

a Cultural Component as an integral part of the EU's Foreign Policy?

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t s

Are all European countries bound together by their commitment to cultural diversity? Does the rest of the world recognise this as a characteristic of the European Union? These are highly interesting questions, but also highly complex ones. Few would consider them relevant, let alone urgent. It takes imagination to convince people that culture matters as a way of sharing artistic and cultural values with the global community – not only as a bridging tool inside Europe, but also beyond this part of the world.

Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh has that vision and, together with Ernst Schürmann, she succeeded in putting the subject of Europe's cultural profile on the agenda of politicians, cultural officials, researchers and policymakers, as well as on the agenda of the European Cultural Foundation. In spring 2004, she also convinced the Boekman Foundation.

Following a series of discussions, the European Cultural Foundation commissioned the Boekman Foundation to undertake (in the framework of the LabforCulture project) a literature survey on the cultural component of EU external relations and policies. It was agreed that the survey should also include a dimension of analysis and reflection, aided by the Political Science Department of the University of Amsterdam.

Many people gave their energy to this project. Ingrid Janssen, who was responsible for the project's management, made sure that the right people were connected at the right time. Bob Palmer gave valuable advice at the initial stage. Gottfried Wagner (Director of the European Cultural Foundation) and Bettina Knaup (LabforCulture manager) ensured that the relationship between the contract partners was extended in an efficient way. Many people kindly offered advice at three sessions in 2005. These included Pim den Boer and Richard van de Wurff, colleagues from the University of Amsterdam; Inez Boogaarts and Saskia Welschen from the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; and Henk Voskamp and Joan Coert from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But it was Diane Dodd and Melle Lyklema (both of the Boekman Foundation) and Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh (Chair of the European Cultural Foundation) who were responsible for the greater part of the energy expended on this literature study.

The study makes it clear that many individuals and institutions are involved in culture and foreign policy, but only a few of them in foreign policy at European level. For the moment, this is the reality. The most important achievement of this survey therefore is the balance it strikes between imagination and reality. Having mapped the terrain, we believe that we need to take the next step.

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P r e f a c e

In recent years, the question of whether and how the European Union (together with the policymaking member states and civil society) should develop a cultural component integral to its emerging foreign policy has increasingly become the subject of international conferences¹ and of preliminary studies and research proposals.²

Public, semi-public and private actors have come together to discuss the prospect of sustainable pan-European cultural cooperation with third countries, envisaging possible future scenarios at the political level. But there was and is no solid research into the attitudes of the governments of EU member states regarding, for instance, any preconditions they might insist on,

and the degree of acceptance that such a component might enjoy. Yet it is, after all, precisely these governments which have the final say on cultural and educational matters. Only with their collective approval can a more explicit, coordinated, transparent and effective EU foreign cultural policy which respects the principle of subsidiarity be developed.

The topic gained further currency when it became clear from the French and Dutch referenda that the draft European Constitution would fail to gain approval. Suddenly, right across Europe, the nature and future of the European Union were being heatedly discussed. Such questions were asked as: 'What is the EU?'; 'What holds it together?'; 'In which direction should it move?'; and 'How should it make a role for itself in the world?' It became apparent that there is considerable agreement that the EU is more than a free market area and more than a security zone (let alone a possibly hostile fortress).

Besides representing a process of economic and political integration, the EU is seen as a social and cultural project in the making. It is also seen as a 'soft power' founded on certain accepted norms and values: for example, the unrestricted rule of law; the voluntary transfer of some competences within a community of states; a liberal-democratic social order; the protection of human rights; the acknowledgement of cultural diversity and respect for other cultures; a multilateral rather than a unilateral approach to the world.

If these norms and values as lived and practised within the EU are to be conveyed convincingly to the outside world, then a common effort to achieve intercultural dialogue is required, one that is complementary to the efforts of the member states. In the words of Bob Palmer, "intercultural dialogue promotes the discovery and establishment of trust in a global world and supports the recognition and understanding of Europe as a cultural project, in turn benefiting Europe by providing creative potential and by strengthening an understanding and experience of diversity... Making European identity manifest through a dialogue of cultures at home and abroad and thereby creating a cultural basis for effective political and economic action – that is what will determine Europe's message, responsibilities and, ultimately, its role in the world."³

The Treaty of Maastricht (1992, article 151/4) had to some extent already recognised this. EU member states agreed to provide the EU with some instruments for promoting and supporting cultural activities within the EU and with third countries. A legal basis had thus been established for external EU cultural action, as is briefly explained in the following reports. However, as the country profiles (which form the main part of these reports) clearly reveal, one cannot yet speak of a cultural foreign policy as an integral, coordinated, enhanced component of a global EU strategy, complementing the well-developed global strategies of its member states, which always include a cultural component.

Before going deeper into the matter, and in order to gauge whether a cultural component to an emerging EU foreign policy is at all politically feasible, certain basic questions first have to be answered by the twenty-five decision-making EU member states. These questions are as follows:

1. Does each of them agree or disagree that a cultural component which is an integral part of the Union's external relations, complementing their national foreign cultural policies, could be a desirable added European value?
2. Do their different priorities, geographically speaking and in terms of content, leave enough room for joint European cultural action?
3. In terms of preferences and priorities, where can common ground be identified?

These questions lie at the heart of this bibliographical study. The study itself should be regarded as the initial stage of a feasibility study into the possible adoption of a cultural component as an integral part of EU foreign policy.

The relevant official policy papers of all the member states as well as additional books and articles revealed that there is no serious objection from the member states to such a policy, but nor is there a particular focus on it. One could speak of a latent willingness for joint cultural actions and programmes with third countries, actions and programmes in which the EU is the partner, promoter, supporter and even to some extent the initiator.

These first findings are encouraging. However, the extent to which policy statements are followed through in reality remains to be seen. It is therefore essential, as the researchers propose, to link theory with practice in the next stage of the research. This proposed practical step, which will also present examples of good practice, will help to answer further questions, such as:

- What is the added value of a complementary EU foreign cultural policy, going beyond its present limited range?
- What criteria should be developed?
- Which topics can be defined as truly European? Which as national?
- Where can the EU initiate, and where should it be a promoter or supporter?
- How can the EU balance the interests of its larger and smaller member states in their cultural actions with third countries?
- What tools and instruments are already at the disposal of the EU as it prepares to enter this enlarged foreign cultural policy field?
- How is it possible to ensure that all relevant cultural actors - public, semi-public and private - have equal access to EU programmes and actions?

Dr Kathinka Dittrich
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Notes

- 1 Just a few examples, chosen at random: "More Europe - Foreign Cultural Policies in and beyond Europe," Warsaw, 9-11 October 2003, organised by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute (www.iam.pl), the Austrian Cultural Forum in Warsaw (www.austria.org.pl) in cooperation with the delegation of the European Commission in Poland, the Goethe-Institut in Warsaw, the Italian Cultural Institute in Warsaw, and the Institute for Foreign Relations in Stuttgart; "Europe a Union of Culture? Foreign cultural policy in the enlarged European Union," Berlin, 12-14 October 2003, joint conference of the Institute for Foreign Relations (www.ifa.de) and the International Relations Chair at Constance University, together with the German Foreign office; "Rethinking Art Exchanges - Towards a European Foreign Cultural Policy," Dresden, 4-5 October 2004 (www.ifa.de). In the framework of its policy line "Enlargement of Minds", the Amsterdam-based European Cultural Foundation (www.eurocult.org) and partners organised the following conferences: "Crossing Perspectives: Cultural Cooperation with South East Europe", Amsterdam, 16-18 June 2003; "Moving Borders: The EU and its New Neighbours", Krakow, 24-26 October 2003 (see also: www.villa.org.pl); "Beyond Enlargement - Opening Eastwards, Closing Southwards", Toledo, 13-16 November 2003; "Sharing Cultures: A contribution to cultural policies for Europe", Rotterdam, 11-13 July 2004. In this context, see also: "An analysis of case studies of cultural collaboration in and with the countries of the Mediterranean", commissioned by the ECF and written by the Informal European Theatre Meeting (IETM: www.ietm.org) and the summary of all four conferences, "Cultural Cooperation within the Wider Europe and across the Mediterranean: Issues at Stake and Proposals for Action" by Jochen Fried, commissioned by the ECF. Furthermore, consecutive "IETM Associate and Institutional Members" meetings had the topic as their core

item, e.g. Birmingham, October 9, 2003; Milan, November 18, 2004 (www.ietm.org); "Migration and European Cultural Politics," Annual General Assembly of the European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH), General Assembly, Berlin, December 20-23, 2003 (www.efah.org); "Asia-Europe Seminar on Cultural Policy", Bangkok, June 24-27, 2004 (www.asef.org); "A soul for Europe," Berlin, 26-27 November 2004 (www.berlinerkonferenz.net) and its follow-ups in Paris in June 2005 and in Budapest in November 2005; "Selling Democracy? The Past and Future of Western Cultural Relations and Public Diplomacy," London, February 27-28, 2004, organised by Counterpoint and the University of Leicester (www.counterpoint-online.org); "Rediscovering Europe - second European Cultural Forum", Luxembourg, 15-17 April 2005 (www.ipw.eu); and many more discussions on the topic or an aspect of it: "Second World Culturelink Conference", Zagreb, 2-29 June, 2005 (www.culturelink.hr/clinkconf.html); "Catalyst Conference", Liverpool & Manchester, 15-17 September 2005 (www.catalystconference.co.uk).

- 2 See the reports and studies listed in the introduction, and also: "Europa fördert Kultur-Aktionen-Programme-Kontakte: Ein Handbuch zur Kulturförderung der Europäischen Union, ed. Kulturpolitische Gesellschaft ev, Deutscher Kulturrat e.V", online since 2004 (www.europa-foerdert-kultur.de); "Does Europe need a cultural policy" by Kathinka Dittrich and Ernst Schürmann, initiated by the ECF, June 2004, (www.eurocult.org and www.kupoge.de); "Proposal For a Research Project on The Cultural Components of European Foreign Policies", Palmer/Rae Associates, December 2004, commissioned by the ECF (www.eurocult.org); See also the excellent bibliographies and the many relevant studies of the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (www.ifa.de) and the Foreign Policy Centre in London (www.fpc.org.uk).
- 3 Palmer (2005), "Global responsibility - what is Europe's message?"

E x p l o r a t i o n

The goal of this survey is to collect and examine documents on the external cooperation policies of the European Union and its Member States with third countries in the field of culture, in order to assess the willingness of EU Member States to support the strengthening of cultural components of the Union's external relations and foreign policy. The survey should stimulate the ongoing debate on the role of culture in EU external relations and foreign policy, and provide a documentary resource for this debate.

Information on cultural cooperation is heterogeneous in nature, precise data is generally lacking, and it is often difficult to identify the relevant actors. A number of recent initiatives related to the broader theme of European cultural cooperation have laid the foundations for more specific research projects. In particular, the present survey is indebted to the following initiatives: the Compendium of Cultural Policies for Europe, launched by the Council of Europe in 1998 in a joint venture with the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research (ERICarts)¹; Report on the State of Cultural Cooperation in Europe², published in 2003 by the European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH) and the Interarts Foundation; "Europe - A Union of Culture: Foreign Cultural Policy in the Enlarged European Union," a conference organised by the German Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen in October 2003,³ contributions to which provided important source material specifically concerned with foreign cultural policy in Europe; and finally, the 2004 Ernst & Young Study on the External Cooperation of the European Union and its Member States in the Culture and Audiovisual Sectors.⁴

The goal of the current survey is twofold. First, the survey aims to explore one particular question: namely, whether or not the governments of the 25 EU Member States might support a more enhanced integration of cultural components into the Union's foreign policy and external relations with third countries, complementing the foreign cultural policies of the EU Member States. Secondly, it aims to provide a collection of documents related to EU and Member State policies in the field of cultural cooperation with third countries as a resource for further research.

To assess a country's support for a policy that, so far, does not "officially" exist is difficult. The survey therefore poses a set of interrelated questions⁵ in order to be able to formulate an initial hypothesis about the willingness or preparedness of the governments of Member States to discuss such a policy. Hypotheses are of course open to revision, but they provide a focus for further research. As a matter of fact, policy statements in the field of cultural cooperation do not

necessarily correspond with actual practice. Further research would be vital to examine how Member States have implemented these policies.

The review of government policies forms the nucleus of this study. Also examined is their involvement in intergovernmental organisations in which EU Member States cooperate with third countries in the field of culture. In a second section, the role of the EU is examined in relation to Member States' activities. The survey thus consists of two main levels of investigation:

- Current policies of the Member States of the European Union in the field of international cultural relations with third countries.

The objective was to collect documents and present a brief analysis of each country's policy on international cultural relations. Chapter I presents an analysis of the possible support for strengthening cultural components of the EU's external relations and foreign policy. The analysis is based on six questions which are designed to assess such support in each country. The results are presented in Annex I. This chapter includes remarks on intergovernmental organisations in order to show how EU Member States cooperate with third countries in the field of culture. The results are listed in Annex II and are also presented in section II of the complementary website resource (www.labresearchonline.org).⁶

- The cultural dimension of EU external relations and policies with regard to third countries.

The objective was to collect documents and present a brief analysis of current EU policies in the field of culture, highlighting key contrasts and similarities between Member State policies and EU foreign policy. Chapter II also briefly discusses article 151. It includes some observations on culture in EU external relations and policies based on the description of EU external relations and policies contained in section III of the Literature Research Tool (www.labresearchonline.org).

In addition, a brief note on the methodology used in this research is contained in Annex IV.

D e f i n i n g c u l t u r e

Governments routinely include cultural components in their external policies. They do so in a number of different ways. They fund the international activities of their national cultural actors; they promote their national cultures abroad; they conclude bilateral and multilateral cultural cooperation agreements, sometimes in relation to educational and scientific activities; they promote the cultural presence of third countries at home; they include cultural activities in their development cooperation policies; and, in conducting their foreign policies, they seek to promote values such as cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and human rights.

How, then, should culture be defined in the context of developing cultural components for a European foreign policy and external relations? A narrow definition of culture as a generic term for arts and heritage⁷ is not adequate as a heuristic tool to uncover the different ways in which culture surfaces in governmental policies and the varying objectives that governments pursue by way of their activities. As a matter of fact, definitions of culture employed by EU Member States vary widely.⁸ This survey focuses on those external policies that are identified as 'cultural' by governments themselves, and those that may be labelled 'cultural' because they concern norms and values.

A c u l t u r a l t u r n f o r E U f o r e i g n p o l i c y a n d e x t e r n a l r e l a t i o n s

In the past fifty years, the success of the European unification process has relied mainly on political and economic cooperation. The cultural dimension of European integration has generally been neglected. However, since the end of the Cold War, the enlargement of the European

Union, and the increasing manifestation of the effects of globalisation, culture has moved towards the centre-stage.

With the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht, the EU has embarked on the development of its cultural dimension. The “cultural clause”, known as article 151, outlines an ambitious programme for developing cultural cooperation within the Union and with third countries, as well as the integration of cultural concerns into other fields of Community action.⁹ Since then, dozens of conferences, cooperation initiatives, reports, books and articles have stressed again and again that culture cannot be ignored. Ten years after the introduction of a cultural competence for the EU, the European Council has reiterated its support for the cultural dimension of European integration, calling on Member States and the Commission “to regard culture as an essential component of European integration”.¹⁰

What is the rationale for including cultural components in the Union’s external relations and policies? A preliminary study by Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh and Ernst Schürmann described the foundations of a new policy initiative.¹¹ The study emphasises the critical power of culture, the arts and education to foster a sense of community, and the need to protect the diversity of cultures, traditions, languages and forms of artistic expression in Europe.

Despite the fact that governments spend millions on international cultural activities, theories of international relations have been slow to deal with the role of culture in international relations. Until recently, mainstream theories of international relations seemed to agree at least in one respect: that culture is incidental to matters of international politics.

The notion of culture as an agent for collective identities took a new direction in the early 1990s with Samuel Huntington’s rather blunt theory of the “clash of civilisations”.¹² A fiery debate followed in which his ideas were highly criticised, but in the wake of September 11, 2001, his words seemed to many to have been prophetic.

Huntington’s static notion of culture is largely responsible for his rather gloomy interpretation of the role of culture in international relations. Alexander Wendt, who published his *Social Theory of International Politics* in 1999, offers an alternative understanding.¹³ A fundamental difference from Huntington is his view that the shared ideas which determine whether governments view each other as enemy, rival or friend may change, under the influence of four factors: interdependence, common fate, homogenisation, and self-restraint. His theory provides a theoretical underpinning for paying attention to shared ideas in external relations and policies.

The European Union is a very successful example of how states that were once fiercely antagonistic towards one another can gradually transform their relations through increased interdependence and a sense of common fate. Often the argument is made that the Union lacks a common culture around which Europeans can unite, but in fact within the diversity of their cultures they share ideas, norms and values which together constitute an abstract culture¹⁴ in which Europeans view each other as partners.

The development of cultural components for EU external relations and policies would allow the Union to accentuate its role as a “partner” for third countries as well as support multilateral diplomacy rather than unilateral action. This would enable the Union to realise its potential as a “soft power” which seeks communication on matters of difference, hoping to reach mutual understanding as opposed to resolving conflict by military or economic means. It is in the Union’s interest to voice its own authentic, well-articulated and unique values on a global scale.

This task represents a collective responsibility for the Member States of the European Union. One need only be aware of the differences and similarities in the way individual Member States of the European Union conduct their foreign cultural policies and of the many different conceptions of the role of culture to realise that this survey is just the start of a process.

Notes

- 1 The Compendium is a long-term web-based project which monitors national cultural policies in Europe. Currently in its 6th edition, it contains 36 profiles of countries participating in the context of the European Cultural Convention. Regrettably, not all EU Member States are included, but the Compendium does provide valuable source information on those which are. Cf.: www.culturalpolicies.net
- 2 The EFAH/Interarts report was commissioned by the Directorate General for Education and Culture of the European Commission. It deals with intra-European cultural cooperation and provides national reports for the 25 Member States of the EU, the candidate Member States Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey, as well as 3 members of the European Economic Area, namely Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. The annexes of this report provide valuable historical backgrounds to the history of cultural cooperation in each country. In addition, the "Inventory" on the EFAH website contains useful discussions of key notions (Compiled by Therese Kaufmann, who was also co-editor of the EIPCP report *Anticipating European Cultural Policies*, 2002). The "Glossary" on the website of Europa Fördert Kultur represents an expanded introduction to culture and the EU.
- 3 Contributions to the Ifa conference from representatives from Denmark, Finland, the Flemish and Walloon Communities, Estonia, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Portugal, Italy, France, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Latvia, Greece, Malta, Sweden, United Kingdom, Switzerland, and Lithuania provide a wealth of information on foreign cultural policies in Europe. The Ifa website dossiers on foreign cultural policy and foreign cultural policy in Europe offer a broad range of sources, including selected bibliographies.
- 4 The Ernst & Young report was commissioned by the Directorate General for Education and Culture of the European Commission. It contains national reports on the 15 "older" EU Member States, as well as Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. It also contains a report on EU activities in the cultural and audiovisual sectors. The aim of these reports is to contribute to the development of a Community strategy within these two sectors. The report is available in French with a summary in English.
- 5 See p.20-32.
- 6 www.labresearchonline.org is a literature research tool which has been created to house and make accessible document references pertinent to this research.
- 7 For example, the EFAH/Interarts report (2003:8) identifies five sectors in culture: the visual arts, the performing arts, cultural heritage, music, and books and reading.
- 8 See, for example, section 3.2 of the Compendium for Cultural Policies in Europe on the national definition of culture.
- 9 See Chapter 2 of this survey, "Culture and the External Relations and Policies of the European Union", for a discussion of article 151.
- 10 Council resolution of 21 January 2002 on the role of culture in the development of the European Union (2002/C 32/02).
- 11 Does Europe need a cultural foreign policy? (February 2004)
- 12 Samuel Huntington (1993), "The clash of civilizations?", *Foreign Affairs*, Summer, pp. 22-49.
- 13 Alexander Wendt (1999), *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. His argument is highly complex, drawing upon philosophy and social theory, and is concerned with a wide range of debates in the field of international relations theory.
- 14 Here, culture refers not to a sector or sphere of society distinct from the economy or politics, but to shared ideas wherever they can be found. Wendt argues that culture may take many forms, including "norms, rules, institutions, ideologies, organisations, and threat-systems" (1999:141f.).

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this survey has been to collect and examine documents on the external cooperation policies of the European Union and its Member States with third countries in the field of culture. This has been done in order to assess the degree to which EU Member States support the strengthening of the cultural components of the EU's external relations and foreign policy.

The review of hundreds of policy documents, reports, statements on official websites, and other studies has indicated that there is an openness expressed by EU Member States to cooperate in external cultural policy, especially where the EU might support and complement initiatives of the Member States. Support is clearly visible in policy statements of all EU countries and in the fact that they all signed the Maastricht Treaty and subsequent amendments (Amsterdam Treaty). This now declares that the EU Member States will "foster cultural cooperation between Member States with third countries and competent international organisations".¹

The research also identified evidence of existing cooperation between Member States with third countries in key policy areas. Many initiatives clearly demonstrate support for intercultural and multicultural cooperation; for example, the broad participation of Member States in inter-regional cooperation activities.² Furthermore, in many cases, there is an openness to build upon these existing inter-governmental activities within the framework of EU policy.

The research revealed that the geographical priorities of Member States in external cultural policy are mirrored in the geographical priorities of the EU's current external programmes which have a cultural component. For example, it is clear that fellow EU Member States and neighbouring countries are of highest priority to the EU Member States and this is in keeping with the EU's actual policy for developing neighbourhood relations. By supporting or introducing more cultural components in this area, the EU would probably be supported by the Member States.

Geographical similarities in policy between Member States extend beyond support for the EU's immediate Eastern and Southern neighbours. Both old and new EU Member States strive to maintain a balance in their relations with Russian and the United States. In contrast, the EU has no explicit cultural relations beyond certain educational programmes.

Some larger, formerly colonial powers (e.g. France and the UK) for various reasons maintain close relations with their former areas of interest in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle and the Far East. These relations correlate directly with the EU APC programmes and the ASEAN initiative of the EU and its members. Some smaller EU Member States also have local interests in these geographical regions, e.g. the Netherlands in Indonesia, Surinam and South Africa, and Portugal in some of its former colonies. Many other EU nations, large and small, see opportunities for cooperation in Far Eastern countries such as China and India, in addition to the already strong relations enjoyed with Japan (based significantly on trade opportunities). While the reasons for cooperation may vary, the similarity between EU Member States' interests stands out, providing an opening for multilateral initiatives.

Some EU Member States have very particular geographical interests which are barely reflected in current EU programmes, such as Spain's interest in Latin America and Latvia's interest in its émigré communities in various third countries.

Certainly, this study did not identify any major conflicts of interest which could infringe or prevent future coordinated actions.

T h r e e k e y o b j e c t i v e s

Three key objectives of coordinated external cultural policy emerged in this study:

Security

The European Union would undoubtedly be supported in coordinating cultural external policy with the aim of promoting intercultural dialogue and diminishing prejudice and intolerance which might otherwise provoke conflict. The EU could be projected as a force able to help develop mutual understanding and resolve conflicts. New trends can be seen in the external policies of all EU Member States, which suggest a two-way approach to international cultural policy – based on acceptance and positive attitudes to the multicultural nature of European societies and the artistic/economic enrichment that immigrants can bring.

Visibility

The EU would undoubtedly be supported in building cultural components of external policy that would project a strong, unified image of countries working together in an ambience of respect and cultural diversity. The EU would be seen as a positive and forward-thinking entity within the global community.

Economic development

The EU would undoubtedly be supported in developing cultural components of foreign policy in order to promote cultural and economic exchanges. The EU could aim to develop wider markets for Europe's vast cultural heritage and cultural industries and also support logistical cooperation which would benefit all EU Member States.

One of the strongest arguments for a more enhanced coordinating and stimulating EU action is based on the discrepancy between widely shared interests and intentions and the means to implement them, given the capacities of larger and smaller EU Member States.

Many agree that a major challenge for the EU lies in balancing these interests and capacities in order to share a European vision abroad and, at the same time, to strengthen internal European cohesion. According to the survey of Member States' policies and the less official statements behind those, many "EU supporters" seem to shy away from the consequences of coordinated policy through fear of budgetary impositions and the criticism which developing additional "bureaucratic structures" can attract.

R e c o m m e n d a t i o n f o r f u r t h e r r e s e a r c h

A subsequent phase of research is therefore proposed, one which will look into selected practice and conduct a "reality check". The results found here need to be tested against evidence of real programmes, budget commitments and so on. The aim would be to determine the extent to which the policies identified in this report are followed through in reality; where current national debates on the subject are leading to and what level of cooperation actually already exists. Interviews with Ministers and key players in each country would assist a clearer analysis of whether the policy statements made by Member States are true and backed up by affirmative programmes. It would also be useful to gauge the success of cooperative multilateral cultural actions in comparison with bilateral cultural actions.

Further research is also needed into the role that arm's length institutions, non-governmental organisations and even private sector organisations play in multilateral cooperation. While governments are the primary authority in deciding whether or not to develop coordinated European policies, evidence of possible avenues of cooperation which the EU could forge might make future coordinated external cultural policy (e.g. the concept of creating 'partnerships' with other stakeholders) more attractive.

Above all, the research would explore "lean" (i.e. not requiring great investment) possibilities of achieving synergies, coordination and incentives for joint action.

Notes

- 1 European Union (1999), Selected instruments taken from the treaties, E-Doc Link: http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/treaties_en.pdf Europe Book 1, Volume, 1 Page 219 gives the full extract of Article 151 relating to the cultural provisions of the EU.
- 2 See Analysis of country profiles (Part 3) and Annex II