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Government Policy

Culture and Diplomacy

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SUMMARY

As a general rule, policy on cultural relations with other countries has two types of objectives. Firstly, international cultural contact is expected to stimulate cultural expression in the home country (culture being defined, at the minimum, as education, art and science). Secondly, such contact can have a beneficial influence on international political and economic relations.

The same two categories of objectives are perceptible in the international cultural policy pursued by the Netherlands, which incorporates aspects of both cultural policy and foreign policy. In some cases, both can be achieved simultaneously, but in view of budgetary restraints it is often necessary to choose between different objectives. This means that the relative merits of different options must often be compared, and wherever possible a single activity must be made to serve more than one purpose. However, in adopting such an approach one runs the risk that none of the objectives envisaged may be fully achieved.

An analysis of the international cultural relations of the Netherlands in the past ten years indicates that things have been at a standstill, particularly in the sphere of education and research. In view of the trend towards internationalisation of culture, which is perceptible all over the world, this is somewhat surprising and would be cause for concern if the situation were to persist. The Council believes that one reason for the lack of progress lies in the way in which international cultural policy is interpreted in the Netherlands: the field is defined in very narrow terms. The decision-making structure is also rather complex and impedes rather than assists the setting of priorities.

A study of the policies pursued in certain other countries in Western Europe (Britain, Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany) reveals that all of them define the field far more broadly, and that all of them have autonomous organisations to implement policy. This is an attractive arrangement, in the Council's view. It enables priorities to be expressed more clearly in the various areas of policy, avoids conflicts of competence and provides better opportunities for experts to assist in policy-making. Lastly, the more autonomous status enjoyed by the agencies concerned creates more opportunities for joint financing of cultural activities by trade and industry.

The Council's main conclusions are as follows:

1. The international cultural policy of the Netherlands should be defined far more broadly than at present. At the moment it is deemed to consist solely of the activities of the Ambassador for International Cultural Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Relations Departments at the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs. The relevant budgets total Fl. 31 million. The Council would like to see all government activities relating to international contacts in the fields of education, science, research, art, languages and the dissemination of information defined as part of international cultural policy. The budget would then be in the region of Fl. 624 million.
2. The principal aim of international cultural policy should be to strengthen the international position of cultural expression in the Netherlands as part of general policy on cultural matters. A subordinate aim could be to play a specific role in support of foreign policy.

3. The Minister for Foreign Affairs should be responsible only for activities which further the latter aim, including the conclusion of cultural agreements. For all other activities the relevant objectives should determine which minister is responsible.
4. Thanks to the division of objectives and responsibilities, considerably less interministerial coordination would be necessary than at present. An international cultural policy designed to improve the international position of Dutch culture would fall outside the ambit of the Coordinating Committee on International Cultural Relations. Its activities could be confined to making a limited review of the main activities of the ministries concerned to ensure that they complied with the main thrust of foreign policy, and consulting about the ministries' contributions towards activities whose main objective lies in the sphere of foreign policy.
5. The proposed division of objectives makes it easier to set priorities. Activities falling under cultural policy should serve cultural ends, while geographical priorities for activities in support of foreign policy should be determined in the light of priorities in foreign policy.
6. Policy should be implemented by autonomous administrative bodies, drawing on the services of outside experts. The Council proposes that a new body, the Netherlands Cultural Institute (NCI), be established for policy on the arts. The NCI's responsibilities could include certain duties in the field of the dissemination of information; Radio Nederland (the Dutch world broadcasting service) would continue its work in its present form. An International Education Executive Body should be established for education policy, which could be combined with NUFFIC (the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation). Policy on Dutch language and literature could be left to the Dutch Language Union, and implementation of international aspects of science policy to the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO).
7. The Council recommends that more backing be provided for the Netherlands institutes in Paris, Rome and Jakarta and that new ones be established in Brussels, Cologne, London and New York. These should fall under the NCI. Their activities could be partly financed by industry.
8. Where Netherlands embassies have a cultural section, these sections should be headed by a cultural attaché who should be answerable to the minister responsible for the field in question, by analogy with the agricultural and military attachés.
9. The Council advocates increasing the international dimension of research and higher education in the Netherlands. Promoting the international mobility of Dutch researchers, teachers and students and increasing the number of foreign researchers and students would be steps in the right direction.
10. The proposed measures should in principle be financed by reallocating existing ministerial budgets. Costs could be cut by vesting greater autonomy in bodies responsible for implementation and by reducing coordinating structures. In order to clarify the amount being spent on international cultural policy, the Government should annually present to Parliament an inventory of all central government expenditure on it. The extent to which the stepping up of policy as advocated in paragraph 9 requires additional financing will depend on the priority attached to it by the Government and Parliament. The Council considers that they would be justified in attaching high priority to it.

1. THE PROBLEM OUTLINED

1.1 Introduction

Traditionally, the main areas of concern in international relations have been political and economic. The principal aims of the foreign policies pursued by governments have been to guarantee national security and promote national economic interests. While other objectives of a less self-interested nature do play some part in foreign policy (for example the promotion of human rights abroad), policy-makers regard these as subordinate to the aforementioned political and economic objectives¹⁾.

In itself, this is nothing new. What is new is the fact that in recent decades political and economic interdependence between states has increased sharply. This is expressed in two ways. The consequences of policy measures, particularly by great powers, are felt beyond their national frontiers, and the pace of events is increasing because modern methods of communication make it possible for news of developments to travel very quickly to all parts of the world and to have repercussions in many different places. The world increasingly resembles what has been referred to as 'a global village'²⁾.

Culturally too, international interdependence is on the increase. Modern means of communication (television, data transmission) make culture more and more international. This is initiating new dynamics: the variety of cultural expression which can be encountered by one and the same person is increasing; talents and ideas make their mark all over the world in a far shorter time than previously. Opportunities to export one's own culture and to make the acquaintance of foreign ones have improved immensely thanks to technology³⁾. In view of this internationalisation, some cultural philosophers and national governments are even concerned about the resulting threats to their countries' 'cultural identity'⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Coombs refers to the 'fourth dimension' of foreign policy, the other three being the political, economic and military dimensions. (P.H. Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs*; New York, Harper & Row, 1964, p.6). As early as 1947, McMurry & Lee observed that most countries used cultural relations as a means of promoting their political and economic relations. (R.E. McMurry & M. Lee, *The Cultural Approach, Another Way in International Relations*; Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947). Lowry & Hooker are among the few authors in this field who wish to see a strict separation between foreign cultural and political relations. They describe the ideal situation as follows: 'Spontaneous intercultural movement as a manifestation of the vitality and pervasiveness and needs of the arts and of the artist, without reference to foreign policy'. (W. McNeil Lowry & Gertrude S. Hooker, 'The Role of the Arts and the Humanities'; in: R. Blum (ed.), *Cultural Affairs and Foreign Relations*; Englewood Cliffs NY, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 42. In the Netherlands Mourik and Rozemond are among those who have written on the subject. See: M. Mourik, 'Naar een actief buitenlands cultureel beleid?' (Towards an active international cultural policy?); *Internationale Spectator*, XXXV:6 (June 1981), p. 342-346; S. Rozemond, 'Nederland en de Internationale Culturele Betrekkingen' (The Netherlands and International Cultural Relations); *ibid.*, XXXIX:3 (March 1985), p. 150-156.

²⁾ See inter alia: B. Russett & H. Starr, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*; San Francisco, W.H. Freeman & Co., 1981, p. 401-406; T.L. Deibel & W.R. Roberts, 'Culture and Information'; in: *The Washington Papers*, no. 40, Beverly Hills, Sage, 1976, p. 12; Coombs, *op. cit.*, p.x.

³⁾ See G.N. Shuster, 'The Nature and Development of US Cultural Relations'; in: Blum, *op. cit.*, p.31; W. Boëll, 'Die Entdeckung der Entwicklungsländer in der auswärtigen Kulturpolitik' (The discovery of the developing countries in international cultural policy); in: *Viertel Jahres Berichte*, Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, September 1980, no. 81, p. 225-226.

⁴⁾ Cf. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 1-2.

The Netherlands is experiencing the consequences of increased international interdependence in a variety of fields⁵). On account of its geographical position among three former great powers, which are now middle-ranking powers, the country is very dependent on international developments. Its economy is to a large extent subject to the influence of what happens elsewhere. Politically and economically, it is very involved in developments within Western Europe.

What are the implications of this state of affairs for international cultural relations, with special reference to the Netherlands? How do international cultural relations stand in view of the aforementioned primacy of political and economic relations? To what extent does the increased dynamism of international culture necessitate a reconsideration of their mutual positions? This report will examine whether the present state of Dutch international cultural relations calls for a stepping up of policy, what problems arise in this connection and what solutions can be found to them.

1.2 The involvement of the Scientific Council for Government Policy

The desirability of altering international cultural policy has been under discussion in the Netherlands for some years⁶). The Council therefore asked two university researchers to carry out a study which was to comprise the following:

- a brief historical study of the international cultural policy pursued by the Netherlands;
- a detailed survey and analysis of current policy instruments;
- a brief description of the international cultural policies pursued by certain other countries (those selected were Great Britain, Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany).

The study, by Dr Alex P. Schmid and Ms Yvonne C.L.M. van Dongen, was published by the Council as a working document⁷).

The Council next decided to draw up a short report on the Netherlands' international cultural policy. There were two reasons for this. The first was that international contacts (including cultural contacts) had increased, as described above, and that there was some doubt as to whether the Netherlands was keeping sufficiently in touch with cultural developments abroad. The other reason was that there were a number of problems with current policy, particularly because various objectives were being pursued simultaneously: on the one hand that of promoting *good relations* with foreign countries and on the other hand that of promoting *cultural expression*.

It might be asked whether it should be any concern of a body like the Scientific Council – which exists to study major policy issues – to consider international cultural relations, a field for which only limited funds are earmarked in the national budget. The Council's answer would be

⁵ See WRR (Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy), *Onder invloed van Duitsland; Een onderzoek naar gevoeligheid en kwetsbaarheid in de betrekkingen tussen Nederland en de Bondsrepubliek* (Under the influence of Germany: a study of sensitivity and vulnerability in relations between the Netherlands and the Federal Republic); Report no. 23 to the Government, The Hague, Staatsuitgeverij, 1982 (also published in German as: Wissenschaftlicher Rat für die Regierungspolitik der Niederlande, *Faktor Deutschland; Zur Sensibilität der Beziehungen zwischen den Niederlanden und der Bundesrepublik*; Den Haag/Wiesbaden, Staatsuitgeverij/Franz Steiner Verlag, 1984); and *Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy*, *The Unfinished European Integration*; Report no. 28 to the Government, The Hague, 1986.

⁶ Mourik op. cit., p. 342-345; Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming, *Internationaal Cultureel Beleid* (International cultural policy); The Hague, 1971.

⁷ Alex P. Schmid & Yvonne C.L.M. van Dongen, *Buitenlands cultureel beleid: een terreinverkenning* (International cultural policy: an exploration of the field); Werkdocument W23, WRR, The Hague, 1987.

that it sees the main importance of this subject as lying in the value of frequent and intensive contact with other countries for the development of our own culture. It is a good thing in its own right to have a thriving cultural life in one's own country. Moreover, this has a positive effect on other sectors of society. Economic activity can benefit from cultural exchanges, innovative research, educational excellence and interest in the arts. The importance of a quality education system which derives benefit from advances in knowledge made abroad and from research with an international orientation goes without saying. In the light of this, international cultural relations are indeed an important field of policy, or at least should be seen as such.

As regards the financial aspect, it is worth remembering that many activities which can be regarded as falling under the heading of foreign cultural relations (even if they are not so defined in the budget) take place both within the ministries directly concerned (Foreign Affairs, Education and Science, and Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs) and at other ministries. Examples include international inter-university relations, insofar as the universities themselves pursue them, which are funded by the Ministry of Education and Science, and the scholarships and training facilities which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides for students from developing countries. The government also funds international cultural relations in other less direct ways. An example of this is the Concertgebouw Orchestra which, although nominally self-supporting on foreign tours, is heavily dependent on government subsidies for its members' salaries.

This makes it difficult to state the exact amount which the government spends on international cultural relations, but the true figure is certainly many times more than the Fl. 31 million officially earmarked for this field in the budget. If expenditure on the arts which has an international angle but does not fall under international cultural relations in the budget is added to this basic figure, one reaches a total of Fl. 48 million. If one then adds the funds allocated to international education the total rises to Fl. 343 million. Addition of expenditure in international scientific research (including technological research) brings the total to Fl. 545 million. Funds earmarked for the dissemination of information (including the world broadcasting service, Radio Nederland) bring it to something in the region of Fl. 624 million (see section 3.4).

1.3 Demarcation of the field studied and structure of the report

1.3.1 Demarcation

We do not intend to engage in lengthy discussion of the various definitions of 'culture'. This subject has been sufficiently debated in the literature⁸. Broadly speaking, a wide definition and a narrow one exist. The narrow one is restricted to the products of creative work and design in the arts (music, the fine arts, ballet, literature, theatre, film and architecture), while the wide definition also includes education and research at the minimum. Some would go much further: under a more sociological interpretation, culture includes all values and opinions held in a society. It includes views on drug addiction, alcoholism, the war against crime, social security, the approach to unemployment, the importance of human rights, and so on. Partly in view of experience in other Western European countries, the Council has opted for a definition which comprises international aspects of the arts, education, scientific research, language and the dissemination of information with which the government is concerned.

⁸ Schmid & Van Dongen discuss the definition of the concept of culture in the light of the literature. Schmid & Van Dongen, op.cit., p. 8-11. See also: J.G. de Jong, 'Entmythologisierung der Auswärtigen Kulturpolitik' (Demythologisation of international cultural policy); in: *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, vol. 26, 1976, p. 69.

International cultural policy falls into two parts: bilateral and multilateral. The former refers to cultural relations between the Netherlands and one other country in each case, while the latter refers to the activities of international organisations to which the Netherlands is in some way affiliated. On the one hand this includes organisations with fairly broad objectives that are politically inspired, such as UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Community, and on the other hand a growing number of multilateral organisations set up by governments or non-governmental institutions in a number of countries to pursue a particular cultural objective jointly. In some cases the main aim is to promote international contacts or exchanges (as with the European Science Foundation and the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences in Vienna), while in others the aim is to pursue a common goal which none of the partners could afford the funds for individually (e.g. the European Centre for Nuclear Research (CERN), the European Space Agency and certain telescope projects).

In this report, the emphasis is on *bilateral* cultural relations. It is in this sector that the best opportunities lie for the Netherlands to pursue an independent policy and that the ministries concerned therefore have concrete options to review. In a few places, multilateral organisations of the latter type will also be mentioned, primarily because their activities often represent a direct extension of domestic cultural policy. On the other hand, little or no mention will be made of the more 'traditional' forms of multilateral policy. The problems which arise there are generally of a different order and there is less scope for the Netherlands government to bring influence to bear on them.

1.3.2 *Structure of the report*

This report considers the nature of international cultural relations and the role which government can and does play in them. Chapter 2 will look at international cultural relations as a means of maintaining good relations with other countries and as a stimulus to cultural expression. Next, the international cultural policies pursued by a number of other Western European countries will be reviewed. Chapter 3 describes and analyses the policy which the Netherlands has pursued to date. Chapter 4 contains a number of recommendations for new policy.

2. INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

2.1 Objectives in the field of foreign policy

International cultural policy is often pursued with a view to objectives which lie outside the field of culture itself: *l'art pour la politique extérieure*¹⁾. These objectives of what is usually referred to as cultural diplomacy can be defined as follows: promoting mutual understanding, increasing a country's standing and prestige, and protecting the national identity²⁾.

The attempt to *promote mutual understanding* between countries and peoples is based on the idea that enmity between peoples arises from misunderstandings and ignorance, and that if such misunderstandings and ignorance can be eliminated this will promote the cause of world peace. This idea is one of the foundations of UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. In this connection Deibel and Roberts refer to 'peace through mutual understanding'³⁾. If understanding and knowledge are increased, relations between rich and poor countries – between North and South – can be improved⁴⁾. It is suggested that knowledge and understanding of a developing country's society can be increased if as many people as possible come into contact with elements of the developing country's culture. Better mutual understanding is also important in connection with international migration. Indigenous populations are often poorly informed about customs in the countries from which immigrants come, while the immigrants themselves know little about the way of life in the country where they have come to live⁵⁾.

The desire to increase a country's *standing and prestige* in the world may be inspired by economic or political motives⁶⁾. It may be important to try to promote a favourable image of one's own country among foreign politicians and policy-makers, representatives of foreign trade and industry, scientists, academics and the media. A favourable image can be enhanced by wider knowledge about the country concerned and its culture; it is assumed that a positive relationship exists between what is known about a country and the amount of prestige which it enjoys abroad. Politically speaking, 'prestige' can persuade people to look more

¹⁾ J.G. de Jong, 'Kunstpropaganda als instrument van buitenlands beleid' (Propaganda through art as an instrument of foreign policy); *Internationale Spectator*, XXXI:7 (July 1977), p. 447. See: Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming, *Internationaal Cultureel Beleid* (International cultural policy); The Hague, 1971, p. 18; P.H. Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs*, New York, Harper and Row, 1964, p. 6.

²⁾ See also: S. Rozemond, 'Nederland en de internationale culturele betrekkingen' (The Netherlands and international cultural relations); *Internationale Spectator*, XXXIX:3 (March 1985), p. 150-156; Alex P. Schmid & Yvonne C.L.M. van Dongen, *Buitenlands Cultureel Beleid: een Terreinverkenning* (International cultural policy: an exploration of the field); Werkdocument W23, WRR, The Hague, 1987, p. 12 and 13, 190-197.

³⁾ T.L. Deibel & W.R. Roberts, 'Culture and Information'; *The Washington Papers*, no. 40, Beverly Hills, Sage, 1976, p. 15.

⁴⁾ Nationale Adviesraad voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (National Advisory Council on Development Cooperation), *Advies culturele aspecten van ontwikkelingssamenwerking* (Report on cultural aspects of development cooperation); Report no. 70, The Hague, Staatsuitgeverij, April 1981, p. 37-39.

⁵⁾ Schmid & Van Dongen, op.cit., p. 195.

⁶⁾ Rozemond, op.cit., p. 152.

favourably on policy initiatives taken by a country or to support its position on the world stage. Mourik has written that a highly developed culture which is systematically represented can be an important factor in the international role played by a country. However, other writers observe that the line between systematic representation of a culture and propaganda is a thin one, and that the latter is generally viewed with disfavour⁷⁾.

The desire to enhance a country's standing and prestige also has an economic objective: success in selling goods abroad does not only depend on the price and quality of the goods and the level of service provided; the national origin of a product can improve the product's image and thus place it at a competitive advantage. International cultural policy can be deliberately designed to create the conditions for better distribution of national trading products by 'consciously displaying the specific identity of a society as a whole, with all its diverse and multicultural facets, its achievements and its problems'⁸⁾.

In recent years the objective of protecting *national identity* has mainly been propounded by Third World countries, which refer to the right of cultural self-determination which formed the basis for the UNESCO Declaration on the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation (4 November 1966)⁹⁾. Such countries consider that their identity is threatened by the foreign mass media and the internationalisation of industry. Unless their own culture is protected, encouraged and – by way of a counterweight, so to speak – presented abroad, they believe that their traditional culture will be replaced by a commercial mass culture.

There are those who believe that the national identity of the smaller European countries is also at risk. They take the view that as European political and economic integration progresses the only field in which national identity can still be expressed is that of culture. Mourik, in particular, fears that Dutch culture will be absorbed into a single European culture. Others consider it more likely that a small country's culture will be absorbed into that of a single neighbouring country, in view of the fact that there is no such thing as a uniform European culture¹⁰⁾.

One might ask whether the latter views do not reflect too static an interpretation of what culture is, underestimating the changeability and adaptability of cultures in response to social change and insufficiently appreciating the enrichment which can be derived from internationalisation. It seems logical to compare this situation with the *choc des cultures* within individual countries caused by international migration¹¹⁾.

2.2 Objectives in the field of cultural policy

Besides foreign policy objectives, governments regard the development of their country's culture itself as a reason for maintaining international cultural relations. Cultural expression is, after all, an international matter. Norms for 'progress' and for evaluating the quality of cultural expression are generally established internationally.

The free market plays a part in the arts: decisions in the arts are based on an assessment of what the public wants to see, hear and read.

⁷⁾ M. Mourik, 'Naar een actief buitenlands cultureel beleid?' (Towards an active international cultural policy?); *Internationale Spectator*, XXXV:6 (June 1981), p. 343, G.A. Cowley, 'The Emergence of Culture as a Facet of Foreign Policy'; *International Perspectives*, Sept./Oct. 1976, p. 28; J.M. Mitchell, *International Cultural Relations*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 28-34.

⁸⁾ Voortgangsnotitie Internationaal Cultureel Beleid (Progress report on International Cultural Policy), Lower House of Parliament, 1984-5 session, 18 856, nos. 1-2.

⁹⁾ Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming, op.cit., p. 13.

¹⁰⁾ Mourik, op.cit., p. 343 et seq. See also: Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming, op.cit., p. 13-14.

¹¹⁾ Cf. *Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, Ethnic minorities*; Report no. 17 to the government, The Hague, 1979, p. XX1.

There are also more or less official routes by which artists of all kinds can reach a wider public, such as international competitions for young performers and artists (e.g. the Koningin Elisabeth Concours and the Tchaikovsky Festival in music and the Prix de Rome for the fine arts and architecture) or awards which serve to acknowledge established reputations (e.g. the Nobel Prize for Literature). Another way in which international norms are instituted is by means of reviews in leading newspapers and periodicals, which often create new opportunities for artists. Cultural trends and appreciation of the avantgarde are nurtured internationally.

What is true for the arts is possibly even truer for scientific research. In most areas of enquiry, judgements as to what research breaks new ground originate in international fora, as researchers' counterparts at home and abroad acknowledge the value of the work which has been done by opting to base their own work upon it. Research is by its nature inconceivable without free exchanges of ideas both within and between countries. To a significant extent, the quality of education is also measured by international criteria. Education systems depend on interaction with foreign countries for the knowledge they are to impart¹². If education were solely determined by national norms it would run the risk of degenerating into a state of sterility. Apart from the setting of norms and the evaluation of cultural products, importance must also be attached to mutual influence. International contact stimulates cultural life on both sides. Experience abroad and with foreigners enables Dutch artists, researchers and teachers to place their own experience and approaches in perspective. This can take the form of visits to other countries, studying documents or using audiovisual aids. The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to visits to the Netherlands by foreign artists, scientists, etc. By coming here they stimulate cultural expression in this country in the field concerned. Disregarding certain exceptions, the highest pinnacles of cultural expression could never be reached without a constant confrontation with what other countries have to offer¹³.

The world, and particularly the Western world, is so culturally interdependent that international contacts have become a matter of course, even if the effect on cultural expression in the home country is not always directly measurable. The closer a completely free internal market comes to realisation in the European Community, the more persons, goods, services and – not least importantly – ideas will be able to circulate freely. The consequences of this for cultural relations within Europe have hardly been considered as yet. But outside the European Community too, international cultural exchanges will become more intensive. Electronic data transmission, television – including supranational TV (thanks to satellite transmission) – and increased international travel (for purposes of tourism and migration) will lead to greater openness to the outside world on the part of national societies, with greater opportunities for exchanges of information and contact between representatives of different cultures.

¹² The British newspaper, the *Financial Times*, recently published an article complaining about the fall in the number of foreign students in Britain in comparison with France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the USA. The importance of foreign students to the host country was defined as follows: '... there is an educational benefit to be derived from the presence of overseas students. They are an antidote to insularity and a check on standards'. (*Financial Times*, 13 February 1987).

¹³ Cf. Cowley, op.cit., p. 29: 'Indeed, without such sharing and comparing, cultures become inbred and parochial. Ideas and artistic expression gain validity only when they are widely considered, contrasted, argumented, refined and polished. No country is culturally self-sufficient; all must import or perish; all can export and profit'.

2.3 International aspects of cultural expression in the Netherlands

One of the questions considered in this report is whether the Netherlands is sufficiently involved in the aforementioned internationalisation of culture. The Council has arranged for a certain amount of empirical material to be collected concerning the arts, education and science ¹⁴.

As regards the performing arts, little seems to have changed in the past ten years in the frequency with which Dutch performers perform abroad; the number of performances by foreign artists in the Netherlands also seems to have remained relatively stable over a period of years. However, virtually no comparable data were available concerning performances by foreign artists in other countries ¹⁵.

The number of exhibitions organised abroad by Dutch museums has fallen since 1982; on the other hand, the number of loans of items to foreign museums for display purposes has increased. The number of foreign exhibitions put on in Dutch museums is fairly stable: approximately 2 per cent of the total number of exhibitions in the Netherlands.

The number of translations of Dutch literary works has increased in recent years, but UNESCO figures indicate that far more books are translated from Swedish and Danish than from Dutch ¹⁶. Since 1980 the number of translations into Dutch has fluctuated between 21 and 25 per cent of the total production of titles in the Netherlands. In Sweden the corresponding percentage is somewhat higher, while in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Britain it is lower.

The number of Dutch nationals studying abroad does not compare unfavourably with neighbouring countries (approximately 1 per cent of the total number of students in the Netherlands). The number of foreign students attending higher education institutes in the Netherlands has increased in the past ten years. In 1975/76, 1.5 per cent of all students were foreign nationals, whereas in 1985/86 2.4 per cent were. In comparison with the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Belgium and France, however, this figure is low. The number of students from developing countries is also considerably smaller in the Netherlands than that in neighbouring countries.

The number of university chairs of Dutch language and literature abroad is approximately the same as the number of university chairs of Swedish (181 and 195 respectively), but Swedish is based on a much smaller language area than Dutch.

As regards scientific research, some international reports which have been published recently suggest that Dutch researchers are less internationally oriented than their foreign counterparts working in similar fields. A recent report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) even comments on an 'insular attitude' on the part of Dutch technological researchers and advocates that they should be more internationally mobile ¹⁷. It has proven difficult to obtain reliable statistics in support of such statements, but it would be true to say that little evidence has been found of genuine efforts by education and research

¹⁴ The Dutch version of this report includes an annex that contains a detailed account of the material collected. See: WRR, *Cultuur zonder grenzen*; report no. 31 to the Government, The Hague, Staatsuitgeverij, 1987. p. 51-70.

¹⁵ No such statistics are kept in Britain, Belgium and the FRG. In Sweden and Denmark only the number of performances by foreign artists is recorded. Finland does keep such statistics.

¹⁶ In 1980 the European Commission proposed promoting the translation of literary works from the less widely spoken Community languages (at that time consisting of Dutch, Danish and Greek). A budget of approximately 100,000 ECU per annum was earmarked for the purpose. So far the only result as far as Dutch literature is concerned has been the translation into English of 'Het Verdriet van België' by Hugo Claus. The European Commission also proposed having 90 European classics translated into all the Community languages (including Basque and Frisian). The Dutch authors on the list included Vondel and Vestdijk. The Netherlands government was strongly in favour of the proposal, although it would have preferred the emphasis to be placed on contemporary literature.

¹⁷ Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Reviews of National Science and Technology Policies*; The Netherlands, Paris, 24 March 1986.

establishments to encourage an international orientation in students and researchers (as distinct from the policies which ministers and the institutions concerned claim to be pursuing).

The material collected on behalf of the Council could indicate a certain degree of stagnation. Generally speaking, the relations referred to here have remained stable over time. They have not decreased in number but nor has there been any appreciable increase, such as might have been expected and hoped for in view of increased opportunities for communication.

2.4 Experience abroad

2.4.1 Introduction

In other countries, as in the Netherlands, objectives of cultural policy are pursued as well as foreign policy objectives. In this section an account will be given of the aims of the foreign cultural policies pursued by Great Britain, Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany. A brief look will also be taken at organisational arrangements for implementing these policies, and the resulting activities. The countries concerned were chosen because they are comparable to the Netherlands in cultural terms. As English is a world language, and people in many countries wish to learn German, it goes without saying that Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany emphasise language-connected activities in their policies. Partly for this reason, the situation in Sweden was studied, as Sweden is more like the Netherlands from this point of view.¹⁸⁾

2.4.2 Great Britain

2.4.2.1 Aims of policy

Until the 1940s, the British government did not concern itself to any extent with cultural activities, nor did it have an international cultural policy. The Second World War acted as a catalyst in this respect: under the pressure of circumstances, an awareness of the value of the British cultural heritage was born and the government realised the importance of propagating it abroad. At this time, propaganda and international cultural policy were closely linked. It was only after the war that they were separated, which was reflected in the organisational measures taken. The implementation – and to some extent also the formulation – of international cultural policy was entrusted to the British Council, which had been set up in 1934 as a non-governmental organisation with a very modest government subsidy.

In the immediate post-war years, the primary concern of Britain's international cultural policy was the dissemination of culture in the narrow sense of the term. The British Council's main task was to organise art exhibitions abroad and foreign tours by British theatre companies and orchestras. In the 1950s, a gradual broadening took place, and the Council also became responsible for representing British educational and research interests abroad. In addition, in parallel with the ever growing importance of English as a world language, giving language lessons became one of its main tasks.

The official objectives of the British Council, and hence of Britain's international cultural policy, are currently as follows:

- a. to promote awareness of the United Kingdom, its institutions and its peoples abroad;
- b. to develop cultural and educational relations between the United Kingdom and other countries;

¹⁸⁾ The information presented here comprises a brief summary of three case studies quoted in Schmid & Van Dongen, op.cit.

- c. to promote education in and use of the English language abroad;
- d. to draw up and implement educational and cultural programmes within the framework of bilateral cultural conventions with other countries;
- e. to prepare and administer educational assistance programmes for developing countries;
- f. to initiate, coordinate and where necessary implement educational projects wholly or partially financed by third parties which serve British commercial or professional interests.

Britain's international cultural policy has not been based on any consistent vision over the years. Changing ideas have existed on the pros and cons of having such a policy at all, notably as regards the long-term effects and whether such a policy has a role in promoting British commercial interests. Constant changes of emphasis in government policy have led to the British Council's concentrating on the least politically controversial of its responsibilities: promoting awareness of Britain abroad, disseminating the English language and drawing up and implementing exchange programmes, especially for students from Third World countries.

2.4.2.2 Organisation and activities

The British Council is an independent body, but most of the relevant ministries are represented on its board, which also comprises academics, members of the political parties, staff from cultural, academic and scientific institutions and trade union officials. The Council is based in London and is active both at home and abroad. At home, the Council is mainly involved in assisting foreign visitors and students, for which purpose it has fifteen offices, mainly in university towns. Abroad, the Council has 140 offices in 81 countries. These often cooperate closely with the British embassy in the country concerned, but as the British Council's views do not always coincide with those of the British Government, this sometimes gives rise to friction.

The British Council's main activities are as follows:

- a. *Research*: for a number of years, the Council has been involved in organising university-level courses and seminars, for example in medicine and technology. In 1984-5, it organised 45 postgraduate specialist courses in Britain and about 100 abroad, mostly in cooperation with foreign universities. Activities were also carried out in the field of exchanges of researchers and other specialists. In 1983-4 the Council helped to organise 2,500 such exchanges.
- b. *Education*: in this field too, there is much emphasis on the importance of exchange programmes, which comprise the largest item of expenditure in the Council's budget. British nationals are sent to work or study abroad, while foreign nationals travel to Britain to make the acquaintance of their counterparts there or take courses at British educational institutions. The Council has commissioned market research and organised recruitment campaigns with a view to increasing the number of foreign students going to Britain, as there had been a considerable decline in the early 1980s. Its efforts have mainly been directed at students from developing countries and other Commonwealth countries. The Educational Counselling Services are used to advertise British higher education and help potential students with application procedures. These activities are cofinanced by more than 70 British universities, which are keen to increase the number of foreign students on their rolls.
- c. *The arts*: In the 1984-5 season, the Council organised 104 visits to 56 countries by theatre, dance, mime and puppet theatre companies, 187 visits to 67 countries by music groups, 71 art exhibitions in 41 countries and 24 photographic and informative exhibitions in 76 countries, in addition

to which it sent 231 films to 37 international film festivals. In recent years the Council has increasingly acted as the organiser of large-scale arts events abroad, which are for a large part sponsored by industry. The growth of sponsoring by industry is somewhat controversial, however.

d. *Language*: promoting the teaching of English is one of the Council's main activities. In 1984-5 the Council employed 1,060 English-teachers and English teaching advisors abroad. In the same year it had 43 English-teaching centres in 32 countries. More than 50,000 students were taking courses at them, while more than 100,000 students were helped by assistance to Anglophile societies and other bodies. Part-time courses are arranged in preparation for the Cambridge examinations. Crash courses are also given for businessmen, academics and civil servants. The British Council's establishments award grants to people wishing to study the English language at British educational establishments. Summer courses in English and specialist courses are also organised.

e. *Dissemination of information*: the British Council runs 111 libraries worldwide, which are a major source of information about Britain. It provides services for British publishers on the world market. The Council itself publishes a number of English textbooks and eight periodicals on a variety of themes from British cultural life. Another important source of information about Britain is the BBC World Service, but this does not fall under the British Council. Providing information on British government policy is not among the Council's responsibilities either: the Overseas Information Programme exists for this purpose. On the other hand, the Council does provide more general information about cultural life in Britain.

2.4.3 *Sweden*

2.4.3.2 Aims of policy

The foundations of Sweden's current international cultural policy were laid shortly after the Second World War. Until then, the government mainly regarded its role as being confined to protecting Swedish culture against foreign influences. Sweden's neutrality during the war had damaged the country's image, particularly in the West, to such an extent that a need to improve it was felt. This partly explains why even today supplying information on Swedish society remains a central element in Sweden's international cultural policy. A further aim of the policy is to overcome Sweden's isolation, which arises from its geographical location and its language.

As the above suggests, Sweden attaches great importance to creating a positive image of its country and culture abroad. The emphasis is on the free and democratic character of Swedish society and the form which the welfare state has taken in the country. Sweden likes to hold itself up as an example to other countries in these respects. This being so, it seems somewhat paradoxical that the government is reluctant, at least in official policy documents, to regard international cultural policy as an integral part of its overall foreign policy. However, the feeling has gradually gained ground in Sweden that international cultural contacts also enrich cultural life in the home country.

In the past ten or fifteen years, the reciprocity aspect has assumed greater importance in Sweden's policy. More and more emphasis is being placed on the importance of cultural exchanges – with developing countries as well as other countries – while international cultural policy is now less concerned with creating a climate friendly to Sweden than it used to be, when it had such objectives as assisting Sweden's exports. Following some fairly heated debates on the subject in the 1960s, promoting Sweden's image is now seen primarily as a responsibility of individual organisations which exist to promote trade and tourism.

2.4.3.2 Organisation and activities

Svenska Institutet (the Swedish Institute) plays a coordinating role in Sweden's international cultural policy, but direct responsibility for implementing a number of important parts of it rests with other bodies. These enjoy a relatively large measure of autonomy vis-à-vis central government as regards the substance of the policy they pursue. Svenska Institutet is financed by the government, but sponsoring of the arts by industry has recently become more common in Sweden, as elsewhere.

Formally, the status of Svenska Institutet is that of a non-profit foundation. The board is appointed by the government and consists of representatives of the fields of culture, education, industry and commerce, the trade unions, the mass media, voluntary organisations, the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition there is an advisory body through which numerous organisations involved in the implementation of policy can make their views known. The Institute is based in Stockholm and has about 100 staff. It controls the Centre Culturel Suédois in Paris. There are also Swedish centres in Rome, Athens and Istanbul, but these have been set up by Swedish universities and their role is purely academic. There are a number of Swedish information offices in the USA, but their role is not primarily cultural; they fall directly under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some of them are in areas where large concentrations of Swedish immigrants live.

The main activities of Svenska Institutet are as follows:

- a. *Research and education*: a relatively large proportion of the Institute's budget is spent on promoting international exchanges of researchers and students. The Institute's Education and Research Section is responsible for awarding long-term study grants and allowances for shorter periods. 100 grants are available each year for foreigners who wish to study or carry out research in Sweden and for Swedish students and researchers who wish to go abroad. The Section also administers Council of Europe scholarships for Swedish students ('bilateral' scholarships) and the 40 or so grants for applicants from developing countries. It administers the awarding of allowances for short periods of study and supplements (e.g. to cover travelling and subsistence expenses) for participants in academic and scientific conferences and exchange programmes.
- b. *The arts*: the Institute supports organisations which wish to present Swedish art, music, theatre, dance and literature abroad. As regards organising contacts between Swedish artists and artists in other countries, the Institute mainly plays a coordinating role. Funds for the presentation of Swedish art abroad mainly derive from other institutions which are primarily active within Sweden. Sponsoring by industry is on the increase. Each year the Institute arranges a number of travelling exhibitions on various aspects of Swedish cultural life. The Centre Culturel Suédois in Paris has an art library and an art collection, in addition to which special exhibitions of Swedish art are regularly held there.
- c. *Language*: Swedish is taught at about 700 institutions outside Sweden and Finland, including nearly 200 universities in 28 countries. The Institute does not strictly speaking finance language teaching, but it is responsible for selecting Swedish teachers who are sent to work abroad temporarily, and it pays their travelling expenses and extra subsistence expenses. The Institute also produces teaching material for use abroad and awards travelling scholarships to people pursuing Scandinavian studies who visit Sweden. It provides guarantee subsidies for translations of modern Swedish literature for the foreign market.
- d. *Dissemination of information*: each year some 1.2 million copies of Fact Sheets are distributed. These are short brochures about various aspects of Swedish society, written by independent experts who do not necessarily represent the views of the Swedish government. A periodical is published for the home market, and the Institute is involved in editing 'Sweden Now'.

2.4.4 *The Federal Republic of Germany*

2.4.4.1 Aims of policy

During most of the period between the unification of Germany under Bismarck and the end of the Second World War, the presentation of German culture abroad was subordinated to the political ambitions of the German Empire. Preserving and strengthening the national identity and, particularly in the Nazi period, propaganda, were for a long time the main objectives of Germany's international cultural policy.

The government of the Federal Republic of Germany has always based its policy on different principles. Until the late 1960s, reconciliation with former enemies and restoration of respect for German culture were the main aims of international cultural policy. There was also a desire to assert the country's identity as distinct from that of 'the other Germany', the German Democratic Republic. At the same time, priority was given to restoring cultural relations with the other Western powers. In terms of substance, the emphasis was deliberately placed on contemporary culture and culture from the least suspect periods of the past. Culture was defined relatively narrowly as consisting of the fine arts, language and literature.

It was only towards the end of the 1960s that it began to be felt that Germany was once more sufficiently accepted in the world. Rehabilitation was replaced as a main concern by exchanges of information and 'international cultural cooperation', which was seen as one of the three main areas of foreign policy, alongside economic and political cooperation. This change was accompanied by a widening of the concept of culture. The authorities explicitly indicated that scope was needed for the expression of views which existed in the Federal Republic in a wide range of fields, regardless of whether they were shared by the government. In practice, such expression is very common, although criticisms of it have increasingly been voiced in recent years.

2.4.4.2 Organisation and activities

The implementation of international cultural policy in the Federal Republic of Germany is entrusted to no fewer than 150 intermediary organisations, most of which are subsidised by the federal government. The Goethe Institut plays the role of *primus inter pares* here. Formally, it is an association; it is subsidised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and exists to implement part of the country's international cultural policy. It is not formally subject to the authority of the Ministry, but government is represented on its board, as are the arts, the academic world and industry. Moreover, the Ministry is empowered to intervene in the Institute's activities, although this power is only used sporadically. The Institute's head office is in Munich, in addition to which it possesses 16 branches in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. It has 146 offices abroad in 66 countries.

The Federal Republic's activities in the field of international cultural policy comprise the following:

a. *Research and education*: a range of intermediary organisations are involved in implementing exchange programmes, depending on whether the exchanges are taking place between school-pupils, students, artists, researchers or other experts. Academic exchanges are mainly the province of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), which each year awards some 15,000 grants to foreigners wishing to study in the Federal Republic and 10,000 to Germans wishing to study abroad. The role of the Goethe Institut here is fairly modest: it concentrates on study grants for students of German language and literature. The Institute's foreign branches, especially in developing countries, also keep in touch with former scholarship-holders after their return home.

b. *The arts*: activities in the arts are mainly organised by local branches of the Goethe Institut in cooperation with local partners. Assistance is lent by the various sections of the headquarters in Munich. For example the music section prepares programmes for chamber music, jazz, pop, multimedia projects and experimental opera. The performing arts section organises guest performances abroad in the fields of theatre, ballet, mime, cabaret and experimental and street theatre. On account of the language barrier, it is mainly in Central and Eastern Europe that German plays can be performed in the original language; in other countries they are generally performed in translation. Each year some 15,000 presentations comprising a wide range of artistic activities take place abroad. A striking aspect is that much is done to distribute German feature films. Small exhibitions and performances generally take place in the local Goethe Institut, while larger ones take place elsewhere, often in cooperation with local organisers. Some of these activities are sponsored by industry.

c. *Language*: the Goethe Institut devotes much attention to disseminating the German language and to its teaching. It develops teaching and examination materials and advises foreign institutions about German language teaching. In 1984, more than 150,000 foreign nationals were taking German courses, mostly at the Institut's branches outside Germany, although some were taking courses at the branches in the Federal Republic. The Goethe Institut not only organises language teaching itself but seeks to promote and assist German language teaching as part of the regular education system in non-German-speaking countries. Advising local teachers and providing in-service training for them are part of the Goethe Institut's terms of reference. However, German teachers at foreign universities fall within the programmes of the German Academic Exchange Service.

d. *Disseminating information*: most branches of the Goethe Institut outside Germany have their own libraries, which are of relatively modest proportions. In Eastern European countries in particular, these libraries, which include translations of German works as well as works in German, meet a widely felt need. The Institut also acts as an intermediary in organising lectures and participation in conferences outside Germany by German researchers and artists. The subjects are chosen so as to ensure that the communication of information is a two-way process and that subjects which are controversial in the Federal Republic itself are not avoided.

2.4.5 Conclusions

In each of the three countries studied, international cultural policy originally arose with an objective which fell within the sphere of foreign policy: a desire to compensate for the country's waning political influence (Great Britain), a desire to improve the country's image in the West and to combat the danger of isolation (Sweden) and a desire to restore national prestige after it had been damaged in the war (Federal Republic of Germany). In all three countries, the emphasis has changed over the years, with greater importance being attached to cultural aspects than previously.

In each country, propagating the national language is an important aim of the policy pursued. In the case of Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, this has led to an extensive network of cultural establishments abroad, whereas in Sweden's case it has not.

The implementation of policy in the three countries is to a large extent entrusted to independent institutions. In Britain and Sweden these concern themselves with virtually all areas of international cultural relations; in the Federal Republic of Germany, propagating the language, information and the arts are kept separate from activities pertaining to educational and scientific exchanges.

3. THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

3.1 Introduction

Before one can consider the Netherlands government's policy on international cultural relations, its scope needs to be defined. The government policy documents of 1976 and 1985 on international cultural relations deal only with the responsibilities entrusted to the Ambassador for International Cultural Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Relations Departments of the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs.

In accordance with the demarcation of the field in Chapter 1, the concept of international cultural policy needs to be defined far more broadly than this. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why study grants awarded to French students should fall under this policy while those awarded to Nigerian students do not (the distinction arising purely from the fact that in the former case grants are funded from the budget provided for under the cultural agreement with France while in the latter case grants are funded from the development budget). Similarly, it would appear anomalous that an exhibition of Dutch old masters in Texas should fall under international cultural policy if the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs pays for it but not if the Ministry of Economic Affairs pays for it as a means of promoting exports. Why, too, should the contribution to the Dutch Language Union by the Ministry of Education and Science count as part of this policy while that made by the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs does not?

The definition of 'international cultural policy' as understood in The Hague is clearly not only fairly arbitrary but also rather narrow. The aforementioned policy documents are mainly concerned with what we refer to as the 'core activities' of policy. (We use this term because these are the activities in which the government has traditionally taken most interest; this does not mean that they are necessarily the most important activities.) These core activities are discussed in section 3.2. In section 3.3 the relationship between international cultural policy and various other fields of government policy will be reviewed. It will then become apparent that international cultural policy extends to the arts, education, science and research, language and government information work. In section 3.4 some financial aspects will be examined, and in section 3.5 a diagnosis of the main problems which exist in current policy will be given.

3.2 Core activities

3.2.1 *Past policy*

Since the Second World War the activities of the Netherlands government relating to culture – and the presentation of culture abroad – have expanded gradually. In 1946, in the report on 'Government information', attention was devoted to cultural information abroad. The report's writers rejected the idea of a complete separation of political, economic and cultural information. All information activities needed to share a single goal: that of promoting goodwill towards the Netherlands abroad.

In 1956 the semi-independent Netherlands Institute of International Cultural Relations was established in Amsterdam with the aim of promoting

cultural relations between the Netherlands and other countries. In the event its life was to be a short one: in 1959 it was abolished, officially because international cultural cooperation was thought to have become increasingly a matter of government policy. For that reason the government preferred to make arrangements under which it could carry out its responsibilities more directly. Accordingly, it reassumed responsibility for formulating and implementing policy itself ¹⁾.

In 1970, for the first time in post-war history, a policy document on international cultural relations was presented to the Lower House of Parliament ²⁾. The document observed that the Netherlands could no longer remain on the sidelines of international developments in the cultural sphere. Three reasons were given for extending existing policy:

- knowledge of the Dutch language should be promoted abroad, especially in Indonesia;
- more youth exchanges should take place (e.g. with the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Poland and Norway);
- a number of new cultural institutes should be set up abroad.

Since 1970 the government has presented three more policy documents on international cultural policy to the Lower House. In the second policy document (1976), the aims of policy were defined as follows:

1. to develop education, science and culture in the broad sense by means of international contacts and by creating and developing ways and means of making such contacts possible;
2. to make Dutch culture better known abroad and cooperate in the presentation of other countries' cultures in the Netherlands;
3. to support the general position of Dutch scientific and cultural activities in the various countries;
4. to promote better understanding and good relations between individuals, groups and peoples with different cultural backgrounds ³⁾.

The third policy document (1985) contains a survey of the policies pursued in other Western European countries and a progress report on a number of recent developments and initiatives ⁴⁾. Aims 1 and 4 from the earlier policy document remained applicable without qualification. The second aim was defined somewhat more precisely by inserting the words '– and in particular the languages of the Netherlands (including Frisian) – 'after the words 'Dutch culture'. The third aim was altered radically, as follows:

3. to support the general position of the Netherlands, inter alia within the framework of 'Holland Promotion', notably in cooperation with other ministries.

The latter version of the four aims again appeared in the Policy Document on Multilateral Cultural Relations of 1986 ⁵⁾.

The first two aims lie in the field of cultural policy. Publicising Dutch culture abroad (aim 2) may in addition (although not necessarily) comprise elements of foreign policy. The Explanatory Memorandum on the Foreign Affairs budget for 1987, for instance, emphasises the importance of 'propagating the Dutch cultural identity' in a context of increasing European political and economic integration ⁶⁾. Promoting cultural expression

¹⁾ For a review of the institute's rise and fall see: Alex P. Schmid & Yvonne C.L.M. van Dongen, *Buitenlands cultureel beleid: een terreinverkenning* (International Cultural Policy: an exploration of the field); Werkdocument W23, WRR, The Hague, 1987.

²⁾ Nota betreffende de Internationale Culturele Betrekkingen (Policy document on international cultural relations); Lower House of Parliament, 1970-71 session, 10 916, nos. 1-4.

³⁾ Nota betreffende de Internationale Culturele Betrekkingen (Policy document on international cultural relations); Lower House of Parliament, 1976-77 session, 14 206, p. 4-5.

⁴⁾ Notitie Internationale Culturele Betrekkingen (Memorandum on international cultural relations); Lower House of Parliament, 1984-85 session, 18 856, nos. 1-2.

⁵⁾ Nota Multilaterale Culturele Betrekkingen (Policy document on multilateral cultural relations); Lower House of Parliament, 1985-86 session, 19 590, nos. 1-2.

⁶⁾ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Begroting van uitgaven* (Budget of expenditure); Lower House of Parliament, 1986-87 session, 19 700, Chapter V, no. 2, p. 59.

is certainly not the prime concern of the last two objectives, where aspects of foreign policy are very much to the fore.

3.2.2 *The organisation of policy*

At interministerial level, the formulation and implementation of policy are coordinated by the Coordinating Committee on International Cultural Relations (CICB), which was established in 1967. Its responsibilities are as follows:

- to draw up and propose policies on international cultural relations;
- to carry out the necessary coordination during the finalisation and implementation of policy;
- to examine proposals for concrete activities to ensure that they accord with the policy which has been decided.

Responsibility for preparing policy is shared by the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs (International Relations Department), the Ministry of Education and Science (Central Department for International Relations) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ambassador for International Cultural Cooperation). Other ministries also take measures falling within the field: the Ministry of Economic Affairs (Export Promotion and Information Service), the Ministry of Housing, Physical Planning and the Environment and the directorates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which are concerned with development cooperation. The Ministry of General Affairs (i.e. the office of the Prime Minister) and the Ministry of Finance are also represented on the CICB. The CICB is chaired by the Ambassador for International Cultural Cooperation and currently has twelve members. The committee meets about six times a year to discuss the formulation and implementation of policy, although it would be far from true to say that all concrete policy activities in the cultural sphere abroad were discussed. In fact, the committee coordinates the core activities – and not even all of those, as the bodies concerned make numerous informal arrangements bilaterally and some activities are excluded from coordination by the CICB. Moreover, as the committee consists entirely of government representatives, its brief excludes a considerable number of activities by private individuals or organisations.

The Project Committee on the Reorganisation of the Civil Service at the Ministry of Home Affairs concluded in its 1984 report that the CICB was functioning inadequately and was not finding enough time to devote to its real task of coordinating projects and examining them for compliance with the main thrust of policy⁷. It proposed that the CICB should be abolished and replaced by *ad hoc* consultation with a few permanent liaison officers at the ministries most concerned. However, the Government did not adopt this recommendation.

3.2.3 *Instruments of policy*

3.2.3.1 Cultural agreements

Cultural relations with other countries are to some extent formalised in cultural agreements, which provide a framework for bilateral cooperation. Each of these agreements has its own committee, which is responsible for its implementation. The Netherlands and the country concerned each appoint a number of members. The chairman of the Dutch delegation is generally an independent expert; the secretariat is

⁷ *Eerste interimrapport Sanering Interdepartementale Commissies* (First interim report on the rationalisation of interministerial committees); publication in connection with the Project Reorganisatie Rijksdienst (Civil Service Reorganisation Project), The Hague, 12 December 1984, p. 87.

either at the Ministry of Education and Science or at the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs. The significance of the agreements varies. They are indispensable for cultural contacts with some countries, especially in Eastern Europe. On the other hand, no cultural agreement has ever been concluded with the USA, because the latter is not in favour of them. However, this has not proved to be an obstacle to the development of intensive cultural relations.

The only cultural agreement which has ever been terminated is that with South Africa, which was denounced by the Netherlands government in 1981. The Netherlands currently has a total of 33 cultural agreements, although some of them are 'dormant'. Sometimes the conclusion of a cultural agreement is the most concrete result of a royal or ministerial visit. In such cases, the significance of the agreement may lie mainly in the sphere of general foreign policy, as a symbol of mutual friendly relations between the countries concerned ⁸⁾. The way in which cultural agreements are implemented varies from case to case. As the activities carried out under them are not recorded systematically, it is not possible to indicate general trends.

3.2.3.2 Netherlands institutes abroad

At present there are eight Netherlands institutes abroad. Their terms of reference differ considerably, as do their administrative arrangements and relationship with the Government. As regards their terms of reference, there is a striking difference between institutes primarily concerned with organising a wide range of Dutch cultural activities abroad (Paris, Jakarta) and those which are mainly intended to provide a place where Dutch researchers can work (Rome, Florence, Istanbul, Cairo and the other institute in Jakarta). As one might expect, the latter institutes are mainly extensions of Dutch university institutions, while the former type serve more to assist the Netherlands government in the pursuit of its international cultural policy. The institute in Tokyo occupies an intermediate position: both general cultural activities and strictly academic ones are organised there ⁹⁾. The Institut Néerlandais in Paris and the Erasmushuis (Erasmus House) in Jakarta serve to present Dutch culture in the host country. The main activities of the Paris institute consist of organising exhibitions, chamber concerts and symposiums, supplying information on the Netherlands and providing accommodation for Dutch visitors. Dutch language-teaching plays a far more modest role there than at the Erasmushuis in Jakarta. At the latter, which is a cultural centre directly answerable to the embassy, promoting the Dutch language is a prime concern.

So far, no general policy has been pursued towards the institutes. *Ad hoc* arrangements made over the years have simply remained in force, although the results are not necessarily free of controversy. Proposals for new institutes have failed to get off the ground. For example

⁸⁾ In 1971 the Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming expressed doubt as to whether a well-considered course had been followed in the conclusion of bilateral cultural agreements, and pointed out a number of hiatuses which existed at the time. Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming, *Internationaal Cultureel Beleid* (International cultural policy); The Hague, 1971, p. 43.

⁹⁾ Isabella van Daalen, 'Het Japan-Nederland Instituut: Een Moderne Voortzetting van een Eeuwenoude traditie' (The Japan/Netherlands Institute: a modern continuation of a tradition which is centuries old); *Ons Erfdeel*, 29:1 (Jan./Feb. 1986), p. 57-62. See also: Japan-Nederland Instituut: Jaarverslag (annual report) 1985-1986.

the Netherlands House in Brussels has still not been established, for financial reasons, although parliament has repeatedly asked for an institute to be opened there. A proposal by the Arts Council for a Netherlands institute in New York was not accepted by the government.

The issue of whether cultural institutes with the current terms of reference and on the current scale should exist in the aforementioned cities will be discussed as a matter of principle in a Policy Document on Institutes, which has been promised to the Lower House of Parliament.

3.2.3.3 Cultural affairs sections at Netherlands embassies

Netherlands embassies in 13 countries now have a press, information and cultural affairs section. These include six of the eleven other EC countries, the USA, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico and Norway. The main responsibilities of such sections are:

1. to arouse interest in Dutch cultural life in all its facets and promote contact between educational, scientific and cultural circles in the Netherlands and the country where the embassy is;
2. to inform the Netherlands authorities and other interested circles of important developments in these fields in the country where the embassy is.

Training for members of the reformed Foreign Service has recently devoted more time than previously to cultural affairs within the Netherlands. This is intended to ensure that even officials without specialist training have an adequate understanding of cultural matters. In addition to these generalists there are specialists who are assigned to a particular country for a relatively long period (6 to 8 years) to concentrate on cultural issues. These specialists are selected in the customary civil service fashion. It is not customary in the Netherlands, as it is in some countries, to appoint artists or other non-civil service experts in science or culture to cultural attaché posts.

To a large extent, staff at cultural affairs sections are allowed to use their own initiative in deciding how to perform their duties. Local conditions and the amount and quality of the culture exported from the Netherlands to the country in question also play their part. The most important fields in which the officials concerned are active – often as coordinators – are theatrical exchanges, concerts, exhibitions and other events, scientific exchanges and youth work.

3.2.3.4 A foreign-language periodical on Dutch culture

For many years it was debated whether – and if so, how – a foreign-language periodical should be published to propagate Dutch culture abroad.

From 1957 to 1974 the English-language magazine 'Delta' was published, with the aim of informing people abroad about developments in Dutch cultural life in the broad sense. It was managed by an independent editorial board and funded by central government, and it had a circulation of about 6,000. It was distributed through diplomatic missions abroad and by private subscription. The editors' critical attitude towards the Netherlands government and society led to repeated conflicts with the authorities, which often did not regard the magazine as representative of the Netherlands. Politicians and civil servants in The Hague took particular exception to special issues devoted to such subjects as the Provo movement and euthanasia. The number on euthanasia was the direct cause of the withdrawal of the magazine's subsidy in 1974¹⁰.

After 'Delta' ceased publication, the possibility of establishing a replacement for it was regularly discussed. On the one hand, politicians and civil servants recognised the desirability of having an independent magazine, but on the other hand they were alarmed by the high costs and risks

¹⁰ See Schmid & Van Dongen, op.cit., p. 72-74.

associated with editorial independence. Moreover, it needed to be decided whether or not such a magazine should be produced in cooperation with the Dutch-speaking community in Belgium.

The latter idea was effectively rejected by the Minister of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs when he refused an application for a subsidy for an English-language edition of 'Ons Erfdeel', which was already being published in Dutch and French ¹¹. Ultimately he opted for a publication which was to appear twice a year: 'Dutch Heights'. However, the magazine does not enjoy editorial independence: the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs is ultimately responsible for its content.

3.3 Policy in the broad sense

For the reasons which have been stated, the Council believes that international cultural policy should relate to a good deal more than the core activities which have just been discussed. International cultural activities take place in various other fields of government policy, too.

For example, numerous activities are undertaken in the field of science policy which do not fall under the terms of cultural agreements. In certain disciplines – particularly in the technical sphere and the natural sciences (e.g. nuclear research, astronomy, space travel and molecular biology) – international cooperation has become the order of the day, partly because the equipment needed is so expensive. In other subject areas, cooperation arises from the need for extreme specialisation, because no country can have specialists in every field.

In education policy (and particularly in higher education), the facilities provided by the International Relations Department at the Ministry of Education and Science are not the only ones enabling Dutch teachers and students to teach or study abroad for a period. Internationalisation is taking place in secondary education with the establishment of a number of courses leading to an international baccalaureate, although not all categories of pupils are eligible for them. There are also various English-language postgraduate courses, particularly in the field of management. Dutch education for Dutch children abroad is also part of the international dimension of education policy. In comparison with other countries, the Netherlands actually does relatively little in this field. A large part of the Dutch-language education facilities which exist abroad is financed by the Flemish Community Council in Belgium.

Policy on the arts likewise includes other international aspects besides those with which the International Relations Department at the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs concerns itself. For example, it includes subsidies to the Holland Festival, which is very much an international event, or for the production of Dutch films which are shown abroad as well as in the Netherlands.

In a wide range of areas of policy outside the cultural sphere, activities are undertaken which are to some extent of relevance to international cultural policy. These include immigrant ethnic minorities, tourism, the media and information. Trade promotion policy is important in this context. There is a growing interest in presentation of Dutch culture abroad in conjunction with the products of Dutch industry. At the Holland Village in Nagasaki, Japan, for instance, cheese, tulips and chocolate are advertised alongside displays of Dutch art. The Policy Document on Exports states that 'by organising activities simultaneously it is possible to increase the total publicity, which can benefit the image of the Netherlands economically as well as culturally' ¹². There are others

¹¹ Ibid., p. 74.

¹² Exportnota (Policy Document on Exports); Lower House of Parliament, 1983-84 session, 18 206, nos. 1-2.

who believe that if this kind of policy is pursued, culture is liable to succumb to commercial influences and become no more than a 'lubricant' for exports ¹³⁾.

Policy on development cooperation also overlaps with international cultural policy in places. Initially, the only activities of which this could be said were the financing of a number of cultural history projects, such as the restoration of the Borobudur and the fitting out of the National Museum in North Yemen. In recent years, projects to preserve particular cultural traditions (e.g. music, medicine, water supply) have been added to the list. When the cultural agreement with India was ratified in 1985, the Minister for Development Cooperation allocated Fl. 100,000 per annum for the implementation of cultural projects ¹⁴⁾. The 1987 development cooperation budget includes Fl. 1.5 million for specifically cultural projects ¹⁵⁾.

In addition, there are nearly 20 institutions in the Netherlands which provide education and training for students from developing countries. Every year, many hundreds of students from such countries spend periods in the Netherlands for educational purposes. The prime aim of such visits is to promote the development of the students' countries of origin, but naturally they also have side-effects on cultural and other relations between the Netherlands and those countries. Other Western European countries even regard educating students from developing countries as an explicit aim of their international cultural policy (see section 2.4) ¹⁶⁾.

The cultural aspect of foreign policy plays a part in relations with many countries. The policy of détente which was pursued internationally in the late 1960s and early 1970s led to the conclusion of cultural agreements with a number of East Bloc countries, such as the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and the GDR. Various recent 'cluster' (i.e. multiple) events have similarly been inspired by the desire to improve international relations – for example the current cultural exchanges with Hungary.

Cultural relations play a special part in the relationship between the Netherlands and Belgium, and especially the Dutch-speaking area, with which relations are in many respects more intensive than they are with any other country. In certain fields the two countries propagate their culture jointly in third countries, particularly within the framework of the Dutch Language Union. Since becoming independent, the former overseas territories of Indonesia and Suriname have occupied a special position. In spite of ups and downs in political relations, cultural relations have remained intensive. The common language and history, as well as the existence of many family ties, have contributed to this.

The role played by culture in relations with countries in which large numbers of Dutch emigrants have settled in recent decades is in some ways similar: Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the USA. At one time, South Africa fell into the same category, cultural relations with that country were broken off in 1981.

The above examples should indicate that international cultural policy not only comprises far more than the core activities but also serves widely divergent ends.

¹³⁾ J.L. Heldring, 'Cultuur als prostituée' (The prostitution of culture); *NRC Handelsblad*, 24.12.1985; F. Niessen, 'Duet van Nachtegaal en Kikker – Export van Nederlandse Cultuur' (The Duet of the Nightingale and the Frog – the exportation of Dutch culture); *NRC Handelsblad*, 10.12.1985.

¹⁴⁾ Schmid & Van Dongen, op.cit., p. 29 & 32.

¹⁵⁾ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Begroting van uitgaven (budget of expenditure)*; op.cit., p. 112.

¹⁶⁾ *Notitie Internationale Culturele Betrekkingen* (Memorandum on international cultural relations), op.cit., p. 5 & 7.

3.4 Financing

Fl. 31.4 million per annum is currently allocated for the core activities of international cultural policy (see Table 3.1). This is the total amount available to the Ambassador for International Cultural Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Relations Departments at the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Science for the promotion of cultural relations with foreign countries. As has been observed, in principle the international cultural policy of the Netherlands government as described in the various policy documents is confined to these activities, which fall within the budget of Fl. 31.4 million.

Table 3.1: Budget estimates for core activities of international cultural policy, 1971-1987 (x 1,000 guilders)

	1971	1975	1984	1987a)
Education & Science	4,926	6,182	8,800	17,986
Cultural Affairs	3,077	3,998	8,306	9,972
Foreign Affairs	885	1,086	1,636	3,526
TOTAL	8,888	11,266	18,742	31,484

Source: for 1971 and 1975: Policy Document on International Cultural Relations, Lower House, 1976-1977 session, 14206, nos. 1-2; for 1984 and 1987: budget documents.

a) The increase in the budget for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1987 in comparison with previous years was caused by a transfer of 'other expenditure' (for information activities) to international cultural relations. The increase in the budget for the Ministry of Education and Science in 1987 was caused by the decision to include grants awarded under cultural agreements in the figure, which had not been done in previous years.

Ad hoc subsidies are an important instrument of policy, if not the most important of all. Little information is available on the way in which they are awarded. It is therefore difficult to obtain a clear picture of the policy on which the granting of subsidies for core activities is based.

If one defines international cultural policy as comprising more than just the core activities, the picture is very different. If all other activities in this field as described in section 3.3 are included, the amount spent on international cultural relations is actually in the region of Fl. 624 million. Table 3.2 shows the budget for international cultural policy in the broad sense, by ministry and sector.

It should be emphasised that this is only a general survey: it is not always clear whether part of the funds for a particular budget item are spent on international cultural relations and if so, what share; part of the budget is not spent directly but via third parties, and it is also not always possible to attribute budget items to international cultural policy objectively because of the varying definitions which may be used. It is nonetheless possible to give an indication of the level of funds budgeted for international cultural policy in the broad sense per ministry.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs contributes some Fl. 26 million to two international education and research institutes and Fl. 1.5 million to Radio Nederland's international training centre. Within the framework of development cooperation, approximately Fl. 145 million is spent on aid to training institutes in the Netherlands and developing countries, grants for students from developing countries, subsidies for international research and improving the national research capacity of developing countries. Altogether, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spends about Fl. 182 million on international cultural policy. Of this, only Fl. 3.5 million is administered by the Ambassador for International Cultural Cooperation.

The situation at the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs is similar: the Ministry spends Fl. 96.6 million on international cultural relations, but the department responsible for policy on international cultural

Table 3.2: Costs of international cultural policy in the broad sense, by ministry and sector, for the 1987 financial year (x 1,000 guilders)

Budget item (with no.)	Core activities	Arts	Educa- tion	Science	Lan- guage	Infor- mation	Other	Total
<i>Foreign affairs</i>								
International cultural relations (46)	3.526							182.617
Royal Tropical Institute (61.2)			24.900					
Clingendael (61.4)			1.620					
Radio Nederland (87)			1.150					
Contribution to UNESCO (62.3)							6.521	
Development cooperation:								
- cultural projects (70.8)							1.500	
- educational programmes (68.1-3)			102.400					
- research + technology programmes (68.4)				41.000				
<i>Welfare, Health & Cultural Affairs</i>								
International relations (176)	9.972							96.649
Health, exchanges under cultural agreements (115)							39	
Language Union (177)					860			
Radio Nederland (217)						69.500		
Holland Festival (191)		1.199						
Arts Department:								
- international exchange subsidy (music/dance)(182.10)		79						
- indirect grant to foreign tours through regular subsidy ^{a)} (182)		15.000						
<i>Education & Science</i>								212.560
International relations:								
- Dutch education abroad (36)	693							
- Bilateral cooperation (37 + 40)	13.720							
- Multilateral cooperation (41)	800							
- Assistance to foreign students (39)	341							
- Holiday courses in Dutch language + culture (42)	429							
- Language Union (38)	2.003							
Study grants (study fund for Dutch students abroad) (32)			30					
Primary education abroad (57)			14.340					
NUFFIC (166)			15.646					
Institute of Social Studies(167)			9.055					
International Institute for Aerial Survey & Earth Sciences (168)			29.788					
Africa Study Centre (169)			1.782					
Art History Institute, Florence (185)			503					
European University Institute, Florence (187)			1.236					
Van Karman Institute, Brussels (188)			450					
OECD Study Centres (189)			197					
KNAW ^{b)} (201)				2.000				
ZWO ^{c)} (202)				20.300				
CERN (206)				59.131				
ESO (221)				4.684				
ESA (222)				28.458				
European Molecular Biology Conference + Laboratory (207 + 208)				3.610				
Clingendael (217)				1.077				
NATO Scientific Committees (229)				1.371				
International exchanges of academics + students (231)				916				
<i>Economic Affairs</i>								132.014
International space travel (17)				75.514				
Eureka (12)				35.000				
Euratom (50)				21.250				
Economic Information & Export Promotion Department (65)						250		
TOTAL	31.484	16.278	203.097	294.311	860	69.750	8.060	623.840

Sources: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Budget, Lower House, 1986-7 session, 19 700, Chap. V, nos. 1 and 2; Ministry of Education & Science, Budget, Lower House, 1986-7 session, 19 700, Chap. VIII, nos. 1 and 2; Ministry of Welfare, Health & Cultural Affairs, Budget, Lower House, 1986-7 session, 19 700, Chap. XVI, nos. 1 and 2; Ministry of Economic Affairs, Budget, Lower House, 1986-7 session, 19 700, Chap. XIII, nos. 1 and 2.

- a) The Arts Department subsidises orchestras, theatre companies etc., which use part of these subsidies to fund *foreign tours* (travelling expenses, overheads). The proportion of the money spent on performing abroad could therefore be estimated as follows:
- music & dance: approx. 8% of performances abroad: 8% of Fl. 164 million = Fl. 13 million.
- theatre: approx. 4% of performances abroad: 4% of Fl. 57 million = Fl. 2 million.
- b) The KNAW (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) spends about 4% of its budget on international cooperation (travelling expenses, international obligations etc.).
- c) The ZWO (Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research) spends about 8.5% of its budget on international cooperation (grants, travelling expenses, cooperation projects etc.).

relations at the Ministry has a budget of no more than Fl. 10 million. The Ministry's largest single item of expenditure in this field is disseminating information: more than Fl. 69 million goes in subsidy to Radio Nederland. The Language Union receives a subsidy of Fl. 1 million. The Ministry's subsidy to the Holland Festival is included in the table. Lastly, the Arts Department also contributes indirectly to international cultural relations, in that part of its regular subsidies to orchestras and other companies is spent on foreign tours. Occasional expenditure by the Arts Department (e.g. travel grants and art grants) is not included in the table.

The Ministry of Education and Science has the largest budget: the Central Department for International Relations has Fl. 18 million at its disposal; total expenditure on international cultural policy by this ministry amounts to some Fl. 212 million. The Central Department for International Relations has more than Fl. 13 million to spend on bilateral cooperation (grants for exchanges under cultural agreements). However, the largest items of expenditure are to be found in the budgets of the Higher Education and Research Subsections: more than Fl. 58 million and Fl. 120 million respectively. It should be borne in mind here that expenditure by the ZWO (Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research) and the KNAW (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) can only be estimated very approximately, as these organisations only spend part of the available funds directly on study grants, international contacts and international cooperation projects. In other cases too, funds from the Education and Science budget are spent on international cultural relations through the intermediary of third parties. This indirect expenditure is not accounted for here. It includes, for example, funds allocated to universities (bureaus for international relations, travel budgets and international cooperation agreements). Another expenditure not taken into account is that part of the item 'study grants under the Financial Aid to Students Act (18+)' pertaining to study grants for Dutch students studying abroad with grants from the Dutch authorities.

Expenditure by the Ministry of Economic Affairs on international cultural relations is not part of the government's international cultural policy at all as described in the relevant policy documents. Nonetheless, according to the broad definition of international cultural relations, the Fl. 132 mln. which it spends on international research and information should be included. This sum does not include the indirect contribution made by the Netherlands to European technology programmes, as these are paid for out of the regular EC contribution.

The above account has shown that the funds allocated to the core activities represent only a fraction of the total amount allocated to international cultural relations in the broad sense.

3.5 Analysis of principal problems

In pursuing its international cultural policy, the Netherlands is constantly confronted by the necessity to decide between promoting good relations on the one hand and improving the level of its cultural life on the other. This is clear, *inter alia*, from the absence of clearly defined geographical priorities. Although the importance of setting such priorities is strongly emphasised in policy documents, they provide little indication of the nature and direction of the relevant decisions. In the 1985 policy document the following geographical priorities are mentioned as far as the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs is concerned:

- 'higher priority' is to be given to exchanges with the countries of origin of large ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands;
- a 'first priority' is promoting European integration and cooperation with the member states of the European Community and, next, with those of the Council of Europe;

- a 'further priority' continues to be supporting Atlantic cooperation by intensifying cultural relations with Canada and the USA;
- relations with Indonesia remain 'very important';
- a 'new priority' is Japan;
- another 'priority' is promoting cultural relations with Eastern European countries in the context of the policy of détente and in the light of the results of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the follow-up conference to it;
- 'increased priority' is assigned to cultural cooperation with non-Western cultures; in this connection mention is made of Egypt, Israel, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, China and India ¹⁷).

Reading the policy document, one could easily get the impression that nearly all geographical regions in the world were receiving priority in the Netherlands' international cultural policy. On this basis it is hardly surprising that the debate on priorities has not led to any satisfactory results. In order for this debate to be conducted more effectively, both the aforementioned functions of international cultural relations must at least be distinguished, if not separated altogether.

Under current policy, four fairly broad objectives are being pursued, according to the three policy documents which the government has issued in the past ten years. However, there is a lack of clear policies; nor are any practical priorities derived from them as regards substance or the instruments to be used, and there is a constant danger of inconsistency. To this extent, countries which have (or used to have) a clearly defined principal objective are/were in a better position. This is true whether the objective in question is to combat isolation (Sweden), to substitute cultural for political influence, notably by promoting the country's language (Britain) or to demonstrate positive qualities after a negative period (Federal Republic of Germany).

In the Netherlands, the formulation of policy is in practice left to the three ministries whose activities have to be coordinated by the CICB - Foreign Affairs, Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs, and Education and Science. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has 'coordinating responsibility'; to a large extent the Minister of Education and Science and the Minister of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs have the power to plan and implement policy. It is hardly surprising that coordination is difficult, in view of the lack of clear substantive decisions on the policy to be pursued.

Each ministry naturally approaches these matters from its own angle. The Ministry of Education and Science places a strong emphasis on the necessity of reciprocity in international cultural policy (the 'give and take' philosophy). The Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs on the other hand is more concerned to propagate Dutch culture abroad, sometimes within the framework of export promotion activities. A second difference between these two ministries is that the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs has a stronger preference than the Ministry of Education and Science for organising one-off large-scale cultural events in a few countries or regions. The latter Ministry on the other hand places more emphasis on less spectacular but longer-term cooperation, often within the framework of cultural agreements. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs meanwhile seeks to enlist the aid of international cultural policy in support of general foreign policy ¹⁸).

Some examples of problems which arise with the state of affairs described here are as follows:

- differences of opinion between the Ministry of Education and Science

¹⁷ For a summary of these priorities see *ibid.*, p. 7-9.

¹⁸ The Government in fact explicitly recognises the existence of different substantive and geographical priorities in the Explanatory Memorandum on Interministerial Welfare Policy 1987 (*Memorie van Toelichting Interdepartementaal Welzijnsbeleid 1987*; Lower House of Parliament, 1986-7 session, 19 734, nos. 1-2, p. 26).

and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as to whether cultural agreements should be concluded or extended;

- the 'cluster policy', which involves organising large-scale cultural events on a one-off basis in foreign countries (e.g. Berlin, Athens, Hungary, Texas, Britain, Canada). The advantage of this approach is that all the various activities can be concentrated in one particular country for a relatively brief period. The choice of country however is determined more by considerations of foreign and economic policy than by those of cultural policy. This means that cultural exchanges also have to be organised with countries and in fields which are not particularly appropriate. Moreover, the cluster policy involves spending the funds available on major, conspicuous events at the expense of smaller, less spectacular but perhaps more intensive activities;
- the Coordinating Committee on International Cultural Relations only succeeds to a very limited extent in coordinating activities in the field of international cultural policy; many policy-related activities escape its notice;
- it sometimes appears as if the ministries are keen to reserve for themselves sole responsibility for implementing particular areas of policy. Relatively large numbers of civil servants are involved in allocating relatively small sums of money, and the criteria used are not always clear;
- Netherlands cultural institutes abroad receive too little financial freedom to do their work properly; on the other hand they do tie up a relatively large proportion of the funds available, which makes it impossible to pursue a flexible policy;
- people in 'the field' often complain that they are consulted too little about the preparation and implementation of policy; but it is also true that the same people tend to adopt an excessively independent attitude and to take as little notice as possible of the wishes of 'The Hague' ¹⁹.

By and large it can be said that the multiplicity of aims and the consequent involvement of various ministries in international cultural policy prevents full justice from being done to any of the interests at stake. Where considerations of foreign policy are primary and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should therefore have the right of decision, concessions often have to be made on grounds of cultural policy which reduce the effectiveness of the measures taken. Because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is very dependent on the other two ministries concerned, both organisationally (through the CICB) and as regards the substance of policy (because it possesses virtually no cultural expertise of its own), it is rare for considerations of foreign policy to be the mainspring of the action taken.

On the other hand, the other two ministries must sometimes make concessions to foreign policy which go beyond a limited examination of their plans for compliance with the main objectives of foreign policy. Sometimes, it is true, there is from the start a willingness on their part to take account of considerations outside the sphere of cultural policy: in the explanatory memorandum on the budget of the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs for 1987, reinforcing the national identity and promoting tourism are linked to international cultural policy ²⁰.

Naturally, the worst problems are experienced where foreign policy and cultural policy come closest to each other. By and large, this is the field which is dealt with in the aforementioned policy documents, which

¹⁹. See for example the report of 24 March 1983 by the Arts Council to the Minister of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs on the organisation of foreign policy in the arts sector.

²⁰. Ministry of Welfare, Health & Cultural Affairs, *Begroting van uitgaven (budget of expenditure)*; Lower House of Parliament, 1986-7 session, 19 700, Chapter XVI, no. 2, p. 80 & 81.

contain little more than a resumé of the ideas prevailing at different ministries. Yet the problem of conflict or intermingling of interests in this core area is felt far more widely. Partly for this reason, it has been insufficiently realised that in view of the growing internationalisation of cultural expression it is necessary for cultural policy to extend to a far broader field than has traditionally been the case in the Netherlands. The various ministries allocate substantial sums of money for international cultural contacts, but there is still no vision to link the use of these funds to a domestic cultural policy.

4 PROPOSALS FOR NEW POLICY

4.1 Introduction

Assuming that international cultural policy possesses facets both of cultural policy and of foreign policy, there can generally be little doubt in concrete cases as to which of these facets is the more important. The Dutch contribution to such international research institutions as CERN and ESA, the financing of Dutch education for Dutch nationals living abroad or the subsidy to the Foundation for the Promotion of the Translation of Dutch Literary Works are primarily inspired by considerations of cultural policy. Foreign policy will generally be the deciding factor in the award of study grants to students from developing countries or the distribution of information films about the Netherlands.

While these matters are relatively clear-cut, there are also borderline cases, in which considerations of both kinds are at issue. This would be true of a visit to Hungary by the Dutch Opera or of the financing of the Institut Néerlandais in Paris. Seen in relation to the total government funds available, borderline cases arise in a relatively small part of international cultural policy as defined in this report. It is certainly true that it is also the part which receives most attention from the public and politicians. This is not surprising: conflicting priorities come face to face here. A recent example of this was the question of whether the exchange programme within the framework of the cultural agreement with the Soviet Union should be extended. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarded it as an instrument of the policy of détente and was therefore in favour of extending it, whereas the Ministry of Education and Science preferred to use the limited funds which were available to foster contacts with other countries.

The tensions and problems of coordination arising from such conflicts of priorities within and between the ministries most closely involved do little to assist international cultural policy as a whole and might damage both the development of culture and foreign relations.

Partly in view of the problems which have been noted, the premise on which the Council's proposals are based is that international cultural policy should *primarily serve to improve the international position of cultural activities in the Netherlands as part of cultural policy in general*. Secondly, account should be taken of the fact that cultural activities can be used in support of other aspects of government policy, and particularly its foreign policy, including trade promotion. The area where these various facets of international cultural policy come closest together is by and large that with which the policy documents of 1976 and 1985 were concerned. The Council's proposals are also primarily concerned with this border area. However, as international cultural policy in its entirety comprises far more than this, it is also necessary for the discussion and recommendations to take other areas of government policy into account.

4.2 Outlines of the new policy proposed

4.2.1 *Separation of objectives and responsibilities*

In the government policy document of 1985 the aims of international cultural policy are stated in fairly general terms (see section 3.2.1). The first aim stated is the most important, in the Council's opinion, as it reflects the view that international cultural policy is an aspect of cultural policy in more general terms; thus international cultural policy is concerned

with 'developing education, science and culture in the broad sense by means of international contacts and by creating and developing ways and means of making such contacts possible'. This formulation assumes, *inter alia*, that the government takes account of the trend towards internationalisation in the cultural sphere. Standards can only be maintained in art, education and science in the Netherlands on condition that their international orientation is guaranteed. The government must create the necessary conditions for this. Effective coordination with domestic art, science and education policy is required for this purpose.

The second aim (publicising Dutch culture and making it possible for other countries to publicise theirs in the Netherlands) ties in with this. The intensification of international cultural contacts will be most likely to bear fruit if it is reciprocal. Not only will exponents of Dutch culture have to take note of relevant developments abroad: those in other countries must see them as culturally attractive partners. This 'give and take' philosophy underlines the close link between cultural policy at home and abroad.

The last two aims of policy mentioned in the policy documents - 'Holland Promotion' and promoting understanding between peoples - are of a different nature. The importance of the activities undertaken here lies in the sphere of foreign (or economic) policy and not primarily in their value for the development of Dutch culture.

In the Council's view, the organisational arrangements for the formulation of international cultural policy should take account of the two different aspects of policy involved. They do so insufficiently at present. This is clear, for example, in the way in which priorities for policy are set: tensions and conflicts of competence arise which are liable to impede the realisation of all four aims. Officials are often insufficiently aware which aim a given activity serves. All too often, the attempt is made to achieve more than one aim through the same activity, for example as a means of economising on cost, with the result that none of the aims is fully achieved.

In view of the above, the Council recommends that international cultural policy should continue to serve the same ends as it does at present, but that a clearer division of responsibilities should be introduced. The main aim of an activity should determine which minister is responsible for it.

The Minister of Education and Science (for matters falling within his competence) and the Minister of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs (for the arts) should therefore be responsible for those areas of international cultural policy which are primarily concerned with improving education and science on the one hand and the arts on the other. At present these responsibilities are divided between these two ministers and the Minister for Foreign Affairs in a relatively arbitrary fashion.

The responsibility of the Minister for Foreign Affairs should be confined to those activities which expressly serve the interests of foreign policy. He has the right to carry out limited assessments of the principal activities for which other ministries are responsible to ensure that they comply with the main lines of foreign policy.

Under the system which the Council recommends, there is no scope for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate the whole of international cultural policy. Nor is there scope for a large proportion of the funds available to the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs for events abroad to be spent promoting foreign policy objectives, improving relations between nations, 'Holland Promotion' or carrying on other activities which are of little relevance to cultural policy.

4.2.2 *Priorities*

One of the most important problems currently facing the government with regard to its international cultural policy is the setting of priorities. This is particularly true of geographical priorities, although these are closely linked to substantive priorities.

In section 3.5 it was observed that if government policy documents were to be believed, virtually the whole world was enjoying priority. This is tantamount to saying that there are no priorities. In practice, it is indeed not uncommon for ad hoc decisions to be taken as to what activities should be undertaken in which countries.

Under the proposed division of responsibilities, the establishment of priorities would be simplified. In the case of activities which are primarily of relevance to cultural policy, the priorities should be in accordance with that policy. If a particular area of art or science is highly developed in a particular country, contacts with that country in that area should be intensified. This guideline makes it superfluous to name countries here. The priorities will of course vary from one field of cultural policy to another, in addition to which they may change in the course of time. In view of the position of the Netherlands in the world, the character of its cultural life and the state of its science, it is true to say that priorities in a relatively large number of fields will lie in neighbouring Western European countries and North America.

Insofar as international cultural policy exists to serve foreign policy and related areas of policy, geographical priorities must be derived from the latter. This applies, for example, to the use of cultural activities to promote détente with Eastern Europe, to improve contacts with developing countries or to strengthen ties with the countries of origin of immigrants living in the Netherlands.

4.2.3 *Entrusting implementation to an autonomous body*

As has been stated, the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Science should mainly use international cultural policy to maintain and improve contacts in the fields of the arts, education and science with a view to raising the work done in these fields in the Netherlands to international standards or keeping it up to such standards. Deciding where the best opportunities lie is primarily a matter for cultural experts. The Council would therefore advocate involving external experts, such as scientists, academics, artists and educationalists, in the formulation of policy wherever possible. This has been customary for a long time in domestic cultural policy. The role of such experts should not be confined to that of supplying factual information but should include evaluation of the relative merits of activities which may be eligible for assistance. In this way, the tradition that government should not intervene directly in the substantive aspects of education, science and the arts – to which the Council subscribes – can be upheld in the sphere of international cultural policy.

The Council proposes that, wherever possible, those sections of international cultural policy whose prime purpose is to promote cultural activity should no longer be implemented by the ministries but by independent bodies.

This is already the case with important areas of international cultural policy: the ZWO (Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research), the universities, museums, orchestras and theatre companies have for years made their own decisions on fundamental matters relating to their international contacts and on details of their implementation. There is no reason to suggest that any changes be made in this respect. On the other hand, other areas of policy on cultural relations

with foreign countries are currently in the hands of central government – often right down to matters of fine detail. This is true for example of the awarding of study grants, the organisation of study visits – even for individuals – and the organisation of tours and exhibitions. It would be best to entrust the implementation of these to autonomous administrative bodies of the type operational in Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden (see section 2.4).

In principle these bodies would be financed by central government. However, certain activities could also be funded from different sources (municipal authorities or industry). Indeed, it seems likely that there would be more opportunity for this if autonomous bodies were responsible for implementation, as this would facilitate greater flexibility in financing arrangements. Another advantage of autonomous implementation is that it would provide better opportunities for cooperation with bodies in other fields such as the media or counterpart organisations in other countries (see also section 4.3).

In principle, that part of international cultural policy which is instrumental in realising objectives not primarily falling within the cultural sphere would also be a suitable candidate for placing in the hands of an autonomous body. This is certainly true as regards the more technical/procedural aspects. These could likewise be entrusted to the aforementioned autonomous bodies, which would soon come to possess more specialist knowledge than the ministries themselves.

4.2.4 Interministerial coordination

Dividing responsibility for policy and entrusting the implementation of international cultural policy to autonomous bodies would not render interministerial coordination superfluous, but they would make it possible to prune the necessary organisational arrangements. International cultural policy for primarily cultural purposes should in future be excluded from coordination by the Coordinating Committee on International Cultural Relations (CICB).

In practice, it seems unlikely that conflicts with the main thrust of foreign policy will arise often. Experience in other Western European countries suggests that the interests of foreign policy only rarely conflict with those of cultural policy to such an extent that Ministries of Foreign Affairs feel compelled to intervene. Naturally, not all the activities of the Goethe Institut or the British Council are equally welcome to their countries' governments, but the vast majority of their activities are uncontroversial, and in a democracy there must after all be some scope for the raising of politically sensitive issues.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will need the assistance of the other two ministries concerned in determining the content of cultural activities which are primarily undertaken for reasons of foreign policy. A new-style CICB could play a part in this.

4.3 Instruments of policy

4.3.1 Executive bodies

In order to entrust implementation to autonomous bodies wherever possible, a number of new institutional arrangements need to be made. Earlier in this report, five sectors were distinguished within international cultural policy: scientific research, education, the arts, language and the dissemination of information. Partly in view of experience in other countries, the Council would in principle prefer there to be one agency for the implementation of policy in each of these sectors. This would reduce the dangers of bureaucracy and blurring of ministerial responsibility,

both of which could occur if a single autonomous body were to be set up for all of them. Some activities could be entrusted to existing institutions.

The operation could proceed as follows.¹⁾

Implementation of international aspects of *scientific research* could be entrusted to the ZWO (Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research), which is already responsible for this to a large extent. However, it does not have responsibility for all areas of research, mainly because some aspects of implementation are at present the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Examples include participation by the Netherlands in various multilateral research organisations and certain aspects of technological research policy.

Implementation of international aspects of *education* policy could be entrusted to a new body comparable to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). All activities relating to the awarding of grants and scholarships to foreign students wishing to study in the Netherlands and to Dutch students wishing to study abroad should be concentrated within it. At present, such grants and scholarships are in nearly every case awarded directly by ministries: by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the case of students from developing countries and by various different departments of the Ministry of Education and Science in other cases. It seems advisable to bring together the required specialist knowledge, and to place it outside the direct influence of government. The International Education Executive Body which should be established for this purpose could also undertake certain tasks closely associated with those already mentioned, such as counselling foreign students in the Netherlands – insofar as educational establishments do not do so themselves – assessing the international equivalence of educational qualifications and awarding travel grants to students and teachers at higher education establishments. Some of these tasks are already performed outside the direct sphere of government, albeit using government funds, notably by the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation (NUFFIC) and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. The possibilities of combining the new body with NUFFIC should be investigated.

For the implementation of international aspects of policy on the *arts*, the Council advocates establishing a second autonomous administrative body, namely a 'Netherlands Cultural Institute', ideally modelled on the Goethe Institut. Various existing government-backed independent organisations could bring together their activities – or part thereof – within the institute if this was regarded as desirable. A significant part of the executive work currently performed by the International Relations Department of the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs could also be entrusted to it.

The Council realises that the responsibilities of the proposed body are somewhat similar to those of the Netherlands Institute of International Cultural Relations which existed from 1956 to 1959 (see section 3.2.1). This institute was abolished because the government preferred to resume direct responsibility for implementing international cultural policy. However, the Council is not in favour of extensive government involvement in the implementation of policy (see section 4.2).

¹⁾ For a detailed analysis of autonomous implementation of policy see H.F. Munneke et al., *Organen en rechtspersonen rondom de centrale overheid* (Organs and legal persons close to central government); WRR, *Voorstudies en achtergronden* nr. V35 (2 parts), The Hague, Staatsuitgeverij, 1983; and: *Zelfstandige bestuursorganen; verslag van de studiedag op 12 november 1985* (Autonomous administrative bodies; report on the seminar of 12.11.85); WRR, *Voorstudies en achtergronden* nr. V54, The Hague, Staatsuitgeverij, 1986.

It would be best for the implementation of policy on *Dutch language and literature* to be entrusted to the Dutch Language Union. The Netherlands could submit a proposal to this effect to the Committee of Ministers of the Language Union. This would put an end to the existing situation in which responsibility for policy on professorships abroad is in practice divided between two countries and – within the Netherlands – between different ministries.

The last sector remaining to be considered is the *dissemination of information*. Most of the funds available for this are currently allocated to Radio Nederland. This situation need not change. Government funds are in addition used to carry out a large number of activities of different kinds which involve disseminating information about social and cultural life in the Netherlands. These include study visits, particularly by journalists, and the distribution of fact sheets and other information using the spoken or written word or pictures. At present each of the ministries most closely concerned largely decides its own policy in this field. Insofar as these information activities are closely linked to the work of the ministry in question, this should remain so. Where necessary, the Information Council is the coordinating body.

It would be best for the dissemination in other countries of more general information about Dutch culture and social and cultural life to be undertaken by the proposed Netherlands Cultural Institute. The latter could also play a part in organising educational exchange programmes for schoolchildren, young people or particular occupational groups.

It is envisaged that the two new executive bodies which should be set up – one for education and one for the arts – should have the legal status of *stichtingen* (non-profit organisations). Experts should sit on the boards in a personal capacity. The boards' terms of reference would be to implement those areas of policy for which they had been made responsible, while adhering to the main lines of international cultural policy as laid down by the Government.

The boards of the executive bodies can also be given an advisory vote on the preparation of the Government's international cultural policy in the fields with which the bodies are concerned. Conversely, the Government's involvement in the bodies should be reflected in the appointment of a representative of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and either the Minister of Education and Science or the Minister of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs, to sit on each board. Funds would be allocated to the bodies in the same way as they currently are to the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research. The transfer of virtually all executive responsibilities from the ministries to the autonomous bodies will enable the number of establishment posts in the civil service to be reduced.

To summarise, entrusting executive responsibilities to autonomous bodies as proposed here would have the following advantages:

- a. The separation of policy-making and executive responsibilities would make it easier to give independent expression to the two facets of international cultural policy in concrete situations than it is at present. More justice could accordingly be done to both.
- b. Experts could play a greater part in implementing policy. The quality of cultural relations with other countries could be expected to benefit.
- c. There would be increased opportunities for joint financing and sponsoring of certain activities and for cooperation with other bodies.
- d. The technical and procedural know-how required for the implementation of policy in each sector could be concentrated in one place, and the ministries would no longer have to deal with details of implementation.

4.3.2 *Other instruments of policy*

The organisational framework as outlined so far mainly pertains to the implementation of policy within the Netherlands. Naturally, there is also a need for instruments to implement policy in relation with other countries. Here too, the initial situation is in no way neutral: various instruments already exist, and account needs to be taken of this fact. The most important existing instruments are cultural agreements and Netherlands institutes abroad. The role of cultural sections at Netherlands embassies also needs to be considered in this connection.

4.3.2.1 Cultural agreements

As noted earlier, the Netherlands has concluded cultural agreements with 33 countries. The importance of these agreements lies primarily in the contribution which they make to maintaining and promoting good relations with the country in question. This is justification enough for continuing to conclude such agreements, particularly since the partner countries generally value them. However, they are of limited value as a way of promoting the quality of cultural life in the Netherlands, partly because they are relatively inflexible. Sometimes the Netherlands and the partner country also have little to offer each other in terms of culture.

Thus cultural agreements must primarily be regarded as an aid to realising foreign policy objectives. They are mainly of importance for cultural relations with the Eastern European countries and China, as these countries have expressly requested that cultural relations should be confined to activities provided for in the agreements.

Under the proposed division of responsibilities, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would retain responsibility for cultural agreements. The role of the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs would be confined to that of supplying the raw materials, while the autonomous administrative bodies could be responsible for implementation of the commitments entered into.

4.3.2.2 Netherlands institutes abroad

In view of the costs involved, it would not be realistic to propose setting up a large number of cultural institutes abroad. In this respect therefore the Netherlands cannot attempt to follow the example of the British Council, the Goethe Institut or the Institut Français, each of which has branches in more than a hundred foreign cities.

Dutch culture can establish a more visible and permanent presence by setting up a 'Nederlandhuis' (Netherlands House), although this can only be done in a limited number of countries. As these would be primarily cultural institutions, they should fall under the Netherlands Cultural Institute. The management and staff would be employees of that Institute, and while they would be expected to carry out their duties in consultation with the local diplomatic mission, their careers should not be dependent upon assessment by heads of missions.

Special attention should be given to deciding where 'Nederlandhuizen' ought to be established. The Council proposes that priority should be given to establishing them in countries with which the Netherlands has the most intensive and varied cultural relations, namely a number of Western European countries, the USA and Indonesia. This therefore means that the existing institutes in Paris, Rome and Jakarta would be receiving reinforcement and, where necessary, would be restructured, while new establishments would be instituted in Brussels (as already agreed by the Government and Parliament), a city in the Federal Republic of Germany (Cologne seems the most appropriate), London and New York (the latter as recommended in the Arts Council's 1983 recommendation).

The 'Nederlandhuizen' should serve to present not only Dutch culture in the narrow sense but also many other aspects of Dutch social and cultural life. At the minimum this presupposes that they should be equipped with a library of works about the Netherlands, Dutch literary and scientific books (both in the original and in translation), a reading room with Dutch newspapers and periodicals, premises for temporary exhibitions of Dutch art and premises where courses (notably language courses) can be held and performances can be given on a limited scale. This would represent an expansion in the current terms of reference of the institutes in Paris, Rome and Jakarta. It might be possible to obtain financial assistance from industry for certain specific activities. The new-style institutes should themselves be free to seek funding from such sources. The experience of the Goethe Institut indicates that this is possible²⁾. The danger that the arts and science might be overshadowed by commerce and industry can be overcome by vigorous and expert management on the spot.

At present the existing establishments in Tokyo, Florence, Istanbul and Cairo mainly or only serve a relatively small circle of Dutch researchers temporarily visiting the countries in question, for example to conduct research. The Council sees no reason to revamp the latter three as new-style institutes. The only one for which this option might be considered is Tokyo, in view of the ever increasing importance of Japan and the special place which the Netherlands still occupies there for historical reasons. The establishment of a 'Nederlandhuis' in South Africa might be considered on similar historical grounds and also on account of the linguistic relationship with part of the population, once apartheid has been abolished.

4.3.2.3 Cultural attachés

In the future, Dutch cultural interests should continue to be represented primarily through the diplomatic missions in most countries. Agreements will have to be reached to facilitate direct cooperation between the proposed implementary bodies and the missions. If international cultural policy is mainly determined directly by the Ministries of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs and Education and Science in future, it would be advisable to cease to entrust cultural promotion work to foreign service diplomats and, instead, to appoint cultural attachés answerable to the said ministries. Their position would be analogous to those of the agricultural, military and transport attachés. In selecting candidates for appointment to such posts, preference should be given to people familiar with cultural life both in the Netherlands and in the country to which they are to be posted. Non-civil service artists, scientists etc. might be appointed as special cultural attachés for limited periods.

4.3.2.4 A foreign-language periodical on Dutch culture

The Council wishes to draw special attention to the desirability of an editorially independent cultural periodical aimed at readers abroad. The Netherlands Cultural Institute could publish it instead of – or in addition to – 'Dutch Heights'. The periodical could bring various aspects of Dutch cultural life to the attention of a foreign readership and thus have a certain news value. Moreover, it could provide a forum for discussion for Dutch and foreign exponents of culture. This would underline the international character of cultural pursuits.

A periodical would be most likely to arouse interest if its editorial board were independent. It might then sometimes contain articles which were not so much to the Government's liking, but on the other hand an element of surprise would be likely to enlarge its readership.

²⁾ Alex P. Schmid & Yvonne C.L.M. van Dongen, *Buitenlands cultureel beleid: een Terreinverkenning* (International cultural policy: an exploration of the field); Werkdocument W23, WRR, The Hague, 1987, p. 172.

A start could be made by publishing a magazine in English. If this was a success, other languages could be considered. Perhaps it would after all be possible to establish a link with the existing periodical, 'Ons Erfdeel', which is published in Dutch and French.

4.4 Financial aspects

In principle the changes proposed in this report should not be allowed to result in extra costs being incurred by government. As the funds available for international cultural policy are necessarily limited, it would at all events be desirable to reduce the costs of decision-making as much as possible. The Council believes that its proposals would lead to such a reduction. Entrusting the implementation of policy to autonomous bodies and easing responsibilities for coordination would reduce the workload of the civil service, so that the number of establishment posts could be reduced. It can also be anticipated that autonomous administrative bodies will be able to obtain funds from external sources for specific activities (e.g. sponsoring by industry). The reorganisation of the way in which policy is implemented, as advocated by the Council, may even make it possible for more activities to be undertaken using the same amount of money.

It will however be necessary for budget funds to be transferred on a considerable scale. Funds which currently fall under regular ministerial budgets will in future have to be made available to autonomous administrative bodies which are responsible for implementing policy. The sum of more than Fl. 31 million which is currently used to fund the core activities of international cultural policy can be redistributed among the three ministries most directly concerned. The prime consideration in deciding how it should be redistributed will be the objective which a particular activity is primarily intended to achieve. In order to obtain a clear view of these budgetary transfers and trends in the amounts available for international cultural policy, it would be desirable for the Government to submit a summary to Parliament each year. This would show a cross-section through ministerial budgets relating to the particular facet of policy with which this report is concerned.

4.5 Internationalisation of education and research

For good reasons, government has traditionally refrained from becoming too involved in substantive aspects of cultural activities in the Netherlands. This principle should extend to international cultural policy. For this reason the Council has similarly exercised restraint in formulating substantive recommendations on new policy and has concentrated in this report on objectives and organisation. There is one point on which the Council wishes to depart from this rule, and it is one which concerns both education and research.

Mention has been made of the trend towards internationalisation of culture, which has become increasingly evident worldwide. Quality norms in many areas are determined internationally, and the role of the 'international forum' in research is becoming more important. Specialist knowledge can only be acquired through international cooperation, especially as far as small countries are concerned. It is in the interests of the Netherlands that the country should continue to move with the times in this respect. The figures indicate that international scientific contacts have at best reached a plateau, whereas one would be justified in expecting them to be on the increase. Moreover, although comparative data are in short supply and are not always equally reliable, it seems as if Dutch researchers are less inclined to look beyond their national borders and to engage in international cooperation than their counterparts elsewhere in Europe. Perhaps they do not receive enough encouragement to do this during their education: the statistics on the international mobility of students

which have been quoted in this report indicate that the Netherlands has not so far been a particularly active partner in this respect. As it has traditionally been a country with an international orientation, this is somewhat surprising, and if the situation were to persist it would be cause for concern.

In order to reverse the present trend, the Council advocates strengthening the international dimension of higher education and research in the Netherlands. The proposed reallocation of responsibilities for international cultural policy is expected to contribute towards this, as it would create better opportunities to integrate parts of international cultural policy with cultural policy in general and, more particularly, with education and science policy. Greater autonomy of implementation could also have a positive effect, especially because the greater involvement of experts which it would be likely to entail could improve standards.

However, in addition to this, extra efforts are required. A few initiatives in this direction have already been announced by the Minister of Education and Science in the past year. Numerous concrete suggestions are contained in the recommendation on 'Internationalisation of Higher Education' presented to the Minister of Education and Science by the Advisory Council on Higher Education in February 1987, with which the Council would like to express its agreement³.

The following measures are of particular relevance here:

- promoting the international mobility of Dutch researchers and teachers (not only in the natural sciences, and not only in advanced research);
- promoting the international mobility of Dutch students. Far more students than at present should obtain at least part of their education abroad. Arrangements for cooperation between educational establishments and special financial arrangements are required for this purpose;
- the number of foreign students - both from developing countries and from developed countries - attending Dutch higher education establishments should be increased. The number of study grants currently available to students from other developed countries is particularly small. In cases where ignorance of the Dutch language is an obstacle, the necessary measures should be taken, either by using other languages as the language of instruction or by organising more Dutch courses for these students;
- the European Community's ERASMUS project should be strongly supported and if possible extended. Originally the aim of the project was that at least 10 per cent of all students in the Community should be studying outside their home countries by 1992. The project was recently approved by the EC Council of Ministers, albeit after long hesitation and in a pruned form.

Although it is possible here too to find funds by reallocating budgets, it is conceivable that additional financing may be necessary in order for policy to be stepped up. The amount involved will depend on the extent to which the Government and Parliament recognise the necessity of a more international orientation as advocated here. The Council believes that they would be justified in giving it high priority.

In connection with all the measures taken in this field it is important to realise that a high standard of cultural activity at home is essential for fruitful international cultural relations. This applies to science as much as it does to the arts: interest in trend-setters is strongest in these fields, and the readiness on the part of other countries to exchange people and knowledge will increase in proportion with the extent to which they expect to benefit from the exchanges themselves. Seen in this light, international cultural relations begin at home with the creation of cultural products which are of international interest. Government should encourage this.

³. Adviesraad voor het Hoger Onderwijs (Advisory Council on Higher Education), *Internationalisering van het Hoger Onderwijs* (Internationalisation of higher education), The Hague, 13 February 1987.

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The Council commissioned a number of experts to carry out preliminary studies for the report 'A Coherent Media Policy'. The following studies were published in a separate series entitled 'Media Policy Background and Preliminary Studies' (in Dutch):

- M 1 J.M. de Meij: Overheid en uitingsvrijheid (*The Government and Freedom of Speech*) (1982)
- M 2 E.H. Hollander: Kleinschalige massacommunicatie; lokale omroepvormen in West-Europa (*Small-scale Mass Communications: Local Broadcasting Forms in Western Europe*) (1982)
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- M 4 L.P.H. Schoonderwoerd, W.P. Knulst/Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau: Mediagebruik bij verruiming van het aanbod (*Media Use and a Wider Media Range*) (1982)
- M 5 N. Boerma, J.J. van Cuilenburg, E. Diemer, J.J. Oostenbrink, J. van Putten: De omroep: wet en beleid; een juridisch-politologische evaluatie van de Omroepwet (*Broadcasting – Legislation and Government Policy: A Legal and Political Evaluation of the Broadcasting Act*) (1982)
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- M 8 J.J. van Cuilenburg, D. McQuail: Media en pluriformiteit; een beoordeling van de stand van zaken (*The Media and Diversity: An Assessment of the State of Affairs*) (1982)
- M 9 K.J. Alsem, M.A. Boorman, G.J. van Helden, J.C. Hoekstra, P.S.H. Leeftang, H.H.M. Visser: De aanbodstructuur van de periodiek verschijnende pers in Nederland (*The Supply Structure of Regular Press Publications in the Netherlands*) (1982)
- M10 W.P. Knulst/Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau: Mediabeleid en cultuurbeleid; Een studie over de samenhang tussen de twee beleidsvelden (*Media Policy and Cultural Policy: A Study of the Interrelationship between the two Fields of Policy*) (1982)
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- M17 F.J. Schrijver: De invoering van kabeltelevisie in Nederland (*The Introduction of Cable in the Netherlands*) (1983)

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1. *Europese Unie* (European Union), 1974.
2. *Structuur van de Nederlandse economie* (Structure of the Netherlands Economy), 1974.
3. *Energiebeleid op langere termijn* (Long-term Energy Policy,) 1974. Reports 1 to 3 are published in one volume.
4. *Milieubeleid* (Environment Policy), 1974.
5. *Bevolkingsprognoses* (Population Forecasts), 1974.
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8. *Buitenlandse invloeden op Nederland: Beschikbaarheid van wetenschappelijke en technische kennis* (Foreign Influence on the Netherlands: Availability of Scientific and Technical Knowledge), 1976.
9. *Commentaar op de Discussienota Sectorale Wetenschapsbeleid* (Comments on the Discussion Paper on Sectoral Council of Science Policy), 1976.
10. *Commentaar op de nota Contouren van een toekomstig onderwijsbestel* (Comments on the White Paper on the Contours of the Future Education System), 1976.
11. *Overzicht externe adviesorganen van de centrale overheid* (Survey of External Advisory Bodies of the Central Government), 1976.
12. *Externe adviesorganen van de centrale overheid, beschrijving, ontwikkelingen, aanbevelingen* (External Advisory Bodies of the Central Government: Description, Developments, Recommendations), 1977.
13. *'Maken wij er werk van?' Verkenningen omtrent de verhouding tussen actieven en niet-actieven* ('Do we make Work our Business?' An Exploratory Study of the Relations between Economically Active and Inactive Persons), 1977.
14. *Overzicht interne adviesorganen van de centrale overheid* (Survey of Internal Advisory Bodies of the Central Government), 1977.
15. *De Komende vijfentwintig jaar, een toekomstverkenning voor Nederland* (The Next Twenty-Five Years: a Survey of Future Developments in the Netherlands), 1977.
16. *Over sociale ongelijkheid, een beleidsgerichte probleemverkenning* (On Social Inequality: a Policy-oriented Study), 1977.

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17. *Etnische minderheden – A. Rapport aan de Regering; B. Naar een algemeen etnisch minderhedenbeleid?* (Ethnic minorities – A. Report to the Government; B. Towards an Overall Ethnic Minorities Policy?), 1979.
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Reports nos. 13, 15, 17, 18, 28 and 31 have been translated into English; English summaries are available of Reports nos. 16, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27 and 29; Report no 23 has been translated into German.