.) A representative study proves that 84% of the university lecturers consider the Bologna system a failure (Jaksztat & Briedis, 2009, 11). The initiative suggested above was realised by the professors of the University of Cologne by publishing the Cologne Proclamation on November 26th 2009. *„We demand that the Bachelor-qualification be abolished and democracy be reintroduced to our university. (...)Last we demand that the factual freedom of science, research, doctrine and teaching be reasserted in writing, and that the university reassert its credo with regard to its original task of qualification.”* (Cologne Proclamation, 2009)

We do have politicians, who will question the supposed irreversibility of the Bologna-process. Christian Democratic party chairman (Rheinland-Pfalz), Christian Baldauf writes in the prestigious daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine* December 18th 2009 that the Bologna-process *„led to deterioration of university life ... to call that a 'reform' [i.e. the restitution to the original form, Héjj's remark] is, in the sight of the devastating system transformation, outrageous.”* The new ideal *„is the standardised student exactly fitting the pre given form”*. This politician finally poses the question: *„Why didn't we discuss, whether our democratic society wanted these radical system changes and their fatal consequences? Who is responsible for these results today? And why didn't we probe the effects beforehand in a 'Bologna'-rehearsal, with universities volunteering of their own accord?”* Finally he asks: *„And what do we learn from the shame of Bologna?”* (Baldauf, 2009)

Throughout Europe more and more university positions are cut back – yet the EU plans to send at least 50% of each birth-year to university (Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung, 2009). This mass would overload universities beyond hope, and common sense will tell you: it is ridiculous to assume that

every second person is born with capacities to make them fit for university education. It is a statistical contradiction, that 50% would command an outstanding intelligence. In Germany between 1820 and 1955 2-5% of a cohort would take the secondary school final exam. Till 1975 this rose to 20%, today it is nearly 50%. Since 1955 the number of university students has become tenfold (Reiser, 2010, 125).

Critiques consider a Bachelor-degree the qualification of those breaking off their studies. In the US it only serves to certify that the candidate is fit for university studies, in other words it is the functional equivalent of our good old secondary school final exam.

Let us consider what this Bolognian „no-more-tradition’s-chains-shall-bind-us”-movement has brought us. In Germany the university is represented by its rector. But the rector is not appointed by democratically elected political leadership, but the economic counsel (EC) of the university, representing international capital. This EC, and not the elected representatives of students and lecturers is the decision maker in all major university issues. The EC may consist of 100% external members. The majority of its members and its president have to be external. Thus people not belonging to the university can decide in all important issues without permitting the elected representatives to defend their organisations against the decisions of the EC. This is genuine socio-Darwinism: Survival of the richest! Now we understand why the Association of Protestant University Lecturers investigates in the title of their 2009 annual meeting, how university has been transformed: „From the *alma mater* [gracious, feeding mother, Héjj’s remark] to a major business concern” (Laqueur, Schmidt & Will-Armstrong, 2009)

The president of the Conference of Rectors declared in Brussels in January 2010: „*We confess to the Bologna-Reform since 1998.*” (Wintermantel, 2010) Correctly she should have spoken of the Bologna Declaration in preparation at that time. But at least we learn, what a compulsory status this „declaration” has: it is considered similar to the confession of religious faith. So the Middle-Ages-motto still prevails *Cuius regio, eius religio*: We have to follow the religion of the lord of our region. Those of a differing belief – the *dissidents* – have no choice but to emigrate. But where can we take refuge from the religion of the global lords?

The priests of this new religion are the accreditation committees, the committees constructing university ranking lists and the quality management examiners. In this “holy order” rectors are the pontiffs. It is extremely difficult to ascertain facts as to the peak of this hierarchy. The priests of the new religion are scrupulously concerned to avoid every contact with the Goddess of the old cult: rationality.

„*Trust is good, but control is better.*” (Lenin). The very sentence used not so long ago to mock communist dictatorships, has now become a central credo in the religion of the Europe of Knowledge. Already half a century ago Guardini warns of the danger of bureaucracy threatening university (1954). He calls it „*Despotism that came about without a revolution*”. Today’s university is at the mercy of this despotism. This bureaucracy initiates more and more soul-killing routine tasks for the individual lecturers, obstructing them in exercising their true profession. Under the pretext of control in accordance with EU standards professors are drilled to perform in a dog-like manner. One of the most important tools of this control is the accreditation of each subject, and its repetition at intervals. Consider the thousands of university subjects in the EU and the horrendous cost for the accreditation agencies regularly revalidating them! In its declaration AGUL protests: „*This procedure is expensive, bureaucratic, slow, ineffective, legally doubtful and counteracts university autonomy*” (Kempen, 2009). The president of AGUL summoned to a boycott in March 2009: „*We must put an end to this craze!*” (Kempen, 2009). He emphasises that compulsory accreditation is manifestly anti-constitutional, since constitution, as cited above, expressively guarantees the freedom of science, art, research, doctrine and teaching.

Traditionally the freedom and independence of science was assured by a state guaranteed terrain named *university*. Thanks to the funds assured university could devote itself to planning and management. This independence in planning was the very reason for universities to come into being in the middle ages. University as a self governing corporate body was founded, because without the protection of the institution university the legal status of professors and students was insecure, they were liable to harassment by state and church authorities. For eight centuries Europe’s universities

managed to preserve the right of self-determination guaranteed by popes, emperors and kings. This eight century old freedom is terminated by the Bologna-process.

But the Bologna-process is not just a gigantic deprivation of freedom. It is outright stupidity too. Seeing all this, universities consciously surrender their constitutionally guaranteed freedom of research and teaching.

And what are the benefits of evaluation? Thanks to Bologna a university is no longer considered to be good, if its students have to accomplish high standards, but if it has issued an impressive number of degree-certificates.

Quality control of teaching consists of students filling in a few forms. The empirical validity of the grades received is very limited; one can best interpret them as measures of sympathy. A lecturer grading his/her students leniently can count on the benevolence of his/her students during „evaluation” more than the colleague insisting on higher standards. In recent years more and more students get into university who would want to get their degree-certificates with the least possible work. Considering the practice of evaluation described this substantially depresses the maintainable standard of education.

Yet the EU-standard quality control of research is even more difficult. Of course the old scientist knew very well which colleague’s research was valuable and whose wasn’t, but this type of scientist has either died out or else no one wants to hear their opinion any longer. Today’s professor hardly finds time for research with all his quality assurance accreditation. Incidentally the quality of research is measured by the quantity of funding gained (mostly in project tenders in the enterprise of global capital).

Constant university ranking, accreditation and evaluation procedures and controls that remind one more of military barracks than centres of creative research will make sure that standardisation will adapt to the lowest possible level.

„Unless one is blind and insensible, one is struck by the loss of joy and by the intellectual sterility in universities that have already introduced the Bologna system.” (Bolz, 2011, 8)

The Bologna Declaration abounds with instances of imprecise phrasing and logical mistakes. Just for an example’s sake let us review the first two paragraphs of the declaration:

„The European process, thanks to the extraordinary achievements of the last few years, has become an increasingly concrete and relevant reality for the Union and its citizens.” (Bologna Declaration, 1999)

„The European process” probably intends to disguise the process of unifying Europe. The word „concrete” is a concrete example of redundancy.

„Enlargement prospects together with deepening relations with other European countries, provide even wider dimensions to that reality.” (Bologna Declaration, 1999)

„Reality” can indeed have “dimensions”. But can a political process widen these dimensions? What they are trying to say is that the unification of Europe is advancing well.

„A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognised as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth.” (Bologna Declaration, 1999)

Did we really live in a Europe lacking knowledge before the declaration of the wise men of Bologna? And what does it mean that the Europe of Knowledge is an irreplaceable factor for human growth?

The declaration is full of similar adumbrations. Its initiators are either incapable of thinking and speaking clearly, or else they’ve got something to hide.

Much of what has become obvious in the course of the Bologna-process and what has to a large extent been realised reminds us of the despotic state outlined in Orwell’s novel *Nineteen-eighty-four*. Total control over the inhabitants even determines their thoughts and feelings. The party of those in power pursues only two objectives: to conquer the world, and to prevent independent, free thinking once and for all. The most important tool to achieve these objectives is the compulsory prescription of a certain language usage. The official – in today’s terminology *politically correct* – language of the party is

newspeak. This language has no word for „science”, since the freedom of thought and a quest for truth are prerequisites of science. Thanks to this new language, one cannot even think „heretic” thoughts, because the words necessary for such concepts have been deleted from the vocabulary of the language. The vocabulary is being systematically reduced, heretic words and non desirable intellectual and emotional connotations are eliminated step by step. In *newspeak* the word „free” only exists in „harmless” word-compounds, such as „freefall”, „freeway”, or „salt free”; maybe in geographical names like „Freemantle”. The meaning „politically free” has become unknown: Political and intellectual freedom does not even exist as theoretical concepts. But reducing vocabulary and its purification of unwanted connotations is by far not all. Further linguistic tools for controlling thought are euphemisms that can reach to the very opposite of the concept. Some basic notions become the antonym of their original meaning. The main task of the „*Ministry of Truth*” is to forge the past. Earlier written documents and artefacts have to be adapted to the course allocated by Big Brother. Similar to the murder-cases of free-masons on their fellows now termed traitors, those out of favour are retouched from historical records. The „*Ministry of Peace*” warrants continuous (anti-terror) war. The „*Ministry of Love*” is responsible for the murderous interrogation in secret police type torture chambers (c.f. Dézsi, 1992). The „*Ministry of Plenty*” makes sure there is artificial lack in public alimentation. Even the party slogans decorating the white facade of the Ministry of Truth are based on opposite meanings: „*War is peace, freedom is slavery, and ignorance is strength.*” (Orwell, 1949/2003) But for Orwellian power the heresy of heresies is common sense itself. In their philosophy reality doesn’t exist. It is just a collateral phenomenon of human brain activity. This is also the main axiom of postmodern philosophy that finds many followers among today’s intellectuals. It has been declared a dogma in our so called post-modern world that truth is a matter of perspective; everyone can construct their own personal truths. Thus the concept of truth has been crashed. The parallel is surprising to Jesus’ words: „*You belong to your father, the devil, and you want to carry out your father’s desires. He was a murderer from the beginning, not holding to the truth, for there is no truth in him.*” (John’s Gospel, 8:44).

The very word “reform”, so often emphasized referring to the Bologna-process, is a euphemism. As we have explained earlier, *re-form* refers to the procedure where an institution deteriorated and disintegrated in the course of time is *re-stored* to its original form in order to fulfil its designation in accordance with its original plan. Alas, that is *not* the intention of the Bologna-procedure. It wants to fundamentally renew the institutional system of higher education, leaving not a stone standing. The president of the Conference of Rectors is fully justified in calling these „*changes that demolish the fundamentals*” (Wintermantel, 2010). Demolishing fundamentals is revolution. The only surprise is that these revolutionaries – even if they are directed by others behind them – are state ministers and university rectors. From such high ranking state officials we would expect strict adherence to the constitution, and not that they should play revolutionaries.

But Newspeak is not the only thing we encounter in the Bologna-documents, they are characterised by *doublethink* too. Doublethink is „*The power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one’s mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them (...).To tell deliberate lies while genuinely believing in them, to forget any fact that has become inconvenient*” (Wikipedia: Doublethink). Let us hear Orwell himself: „*To know and not to know, to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully constructed lies, to hold simultaneously two opinions which cancelled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them, to use logic against logic, to repudiate morality while laying claim to it, to believe that democracy was impossible and that the Party was the guardian of democracy, to forget, whatever it was necessary to forget, then to draw it back into memory again at the moment when it was needed, and then promptly to forget it again, and above all, to apply the same process to the process itself -- that was the ultimate subtlety; consciously to induce unconsciousness, and then, once again, to become unconscious of the act of hypnosis you had just performed. Even to understand the word ‘doublethink’ involved the use of doublethink.*” (Orwell, 1949/2003, 42)

What other explanation could there be for the following contradiction. The Bologna Declaration first emphasises the importance of „*taking full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy*”, but those signing the declaration add immediately that „*We expect Universities to respond promptly and positively and to contribute actively to the*

success of our endeavour.” (Bologna Declaration, 1999) The Bologna Declaration refers to the 1988 Bologna Magna Charta Universitatum as its own positive antecedent. But that Magna Charta commits itself to the traditional *modus operandi* of universities that the Bologna Declaration radically breaks with. It is no coincidence that the 319 page Bologna-Reader (2004) does not find space for that one-page document. To cite the spirit of this Magna Charta let us just consider its first basic principle.

„The university is an autonomous institution at the heart of societies differently organized because of geography and historical heritage; it produces, examines, appraises and hands down culture by research and teaching. To meet the needs of the world around it, its research and teaching must be morally and intellectually independent of all political authority and intellectually independent of all political authority and economic power.” (Bologna Magna Charta Universitatum, 1988)

This Magna Charta still stands up for university autonomy in the original sense. How can the Bologna Declaration that stamps out this autonomy refer to this document a decade later, if not applying doublethink as foreseen by Orwell?

From Orwell we learn what the only hope for victory over such brainwashed despotism is. After having broken the novel’s hero by prolonged „treatment”, this is what he says to the representative of that power:

- Something will defeat you. Life will defeat you.

- We control life, Winston, at all its levels. You are imagining that there is something called human nature which will be outraged by what we do and will turn against us. But we create human nature. Men are infinitely malleable. Or perhaps you have returned to your old idea that the proletarians or the slaves will arise and overthrow us. Put it out of your mind. They are helpless, like the animals. (...)

- I don't care. In the end they will beat you. Sooner or later they will see you for what you are, and then they will tear you to pieces.

- Do you see any evidence that this is happening? Or any reason why it should?

- No. I believe it. I know that you will fail. There is something in the universe - I don't know, some spirit, some principle - that you will never overcome.

- Do you believe in God, Winston?

- No.

- Then what is it, this principle that will defeat us?

- I don't know. The spirit of Man.

- And do you consider yourself a man? (Orwell, 1949/2003, 152).

„The only thing combative against totalitarian power is the belief in God. Only the belief in a power independent of this world can assure sufficient independence and conviction to unbroken spiritual resistance. This is missing from Orwell’s main character, Winston, consequently he is lost.” (Reiser, 2010, 66)

The Old Testament proclaims that *„money is the answer for everything.”* (Ecclesiastes, 10:19) But who would have thought, that this was going to be the motto of a university reform? Albeit in its original form another proverb says *„Man proposes, but God disposes”*, Spengler hits the nail on the head: *„The intellect proposes, but money disposes.”* (Spengler, 1922) We may infer: God’s place has been taken by the idol of money, mammon.

The European Round Table of Industrialists, an association of Shell, Petrofina, Nokia and other multinational companies, has been propagating *Lifelong Learning* since 1987, i.e. starting years before communist leaders have become capitalist company presidents (ERT, 1987). This was followed by a new document in 1995 titled *„Education for Europeans. Towards the learning society.”* (ERT, 1995) Among those who signed it we find prominent “experts of adult education” like the presidents of the boards of directors of Shell, British Petroleum, Petrofina, Statoil, Fiat and Krupp, to name but a few (ERT, 1995, 34). This group so anxious about our future presses for lifelong learning from the cradle

to the grave, claiming that to be the only way they could guarantee to prepare citizens adequately for the expectations of the global world. (Surely it has to be conspiracy theory to believe that they wanted to create an access to continuous indoctrination.) But these educational experts representing international capital wanting our very best (possibly in both senses) did not just elaborate the order of LLL-education in the EU but also the proper view of man to go with it. This sees man as a utilisable resource, „human capital”. Just hearing this expression, every humane thinking human is numbed. Yet there is no misunderstanding, they really mean it. Good proof is the book with detailed background information published by OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) called „*Human Capital – How what you know shapes your life.*” (Keeley, 2007) And as to human capital the same rules apply like to capital in general. Its value is determined by the market alone. With a Bachelor-degree human capital achieves a status that it can be put on the market with the greatest possible profit (the question is, to whom?).

But how could we characterise this „Europe of Knowledge”? The freedom of the market has triumphed over the freedom of man. Thus man has been degraded to a slave, who’s emphatically repeated human dignity is nothing but an empty phrase. The market does not need independent people, free in their spirit and thanks to their education self-conscious, as China’s example proves. So the Bologna-process doesn’t just do away with traditional university, but with Human Rights too.

Let us venture into the ancient beginnings. The educators of ancient Rome aimed at the seven free arts. Their students were free from financial problems. They decided to learn out of their free will, it was not the necessities of the market that determined in what direction they should polish their intellect. But already Plato makes it clear that vocational training with the purpose of serving subsistence is not education. Indisputably this is an aristocratic approach. But throughout history the carrier of every high culture was the elite of the given society, no matter how we look at it. It is a great merit of Christianity to have opened education for lower levels of society if they had the aptitude. Similar to nobility titles, a doctoral title ensured its bearer considerable privileges.

Plato’s purpose of education is a result of his image of humanity. Man seeks truth in order to understand himself and the world surrounding him. Nowadays we hear more and more about the importance of competencies. The Bologna-process is taking advantage of this instrument in order not to have to define the concept of education. A set of competencies is laid down and appointed learning objectives. So *education* gives way to *dressage* emphasising learning objectives. School and university become a drill-ground. But can processes of intellect, the ripening of reason, insight and the gradual expansion of one’s intellectual horizon in the course of the years of absorption be carved into the items of a competency-list? Can questions regarding the organic wholeness of the world and society, the meaning and objectives of human life be answered in possession of a competency-list? In Humboldt’s days it was obvious that every educated person in Christian Europe was familiar with the teaching of the Gospel. But by today, the EU of the „New World Order” has not only banned the central value of the Christian West, God, from its constitution, it is aggressively prosecuting the holy symbols of Christianity too. With reference to human rights the European Court of Human Rights has banned the cross from schools in its verdict of November 3rd 2009. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lautsi_v._Italy). So the New World Order is new in its opposition to the „old”, Christian world order, and it has decided that European identity should not be based on Christianity, on Christian tradition. Unfortunately it hasn’t become clear what is being offered in its place, unless the alternative should be seen in the Bologna-process. But in that case the name of the alternative could only be – barbarity.

In Christian tradition the source of man’s free will is that God created him in His own image. Those who propagate that intellect is but an collateral phenomenon of brain activity, can only prove their thesis, by what they wish to negate: the independent intellect. This is demonstrated by Humboldt’s paradox : „*Man is only man by the use of language. But in order for him to have constructed language, he would have had to be man before*” (Humboldt, 1820/1963, 11).

In Germany the special importance of university study is emphasised by calling it „*akademisches Studium*” (academic study). But also in Hungary the same expression is used if we want to highlight that a scientist is in possession of a very rare, high-ranking scientific qualification: „DSc” (Doctor of the Academy), and the academy is, as can be read on its website: „*the most prestigious scientific corporation in Hungary*” (http://mta.hu/cikkek/akademiarol__22321). This expression refers to Plato’s

academia as Benedict XVI. emphasised in his speech given to the leaders of the University of Prague (Kotek, 2009). Let us cast a glance at this ancient university, Plato's Academy.

The name-giving location of Plato's famous *Faculty of Arts* is the parkland dedicated to Akademos Heros. According to Greek mythology this hero helped Castor and Polydeuces free their sister, the beautiful Helen. In gratitude their father, Tyndaris, King of Sparta always saved the property of Akademos, whenever they invaded Attica (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akademos>). So university (Academia) implied mythological protection against the force of power and the power of force. But Professor Plato's lectures were supplemented by colloquia and symposia (sympiaion- συμπίειν = drink together). This faculty of arts was not a simple school, but a living together of professors and students devoting themselves to searching the truth. In its legal form it was religious association venerating the muses (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plato%27s_Academy).

Should the reader think that the relevance of the Greek classics may have become lost in the waters of forgetfulness, we could just as well consider the defining figure of modern university, whose name the most important university of the German capital proudly boosts. Humboldt's university is an association of cooperating researchers in the service of pure science inspiring each other. For this kind of life perspective university inevitably has to be independent from the state and professors and students must be able to get immersed into their work according to their interests. With regard to university state has only two duties: to insure its independence and to appoint its professors. For Humboldt a professor is not a mediator of knowledge, but someone who will lead the student to science, a role-model who „shows his student how to begin scientific investigation that would lead to new verifiable cognitions, and encourages his student to gain experience with this method.” (Rüegg, 2004, 33) It is important to point out that Humboldt made the difference between school and university distinct. While the former emphasizes mediation of knowledge, the latter prepares for independent thinking, work and research.

As some of the readers may remember, not too long ago, if an educated person was asked, which European city came to his mind first upon hearing the word „university”, the answer would not have been Bologna, but Oxford. (N.B. Oxford University never implemented the „Bologna-system”!) So it might not be irrelevant to examine, what the founder of the Oxford-movement, John Henry Newman has to say about the task of a university. First he makes it clear, what a university should NOT be. It should not be a training workshop for various professions. University education should not serve the mediation of partitioned knowledge in isolated subjects. It should not be a department store of knowledge, in America fashionably called *multiversity*. This is what Newman rejects: „*They consider it a sort of bazaar, or pantehnicon, in which wares of all kinds are heaped together for sale in stalls independent of each other; (...) or an hotel or lodging house, where all professions and classes are at liberty to congregate varying, however, according to the season, each of them strange to each, and about its own work or pleasure; whereas, if we would rightly deem of it, a University is the home, it is the mansion-house, of the goodly family of the Sciences, sisters all, and sisterly in their mutual dispositions.*” (Newman, 1852/2001, 139-40) According to Newman, university may not pursue objectives of power, nor those of economic profit. Its task is the education of the intellect that we may also term qualification. Newman sharply distinguishes this from crammed knowledge. To him science is not just knowledge, but knowledge that had passed the absorbing process of intellectual digestion. Something that, after an adequately large amount of observation and information processing, unfolds the organic unity of the world. That is the reason for its mighty power. It is not knowledge that makes you mighty, just digested knowledge understood in its organic unity: in other words science.

Two conditions for the education for science and getting absorbed in it are freedom and time. The devotee of science should be free to deal with, to get absorbed in whatever he may consider important or interesting, he should have as much time at his disposal as he may need in order to finish that process. Compulsory measurement of achievement is murderous poison for the process of research, only capable to slowly but surely exterminate science.

At the same time Newman warns us: University was traditionally the *Alma Mater*, i.e. the warm-hearted mother, who provides for her children. As such she could not possibly enslave herself to power or economics. The *Alma Mater* knows each of those entrusted into her care and protection, she

is not a factory, nor a workshop or a treading mill. Unfortunately fear is not unsubstantiated, that the “Europe of Knowledge” making business with the *human capital* actually wants to realise what Newman had warned us against. Unless we cut away this seedling-tree, we should not be surprised, if political power will soon coerce us to have our work capital value be coded into our ID cards next to our fingerprints and DNA patterns.

Approaching the end of our merciless analysis let us take a look at the solution two „Bologna” experts suggest:

„We must support the very best, not those proclaimed by the power as politically correct, both in respect to university admission and appointing professors. If we are able to step over this threshold then the realm of academic freedom shall open up before us. Universities should not treat their students as clients or customers but as adults. And they should not make fun of devotion to science by degrading it to a service industry” (Bolz, 2011, 9. Norbert Bolz is professor of media science at the Technical University of Berlin. His study entitled „*Humboldt’s expulsion*” was published as editorial in the monthly of German University Lecturers „Research and Teaching” in January 2011).

The second source is Marius Reiser, professor of philology and biblical hermeneutic at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz.

„What must happen if we really wanted to reform university?

First of all we have to decrease the number of students, until the proportion student/lecturer becomes reasonable. Far more attention must be paid to the aptitude of those seeking admission. University is not there to fill in all the gaps missed in secondary school education.

The mediation of intellectual and general knowledge must be valued higher both in secondary and university education. Part of this effort is to encourage linguistic awareness and the capability to present clearly and understandably.

The so-called reform initiated under the etiquette ’Bologna’ must be taken back in full. Among other things this means that the self determination of universities must be re-established and the university- and economic councils abolished, where external members are decisive. We must renounce harmonisations of objective and the horror of accreditation. The earlier freedom of learning and teaching must be re-established. Economic corporations may at the most play a counselling role.

The decisive task of the university must again become gaining knowledge for its own sake and the systematic exploration of truth.

The determination of the construction and content of each individual subject is exclusively the faculties’ task. Coerced modularisation cannot be accepted. [Because of the extortion of modules and projects Bolz speaks of the Euro-standardised technification („Technisierung”) of research and teaching. According to him, „this is the nationalisation of intellectual freedom” (Bolz, 2011, 8).]

Support for the highly gifted must be given a central role. Adequate financing must be secured to this end.

Lecturers must be relieved from administrative tasks for what they had not been educated and trained.

After realising this reform, we must put an end to the unbearable reform-obsession, in order to allow lecturers and students to get absorbed in their work. Should we not be able to realise this restitution, University in Europe has come to its end. This we should honestly disclose; and rename the new institutions accordingly.” (Reiser, 2010, 137)

Though the reasoning presented is based on experience in the EU (to a large extent Germany), the author of this study, a communicator across cultures, considers it import that all this be consciously reflected in an international scope like AUDEM with a considerable representation of Eastern European countries. In this part of the world it has become highly fashionable to blindly follow the West and to worry in all matters what EU almighty might articulate to a national initiative. But if you orientate yourself towards the West, i.e. if you think the Orient, the East is in the West, if you expect to be lightened from there, you are in for disappointment, as the Sun is not going to rise in the West,

not even for the sake of the commissars of the Union. On the other hand, if something has already failed in the West, would you really insist to want to experience it firsthand?

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