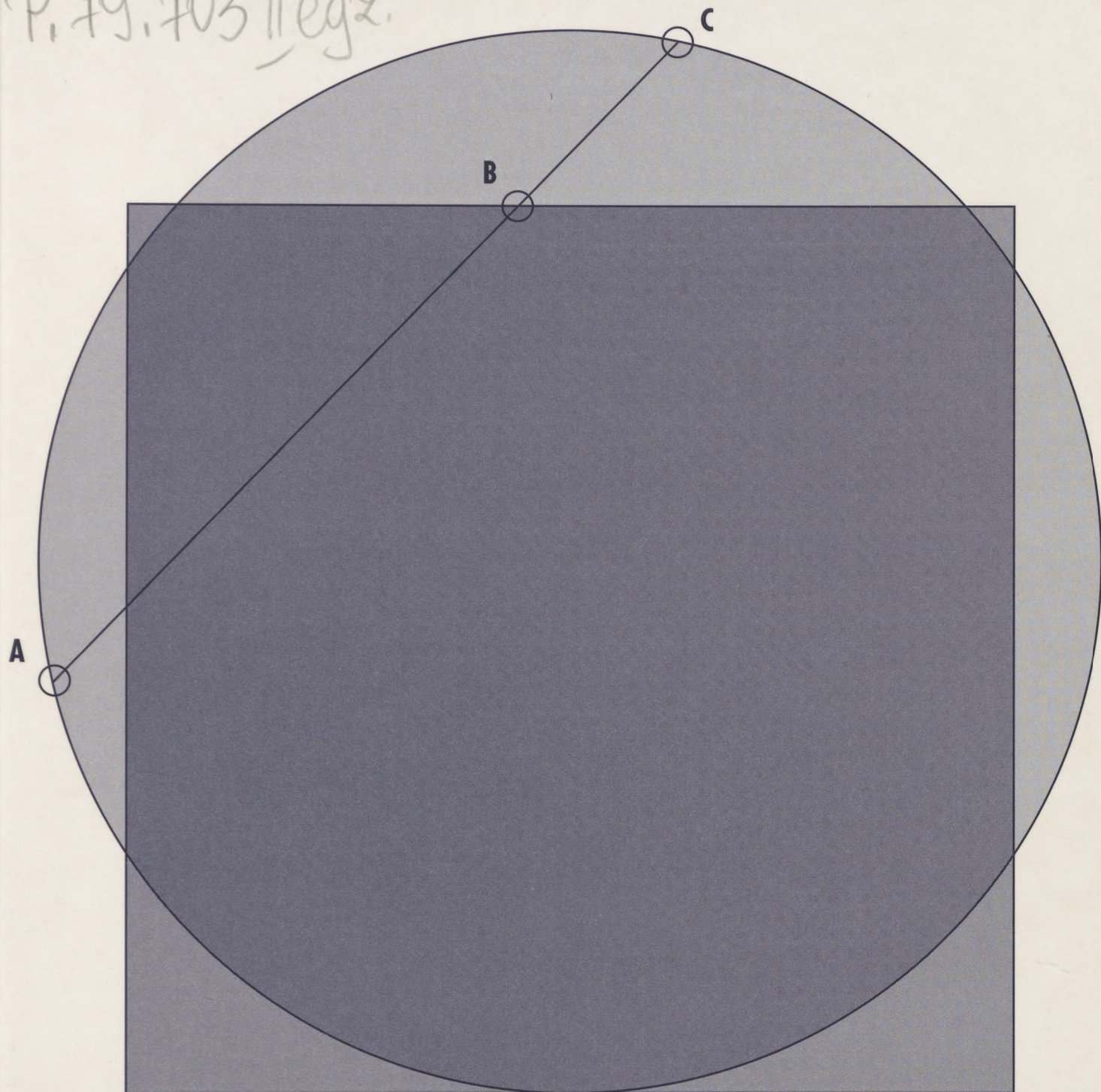


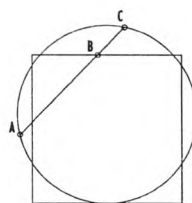
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Among the issues that the International Cultural Centre has been preoccupied with for many years, structural changes in international cultural co-operation became the major point of interest in 1999. In this respect, a special opportunity was a congress of the Cultural Information & Research Centres Liaison in Europe (CIRCLE), the theme of which was Beyond Cultural Diplomacy. International Cultural Co-operation Policies: Whose Agenda Is It Anyway? Organised at the ICC in Cracow, it was attended by many distinguished specialists in cultural research and international cultural co-operation. Most articles in the ICC Yearbook No. 8 are also devoted to these problems. I hope that our foreign and Polish reader will find them inspiring.

The conclusions of the CIRCLE congress mean two things for the ICC. They have proved the efficiency of our method of cultural diplomacy through broad international co-operation, and they have clearly shown the drawbacks in the Polish system of international promotion. The opening of the International Cultural Centre during the CSCE conference in Cracow in 1991 was the Polish government's first step towards a more effective cultural diplomacy aimed at creating the image of a "new Poland", while avoiding "cultural nationalism" at the same time. In the Centre, we have been trying to devise a brand new formula of promoting Poland. Our aim is not promotion itself: it has to involve perceiving Poland and the Polish nation's civilisational development in a broad European context.

This was also confirmed by the programme carried out by the Centre in 1999. First of all, I would like to focus on the diversity of forms and directions of promotion. We believe that it is extremely important to promote Poland abroad and to make Polish people here aware of these activities. Cracow's cultural heritage, intellectual potential and unique atmosphere have turned out very favourable in this respect. I would like to emphasise that the major investment programme announced by the ICC has become a fact. In December 1999, we completed its first stage, by opening a modern conference hall – The Ravens ("Pod Kruki"). This new venue, with the capacity of 180–200 people, will be one of the few ideal conference rooms in the city centre; it has, among other things, equipment for simultaneous translation. At the same time, it is also a gift from the Centre to Cracow – one of the European Cities of Culture in 2000 – on the eve of the turn of the millennium.

An example of the long-range project can be the summer school programme of our College for New Europe, organised in 1999 for the ninth time. During almost a decade, the College courses were

attended by young people numbering more than 1,200 from several dozen or so countries of the world. The image of Poland, which they become acquainted with during their stay in Cracow, will in future come out as an image fixed in the minds of many countries' cultural elites. Hence, one of The College's tasks is also to create a circle of friends through building favourable attitudes to Poland, and – more importantly – through teaching young people respect for universal values and principles which they have observed in Cracow.

The effective promotion of Poland and its culture were also the exhibitions organised at the ICC Gallery in 1999, presenting the works of our greatest contemporary artists (painter Jan Lebenstein, architect Romuald Loegler), and European art masterpieces in Polish collections (Rembrandt, Rubens and Others).

Cracow is an effective "weapon" of promoting Poland in the neighbouring countries. The examples of this strategy may be our seminars and conferences prepared in 1999 in Vilnius and Lvov, and also a spectacular exhibition *The Architecture of Lvov in the 19th Century*, organised by the ICC in Vienna, which originated Polish-Ukrainian co-operation abroad!

The Centre has always fought against national stereotypes, which resulted in the publication of a German version of the famous book entitled *Nations and Stereotypes*, and a Polish-Romanian conference in Braşov. The latter was the first in many years attempt of bringing Romanian and Polish intellectual elites closer together, and it opened new prospects for the two countries' co-operation. What's more, it was a splendid example of shifting from cultural diplomacy towards partnership in international co-operation.

The CIRCLE meeting in June also showed weak points of Polish cultural diplomacy. No modern effective strategy of applying culture and science in creating Poland's positive image abroad has been developed (efforts of re-animating the institutes of Polish culture are like investing in a typewriter, in the age of computers and the Internet).

This situation is conditioned by many different factors. The outcome of the 50-year Marxist domination is the widespread belief that culture and science belong to the non-productive sphere, due to which their role in economy and politics is secondary. Polish politics also doesn't seem to fully realise the importance of cultural diplomacy in attaining political and economic goals. One should also bear in mind that state institutions have not devised any conception in this respect, either. At the same time, various departments are responsible for the promotion of Poland abroad and it has been carried out for many years in a "static" way, namely it has never kept up with the transformations. As a consequence of the present situation, the accumulated cultural and scientific potential is being wasted. Moreover, Poland's political and economic position is being weakened.

Obviously, this situation has also caused the crisis and failure of major projects of promoting Poland, chiefly a result of serious legal and psychological barriers connected with the fact that the specific nature of such projects has often been misunderstood. This was one of the reasons why, in 1999, the ICC began to develop a complex conception of promoting Poland in Brussels, during the *Europalia 2001 Poland Festival*.

I believe that the main objective of *Europalia 2001* should involve consolidating the position of Poland on its way to European integration through:

- presenting the most outstanding achievements of Polish culture;
- providing objective information on Poland and its achievements;
- creating a positive image of Poland and the Polish people;

- building favourable attitudes to Poland in Europe's political elites;
- gaining major support from the Belgian organiser of the event.

While analysing the working potential of the Europolia 2001 Poland Festival, I purposely emphasised the necessity of creating a legal framework and organisational structures on the Polish side. This would facilitate implementing the programme in the manner that would be most effective, that is to say matching the range of the challenge and the standards set by the Belgian side. Understandably, one always has to think of the reform of the system of promoting Poland abroad in terms of the necessary reform of the cultural system in our country. This has become a recurrent motif in my editorials in the recent ICC Yearbooks.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that I'm very glad that the draft reform of Polish public cultural institutions, prepared in the early 1999 in co-operation with Prof. Andrzej Rottermund, president of the Programme Council of the ICC, has initiated subsequent legislative work undertaken by Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski. Having published the text of the draft in the Yearbook, I hope that it will inspire a major discussion on both the new model of state cultural policy, and also the new model of promoting Poland abroad. I believe that it should not be based on the archaic formula of "cultural nationalism", but on the reformed and empowered cultural institutions in Poland, prepared for international co-operation. In my opinion, the activity of the Centre proves that this is the right way for us to follow.

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



Ravens – the emblem of the ICC building and its conference hall (designed by Józef Polewka)



The entrance hall of the House of the Ravens ("Pod Kruki"), after renovation

- Reflections
- Impressions
- Opinions

Europe since 1989: What Is the Future of Our Continent?

Europe is an old entity. Therefore some maybe astonished, that the question reads: what is the future of our continent? On the other hand, we have to say, that this question is again possible since 1989, because since the Second World War Europe was divided and not existing in reality. One part was connecting over the Atlantic with the super power, the other part was dominated by Soviet power and communist system. The downfall of the Iron Curtain and the changes in our part of the world had a great impact on our situation. I want to give only a simple example. Austria was before 1989 at the Eastern rim of the western world, now it is back in the centre. But we have to learn this role.

The answer for the future of the continent is not guaranteed. The Iron Curtain does not exist anymore, but there is a demand for differentiation like Core Europe, the system of concentric circles and the decision of countries which are able to follow the Maastricht criteria or not. Before we are able to look for some answers for the future we have to concentrate on the present situation.

We always read and hear that culture is the basis of Europe, without culture you can't understand the old continent and so on. In reality we are talking about currency-systems and "mad beef", unemployment and new technologies, immigration and security. Culture is only associated with exhibitions, festivals and tourism. This is a pity in respect to the role the culture has to play in the new Europe. Isn't it a fact that, since 1989, Europe has co-operated closely in the fields of economics, transportation, natural sciences and technology? The ultimate structure of the European Union seems a much more urgent question than the definition of the role allocated to the humanities and culture – as are security issues in Europe under the new conditions. It might therefore seem better to discuss the future of NATO, the Western European Union, the OSCE and other organisations. But the Balkans and the Dayton Conference and Agreement show, how vital culture is for the protection of human rights and the mutual understanding. History and law are the basis for the development of constitutions, human rights and international law and therefore imperative for the future of Europe. Ethnic cleansing and the violation of peace and democracy are crucial problems for the Old World. I am convinced that the situation in the

Erhard Busek – former Deputy Mayor of Vienna, former Vice-chancellor and Minister for Science and Research, afterwards Minister for Education and Cultural Affairs between 1989 and 1995. Now Chairman of the Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe and Co-ordinator of the Southeast European Co-operative Initiative (SECI). Visiting Professor at Duke University, North Carolina and Dr h.c. of Cracow, Bratislava, Cernăuți and Ruse.

Text of the lecture *Central Europe and European Integration*, inaugurating the courses at The College for New Europe in 1999.

Balkans is not the only crisis we will have to face as a consequence of the upheavals of 1989. The volatile situation on the Caucasus and in Russia as well as the complexity of the borders are all problems we will have to face in the near future. All these issues are certainly an enormous challenge for the humanities and culture.

In 1989, the general impression was that the major difficulty following the Velvet Revolution was connected with re-instituting free market economy and a fair social system. We all recall the saying: "It is easier to make a fish soup out of an aquarium than to make an aquarium out of fish soup". Since then the developments in the new democracies show that these problems are manageable. The bigger issue is that an ideological political system has robbed the citizens in these countries of their biography and natural identity. One of the consequences is a loss of humanistic tradition at the universities, schools, and in the perception of the public. The situation differs from country to country. It is impossible to say that one part of Europe is better than the other. We must also face the fact that Western Europe has lost touch with the humanities. Instead of an exchange of ideas, the immediate reaction to the changes in Central and Eastern Europe was merely the extension of Western consumerism.

Let us look to the background of the development towards a possible reinvention of Europe. Without any doubts the common desire is an integration of Europe but the proposals for it are very different and the time table is a combination of hesitation and many difficulties.

It is important to recognise that the East-West division of Europe and the Iron Curtain naturally played a decisive role (from the Treaty of Rome onward) in the development of European unification. We can clearly see that the speed of unification and the manner in which politics approached it were different under Cold War conditions.

Let's admit that the fear of communism and the power of the Soviets made it considerably easier for European governments and parliaments to dispatch with petty reservations than now is the case. The economic aspects of integration – that is, to remain competitive in the light of the American and the Asian challenges – certainly also played a role.

However, these economic challenges still exist, and they do not appear to exert much influence on the capacity of European governments to make decisions. Currently we are suffering from a wrong form of Eurocentrism. We – politicians and figures in public life – currently are devoting too much attention to Europe. We all, as Europeans, are preoccupied with ourselves instead of perceiving what is happening elsewhere and the necessities which are arising in politics, economics, security, and culture.

It is legitimate to ask to what extent the problems of the Mediterranean are similar to those of Central and Eastern Europe, and parallels exist above all in the realms of security and stability. Austrians in particular know all too well that stability is necessary not only in Central and Eastern Europe, but also to the same extent in the southern and south-eastern parts of the Continent. However, the nature of the respective regional problems are substantially different. The enlargement of the European Union as well as the definitive shape of Europe in principle are the "Eastern" issues, whereas questions of political stability and security predominate in the Mediterranean, along with the dialogue with the Islamic world.

Before an enlargement of the European Union to the East, there will have to be an intense discussion on a number of important issues, and justifiably so. I can only mention a few. For example: What is Europe's *finalité politique*? What should the political geography of Europe look like as a result of further development? What role do we attribute to the factor of culture as a specific characteristic of this Europe, as a source of European identity? In other words, we cannot only leave the debate about the future of Europe to politicians. On the contrary, we have to get intellectuals, artists, scholars, and scientists involved in this discourse to the same extent.

One of the pre-conditions is a better knowledge of Europe. We are now able to meet each other but it is open if the possibility is used by all European citizens. Let me give some examples:

We also are neighbours – in the extended sense of the word – with a number of European regions the future of which can be best characterised as an open issue. Most people have a pretty good idea about the distance between Vienna and Innsbruck, the provincial capital of Tyrol; it is around 450 kilometres. Many Austrians do not realise that the distance from Vienna to Innsbruck is the same as from Vienna to Sarajevo or from Vienna to Ushgorod, and then they have to be told that Ushgorod is the first major city in the western

Ukraine. Political geography, therefore, does play an important role. The Austrians and the Viennese slowly have to learn that Prague is not a city in "the East" but that – since 1989 at least – it has returned to being a city west of Vienna.

Most definitely, the political geography of our continent is gradually beginning to correspond with its natural geography, and habit plays an important role in our perception of this state of affairs. I have struggled with the Austrian public against the Austrian habit of describing countries – such as Poland or the Czech Republic as well as other states in the region – as "Eastern" for quite some time. Eastern Europe is above all Russia. We live in the middle, in the centre of Europe. It would not occur to anyone to call Finland, for example, Eastern Europe. Furthermore, the term "East" has been used with condescending connotations for decades.

However, defensive thinking is not enough under these circumstances. Whoever truly and sincerely wants Europe, knows that this great idea, this continent, was created by the interaction of Romanic, Germanic, and Slavic nations. As an Austrian, I must also emphasise that this intermingling led to cultural creativity. If the question of minorities appears to be a gigantic burden to us today, then we also have to recognise that minorities in particular contributed a great deal to the creation of a cultural Europe that has proved to be exceptionally resistant to all sorts of divisions or exclusions.

I have maintained that the development of European unification has a defensive function in terms of meeting the threat of resurgent totalitarianism from the East. However, we, as European democrats, also must be interested in formulating a positive offensive philosophy for Europe. After all, Europe is the birthplace of human rights; a continent of Christianity, humanism, democracy, and enlightenment; a place where borders always have been transcended. It may be that we are now living in a time when we no longer are interested in crossing borders outside of our continent. However, we now are confronted with the problems of our own borders on this continent.

If and to what extent Europe exists, fundamentally depends upon the meaning we can give this concept. Otherwise we will become – politically and culturally, geographically and militarily – an outpost for powers on other continents or an appendage of new developments in the East.

What has to be done to create this Europe? A lot of hard work will be necessary in addition to good intentions and faith in the future. In my opinion, many Europeans know very little about the problems of European regions. Let me give you a simple example. Not only the average European citizen, but also people in the circles who consider themselves well-informed, still confuse Slovakia, Slovenia, and Slavonia. The ambassadors of Slovakia and Slovenia in Vienna exchange mail on an almost daily basis which has been delivered to the wrong addresses. An Eastern European correspondent of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a journalist who has covered the region for years writing for a newspaper that places exceptional value on high standards and quality, told me that he had not succeeded in convincing his editors to use the term "Slavonia". The compromise they reached was to write about the area between the Save River and the Danube. One would like to think that recent military actions and the open conflict between Croatia and Serbia would actually encourage us to familiarise ourselves with this part of the world. Maps in this region in particular have changed dramatically. However, the cultural identity of this part of Europe is infinitely older.

Furthermore, we in the West must recognise that there has been a series of developments since 1989/90 that we have problems dealing with. It is much too simple to advise the citizens in the countries undergoing transformation – now that they have democracy and parliaments again – just to work a bit harder, and then tell them that everything will function well. Communism stole the history of the people in these countries; it deprived them of their biographies. The terminology of totalitarian ideology perverted the meaning of key concepts, such as freedom and peace or work and love. The development of natural sciences and engineering is not among the great problems confronting universities in the region. However, the rejuvenation of the humanities and social sciences is. It will take at least a generation before we can apply the standards of our universities to the universities in these countries.

The relationship of nations and states is a further problem. In the West, we take the correspondence of nation and state for granted. In Central and Eastern Europe, the ethnic dimension of the state is reflected by concepts such as the "nation state". The background issue at stake here is the manner in which citizens

establish a relationship of loyalty to the state. The Czech anthropologist Ernest Gellner, who taught for years in the United States and England, has attempted to dissolve the relationship of culture and state. He has defined nation as "primarily a principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent," and he speaks of a marriage between state and culture, which undoubtedly came into effect over the past two hundred years in Europe. This undoubtedly occurred in Western Europe. However, in Central and Eastern Europe, this marriage has been much more problematic.

After the demise of the idea of the Holy Roman Empire, the relationship of the ideas of nation and state never stabilised in the middle of Europe, and it is evident that this always has been an explosive political issue in Eastern Europe. As the Soviet Commissar for Nationalities, Joseph Stalin approached this question with brutality so that he could declare at the end of the 1920s that the "nationalities question" had been solved in the Soviet Union. We now can see the consequences of this solution in the conflicts over Nagorno Karabach, Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Chechnya. The same applies to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, where Tito incorporated a balancing system into the establishment of frontiers and which, just as in the case of the Ukraine, were influenced by age-old historical considerations. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the old Austrian monarchy recruited Serbs to settle in Krajina, and these Serbian farmer-militia men served as the first line of defence against the Turks. Furthermore, Serbian migration to the North and Albanian birth-rates in Kosovo in the South, coupled with the historical significance of the region for Serbs, led to this problem.

I realise that I am about to touch upon an exceptionally controversial issue. However, I do not believe that we can sustain the principle of the permanence of frontiers, as it has been codified in the Helsinki Accords of the CSCE, in the long run. I definitely don't mean to imply abandoning the concept of the inviolability of international frontiers or about sanctioning changes made in them by the use of force, but rather the possibility of reasonable negotiations (a renegotiation of frontiers) that can contribute to the development of peace.

The positive European strategy consists of two ideas: the European Union and European regionalism. As an Austrian, I must mention the positive approach Italy assumed – after decades of disagreement – that led to a satisfactory resolution of the South Tyrol problem. We have positive examples at our disposal which we can draw with regard to solving the problems in the regions that are candidates for enlargement.

Furthermore, we also have to address the apprehensions that arise as a result of the development of European Union policy. The purpose of politics is to reduce anxiety, not create it. Taking a sensitive economic sector, like agriculture, and constantly maintaining that the incorporation of the states to the East into the European Union is going to create even greater problems, misses the point. After all, potential candidates for accession will have no other choice than to reduce their agricultural production, just as we have been doing in a process that has lasted decades. In my opinion, references to the big problems that could arise with regional funding and compensatory payments are political tactics for preventing enlargement. I would like to refer once again to the economic and social dimensions and the dangers inherent in migration, which we could have to a greater extent.

What could be the new role of culture in the "New Europe" of political unification and homogeneity in the West and democratic and economic reconstruction and transformation in the East? Let me first describe my view of what the new role of the humanities will and can not be – namely more of the same traditional monodisciplinary scholarship, more of the same old-fashioned scholarship in history, literature and language legitimising and paraphrasing national narratives and cultural ideologies, more of the same uncritical study of empirical sources and historical archives. What then should it be? I think that the humanities should remodel themselves and recognise their new role as follows.

- 1) Critical, deconstructivist studies of European cultures with historical as well as contemporary perspectives using the full range of interdisciplinary research tools recently developed and applied in Anglo-American cultural studies and social, historical and cultural anthropology.

- 2) A better knowledge of the variety in European culture – what is common and what is different. Especially the borderline between the both sides of the former Iron Curtain has not yet vanished. What do we know about this rich variety?

3) Comparative studies of European and non-European cultures to modify unjust claims of Eurocentrism and furthermore gain a richer and more detailed picture of cultural diversity within European cultures and regions.

4) Self-critical contemplation of the politically influential tension of "we" and "the others" within a European frame to define the problematic relationship between European cultures and the "other" cultures in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

In the globalised world economy emerging today which relies increasingly on market forces, technology, media and telecommunications and excludes cultural issues from the political agenda, these may become very central issues. Especially so if questions of cultural identity, difference, and heterogeneity remain underestimated and marginalised.

Critical human sciences researching the diversity of cultures could therefore play an important role in the public sphere of a "New Europe" now headed for the integration of the East and intensified routes of trade and communication with the other parts of the world. The common Europe must be a laboratory of the future.

Within Europe and its societies the humanities could gain some ground by assuming subjects relevant for the public discourse. These include migration and minorities, transition to democratic life, the generation gap, the cleft between mainstream and marginal cultures, media and telecommunication issues and the extensive transformation processes in working- and consumer life triggered by advanced technology. All of these ideas are relevant for a new Europe. A new Europe and new ideas are required not only in the field of scientific, technological, economic and political co-operation, but also in the field of humanities. More than ever since 1945, Europe is faced with the challenge of moving towards the future as an active entity. Europe is experiencing a renaissance, maybe unforeseen and maybe against its own will. In discussing the *finalité d'Europe* we are discussing the future of the continent and the present transitional situation. We can also meet the challenge posed by America and Asia only by realising that there is more to the answer than the technical or economical dimension. We must also consider the further dimension represented by the humanities and all they have to offer. It is up to us to fuse technical skill with spiritual and intellectual capacity. For the sake of a better quality of life I wish that we may succeed. Teilhard de Chardin, the renowned natural scientist, philosopher and theologian, saw the history of mankind as a lengthy process, since he was convinced that we have not yet reached perfection as human beings. The history of man is aimed towards the improvement of the *conditio humana*. At the end of time, he believed, mankind will have reached perfection. Contrary to the theories of Francis Fukuyama, we have not yet reached the end of history. I think it is time to prepare for a new step towards the perfection of mankind. Let us start with culture in a common Europe.

Europe is not just a product of European rationality, and we cannot create this new Europe solely with research and statistical investigations, with complicated treaty mechanisms, or conferences. We need great stories. The world has been shaped by stories – and Europe ultimately is a result of these stories: not only the myths and fables of Greco-Roman literature or the stories and testimony in the Bible, but also the epics and sagas of national literature. These stories – taken as whole, complementing each other, and intermingling – provide us with a paradigm of human existence. The tremendous variety of metaphors and their transformations illustrate a tremendous capacity for integration that led to (occidental and western) European culture.

We have lost our sense of orientation in many things today, our faith in life and the optimism of youth. But think about the creative power of Faust or Don Juan, the character of Don Quixote, or Joan of Arc. I could mention a story for every nation but will refrain from doing so. Moreover, I want to make it perfectly clear that there cannot be one standardised set of stories. Diversity provides the basis for the evolution of a common story. This is the only manner a common history – and I consciously have avoided using the term "unified history" here – the only manner a common history can come into being. Mutual borrowing from each other's different stories is part of the creation of a common history, and no one in Europe can say that they have the one, true story. Hitler and Stalin said that, and claims of this sort have always been directed against Europe and its culture. We have accumulated enough experience in this century with those story-tellers, who had the one, true story to tell.

Let us enlarge Europe, not on the map and not in terms of states, not in the number of institutions and their jurisdiction, but rather in our minds and in our hearts. After all, the myth of Europe is a love story that is part of our tradition.

Europe from an Eastern Perspective. Some Notes on European Cultural Identity

Like all countries of the former Communist bloc, Romania is characterised by a genuine and strong "drive towards Europe", visible particularly, but not only, among intellectuals. And this is not so much an attempt to get closer to the people from the West, but rather an attempt to find our own identity. The Soviet regime, or the Soviet model, which shaped our lives for four decades, forbade not only access to Europe – to that "other" Europe – but also any clear statement of our being its part. The very idea of Europe was hidden away from us, or, at best, presented as "bourgeois", "capitalist", "decadent". This is why being European is an integral part of our nationalism, or, to avoid unpleasant connotations, our idea of nationality.

But what does "European" mean, and what does it mean to be European? Does the word "European" denote that which is specific for a given country, a given nation in Europe; or does it refer to that which is common for everybody? Is one more European the more Romanian (or French, or Polish) one is? Or does one become less Romanian (or French, or Polish) for being more European?

The former interpretation – the more Romanian (or French, or Polish), the more European – immediately solves the question of European identity by presenting it simply as a totality made up of individual components. The latter variant – that the more European, the less Romanian (or French, or Polish) – is undoubtedly more plausible; but we can go on to insist that European identity does not *automatically* reduce national identity. In doing so we involve ourselves in a process of cultural and political self-awareness.

I would contend that, if we could take an imaginary trip to another continent and look at Europe from a distance, it would be easier for us to find a common denominator.

I would therefore risk the claim that the European spirit resides in a certain *establishment of values*, such as is rather absent in America, for example, and is practised in Asia according to a different set of rules, resulting in an order other than ours. In Europe there is a certain *order of things* (as Foucault would say); an

Mircea Martin studied at the University of Bucharest and completed his doctoral degree in literary theory. He has published eight books on modern and contemporary Romanian literature, French and European criticism, and philosophy of culture. Since 1990 he has been Director of Univers Publishers and editor-in-chief of *Euresis*, a periodical devoted to the humanities. Since 1991 he has been Chairman of the Romanian PEN Club and of the Association of Romanian Publishers.

The text originally appeared in the form of a talk given by Prof. Martin at the seminar *Poland and Romania on the Ways of Cultural Co-operation*, 3 July 1999, Braşov

order which is the fruit of progressive rationalisation, whereas European irrationalism is only an expression of despair when facing the omnipotence of reason.

Besides, Europe fosters the memory of the world; not only in the sense of storing it, but also in the sense of nurturing it. History measures European time and gives it value, whereas Asian time is immemorial. Finally, narrowing down this desperately difficult attempt to define the European spirit, I would say that it is characterised by a strong sense of *citizenship*, by the individual's – the citizen's – involvement in the life of the community, from the Greek *agora* to the Roman *forum*, from the Italian urban councils of the Renaissance period to Swiss cantons or German free cities, from the French Revolution to the modern Scandinavian social-welfare states.

To be sure, this *order of things* is not identical in *all* nations and in all European states. History, geography, and the often paradoxical relationships between them have created different conditions which in turn have caused different ways of thinking and feeling to develop. The degree to which each of these features (or virtues) is present and effective in the customs of various communities is also different. What still remains to be analysed is the possibility of reconciling a common identity with the identity of each European nation. It is a subject for sociology, for the history of ideas and for cultural anthropology. Nevertheless, I would argue that the existence of certain *permanent* trans-linguistic and trans-cultural European values cannot be denied.

These characteristic features – obviously not the only ones – form a kind of *stockpile of European values*, providing nourishment for our assumptions, our desires, and sometimes even our prejudices – all those things which are self-evident in our European way of thinking. This store is so deeply rooted in our thinking that we are no longer aware of its being there. At times our consciousness shows a tendency to discover differences before all else – sometimes even to dramatise them – while ignoring our common heritage, those deeply assimilated cultural models.

In his book *The Making of Europe*, published in the 1930s, the English writer Christopher Dawson makes the explicit claim that there exists a certain body of ideas which defined the general outline of European civilization, independently of changing borders and each nation's idiosyncrasies. Dawson emphasises the significance of the Byzantine Renaissance as well as of Muslim culture, in the formation of the European mentality, so thoroughly permeated by Christianity and the Graeco-Latin tradition. He also makes an extremely interesting and valid remark: that the nationalism of modern Europe is inherited from *barbarians* who set the idea of *tribe* against the idea of *empire* (*imperium*) and of *church* (*ecclesia*). The originality claimed for modern nationalisms is therefore quite dubious.

In any discussion about European mentality it would be impossible not to consider, in addition to the Graeco-Latin and Judeo-Christian traditions, the humanist ideal of the Renaissance, as well as the unifying and shaping consequences of *Classicism*, overlapping with the universalist, cosmopolitan ideology of the Enlightenment. But should not also our picture of the Middle Ages, based as it is on the idea of autarkic isolation and morselation, be revised from this perspective? Is it an exaggeration to claim that this hazy period was in fact also cosmopolitan through the use of Latin and through Christianity? In any case, in his monumental synthesis *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (1948) [European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages], Ernst Robert Curtius conceives of mediaeval culture in terms of a consistent whole (whose centre is "Romania") which forms the basis of modern European culture seen as a homogeneous unity, as a "unity of meaning".

Similarly, we should not overlook the model of certain European cities, such as Basel (with Konrad Witz, Holbein the Younger, Erasmus, Paracelsus, Nietzsche and Jacob Burckhardt), or Prague or Paris as centres of cultural radiation. We are also dealing here with the undeniable unifying effect of the so-called "spirit of the age", the "Zeitgeist", or "saeculum", visible not only in literature but also in the everyday life of Europeans.

If to this we add the emergence in the 20th century of such writers as Conrad, Rilke, Stefan George, Borges, Pound, Canetti, Ionesco etc., with their double (or sometimes even triple) linguistic and cultural competence, we get yet another common, unifying and consolidating factor; a truly European, cosmopolitan tradition.

When confronted with such arguments about the necessity of being always open to new, formative influences, supporters of the idea of national specificity revert to the cult of folk tradition and to folklore, as if retreating into an invulnerable fortress. And yet, even where they delude themselves into believing that they

are in the presence of a wholly intact authenticity (that is to say, one which has not been touched by foreign influences), there remain elements of culture shared with other nations, mostly with their neighbours – and these are not at all rare. Apart from similar, if not identical, rituals and similar structural forms, there exists a recognisable, undeniable flow of themes and motifs; there are even cultural or “historical” heroes common to whole areas of Europe. This leads to an important conclusion: the specific character of folk creativity is not irreducible; folk traditions are not in fact so very homogeneous and in no circumstances are they exclusively national. Contrary to common opinion, they are not made up entirely of autochthonous elements.

If this conclusion is valid in relation to oral folk production, it is all the more true to say that foreign influences operate within high literature, culture in general: such influences are often mutual as they set in motion mechanisms of reception and adaptation; and these mechanisms are also symptomatic. The role of synchronic tendencies in every country and in every period – even if not at the same time, i.e. synchronically! – was and still is decisive in the definition and continuous redefinition of individual European cultures and literatures, regardless of the variety of languages and ethnic communities.

The role of common sources should once again be emphasised. There are authors such as Virgil, described by T.S. Eliot as “a classic of Europe”, there is Ovid, described by the Romanian critic G. Călinescu as “the first European Romantic”. There are Homer and Dante, there is Petrarch, and petrarchism as a European literary phenomenon. There is, of course, Shakespeare, placed by Harold Bloom right in the centre of the “Western canon”. And these, naturally, are only a few among many points of reference.

And, since we are talking about the unity of European culture and literature, let us not forget that in the 18th century Europe was (generally) *defined by the Enlightenment*, and in the 19th century – regardless of how many local differences we might count – it was *Romantic*. We know all about French symbolism, or, to be more precise, Franco-Belgian symbolism, but there was also Romanian symbolism, and similarly Russian (or even Ukrainian) symbolism, as well as Hungarian and Slovakian symbolism. And is not the *avant-garde* before all else a European phenomenon?

Let us also insist that apart from those literary trends or intellectual currents which permeated the whole continent in succession, there are also repetitions, coincidences, equivalences, parallelisms in – and between – literatures. They appear in situations where it is impossible to discuss or document questions of actual contact; what we are dealing with here is shared themes, forms and ideas.

While Leibniz was the first author to remark on the unity of European culture as early as in the 17th century, it is certain that during the 18th century the consciousness of the European was deepened and notably expanded through the very proliferation of progressive, rationalist and egalitarian ideas, and, last but not least, through heterodoxy. This important change in the European way of thinking was analysed by Paul Hazard in his impressive work *La crise de la conscience européenne*, published in 1935. But the Romanticisms of the 19th century curbed this tendency, and the relative unity of the European consciousness has disintegrated under the onslaught of various nationalisms, and most obviously in the aftermath of the two world wars whose fallout, even today, has not been entirely neutralised.

Everywhere in Europe, the European, cosmopolitan, tradition has remained rather obscure, because the history of literature – which discovered itself in the Romantic period – chose to pursue and enforce a *nationalist* direction in every country. Ever since Romanticism, literature has been made to serve the homeland, and educational systems have used it as a means to invoke and strengthen national pride.

Perhaps the time has come to look at it from a different perspective: we should emphasise this universalist European tradition which has existed for a long time but has not been exploited to a satisfactory degree. Here in Eastern Europe – especially here – we must have the courage to discover this tradition and to protect it, to continuously develop it in the direction of *cultural ecumenism*, and not in the direction of the politicised, false and compromised direction of the so-called “proletarian internationalism”.

Literature promotes attachment to the landscapes of home, and the “love of homeland” gives depth to the sense of belonging, of rootedness. Literature has also made a vital contribution to the shaping and preservation of each nation in its own image; it has even created the myth of national uniqueness that nations can hardly see fit to renounce. But literature also has the duty to offer and to justify alternative values, and it does so

by cultivating subjects which are par excellence *urban*, inculcating cosmopolitan ideas and propagating cosmopolitan attitudes, presenting convincing and touching pictures of *otherness*.

What is more important than theme and subject matter is the very character of the literary and artistic experience; the fact that every work of art worthy of the name works towards general *rapprochement*: it offers us, in the words of André Gide, the conditions of "dialogue between subjectivities". The experience of creation and artistic contemplation tears us away from our own identity, it encourages us to understand the Other, to become the Other. It is inconceivable if we do not imagine the Other. Is not reading an exercise in self-denial and identification?

Things which are unbelievable, even unbearable at first glance, which fascinate with their strangeness, in the end become understandable, plausible, thanks to their being presented by a true writer. Literature cultivates differences, but at the same time it also cultivates the understanding of these differences. In literature, "to exist" means "to exist differently". What literature offers is the experience of self-discovery, a discovery made real through self-alienation. Literary culture unifies, without being any less a culture of otherness. Aesthetic play – very well understood by German Romantics – places us in a favourable, privileged position of open-heartedness and reconciliation. The assimilation of artistic codes may very well be used as both the initiation and the model of public communication and understanding. A well-read person, an educated person, has less chance of becoming intolerant.

If there exists a European consciousness, literature has certainly taken part in its creation. What is left to us is to shape, deepen and update this consciousness. Now we can do it as a part of an explicit project, so as not to be merely passive consumers of its hidden ecumenism. Why cannot we devise a special strategy according to this orientation, why should we not choose a few "Europeanising" reference points in the process of literary and artistic education, or simply education? I believe that every single European literature and culture has, apart from its own unique components, also some common, universal resources which have not been sufficiently exploited. In Romanian culture there is also a stockpile of European values, a reserve only accidentally referred to by our literary-critical tradition. In Romania, and elsewhere, school textbooks cultivate national identity as the main component of patriotic education, while we should also take into account those ideas, those trans-national patterns, which have been, and still are, transmitted by national tradition.

I think the time has come to find in our own culture examples and criteria of a more general, European, validity; the time to turn their internalisation into a form of socialisation. In other words, the idea of the European, the European dimension has to become an objective of socialisation for every country on our continent. In this way, that which was achieved for centuries without any programme and sometimes even without the awareness of its being achieved, is now undertaken consciously; what has been implicit is now being said explicitly; the explicitness of a programme is realised in the implicitness of human conducts.

And where exactly is this European spirit located? Do we have it, possess it, carry it within us because we are Europeans and the only thing left for us to do is to become aware of it? Or, perhaps, are we not in possession of it because each of us is Romanian, Spanish or Dutch, and the European is somewhere above us and beyond us, like a pattern we should try to follow? I want to believe that the idea of the European is latent in each and every one of us, not somewhere "above" us or "beyond" us, that it is incarnated – although perhaps in varying proportions – in every one of us; otherwise its value would be merely theoretical. We all participate in the idea of the European together; it cannot *differ* in any significant way from the nations of which it is made up, nor is it the simple sum of their features. Each identity is *also* a problem of consciousness – European identity all the more so. No one is born a European in the same way in which one is born a Frenchman, an Italian or a Romanian; one *becomes* a European. Making the effort to pursue self-consciousness and reasoning, as well as an apprenticeship, are absolutely necessary here.

Obviously, one might reply that national identity is also a process rather than a state of being, and one which is enriched by familiarization with the local tradition. For all that, there is an important difference between the two: while national consciousness is a self-evident, natural phenomenon, European consciousness is not so obvious or natural. It needs time to take shape, it also requires the participation of forces from all social levels and active on all planes. Obviously, the role of the intellectuals is of the essence here.

European identity cannot exist unless the idea of such an identity appears in the consciousness of Europeans. One cannot be a true European without an awareness of the European. The latent "Europeanness", which we thought we could recognise in the tradition of European cultures, is not sufficient if we do not volunteer to educate ourselves, and if this effort is not then repeated by every inhabitant of the continent.

European identity is a choice and not only an unconscious belonging; an assumption, not a fatality; it is something to be worked at rather than submitted to. To avoid unfortunate misunderstandings, I hasten to add that this choice does not have to be the only one possible. There is no need to give up one's sense of belonging to a nation, but we must stop thinking of it in absolute terms. We can be at the same time Romanian and European; we can assume this double identity without any feeling of contradiction and incompatibility. It is enough to place both under the sign of civic spirit.

* * *

Since we are discussing European identity, it seems necessary to analyse from this point of view relations between literature and culture on the one hand, and economics and politics on the other. Culture, and especially literary culture, brings individuals and nations closer together, whereas economic and political interests divide them, or even place them in conflict with one another. Looking at it from a different perspective, we could say that economic and political interests unify, or homogenise (in order to guarantee more power and more control, obviously), whereas culture remains a guardian and a warrant of identity, of difference, of uniqueness. This role of culture becomes even more important nowadays, since, in my view, economic, monetary and legal unifications do not ensure a genuine European identity.

If I were to try and define the very term *identity* at this point, I would trip over the general tendency to differentiate between (or even set in opposition) *identity* and *difference*. For me, identity means unity and continuity, unity in continuity, but the process ends in difference. We discover, we recognise an identity through relating it to another; we identify it as difference. Because of this, I think that economic, technological unification, while desirable and unavoidable, is not sufficient, and can at times be even impoverishing, for European identity. For can identity be formed through the multiplication of only one object?

I would be rather of the opinion that – the paradox here is only apparent – that which is *identical* has no *identity*. The only identity that matters is that which incorporates, and ends in, difference. It is that identity which is secured by culture, literature and art (and the sense of discrimination which they inevitably bring); the identity which is given through an inherent sense of difference, through their inimitable, unique works, even when they do observe the "conformist" ideal, as they do in the case of the classics.

There is a risk that as a result of the unification of the continent which is being carried out solely according to economic and technological principles – in some indeterminate future, because there are plenty of problems with this process too – a Europe will be created which will be no more than an anonymous region of the earth. The danger of *one-way-thinking*, promoted by technocrats and politicians, seems to appear on an intercontinental scale. Faced with this threat, European identity has to be a cultural identity, or else it will cease to exist.

We should now differentiate between each culture's (or literature's) aspiration to *universality* and the globalization ultimately demanded by the market economy. The more globalisation means unification and replication according to market pressures, the more it causes the risk of abandoning separate values, and often simply values *per se*. Paradoxically, competition ends in equalization, and equalisation breeds trivialisation. Within the cultural and artistic context, the consequences of this are fatal. There exists an international, and thus trans-national, circulation of works of literature, but unfortunately not of those really valuable and representative, and especially not of the innovative ones. Truly creative work and artistic experience are permanently exposed to, and undermined by, the imperatives of immediate profitability and, consequently, mass commercial distribution.

Culture assumes precisely the creation and promulgation of values as values, and the universality which it pursues incorporates difference in itself. Already Kant defined it as such: "subjective universality" caused not only the understanding of *generality*, but also of *difference*. Besides, while globalisation rids itself of forms, confining itself to a content that can be reduced to the lowest common denominator and is thus accessible,

the universality of culture is embodied in forms which participate in meaning, become one with meaning, and, as a consequence, can be understood only through complex creative effort or through appropriate and careful exegesis.

Using form as a starting point, beginning with linguistic and literary expression, with textual analysis, the great German stylistician Léo Spitzer arrived, through subsequent approximations, at a certain mental prototype, a *mens europea*. Analysing a book by the minor French author Charles-Louis Philippe, he defines the relation between the so-called *mens philippina* and an imaginary *mens franco-gallica*. The initiative to examine literary texts in order to discover a common spiritual etymon seems to me bold and at the same time productive, both as a precedent and a potential model. Some *forma mentis*, some *mens europea*, could therefore be deduced on the basis of various forms of literary expression, regardless of whether they are French, Portuguese or Norwegian.

* * *

At this point, let me open a parenthesis. The question of European identity must not be put at the level of language: the existence of one "European" language is not a necessary condition for the acknowledgement or (at least) recognition of European unity existing over and above linguistic borders. We have mentioned the latent stockpile of Europeanness, as well as the ideas, attitudes and formal models held in common. Nevertheless, when we come to look at literature, at literary creation, at literary expression, we inevitably stumble upon language barriers, and we must face the tricky problem of translation. From the etymological point of view, *to translate* (Romanian *a traduce*) means to move *over*, to carry *over* (to the other side); in other words, *to change*, *to transfer* from one language into another. But is this all? In the case of literary translation, the greatest obstacle is not so much the foreign language itself, as the whole unique weight which each work of literature carries as a sign of its belonging to a particular national tradition. The linguistic code is part of a cultural code whose resistance is harder to overcome than we are used to thinking; true translators know it only too well.

Translation is not a simple move from one language to another; language encompasses all culture, and thus tradition, or rather traditions. Culture, with all its codes and languages, shapes natural language according to its own pattern. Language is culture, and culture is language and not just an inventory of ideas, emotions, works. There exists a language of culture, just like there exists a culture of language. Gadamer went much further than this and spoke of the linguistic nature (*Sprachlichkeit*) of each act of comprehension. Culture means a way of understanding and experiencing reality, i.e., a certain representation of space and time; certain proportions and priorities; a certain hierarchy.

We might very well conceive of, or even construct, some *lingua franca* of the 21st century – should modern rudimentary English fail our expectations in this respect – but we must be aware of the fact that a huge cultural space might fall into oblivion in this way, because it would not be put to the test, because we would not use it. Such an artificial synthesis would be merely an equivalent of sorts of a specific currency: following Mallarmé's example, Valéry spoke of the mute gesture of passing a coin from one hand to the other: trade of the world, not poetry of the world. Modern poets have felt the need to protect (and define) poetry, separating it from language in general, from what Mallarmé called "the dialect of the tribe" (*les mots de la tribu*). Today, when the spoken aspect of everyday language is so obviously visible in poetic discourse, we must protect "the dialect of the tribe" as a treasure-trove of a specific cultural stockpile, against the more and more common artificial language which does not require identifying with any cultural tradition.

Literary translation is therefore not a neutral and (merely) technical act; it requires knowledge, involvement and talent; or, in other words, cultural and artistic competence. The translator is at once a mediator and a creator. His constructive, and not merely reconstructive, role is evident also in those places where we expect it the least.

It is a commonly held idea that it is easier to translate *non-literary* texts, such as philosophical essays, or texts dealing with the history of ideas or the humanities, because they are denotative, transitive, and lend themselves to translation, being devoid of ambiguity. Yet they are not easily transferred either: they cannot be understood if the reader is not familiar with the suppositions which they are based on, and which are not spelt out; they too are occasionally surrounded with an aura – a connotative frame. What is even more, in the 1970s

a type of philosophical discourse was created in which the main, directly presented current of thought is accompanied by another (or several others) which adds detail and nuance. Allusions, tacit references, indirect polemics form a kind of escorting discourse that puts the translator's responsiveness and competence to a serious test.

It is traditions that are the source of *differences* which translation has to bridge, but which it cannot abolish. In this sense, translation is the most convincing proof for the existence of European identity, or at least the most efficient tool for (re)constructing such an identity. Thus the awareness of a European quality is dependent on translation – it is translation that creates conditions for expanding and deepening it.

Translation within a given culture makes it possible to accept foreign values only after these values have been accredited inside that national culture. In the case of languages and cultures which have traditionally been credited with trust and authority, translation is a non-aggressive form of expansion; while in the case of small nations and unknown literatures, translation is precisely a proof, a confirmation of their existence, since it is done outside of those cultures' linguistic borders. Works of literature introduced by any country, whether large or small, into its own language, are added to the national cultural heritage thus enriching it. Each successful translation is, as a matter of fact, an act of recognition and consecration of the European spiritual community.

I have thus talked of European identity, presenting it as universalising and cosmopolitan, because we are interested precisely in the conditions for the existence of such potential trans-national awareness. For us Europeans the first form of trans-national awareness is European awareness. The way I see it, *Europeanness* is, in fact, a close, accessible, conceivable universality.

* * *

I would like now to return to the relation between national consciousness and European consciousness in the Eastern part of our continent, which I discussed at the beginning. The remarks that follow are aimed at pointing out and emphasising differences. We must not forget that in the East the Communist régime perceived not only the European idea but even the national idea as subversive. Apart from Romania, where Ceaușescu freely manipulated this idea, compromising it and turning it into a laughing stock – thus depriving Romanians of their true identity – in the countries of real Communism national feeling was always equalled with nationalist extremism. It is only today that Croats, Slovenians, Serbs, Slovaks have finally got the right to a total and free affirmation of their identity. In the East, there still exist places, there occur moments and circumstances, where the rights of a given nation or ethnic minority must be confirmed and protected. Intellectuals who refuse to participate in such activities could be accused of desertion.

We cannot afford to ignore or neglect this discrepancy. We must respect the obvious, the unquestionable historical truths which are in contradiction to our potential hopes: we are all Europeans, we live in one time, but in fact we are not entirely contemporaneous.

While in the West the concept of *homeland* tends to be disabled, in the East it is still an active, even burning, issue. Many references and values, which in the West are nowadays in decline, have become necessary and obvious aims to be pursued and desired in an area only just freed from dictatorship. This refers not just to patriotism but also to *religion* and to *public order*. We should not be surprised at the fact that here, in the East, the idea of sharing religious beliefs has gained weight, has been revived, gaining the features of a distinct identity and sometimes even "zealotry". After a period of totalitarian collectivism, people have other individual and collective expectations, other priorities than those of their contemporaries who grew up in liberal capitalism. After decades of frustrations and poverty, there is nothing more natural than, for example, the dream of the consumerist model.

I have talked of the necessity of an apprenticeship: we have to learn how to be a European. East European nations are ready to learn how to be European nations again: they have never denounced this affiliation. But in reality we all must learn how to be Europeans. I do not believe that there are people or nations who were born European, and other people and nations who could only become European through making an effort.

Post-war Europe has defined its identity on the one hand in relation to the United States, and on the other to the Soviet Union. It realised itself as Western Europe, ignoring the Eastern part, left, as it seemed and

as it was in reality, to Stalin's and the bolsheviks' discretionary power. So-called Euro-centrism – which today is under attack from both the supporters of globalism and the supporters of specificity – is, as a matter of fact, *Western Euro-centrism*. I even wonder whether in the present picture of Europe its far ends – Iberia and Italia – are represented adequately. It seems to me that the picture is somewhat of a synecdoche.

The only thing left to us, Easterners, is to adapt ourselves to a model which, although not entirely foreign, is nevertheless still rather distant. This model would look differently if only we could also have contributed to its conception and then construction. As far as economy is concerned, adaptation means only the effort to synchronise, to make up for the delay of *at least* four decades caused by Communist stagnation. In the area of culture matters are far more complex, and unequivocal solutions no longer seem satisfactory or effective. The very concept of delay in this aspect becomes a matter of dispute, not to mention the fact that *literary values* are independent of economic achievements.

"The Iron Curtain" – so called by Churchill (and let us not forget that he was one of the three people who made its erection possible) – resulted in an artificial division between the ways of thinking of Europeans in the West and in the East; after decades of enforced isolation the gap became real: it has to be recognised, but not absolutised. A wise way of managing this diversity, and ultimately even a method of stimulating competition, would be to treat it as a difference and not to destroy it through hasty homogenisation. At least now, at the end of a century and a millennium, the unification of Europe ought to be realised in both directions: from the East towards the West, but also from the West towards the East; it should be a constructive, patient, intelligent activity, carried out in good faith. We must be able to talk knowledgeably of each other before Europe can unify us, truly all of us; only then will it be possible to draw on its spiritual unity. My attempts to emphasise the role of the translator in the construction of this new Europe were not accidental.

These words seem to be utopian, but without such a spiritual unification, political unification may turn out to be artificial and enforced, even if legislative and economic unification takes place, although the latter will be extremely difficult. In any case, Europe's cultural identity can only exist as complex and plural. *Idem nec unum*.

[translated from the Polish by Magdalena Bleinert-Coyle]

1.

The way to the land that's just been war-struck twists in the deep bottom of a rocky valley. The Accursed Mountains, which form the natural border with Montenegro, are split by the precipitous Rugova Canyon, at the foot of which the grey Bistrica River murmurs, strewn in daylight with shades of emerald cast by the waterfalls. The traveller, enchanted by an extraordinary, savage beauty of this landscape, will easily forget about people. Especially that he wants to forget. He cannot take a detour, because this is the only beaten track. Every single byway, path and cave might be mined. The closer he gets to the exit from the canyon, namely the open space that's been civilised, the more frightened he becomes. It is already here and now that he can hear moans, children's cries, mothers' groans, gunshots, panic escape, the noise of tumbling buildings. He will soon see the work of human hands. Leaving the peaceful silence of the wild canyon, he will immediately enter the barbarous realm of Man. After a two-kilometre walk he'll reach the city of Peja: almost nobody here uses its Serbian name Peć and it's highly probable that it'll soon be completely forgotten – like the Turkish name Ipek.

Right before entering the land of people everyone has to go through a check-point. Italian soldiers are checking if you have guns in your luggage. There are no official symbols of the new country: you only see the landscape which increasingly attracts your attention. A certain triple quality organises the space and unveils yet another element, which cannot be seen but is all-pervading. The landscape with the city of Peja in the background seems to have its score modelled on a fugue. Entering the Rugova Canyon one will hear the first Contrapunctus. First three sounds, as if pastoral, and first three domes of the Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic sanctuaries. One sees all of them together, freeze-frame-like. Italian soldiers will not let you take a picture without asking their officer by phone. You have to wait. A third in D minor can be heard. An interval can be heard that's well-defined and harmonious, just like this plateau named Kosovo, which is tightly surrounded by the mountains. The interval of Kosovo cannot be clear like a prime or a fourth. Organising the space, the differences in pitch should be dynamic, namely they increase or decrease without disturbing the harmony. Hence, one hears a diminished third like the one which begins the Master Johann Sebastian's *Kunst der Fuge*, like its first *Contrapunctus*. One can hear the interval of Kosovo in which an alteration works that – through decreasing or increasing

Krzysztof Czyżewski – practitioner of ideas, essayist, creator of the "Borderland of Arts, Cultures, Nations" Centre, and "Borderland" Foundation in Sejny. Chief editor of the *Krasnogruda* magazine, and also associate of the Parisian magazine *Kultura*, which made it possible for him to travel to Kosovo in early September 1999. The present text, written for the International Cultural Centre, was partly inspired by that travel.

the pitch – creates sounds through which a modulation towards a different key is possible. Here is the mystery behind the art of the Balkan *neimars*, the builders of bridges: they could connect riverbanks separated by diverse tones, cultures and nations, and take things to an altogether different sphere.

Nothing breaks the harmony of the soft domes of the monastery, the slenderness of the minaret and the church tower here in the landscape of Kosovo. The alterations, which cause this, not only involve the tones ranging from lofty white to red softened by a pale shade of ochre. Even though they're invisible, their silent dialogue must affect the sanctuaries' interiors, and also the people. This, at least, is what you imagine.

After a third, seconds follow in a sequence of correlations. It is the counterpoint, not the conflict that's essential here. Second tone can now be heard. Upon hearing the whole of the structure, the sound of which is based on the first tone that pervades everything, an Orthodox motif appears: a contrasting melody which develops through absorbing elements of the whole and talking to them. A third tone is added, featuring an Islamic theme, and then a fourth, Catholic one appears. They're structured on polyphony, thanks to which not even one tone will be dominated by others. The silence of one tone makes the listener wait.

The sounds of the four-part fugue are still audible like a sign at the entrance to Kosovo from the direction of the Accursed Mountains, captured in the image of three sanctuaries emerging from the whole and developing their separate, concurrent and alternate melodies. This is what the paradigm of Kosovo seems to be like: the structure of the first Contrapunctus, the theme which is principal to the whole. The theme which will be incorporated into the coming, more complex fugues with more and more counter-themes looking for a unity in contrasts and dissimilarities.

The discovery of the sublime interval of Kosovo at the entrance to the Rugova Canyon, which must be dynamic, fluent, knowing the ways to other keys or the secret of a dialogue with another interval. . . This discovery is abstract, because it takes place on the outskirts of the real world, before entering the sphere of all things material. It resembles the manuscript of the *Kunst der Fuge* which Bach left us in the form of an abstract score, namely without any suggestion with regard to the tempo, articulation, phrasing, and instruments. The rigidity of the sound structure, which is also perceptible at the very entrance to Kosovo, might suggest a lot of things, but are there any people here who know the secret thanks to which their ancestors created this interval? For the ancestors were true masters of the difficult art of the fugue: they could make this complex art form materialise in the life of this land.

The Italian soldiers are instructed by their officers: they won't let you take pictures. You have to move on. You feel afraid again and your anxiety grows as you leave the mountains behind you to approach homes.

2.

In several hundred metres' distance there is another Italian post. You feel tense. You're not allowed to stop unless you have a special permit. Downwards, right behind a steep slope is an Orthodox monastery. It is like a modest inhabitant in the valley of the rushing Bistrica. A mythical birthplace of the Serbian Orthodox Church. It was not here that it all began. Similarly, Kosovo is not the cradle of the Serbian nation, or. . . it is one if you assume the emotional approach manifested by many Serbs today. The historical cradle of the state and the Orthodox Church was Raška, a region situated to the north of Kosovo. It was there that the rulers of the Nemanjići dynasty founded the first monasteries, for instance the most important one in Studenica, or St George's monastery (also referred to as Djurdjevi Stupovi, namely "George's Pillars") in the vicinity of Novi Pazar. Farther north, in the vicinity of Kraljevo, Stefan I Nemanja founded a monastery in Žiča, which was chosen by his youngest son Sava (a monk on the Mount Athos and later Serbia's first archbishop) as the seat of an autocephalous Orthodox Church, thus making it independent from the Greek patriarchate in Ohrid. It was only in the late 13th century, namely when Žiča was burnt down during the invasion of Tartars and Cumans, that the seat of the archbishopric was transferred to Peć, where the Orthodox Church of the Holy Apostles had been built in the twenties. In the 14th century, new Kosovo monasteries were erected in Gračanica, Dečani and Prizren. The Peć patriarchate was developed and remained a spiritual centre, famous for its workshops of mural painting, icons and applied arts until the 18th century.

The patriarchate survived many threats, invasions, fires and exoduses. When, in 1459, Turks had finally conquered the region comprising Kosovo, it seemed that it would cease to exist. The Ohrid patriarchate made efforts to take over the Serbian Orthodox Church again and it would have happened if it wasn't for the senior vizier (later Grand Vizier) Mehmed Sokolli (Sokolović) from a Herzegovinian Orthodox family. In 1557, Sokolli re-established the patriarchate in Peć and appointed his brother Makarije (a Serbian archimandrite from the Mount Athos) as its head. The patriarchate was re-established by the Yugoslavian state in 1920, after the period of 154 years, during which the sanctuary was completely neglected. In 1941, the monastery was to be destroyed by pro-fascist Albanian troops, but it was saved from ruin by Mussolini's soldiers.

Today, in the summer of 1999, the monastery was again saved by the Italian soldiers, who surrounded it by a strong cordon of NATO troops. In fact the soldiers do not protect the treasures of culture from pillagers, but they defend the people from their neighbours' revenge. Just like in other monasteries (where the bones of the heroes of the Kosovo Polje battle are buried, like relics), the last Serbian families in this region, who didn't escape from Kosovo, have been hiding here. They are afraid of the soldiers of the Kosovo Liberation Army; they're afraid of Albanians; they're afraid of the world. Another battle was fought: another Kosovo Polje. It has been increasingly difficult to turn the defeat into a glorious victory. Their loneliness grows. They have declared a final fight to Albanians, who fought with them against Turks, hand in hand. This is something nobody remembers today. They deeply believed that they would dislodge all enemies and remain victorious rulers of their own land. Ten years ago, on the six hundredth anniversary of the battle of Kosovo Polje, the nation's leader Slobodan Milošević with his harsh policy towards Albanians was welcomed by a million of people. Recently, another anniversary has been celebrated. At the monument commemorating those events, only ten Orthodox clergymen were praying, accompanied by a strong KFOR guard. Patriarch Pavle called upon Milošević to give up his post "not because he lost the war, but because he let it happen". He said at a press conference, "'Do as you would be done by' was always our motto. Three years ago in Vienna I said that it would be better if Serbia had not existed at all – rather than surviving through crime". A powerful statement which Serbs were never used to hear. In the early '90s, the Orthodox Church would still adore Milošević and gave its blessing to the army going to the war with Croatia and Bosnia. Recently, one could witness a turning-point of history that was already anticipated around 1995, after the signing of the Dayton agreement (in the eyes of many Orthodox popes it was the final sign that the dictator from Belgrade would not keep his promise to unite all Serbs in one state, the promise that largely helped him gain the greatest power). The Orthodox Church hierarchy, excluding – among others – the bishop of Voivodina, stopped supporting the Belgrade regime. Apart from that, it now began to appeal to the Christian system of values more and more often. "We apologise for every innocent victim on the Albanian side," the patriarch said. He also added that, for Serbs, the secession of Kosovo is "like pulling their heart out".

Meantime, Albanians were returning through the mountains; KLA soldiers were leaving their hiding-places. Not everyone was able to cope with their greed for revenge. Especially that "The opportunity of taking revenge makes it even stronger," as Alexa Djilas paraphrased Stendhal with regard to the fact that KFOR army was initially reluctant to stop the acts of revenge. An Albanian, Vetton Surroi, wrote in an August issue of his *Koha Ditore* daily, "There are these silent citizens, locked in their homes, all horrified by the atmosphere where a single sound seems to pose a threat, and in each stopping car there might be people full of hatred, willing to deprive them of life. An old married couple are dying of starvation, because they cannot speak Albanian and are afraid to go to the market, while their Albanian neighbours cannot give them food, because they've been warned not to feed Serbs. I know how these Serbs feel, because I have been in the same situation together with almost two million other Albanians".

A Vetton Surroi's brave alteration upraises a sound, which would like to remain pure, undisturbed, overflowing with its own pain, a sound which is extremely human. Here's how Auden wrote about it:

"I and the public know
What all schoolchildren learn,
Those to whom evil is done
Do evil in return."

("September 1, 1939")

This idea should be clear to Poles – especially the inhabitants of Silesia: the Kosovo of the Polish-German relationships. Many years had to pass since Germany's defeat in World War II so that we could really feel the tragedy of the German inhabitants of Silesia, or of those of them who were recognised as German. Here's how Danuta Zagrodzka has recently referred to it: "One does not want to read or hear about the cruelty and anarchy caused by us, the Polish. We have considered the expulsion of Germans from Poland as a result of the war they started. In the last years, we learn that we are not faultless, either. We were as if abusing the principle of 'an eye for an eye', because we were applying it under peaceful conditions".

An Albanian publicist is not hesitant to react to things; he's ready to rub salt into an open wound – aware that he's not only fighting for justice for Serbs, but for Kosovo itself. The sound of his statement is desperately looking for a harmony with another, completely different tone. This can only be achieved through a feeling of empathy that turns out extremely difficult after all experiences of Albanians over the last years. This, however, is the closest to the Albanian tone, with which it creates the Kosovo interval. You should make your heart really listen to what Serbs feel. Otherwise the sounds will never harmonise. They never will if you don't change the paradigm and split the Kosovo interval. But can an unaltered, pure sound become harmonious if it's separated from a neighbouring sound? Even if the latter ceases completely, the silence will be filled with expectation. Such is the fugue; such was Kosovo.

Father Anastasije, bishop of Herzegovina, replies to the Serbs who escaped to the patriarchate's monastery in Peć and complain of their fate, "Don't expect that an Albanian, whose whole family was murdered, will be friendly to you now. And who murdered them? It's Milošević to put the blame on. KLA comes here as a victorious army. And our soldiers were burning mosques and houses when they were withdrawing. (...) Do not idealise the Serbian nation". Father Artemije from Prizren, bishop of Kosovo, appeals to his congregation in a similar spirit. Another alteration, this time on the part of the Orthodox clergymen. Only that their congregation does not understand it. The faithful feel betrayed, and see such a dialogical counterpoint as fake. What they really want to sing out loud – drowning other harmonies they know from the four-part Orthodox song – is a story about a nation of martyrs and innocent victims, told to the accompaniment of a single-string fiddle.

The bishops' gospel voice hardly reaches the Orthodox inhabitants of Kosovo. Their religious commitment isn't passionate or deep. In their opinion, the Orthodox Church should defend them from foreign enemies and condemn foreigners, because it is them who are always guilty. If the Church fails in this respect, nobody listens to its voice – especially when it teaches people that they should start a renewal from renewing themselves. They can't relate with the Orthodox cult of St Lazar, a Serbian duke, who died in Kosovo Polje as a Christian knight and martyr. In their songs, they idolise Miloš Obilić, who deceitfully forced his way into the tent of Turkish Sultan Murat; buried a dagger in his heart and then was killed by the guards. The next incarnation of this hero of the tribe was Gavriilo Princip who shot Archduke Ferdinand. Now, it is the president of the United States who should become the victim of another heroic deed, awaited by Serbs to an accompaniment of single-string fiddles.

Arriving here after the end of the war, an Italian soldier would be easily charmed by heart-rending Serbian songs of lament, originated in the remotest times – a lament in which the words of undeserved wrong and injustice are repeated incantation-like. However, our Italian soldier would learn more about what was really going on before he arrived. Now, he warns the travellers against the monodic song of this land. For, regardless of who sings it, it is like opium: it dulls people's minds and blurs their vision. "Anyway, once you'll enter the city, you'll understand everything."

3.

The patriarchate's monastery has not always been separated from the city Peja (located in the distance of almost two kilometres) by the same precipice as today. This does not only concern the Orthodox people, who used to come here to pray, celebrate, study and hide from danger. Moslems also esteemed this place of religious cult, and they treated it like home. Albanian families in Kosovo shared a tradition of inheriting the title of vojvoda, namely the guard of Christian sanctuaries. Such monasteries as Peć, Dečani, or Gračanica had their Albanian guards over the centuries, and nobody cared that at some point they became Moslem. Islamisa-

tion wasn't a spontaneous process in this region; in most cases it was forced through special privileges or severe repressions.

What was the Albanian people's religion then – before most of them became Moslem?

A horribly ruined city where a Catholic church survived. In the sanctuary, the sisters of Mother Teresa together with young Albanians sing songs of love and reconciliation, to an accompaniment of a guitar. All this looks unbelievable. "And Serbs didn't dare touch this sanctuary after all. . .," local Albanians say and are happy about it, regardless of the fact that more than thirty mosques in this city were completely plundered and burnt down. They are happy because their attachment to the Catholic traditions of Kosovo is extremely strong – disproportionate to the number of the region's Catholics.

Nobody in Kosovo finds it strange that Priština, the main street, formerly bearing the names symbolising the dominant ideologies (e.g. the name of Marshall Tito, and – under Milošević's rule – of Vidovdan, namely the Serbian holiday celebrating Obilić), was almost spontaneously called the Street of Mother Teresa right after the war.

Albanians were among the first peoples in Europe to adopt the Christian faith. After the schism in the 6th century, some Albanian dukes turned to the Byzantine Church, but most people remained Catholic. In the medieval Serbian state, where the law established by Tsar Stefan Dušan became binding, the Roman Catholic Church was referred to as "Latin heresy". People were hostile to it in the same way as to *babunska reč* (the Bogomil movement, popular in the Balkans at the time). An exception were German Saxons, who were brought from Transylvania starting in the 13th century, to help build and develop gold-, silver-, and lead mines. An exception to the rule were also wealthy merchants from Raguza (now Dubrovnik). The Catholic parishes they established in Prizren, Trepča, Janjevo and Novo Brdo even enjoyed some privileges.

Over the centuries of the Ottoman empire's rule in the Balkans, the Roman Catholic Church found itself in an extremely difficult situation. Sultans of Turkey realised that the Catholics would favour European rulers and they were right indeed. Many uprisings and revolts, many political machinations and military actions were actively participated by the local Catholics. Particularly in the Peć region, in the western and southern Kosovo, where their number was the largest. Alexander Komulović, the Pope's legate to the Balkans, who in the late 16th century organised an anti-Turkish uprising (participated by Austria, Venice and Spain), knew that they would be his best supporters. Jovan, an Orthodox patriarch of Peć also took part in the conspiracy. Involvement in the activity against the Ottoman authorities often united the Orthodox and the Catholic communities of Kosovo. Such was the case during the Ottoman-Habsburg war in the late 17th century, when two great spiritual leaders from Kosovo decided to support the emperor: patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević from Peć, and Albanian Catholic archbishop Pjeter Bogdani from the same region. The price to pay for the short period of Austrian rule in Kosovo was high: in 1690, the sultan's army began a victorious offensive; they were mercilessly murdering people, burning down and ravaging the land, which led to the Great Migration of Serbs and Albanians from Kosovo.

As regards other rebellions or uprisings, the consequence of crushing them were higher taxes. This chiefly affected the Catholic Church, as it was far poorer than the Orthodox Church, which – in return for certain annual duties – was being given various privileges. Consequently, two Christian doctrines in Peć were often in conflict, because the Orthodox Church (which had an appropriate sultan's ferman) collected taxes not only from the Orthodox but also Catholic citizens, which obviously resulted in the latter's protests. Another problem of the Catholics was the lack of priests in this region, which is for instance evidenced in the preserved 16th-century documents from the eastern Kosovo, where a vast number of Catholics deserted by their clergymen were turning to the Orthodox Church or Islam.

However, regardless of the complex situation, which caused a continuous decrease in the number of Catholics in Kosovo, their unquestionable merit was the work for culture and education. What's more, they inspired a national spirit in Albanians. A Catholic school existed in Peć, one of the two established in Kosovo in the 17th century (the other was formed in Janjevo), run by a Russian missionary from the western Ukraine. It was a local continuation of the initiative (began in the previous century in Italy) of creating Illyrian Colleges, in which Albanians and Catholic Slavs were being educated. The first such college was established by the Jesuits in Loreto in 1574. Others were formed in Rome (Clementinum) and Fermo. Their students were the

representatives of Kosovo's intelligentsia, authors of the first catechisms in Albanian, and also the first grammar books and Latin-Albanian dictionaries. One of the most outstanding was Pjeter Bogdani, author of a theological treatise entitled *The Circle of Prophets*, the first original book in Albanian.

Gjerg Kastrioti was the Christian name of an Albanian hero born in a Catholic family from Kosovo, who became known to the world under the Turkish name Skanderberg. This legendary duke, who won the state's independence from Turkey in the 15th century, symbolises Albanian spirit of freedom and – at the same time – a typical ambivalence, which sometimes makes one uncertain which of the hero's names should be seen as more important. Catholics had a considerable share in the shaping of Albania's national movement, the centres of which in the 19th century were such cities as Peja or Prizren. Until the 20th century, most of the Albanian intelligentsia were Catholic priests.

In 1918, when Kosovo became part of the newly-established Yugoslavian state, the situation of Albanian culture and language became truly dramatic. All schools, in which Albanian was the obligatory language, were being closed, whereas the private *mektebas* (Islamic primary schools) were allowed on condition that they would teach in Turkish. No writings and books in Albanian were allowed to be published. An explanation to the rest of the world was that Arnauts (in accordance with the still-living theory of the 19th-century Serbian nationalists, Milojević and Gopčević, the Albanians from Kosovo were simply Arnauts, namely Albanian-speaking Serbs) weren't even a national minority, let alone they were illiterate. In 1930, the League of the Nations received a declaration of three Catholic priests from Kosovo, regarding 27 Albanian teachers whose schools had been closed by force. The Catholic church in Peja in the interwar period was the mainstay of the organisation, which was initially called White Drin and then legalised as a religious and charitable St Catherine's Society. This organisation's life and soul was father Shtjefën Gjeçov, author of many articles on Albanian culture and literature, who taught the catechism in Albanian. Gjeçov was assassinated by the authorities in 1929.

Certainly, one could also refer to the instances of conflicts in Peja – between Albanians professing Islam or Catholicism. One could ask why so many local Catholics were turning to Islam and not the Orthodox Church (which would seem more natural for Christians). Trying to find answers, one would realise that the argument of a transitory attractiveness of Islam does not exhaust the problem. One could even tell a story about the phenomenon of crypto-Christians (referred to in Albanian as *laramanë*, namely "dappled"): the people who formally professed Islam but remained Christian at heart or believed that Jesus Christ and Muhammad were the sons of one God. One could talk about the priests who – in contravention of the Catholic synod's provisions – dispensed sacraments to the "dappled"; about the families in which men became Moslem and women remained Christian; about the customary law, according to which daughters of a Moslem married to a Christian woman could profess their mother's religion.

Catholicism is obviously an integral part of the incredible Kosovo situation: an entanglement in various interrelations, alliances and conspiracies, conversions and integrations, rebellions and separations. This proves that, in this borderland, Catholics can only remain themselves through their ability to adjust, which is expressed in their dynamic and open attitude that makes them naturally allergic to the theories of superiority of purity and strict divisions – even if the theories were created by the highest hierarchies.

"Still, Serbs didn't dare to touch this sanctuary. . .," says painter Sokol Beqiri living close to a Catholic church. His family are dining in the garden, celebrating a happy return from Montenegro, and, at the back of the house that had escaped destruction, he is showing the traveller his large canvases, all of which are cut with knives, shot-through with bullets or torn with stones. Both of them know that the group of people who have just finished a common prayer in the church doesn't only include the Catholics who were baptised in the sanctuary. There are also others. Such was the situation during the war, when the panic-struck inhabitants of the city were desperately looking for shelter. They know that, as if resulting from the hatred-infused conflict between Serbs and Albanians – the conflict that's only emerged in Kosovo in the 20th century between the Serbian and the Albanian districts, between the Bajrakli mosque and the patriarchate's monastery – something more than merely a sanctuary of one religion has been saved. Something that's modest and hidden in fear.

The Orthodox monks in the monastery cannot hear the alteration of the sisters of Mother Teresa, and the monks' voice cannot reach the other side, namely the city. There is no doubt that a bridge has been broken, and a precipice opened, which only madmen could cross. It is all even worse for those who don't see the

precipice and – meaning well like the increasingly numerous loud missionaries of the Western world – are pushing the people to return to themselves. . . to the edge of the precipice. Hence, it is better to prepare a place for solid foundations on one's own riverbank, where some day a new bridge span might be erected. Those living in borderland areas know that breaking the bridges which connect various nationalities is a horrible thing to do. However, there is something even worse: forcing different nationalities to live together. Real music is not a fanfare which remains loud but short-lived, even though it's victorious and audible all over Europe and America. In Kosovo, some people have already begun to re-construct and read the forgotten score that was torn to pieces. Albanian Veton Surroi, the clergymen of the Orthodox Church, and the sisters of Mother Teresa are among those responsible for the process. The first three sounds are still vibrating, as if out of tune. . .

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[translated by Paweł Łopatka]

International Cultural Co-operation Policies: Whose Agenda Is It Anyway? An Introduction to the Issues

Fundamental shifts in the political ideologies of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the enlargement of the European Union and the relaxation of its internal frontiers, together with financial pressures on the budgets of governments, including reductions in funding of departments and institutes involved in international cultural exchange, have considerably altered the landscape of Europe in the past decade. When accompanied by globalisation, the rapid transformations engineered by the development of new technologies, the growth in importance of the cultural industries, heightened awareness of multicultural and multilingual issues, and changes in transnational cultural practice and funding, it is self-evident that Europe in 1999 is a rather different "beast" than in the 1980s. A Europe divided by ideology and force but one which was relatively stable, has been replaced by one politically more uniform but unstable and in which, to use Timothy Garton Ash's memorable phrase, "the out-houses caught fire".¹

The Cultural Information & Research Centres Liaison in Europe network (CIRCLE), in association with the International Cultural Centre, Cracow, and Institute for Culture, Warsaw, and with the support of the Polish Ministry of Culture and the Council of Europe, is organising this Round Table to explore evidence of policy and research responses to these changes in the international cultural policies of governments. According to the European Task Force on Culture and Development report *In from the Margins*, governments need "to re-examine their cultural policies to reflect more adequately contemporary arts, practice and the new political environment in Europe."² This Round Table is a direct response to the recommendation contained in the same report that a European conference should address this issue.

Our aim in Cracow is to assess to what extent international cultural policies now reflect both the macro developments that have taken place and the changes in cultural practice. Does cultural diplomacy remain a potent force or has it been superseded by new imperatives? Where are the demarcation lines in responsibility? Are trade or cultural ministries setting the agenda or are foreign affairs ministries still pulling the strings? To what extent can international policies be arts-led? What of the emerging role of regions and cities in international cultural co-operation? How are cultural institutes and agencies responsible for international cultural exchange adapting to reductions in financial aid? How can programmes of support at European, national, regional and

Rod Fisher – the founder and Director of the International Arts Bureau (London), an agency providing consultancy on international art issues, policies and funding. Chief editor of *The International Arts Navigator* bimonthly published by IAB. Works for CIRCLE.

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local levels more adequately respond to the needs of cultural practitioners who wish to engage in transnational collaboration? It might be helpful to remind ourselves of the context in which this Round Table is taking place.

A different political landscape

The collapse of the Soviet system in Central and Eastern Europe not only had fundamental political ramifications, but it also had impacts on international cultural exchange. Prior to 1989 cultural co-operation between East and West was fairly rigidly controlled. Bilateral exchange was pursued through a classical form of cultural agreement, based on political theory and economic reality: the theory involved the exercise of State control of the cultural and intellectual life of Central and Eastern European countries, governing who could participate in the process; the reality was non-convertible currencies. Political change has created a surge of interest in cultural collaboration between practitioners in both halves of Europe. However, many in Central and Eastern European countries have been unable to take advantage of their new freedom to travel, because political change did not result in economic parity.

Meanwhile, cultural practitioners in European Union countries began to test the reality of a so-called single "European cultural space" and the right to free movement as internal frontiers were gradually dismantled following the Maastricht Treaty and membership was enlarged to 15 nations.

New economic realities

If the 1980s had proved exacting for many in the arts and cultural sector, the economic conditions of the 1990s were to prove even more troublesome. Reductions or no-growth in cultural expenditure was the reality in many countries, and the budgets for international cultural co-operation were not immune to the impacts. The British Council, Goethe-Institut and other cultural institutes had their budgets cut and their operations and administration were subject to reorganisation or review. For their part Central and Eastern European countries had neither the financial resources, nor always the political will to create instruments for international exchange to replace the discredited ministries previously involved in cultural agreements.

Globalisation

Globalisation processes are affecting culture in many ways. Hierarchies are being eroded and giving way to networks. The process – driven by international conglomerates rather than wholly owned US companies – is enlarging choice. At the same time it is also perceived as generating popular culture tastes worldwide. Some countries have felt powerless to react. Others have enhanced their international efforts to promote and defend their culture, language and identity.

The new technologies offer exciting creative opportunities for artists and are revolutionising communication. E-mail is transforming international negotiation across frontiers in the same way the introduction of the fax machine did at the beginning of the decade.

Safeguarding and promoting cultural diversity

Globalisation is associated with blandness. It is presumed that the growth of cultural homogenisation and the "global post modern" will erode national and regional cultural specifications. Of course this suggests that globalisation is evenly distributed throughout Europe, which is a questionable proposition. Nevertheless, most governments have begun to recognise the need to safeguard the distinctiveness of their cultures, traditions, language and heritage. This presents new challenges for cultural policies which some countries and regions have responded to in their international objectives. It has taken some of them longer to recognise that the multi-cultural dimension of many countries should also be reflected in the international cultural co-operation policies they pursue.

Culture and trade

The rapid pace of trade and investment liberalisation is increasingly recognised as a catalyst for enhancing the flow of creative work across frontiers and providing nations with enhanced access to cultural expression from other countries. New economic opportunities have emerged for each nation's cultural industries. Trade ministries have recognised that film and TV programmes, design companies, publishers, music industries and others contribute to export objectives and have promoted their product through trade fairs and exhibitions. The skills of craftsmen and heritage restoration or conservation experts are being promoted in exported initiatives in some countries. On the face of it, a convergence of cultural and trade interests has much to commend it. However, difficulties can arise when minorities use the arts as decoration to underpin trade missions, and thus confuse the different imperatives of the cultural and trade sectors. Cultural policy and trade objectives need to be developed in harmony.

Regional and local players – a "new" dynamics

One of the most significant developments in the 1990s has been the growth of interest in regions and cities in international cultural exchange. Such interest is not new of course. However, regions and cities have capitalised on new economic and political opportunities to forge cultural alliances across borders, region by region, city to city. Some regions, ambitious for nationhood status, have used culture and language as tools to position themselves on the world stage; key cities have actively promoted their arts and culture to project their profile in the European arena. The most successful have established international cultural profiles that act like a magnet attracting others to collaborate. Are there lessons to be learned here, or will only a select number of cities and regions be able to advance their image through exporting their culture this way?

Changes in transfrontier cultural practice

The dynamics of international cultural practice have undergone significant change. There has been a new emphasis, especially in theatre and dance, from ready-made product to joint explorations and co-productions. Cross-border traffic in the arts in Europe has changed, as cultural organisations seek to achieve economies of scale and costs and to take advantage of new international markets and associated revenue-raising opportunities. An international platform enables arts organisations to enhance their profile and thus their market potential. Moreover, the exposure of artists and performers to new audiences and critics in other countries enhances their professional development, while, at the same time, enriching the experience of audiences and providing programme variety to venues and festivals. Professional training and workshop opportunities in Europe have mushroomed as a direct result of the increased mobility of the performer. Similarly, the demand by artists for residencies and studios in other countries has outstripped opportunities.

Networking – cultural co-operation on the cheap?

Networking has become a convenient and cost-effective mechanism for the exchange of information and experience by cultural practitioners. Whether the term is used to denote collaborative visits, travel to set up co-productions, see work *in situ* or in festivals, research material for books or plays, or attend conferences, the general consensus among artists, directors or managers is that networking develops contacts, enriches experience and can lead to productive international partnerships. Much of this takes place independently of government support and there is every expectation it will continue to do so. Nevertheless, it is an area which practitioners find continually difficult to resource, and national and regional authorities often appear reluctant to assist in a systematic way. The *In from the Margins* report argues that the European Union, national, regional and local government would considerably advance the cause of international cultural co-operation if they could develop strategic support mechanisms to facilitate contact between artists, administrators, curators etc.

Funding sustainable cross-border projects

Much has been made of the "lottery" of funding for transnational projects. The emphasis on project funding and the relatively small amounts of money available through European Union programmes such as Kaleidoscope and Raphael have tended to prolong the process of establishing international partnerships, making it difficult for relationships to be sustained. Nor is there any likelihood, given the proposed budget, that Culture 2000, the single framework programme scheduled to succeed Ariane, Kaleidoscope and Raphael, will make the situation any better. It is also difficult to escape the impression that the shape of the funding programmes is driving cultural co-operation initiatives in Europe, rather than responding to them.

From cultural diplomacy to cultural relations?

A subtle, but important, change has been evident in the policies of some of the cultural institutes and agencies in recent years. Their role for many years was inextricably linked to *cultural diplomacy*, an instrument of foreign policy in which efforts are directed to presenting positive images of a nation state through its culture (and, it has to be said, with a view to obtaining advantage in a country and facilitating diplomatic operations). However, today the efforts of a number of them are more closely associated with *cultural relations*, which are intended to promote mutual understanding and co-operation, rather than one-sided advantage. Consequently, such policies are rather more neutral in their impact. This is an important distinction. Agencies such as the British Council continue to promote high quality and diverse UK arts to audiences overseas – strengthening the arts community and cultural industries in the process. However, the emphasis is now on the development of sustainable, mutually beneficial, international *partnerships* in the arts.

Some of these agencies also compete for European Union contracts to promote the expertise of their nationals and generate income. They are also using the arts to reinforce development aid projects.

Despite these significant policy shifts and an emphasis on multilateral rather than bilateral relations, it sometimes remains difficult to desegregate policies for international exchange and co-operation from ambitions to enhance the diplomatic efforts or trading opportunities of countries.

An exchange of ideas

Cultural co-operation is not only about the flow of cultural goods and services; it is also about the exchange of ideas. Therefore, what CIRCLE hopes the Round Table will do is to promote a dialogue on how international cultural policies are changing. It will seek to examine the potential synergies between various government departments in promoting or exporting their cultures and identify models of good practice. The potential for collaboration between cultural institutes to effect savings in administrative and other costs will also be examined. In particular, the Round Table will seek to establish whether governments or their agencies need to refocus their international strategies for the beginning of a new millennium.

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¹ Ash, Timothy Garton, "Where Do We Go from Here?", In *Visions of Europe*, Time magazine special issue, Winter 1998/1999.

² *In from the Margins*, paragraph 12.8.2, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1997.

PART I. Preamble

During this decade material on "international co-operation" has been produced at an escalating pace. The new media have provided us with more effective channels of diffusion and the ideas of globalisation have gained new power and new flavour. Especially, websites flourish and various international actors use them to advertise their orientations and services. In this material the distinction between "public" and "private" actors is becoming increasingly blurred. Public and semi-public organisations are prone to present their activities as part and parcel of the "global business" – or at least give an impression of businesslike efficiency – and business corporations, especially the transnational conglomerates, tend to highlight their benevolent international policies and their global responsibilities, especially with respect to human development and environmental issues.

In contrast to this flow of "purposive" communication, the supply of critical and analytical information seems to be in the decline – at least in relative terms. Certainly, if we want proof of the prevalence of a critical spirit, even a quick search on the Internet can provide extensive articles and other sorts of information questioning the ongoing trends of globalisation and the supremacy of business and consumption. The recent Internet-mediated "global movement" against MAI was an indication that a new kind of resistance might also be emerging in international co-operation.

These trends have no doubt led to a renaissance in many areas of research. Scholarship and expertise in areas such as global economy, international information infrastructure, international regimes, new geopolitics, and security strategies and forecasting are in increasing demand. It seems, however, that this research tends to pay attention mainly to "big issues" in the spirit of Manuel Castells's monumental works. Many important but less visible policy areas attract little research efforts. International cultural co-operation seems to be one of them. Net and CD-ROM searches at the early planning stage of this conference revealed that no in-depth comparative information would be available. This is why CIRCLE once again resorted to the old and trusted method: sending a survey questionnaire to its member institutions.

The "de-trends"

This survey is neither a census nor an opinion poll. Our intention was simply to find out as to what extent there is consensus among European cultural policy experts regarding the main developmental trends

The researchers are CIRCLE members specialising in cultural policies.

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in international cultural co-operation in Europe. To this end we have used a kind of "biased" survey instrument, a questionnaire that proposed the presence of certain trends and processes with which the respondents were "asked" to agree or disagree. These trends and processes were outlined as four "de-trends", those of *desetatisation*, *deinstitutionalisation*, *de-diplomatisation* and *denationalisation*. In the background loomed the wider processes of globalisation (and the so-called "glocal squeeze"), transnational integration (with the intensification and expansion of European integration as the model cases), search for new collective identities, and the devolution of certain tasks and responsibilities to sub-national actors. Although the questionnaire alternatives gave the respondents a rather wide variety of possibilities to assess the presence of these "de-trends" in practice, we will outline below the ideas that guided the formulation of these alternatives.

Desetatisation is, after the 1997 CIRCLE Round Table in Amsterdam, a familiar term to the members of the CIRCLE network. In its widest sense it covers all phenomena relating to the devolution of the state power, and the dissolution of state-central control and hierarchical bureaucracy. Privatisation (which also is a composite concept) may be conceived the core trend of desetatisation, but the latter includes an introduction of a wide variety of such measures of decentralisation and "new public management" as performance contracts, net budgeting, externalisation of activities, lump sum public subsidies, partnership operations, etc.

De-institutionalisation refers to a more flexible use of funds and organisational channels instead of establishing and financing permanent structures; the catchwords are increasingly *networks* and *projects* instead of *institutional policy implementation*.

De-diplomatisation. In most European countries international cultural co-operation has been a more or less co-operative playground of ministries of culture and foreign affairs/foreign offices. The former have advocated internationalisation of national arts and culture, the latter have conceived international cultural co-operation as an excellent way to promote politically and economically one's country abroad. The bulk of cultural co-operation has been shifting out of the realm of foreign policy interests and, at the same time, even the decision-making powers of foreign ministries/offices have been in the decline in many countries.

Of course this shift has not been taking place between the above two ministries only: there seems to be a more general shift towards inter-sectorality. In much the same way as many fields of research are becoming increasingly multi-disciplinary, more and more often the walls of responsibility between various state institutions are being broken down to allow for inter-sectoral guidance of various policy areas. Ministries of trade, communication, transportation and tourism and their different agencies and arm's-length bodies increasingly share the responsibility for international policies – and this has often taken place at the expense of the authority of foreign ministries/offices. As a part of this trend, the responsibility for international cultural relations is also being shared to a growing extent by these ministries and their arm's-length bodies.

Some argue that the *de-nationalising forces* of globalisation and transnational integration are also important to the declining influence of foreign policy concerns in international cultural co-operation. It is increasingly argued that the period of nation-states is coming to an end due to these trends. At the other end of the "equation" of denationalisation lies the increasing prominence of sub-national actors such as regions and cities. A distinction should, however, be made between the decline of the powers of the state and the corresponding changes in the national sentiments and identifications. *The former and more complex phenomena of desetatisation, does not presuppose the decline of nationalism.* There are signs that nationalism can survive (e.g. within the EU) without the support of the state, and there are more disturbing signs that the state can no longer control the rampant forces of new *ethnic nationalism* that in many regions of Europe threaten to dissolve the cultural complexities packed within the orders of a nation state.

Structural changes: more or fewer levels, denser or thinner layers?

Most theories of development contain simplifying assumptions of unilinearity that often leads us to make similarly simple and also false conclusions. Such assumptions are included in the theories of globalisation – also including the more complex hypothesis of "glocal squeeze". The latter states that, in addition to globalisation – the steadily increasing necessity to act on a world-wide scale – we have a contrary trend – that of localisation, people's increased interest and identification with their close living environment (*Heimat*). This has often led to wrong conclusions, when the original clause "people's interests and identifications" is forgotten. It is

assumed that this two-directional development works like mill-stones and leads to a "thinning" of institutions and organisations in the middle space – often implying arguments about the withering away of the state apparatus. The false conclusion, of course, is that waning of interests and identifications will also lead to waning of institutions and organisations – which even an observer of politics and bureaucracies knows to be false. Institutions and organisations do have ability to perpetuate and survive even without sufficient *raison d'être* – and even without any *raison d'être*.

This observation has its implications with respect to the consequences of the "de-trends" we have been exploring in our survey. When interpreting the answers as regards the significance of different actors – institutions and organisations – in international cultural co-operation, there is no reason to assume that the decrease in significance of certain actors has led to losses in personnel, status or funding – and to the thinning of the respective bureaucratic layer. Neither can we make the even stronger assumption that resources are transferred from institutions and organisations losing their significance to those gaining in importance. All in all, it is more likely that changes of significance lead – even in the present climate requiring economic efficiency and performance – to an interim period of multiplication of institutions, organisations, and bureaucratic layers and – at best – only to a lenient thinning of the layers losing in insignificance.

The above general issues – the multiplication of layers and their thinning or thickening – can be placed into a simple form: just ask how efficient these multiple layers of cultural administration actually are. On the other hand, we can also argue that whatever the singular and overall efficiencies are, new structures are responding to new needs and the old structures have their functions too – especially if they are restructured to respond to new needs.

These questions are, of course, pertinent in respect to – and must be honed against – financial considerations. We know well that in the present economic climate, central government cultural budgets – including the budgets for international cultural co-operation – are not growing. We have only two alternatives: The new actors must share the non-growing economic pie with the old ones or to find financing from somewhere else. This survey seems to indicate that the only viable option for the new actors is the latter one – unfortunately the replies do not provide any factual information on this matter.

Ideological choices: diplomacy, culture or economy?

Structural changes in international cultural co-operation cannot be viewed from only a sociological perspective: as an increase/decrease in the number of institutional and organisational layers and their growth or conflation. They also reflect results of ideological battles concerning the objectives and directions of co-operation. This means that we cannot look at the "de-trends" as inevitable development resulting from the dissolution of central control and hierarchical power structures.¹

These battles have evolved in the triangle of *culture – politics – economy*, or, in terms of interest, intrinsic, artistic interest, national diplomatic interests, and economic interests ranging from artists' interests in livelihood and intellectual property rights to national interests in world trade on cultural goods. Although no comprehensive history of these battles has been written, there are studies which have identified the main turning points in the European history, including: the autonomy of the arts alongside the modernist project, the decline and fall of multicultural empires and the rise of nationalism after the World War I, the rise, first, of fascist, then Soviet-type totalitarian cultural policies, the emergence of a new chain of international intergovernmental organisations (including UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the inception of the EC) after the World War II, the use of arts as a foreign policy instrument in the Cold War (the last evidence of which was the 1985 Cultural Forum in Budapest organised by the CSCE), and the gradual rise in the 1960s and 1970s of the ministries of culture to challenge the supremacy of foreign ministries/offices in the field of "foreign cultural policies".

No doubt we are at present living a period of similar turning points which we now designate with such terms as "the turn of 1989", "economic integration", "liberalisation of the world trade", "neo-liberalism", and "advent of the information/knowledge society". All this is often compressed under the umbrella concept of globalisation that can be seen either as a unilinear continuation of the processes of modernisation or as a more complex process of transformation, as the slogan of "glocal squeeze" proposes.

All historical turning points, including the most recent ones, have brought new institutions and organisations into European cultural co-operation. These processes, of course, are not only European; structures are transformed globally.

Can we then offer any proof that the recent historical turning points we have experienced are producing the "de-trends" our survey questions presuppose? We, of course, can offer the very existence of CIRCLE and the other cultural networks as an evidence; and we use many other indicators of "de-development": the autonomisation of cultural institutions, the multiplication of regional, local and grass-root initiatives, and the diversification of sources of financing.

Yet we are too often looking at these phenomena from too close a range and forget the two issues that this preamble has tried to underline. First the "de-trends" do not necessarily bring in clarity and efficiency nor do they inevitably lead to enhanced autonomy and democracy, and second, the "eternal triangle" of European culture, the triangle of *culture – politics – economy* does still prevail, whatever shifts between its three corners may take place. Many of the consequences of the "de-trends" may be apparent: the main shifts may have taken place between the political and economic corners of the triangle, and the arts and culture may still play the same subordinate role in the international co-operation as before. Do we really know whose business it is?

Our survey certainly does not provide any conclusive clarification of where we are going in respect to these issues. But hopefully it will put these issues in the right comparative perspective and give starting points for attempts to reshape and reorganise both the national and transnational management of international cultural co-operation. It is, of course, up to our conference to decide, whether any recommendations to this effect can be proposed.

PART II. The survey responses

On the survey data and its interpretation

The compilers of the CIRCLE questionnaire did their best to offer the respondents alternatives, probing the issues outlined above in terms of "de-trends" and their potential institutional and organisational consequences. They entertained no illusion that all those to whom the questionnaire was sent to would have the energy or the time to respond. The harvest was very much as could be expected. It covered ten European countries and Canada. Responses, however, cover our continent rather well both in geopolitical terms and as regards to the size of the country. Although not totally satisfactory, the range of responses offered some possibilities for comparison.

We divided the countries into three groups: • five relatively small Western European countries (Austria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, the Netherlands), • three major cultural "players" in Europe (France, Germany and the UK), and • three countries (Croatia, Greece, and Canada) which will be analysed separately. The first two groups also included countries with federal structures; the three individual countries, again, brought in the issues of "political economy", multiculturalism and geopolitics of culture and ethnicity (Greece, Croatia, Canada).

Finally, a comparison of the three Norwegian responses, stemming from the two ministries (of Culture and Foreign Affairs) and a research institute helps us to see, how the position and professional commitment shape the perceptions – and even the answers – of the respondents.

The survey responses offered mainly qualitative assessments of the prevalence of the four "de-trends". Quantitative information was requested in three areas: government budgets, number of bilateral agreements and cultural institutions abroad. Provision of precise and reliable information even in respect to these relatively "easy" issues proved to be difficult. All the traditional problems of compiling cultural statistics emerged: *how to define international cultural co-operation, what should be included in the expenditures?* This information, however meagre, does give us an opportunity to check the validity of the more subjective assessments. Additional information was taken from other sources; from the reports of the Council of Europe's Cultural Policy Review Programme and from the forthcoming *Handbook of Cultural Affairs in Europe*.

Central government financing: stagnation, compensated by what? ²

Before turning to more detailed comparisons, we can examine the figures provided by the questionnaires. Only the total sum of central government spending in 1998 and the decrease/increase in real terms since 1995 was requested. Even the provision of this simple information turned out to be difficult, because financing comes from several ministries and other bodies of state administration. In order to clarify the sources and objectives of financing more detailed information was obtained from five countries, Austria, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany and France.

In the group of smaller countries the amount reported varied between 7 million Euro (Austria) to 23.5 million Euro (Denmark). Only the Netherlands reported a distinct increase from 1995 to 1998, and only Austria reported a distinct decrease. It is difficult to explain the differences between the lower spenders (Austria, the Netherlands, and Norway), and the higher spenders (Finland, Denmark). The situation might be conditioned by such factors as the federal structure or other forms of decentralisation (Austria as a relatively low spender), high number of bilateral cultural agreements (Finland as a relatively high spender), or intensive co-operation in the adjacent transnational regions (Denmark as a relatively high spender).

The expenditures of the "big players", the UK, Germany and France indicate that economies of scale play little or no role at all in international cultural co-operation. In 1998 the German federal budget for international cultural co-operation was 290 million Euro, and if the allocation for Deutsche Welle is included the total is 630 million Euro. The UK budget outlay which consists only of the government grant to the British Council, was in 1998 more than 190 million Euro, but France clearly beats both Germany and the UK with its 748 million Euro. These three countries have a central role as leaders of their linguistic and cultural areas, and, in the case of France and the UK, their historical "commonwealths". On the basis of the replies we could suggest that the development in 1995-1998 might be symptomatic: the UK figures have been in the decline, the French remained almost at the same level and the German steadily growing.

The Croatian and Canadian replies bring in further dimensions to our analyses. The Croatian central government budget for international cultural co-operation, 1.5 million Euro, reflects the situation in most of the new democracies.³ Canada also offers a different pattern with rather low budget figures, but considerable allocations for co-productions. These two cases suggest that low government budget outlays do not always mean stagnation, and high do not inevitably imply high level of activity. Funds from other sources (regional, city and municipal budgets, sponsorship, Structural Funds of the EU, earned income) compensate increasingly the declining or stagnant central government outlays. Unfortunately we did not tackle this question in our questionnaire – the replies might have been even fewer than they were now.

It is also interesting to compare all these national budget figures with the figures of intergovernmental organisations (UNESCO, Council of Europe, and the Nordic Council) as well as with the cultural programmes of the European Union. In the funding policies of these organisations the emphasis on culture industries is very clear.

Nationalist strategies still linger: Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Norway

Next we can turn to assess the "de-trends" such as they were presented in the survey responses. First we examine them in the five smaller countries of our sample.

With their relatively small size and clear governmental structures, the survey responses from these countries enable the reader to relatively quickly grasp the main trends of their efforts in cultural co-operation; thus they provide an easy entry for testing the developmental trends and their consequences. This is not to say that clear differences are not apparent; yet there are many similarities in the way they have responded to external trends in developing the management of their international cultural co-operation.

Desetatistation

Respondents from four of the five countries, Austria, Finland, the Netherlands and Denmark, report a definite loosening of the grip of the central government on cultural activities in general and on the direction of international cultural co-operation in particular. These countries also report a strong growth in the

role of relatively autonomous cultural actors, including publicly funded arm's-length cultural institutions, service organisations and NGOs with other sources of revenue. The Netherlands, in particular, stressed the importance of these new flexible non-governmental forms of co-operation.

The Norwegian answer by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is less certain about the presence of such trend but suggest that there is an increasingly clear division of labour that is reflected, for example, in geopolitics of relations: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concentrates much of its efforts in the most "important" Western countries (France, the US, Germany, Spain, Italy, Great Britain – and Japan), the Ministry of Culture is responsible for Nordic cultural relations, and the Directorate for Development Co-operation has cultural programmes/activities in a number of LDCs. It also suggests that similar division of labour is taking place sectorally, and other ministries, too, are now actively involved in international cultural co-operation.

All countries, even Norway, propose that sub-national bodies (such as provinces and municipalities) are gaining importance in international cultural co-operation. While both Denmark and the Netherlands stressed the significance of this co-operation, the best example, not surprisingly, is perhaps found in Austria where *länder* carry a high level of responsibility for cultural relations with their immediate cross-border neighbours. Interestingly but not expectedly the funding of international cultural co-operation on the level of *länder* is really "cultural" and avoid of more political foreign policy considerations.

De-diplomatisation

The increasing role of non-state actors, municipalities and regions in international cultural relations can also be interpreted to reflect the process of de-diplomatisation. Usually this means that these actors can now by-pass the control of ministries of foreign affairs.

This does not imply, however, that there is a decline in the interest and amount of activities of the ministries of foreign affairs. They seem to be still deeply committed to "display window"-type international cultural projects although justify them increasingly in economic terms, that is, in terms of their ability to promote foreign trade.⁴ Thus even in the federalist Austria, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs continues to play a fairly traditional role in international cultural relations – although it was stressed in the Austrian reply that this role will diminish in the future as new semi- and non-state bodies gain in significance.

In Finland the "proctoring" role of the Foreign Ministry is deemed to be in decline;

yet, while this report was being written, the media revealed that the Finnish diplomatic corps had declined to display works of a renowned Finnish photographer in a exhibition to be held in Brussels, because the works were considered "not representative" of Finnish culture. An attempt has been made within the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture to decentralise international cultural co-operation: each department (like that of Cultural Policy) should take care of its own cultural co-operation. Yet, the Department of International Cultural Affairs lost scarcely any of its earlier tasks – or resources. Another act of decentralisation, which made a much deeper impact on international cultural co-operation was carried out in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The role of national NGOs was increased in the development co-operation at the expense of FINNIDA (the Finnish Agency for Development Aid). It seems that NGOs are more inclined in taking the cultural dimension of development into consideration. This is reflected, for example, in a recent project that assessed the way in which cultural aspects were taken into consideration in Finnish development co-operation efforts.

The Dutch response proposes that the Netherlands has a general commitment to promote "creativity for creativity's sake" even in international cultural co-operation. This commitment seems to be tempered by a Foreign Ministry mandate to enhance co-operation of all kinds with "priority countries" (obviously important in terms of foreign trade). This means that many creative projects with "non-priority" run the risk of being sidelined. At the other extreme, the Danish response assesses that their Foreign Ministry has actually substantially reduced its role as a result of an overall reform in cultural policy decision-making and administration.

Denationalisation

The survey responses make it possible to assess denationalisation indirectly: first in terms of "pan-Europeanism", especially in the interest of the governments to enhance cultural co-operation within the

European Union, and secondly in the interest to more international co-operation beyond the borders of our continent. Here we encounter the old dilemma: Europeanism and internationalism do not necessarily mean waning of national interests, often just the opposite, an interest to act in the wider forums for the benefit of national interests.

Among the five smaller countries, Austria and Finland most strongly stressed the significance of European integration. It was slightly less important to Denmark, while a pan-European focus merited only a passing glance in the Netherlands' response. The orientation of Austria and Finland can be contributed to two facts. Both are new members of the European Union and both have similar geopolitical position in respect to adjacent countries, which include a whole host of new CEE democracies – also aspiring after membership of the EU. Austria and especially Finland have maintained a clear commitment to wider internationalism, if we measure the latter as a per cent of the non-European bilateral cultural agreements of the total number.⁵

The share of bilateral agreements is, however, a two-edged indicator. These agreements are initiated and ratified by the state, and their number is not only an indicator of internationalism but also of state-proctored internationalism. From the latter point of view the state has maintained its leading role in Finland and the Netherlands – providing, of course, that the agreements have maintained at least some of their relevance in the globalising and increasingly "privatised" world. We will later return to discuss the implications of these observations for the "thinness" or "density" of the institutional and organisational structures.

If we want to account for the limited interest of the Netherlands, we can assume that the Dutch decision-makers take pan-European orientation for granted, considering the leading role it has, for example, in the promotion of European cultural networks and in supporting the cultural programmes of the Council of Europe/DECS.⁶ Its "nationalism" probably also reflects its historical past as a colonial power; which also explains the relatively high share of its bilateral cultural agreements with non-European countries. In the case of Denmark we find even a stronger case of "European nationalism": pan-Europeanism does not interest, although it has only a meagre 4% of bilateral cultural agreements with non-European countries.

Whatever other differences we notice in the group of these four countries, the importance of historical ties with the adjacent countries is reflected in the orientations of them all. Austria has close ties with other German speaking areas and the nations which once belonged to the Hapsburg Empire, Denmark and Finland continue to emphasise the role of Nordic co-operation and are now restoring co-operation structures for the Baltic Sea Region. Together with Sweden and Norway they have also expanded their networks of cultural co-operation to cover the St. Petersburg area, as well as the Barents Euro-Arctic Region.⁷

Big league strategies: France, Germany and the UK

The past decade of turning points and global changes are reflected strongly in the replies of Germany, France and the UK. But reading the survey responses suggests that these three countries have entirely different strategies. They could be called *state-controlled* (France), *diffusionist* (Germany) and *pragmatist* (the United Kingdom). The French strategy seems to be stable irrespective of the ruling political coalition, Germany and the UK emphasise that there are fluctuations and change due to the shifts of government.

The differences between these three countries are reflected, first, in the processes of *desetatisation*.

In the case of Germany this term does not make much sense, because the Federal Government does not, practically by definition, have any leading role in the cultural affairs. International cultural co-operation is either in the hands of special agencies and arm's-length bodies (the network of Goethe Institutes, Deutsche Welle) or is taken care of by independent foundations and the *länder*. At the same time, however, one records new orientations (multinational joint projects, new types of institutions, co-productions) especially in the pan-European activities. It is to be seen, whether the appointment of the Federal Minister of Culture to the Schröder Cabinet leads to increased co-ordination of cultural policies – and to a more co-ordinated and visible government foreign cultural policy as well.

To a certain extent the UK with its network of British Councils and its different arm's-length bodies displays a similar pattern as Germany. There are, however, two main differences: First, the Foreign Office has maintained its leading role, and secondly the effects of Thatcherian *desetatisation* – carried out by the heavy

hand of the state itself – are similarly self-evident. This does not, however, mean state control in a continuous and stable manner: international cultural co-operation takes different forms depending who is the foreign partner and, as the British response states, "Current foreign cultural policy is driven by domestic agendas – needs and parties rather than foreign policy imperatives". We also know that it is driven by economic considerations, including the protection of the economic interests of British culture industries.

As the recent establishment of the Parliaments in Scotland and Wales has demonstrated, the central government of the UK is beginning to devolve effectively along the regional dimension. The British response actually lists this as the most important recent change re-shaping the British international cultural policies.

Despite the obvious continued dominance of the state, France also records some recent structural changes, which best fit under the term of decentralisation. Within the government itself, the Foreign Ministry has begun to share its international cultural relations responsibilities with the Ministry of Culture. Devolution of power is also occurring within the Ministry of Culture itself where its various departments, are gaining a voice within its department of international affairs. On the level of local government, 1992 legal changes gave towns, departments, and regions new (and as yet unevaluated) responsibilities in international cultural relations through contractualisation with the ministries of culture and foreign affairs. In addition to changes in state structures, the French government also recognises new forms of co-operation, most notably cultural networks, as essential to the future of international cultural co-operation.

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has, despite the attempts at decentralisation, maintained its hold of the purse strings – and, through them of the overall direction of foreign cultural policy.

Dediplomatisation and denationalisation

In the case of these three countries it is difficult to discuss the issues "cultural diplomacy", nationalism or denationalisation in the same sense as in the case of the five smaller countries. We are not dealing here with "state nationalism" as is in the case smaller countries and cultures, but with "cultural nationalism" which – at least in the case of France and the UK – can be seen as the remains of the old orientation. All three countries also emphasise the increasing significance of cultural co-operation within the EU context, but only in the case of Germany it seems to be turning into an actual cornerstone of international cultural co-operation.

This "cultural nationalism" and "cultural diplomacy" is, of course, reflected in the geopolitical orientation of international cultural co-operation. The geographical weight of French foreign cultural relations is dominated by its traditional ties to Francophonic countries. The official doctrine, however, is to have a French presence in a dialogue with all cultures, thus its present geographical priorities are described as truly global, including a broad range of regions: the EU, Asia (Japan, Korea, Taiwan), Latin America, and the Mediterranean. Most recently, France has started to redefine and deepen its relations with its own (Francophonic) and other African countries.

There are some indications of attempts to lessen the diplomatic and foreign policy emphases of the French foreign cultural policy. This is reflected, for example, in the attempts to integrate its cultural relations into the relevant societies, rather than merely providing sterile "windows" into French culture by importing various French artists for display purposes. On a more ideological level, the French efforts – prompted by the pressures from artists and intellectuals, to preserve the "culture exception" in the liberalisation of the world trade and investments – are well-known. This is very different from countries such as the UK, which see the market as a good alternative source of funding for cultural projects both at home and abroad. On the other hand, a more detailed break-down of the French budget outlay indicates that the support of culture industries (audio-visual production) is an integral part of French cultural policy – including foreign cultural policy (support of co-production, European audio-visual industries, etc.).

As already indicated, despite the central role of the Foreign Office, the continuously shifting pragmatist policies of the UK scarcely allows us to speak about cultural diplomacy in the same sense as in the case of France.

Although the UK's ambivalence in taking part in many aspects of European integration is beginning to be something of a legend, it in no way limits the importance that Britain places upon cultural co-opera-

tion with all of Europe – with the EU as well as with Central and Eastern Europe. This co-operation is indicated to rise on par with traditional co-operation with the countries of the Commonwealth. Yet this European orientation has less to do with the political and economic interests and it is less influenced by the guiding hand of the Foreign Office. One could probably say that this co-operation involves, even more than the Commonwealth connection, the participation of sub-national actors (in terms of the questionnaire: regions, cities, municipalities, new artists' and cultural organisations, and non-profit service organisations). The increased importance of multinational joint projects and pan-European institutions is also emphasised. The British response also mentions consultancies and think tanks functioning in the field of the arts and culture – and for them European markets, in addition to domestic ones, are certainly important. (There are probably more British cultural consultants in European cultural co-operation than experts from any other country – or even of the experts of all the small countries together.)

In the case of Britain, emphasis on multiculturalism also highlights its cultural relations with south-east Asia and the Caribbean. The Asia-Pacific region is also considered "culturally important", for economic reasons. The multifaceted nature of British international cultural relations is reflected in the distribution of its bilateral cultural agreements. Britain holds 71 bilateral cultural agreements; 36% of these are with non-European countries while 39% are with LDCs. Although these kinds of agreements remain important to British cultural relations, they are considered to be less important than they were in the 1970s.

The policies of the new German government may imply increased federal co-ordination of international cultural relations. Yet the German response emphasises in the same vein as the British one the increasing importance of lower level cultural co-operation: cultural initiatives on the sub-national level, multinational projects and co-productions. Alongside France, Germany is a key actor in the success of the processes of European integration. As such, it is hardly surprising that the German response lists these changes as a primary factor for recent changes in the German international cultural policies. Connected to the attitudes nurturing European integration are similar attitudes which stress the importance of globalisation – both in an ethical sense (global ethics) and in a much more economic sense with regards to technology and international trade. The German response considers bilateral cultural agreements as instruments of traditional co-operation policies, but recognises their importance in respect to the relations with the Russia Federation and other new democracies. The geographical distribution of these agreements is quite wide and reflects the overall range of German international cultural relations. In 1998 Germany held 94 bilateral cultural agreements, 50% of which were with LDCs. Germany's relations with the adjacent countries in Central Europe are also considered important and so are its relations to Turkey (made necessary by the large numbers of Turkish immigrants within Germany), the Middle East, south-east Asia and the US.

The dilemmas of the Balkans (Greece and Croatia) and the new democracies

The "de-trends" in Greece

Greece and Croatia provide two test cases for assessing to what extent the "de-trends" appear at the Southern edge of Europe and what form they have taken there. Although our sample does not cover any of the new democracies that actually were within the Soviet bloc, we can assume that the problems faced by the Croatian policy-makers and international relations officials, institutions and organisation are very much the same as in other so-called new democracies.

Greece, as a member of the EU, displays very much the same patterns as the countries of our first group, the five small countries. The response suggests that Greece has allowed its international cultural co-operation structures to evolve into a more flexible and decentralised pattern. This is demonstrated by the gradual devolution of the control of central government/Ministry of Foreign Affairs into the hands of the Ministry of Culture, arm's-length cultural bodies and sub-national (provincial and municipal) actors. Despite, or perhaps because of the changes in the structure of the Greek cultural relations, there appears to be few benefits accrued towards the efficient distribution of funds allotted to these types of international relations. Indeed, the Greek respondent complains that there is still a poor distribution of funds for international co-productions and visual arts and theatre exchanges. It is also indicated that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has to a large extent, continued

to play its central role as an overseer of foreign cultural relations – and that this state of affairs is expected continue well into the future. The traditional role of this ministry is also accompanied by an equally traditional model of cultural relations – Greek cultural institutes abroad providing “display windows” into Greek culture.

Although Greece lists the forces of European integration as the primary reason for the recent changes in its international cultural policies, it is very unlike its European partners in terms of the scope of its bilateral cultural relations beyond Europe. Unlike most of the other small countries responding to this survey which hold approximately 20 bilateral cultural agreements (and with relatively few non-European states), Greece still believes these agreements to be important (albeit less so than in the 1970s) and holds an impressive 76 such agreements, 62% of which are with non-European states and 52% with LDCs. Of course, the breadth of these bilateral cultural agreements is perhaps an indication of Greece’s important geographical and cultural location, as a Christian Orthodox state, south of the Balkans and in the Eastern Mediterranean. Other important regions for Greece include those areas with large communities of Greek immigrants, such as the US or Australia.

The “de-trends” in Croatia

It is already a commonplace to say that the role of the state in cultural policies has, since the end of communist rule, been evolving from a totalitarian state control to a more flexible, decentralised structure in most of the Central and Eastern European countries. Much as in the rest of Europe, these four “de-trends” are embodied by the increasing significance of publicly funded arm’s-length bodies and sub-national actors. This holds true also for Croatia. But quite unlike in the rest of Europe, and perhaps because of the low economic resources of the Croatian state, this evolution/devolution contains also an increase in the role of played by private cultural industries (both national and international), private individuals and foundations, and such international non-governmental organisations as the ITI. The example of IRMO and CULTURELINK suggests that there are possibilities to follow this route of development.

On the other hand, although the role of the Ministry of Culture has also increased, largely at the expense of the Foreign Ministry, Croatian international cultural relations still follow, to a great extent, the traditional patterns of promoting Croatian language and culture abroad, and as usual at the expense of more innovative forms of co-operation – to the extent it is possible within a practically non-existent public budget outlay.

Probably unsurprisingly given the extent of Croatia’s problems, a “European focus” on cultural relations falls a distant second to its domestic cultural problems, largely remnants of the recent war and connected to immigrants, refugees and xenophobia. This said, Croatia does have 22 bilateral cultural agreements, 80% with European partners (and none with LDCs) and it has made a major effort in recent years to develop these agreements (unlike in western Europe where such agreements have been seen to be declining in significance). Key regions for co-operation include Eastern and Central Europe, the Mediterranean, Danubian countries and the Alps-Adriatic alliance.

The dilemma: double bind, not once but twice, three times. . .

The cases of Greece and Croatia lead us back to our original discussion about the “de-trends” and the multiplication of the levels of institutions and organisations and thickening or thinning of the layers. The implication was that policy changes and related structural reforms may create a double bind: their implementation becomes costly, because old structures refuse to be unravelled and, as a result, we have a multiplication of levels and no thinning of old layers of institutions and organisations. Thus a policy change and related structural reforms tend to demand, at least to start with, additional resources, or, alternatively, time or firmness in decision-making. In most Western European countries policy changes and reforms in the 1990s – which were often prompted by conditions created by the European integration process – coincided with the simultaneous tightening of the public budget purse strings – which in turn might be the consequence of new economic policies (neo-liberalism), reform of public administration (e.g. privatisation or introduction of management by performance contracts), or simply of an economic recession (like in Finland in the first half of the 1990s).

In some cases the double bind may appear in such a complex form that it cannot be unravelled. In these cases the old structures are politically protected or they are anchored in local conditions (e.g. local

cultural networks as has been the case in many Mediterranean countries) in a manner that new anchorage (for example to the EU structures) cannot be easily established. The same, of course, has been the case in many post-communist countries, where the battle for scarce resources aggravate further the double bind. Sometimes – like in the case of the Baltic states – the knot has been opened by the application to the EU membership and related attempts to fulfil the requirements of *acquis communautaire*.

Two factors have also mitigated the problems of policy change and related administrative reforms. First, the main weight of cultural policy – including the policy for international cultural relations – has been moved radically from traditional public finance-based supply side provision of arts and cultural services to demand-based view where new managerial ideas, professionalism and the reliance on well-designed policies in the support of culture industries and communication and information technologies play a central role. From this perspective it is instructive to return back to examine the break-down of the French budget outlay for international cultural co-operation – and to have a closer look at the information provided by the Canadian response to the CIRCLE survey.

Canada: a new synthesis?

A problematic geopolitical predicament

Canada is a country with a long history of debate regarding where its culture can and should fit into the global context. While some Canadians dismiss many of the elements of this debate a manifestation of Canada's ever present inferiority complex vis-a-vis the United States, this debate – or actually the geopolitical predicament causing it – has had some very real policy implications on the nature of Canadian international cultural relations. Recent events confirm how culture continues to be a divisive issue in Canada's role in NAFTA; one needs to be only reminded of the controversy over Canada's (mostly failed) attempts to limit the publication and control the advertising rights of so-called "split-run" editions by American magazines.⁸ This controversy not only very nearly led to a trade-war between Canada and the United States, it also caused much friction within the Canadian government itself, with the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry for Trade and the Cultural Ministry all having very different ideas about the course of action that should be taken.

The case of "split-run" magazines demonstrates that although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs still plays a very important role in managing Canada's international cultural relations, it is increasingly sharing this responsibility with the Ministry for Culture. The Canadian approach no doubt still takes the traditional form of promoting Canadian culture abroad but, as the Canadian response to the survey suggests, the situation resembles increasingly that in the UK, and "the international extension of domestic cultural policy objectives driven by the federal Cultural Ministry is modifying [the] traditional perspective (to international cultural relations)".

Federalism and the "de-trends"

In addition to the Cultural Ministry, other federal ministries as well as many sub-national bodies (provinces play an important role in the Canadian federation) are also beginning to play an important role in international cultural policies. These changes are due, to a large extent, to the desettisation, decentralisation and privatisation policy changes that are occurring in many spheres of government in Canada. Thus while in the past the Foreign Ministry was fully involved in leading all aspects of Canadian international cultural relations, it is now distancing itself somewhat to allow other institutions (in addition to the Ministry for Culture) to play a role, including: publicly funded arm's-length and semi-governmental bodies, non-profit and for profit NGOs, charities and private sponsors. In addition, much as in Europe, networks and experts are also playing a growing role in the formation of international cultural policy.

These changes have occurred in large part because of changes in the Canadian political climate which make privatisation and de-institutionalisation increasingly feasible politically. Alongside the devolution of powers described above, there has been a 10% decrease in Canadian expenditures for international cultural co-operation. Yet the regular federal budget outlay is very low – only 6.6 million Euro, while the "new component" allocations for financing international co-production amount to a significant 28.4 million Euro.

Back to geopolitical predicament – and beyond

While European countries are primarily concerned with what impact European integration will have upon its international cultural relations and vice versa, Canada is most concerned with its "proximity to the US as a dynamic cultural partner" (Canadian response). The strength of the American entertainment industry is legendary and, with a common border and a common language (apart from Quebec), a large part of Canada's energies recently have been concerned with how build some elements of "cultural protectionism" into the free trade ethos of NAFTA – to varying degrees of success.

Canada's international cultural policies are not solely concerned with the "hot-button" issues associated with relationships with the US. Other important regions for Canadian cultural co-operation include France and the UK. Only slightly less important are Canadian cultural ties with the European Union. In total, Canada holds 85 bilateral cultural agreements (including memoranda of understanding and audio-visual co-production agreements). Of these, 34% are with non-European states and less than 10% with LDCs. Although the new audio-visual co-production agreements and other special accords are seen as very important, overall, the Canadian respondent feels that Canada's bilateral cultural agreements are less important than in the 1970s. It seems that this judgement concerns mainly the traditional type of agreements.

On a more general level, Canada is also very much concerned with the trends that are creating an "international" focus all over the world – trends such as the spread of information technology and the international mobility of people. In addition perhaps because of its long history of multiculturalism at home, Canada is also concerning itself with the new field of global ethics promoted by organisation! such as UNESCO. At this point, however, the cultural element is being discussed but not fully implemented in Canadian development programmes in LDCs.

Canada offers, in comparison with most of the European countries, a new strategy and a diversified array of policy instruments in its international cultural policy. What is important in this strategy is the rejection of the traditional "we-have-to-make-our-country-better-known" approach and using traditional co-operation instruments (like bilateral cultural agreements) for new ends. It combines effective implementation of "de-trends" with a balanced approach for the support of culture industries. This strategy is no doubt due to Canada's geopolitical predicament – its closeness to the United States. Meeting one's competitor across the border may make for more practical strategies than merely sitting at the GATTs or MAI negotiation tables.

An epilogue: will truth come out from an ideological debate?

We received three responses from Norway – from the two ministries (those of Culture and Foreign Affairs) as well as one from the Telemark research institute. The responses varied considerably, the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs providing the most complete answer – and the most vocal comment on the potential value of the use of survey for assessing the directions of change:

"(There is) a general problem with the questionnaire and answers: Should the answers refer only/mainly to the institutionalised/high profile international cultural co-operation – or should it include all kinds of less institutionalised/local/private co-operation? The questionnaire does not take into account that there (sic) are different/separate ideologies and networks in international cultural co-operation -ideologies/networks with different/conflicting logic. Therefore the answers in (sic) the questionnaire may be quite different, depending on which network the person who fills in the questionnaire refers to". (The reply by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign affairs.)

References:

CIRCLE survey respondents, including representatives from:
Austria: Veronika Ratzenbock, Österreichische Kulturdokumentation

Denmark: Per Voetman, Cultural Ministry

Canada: Ian Traités, International Relations, Department of Canadian Heritage (unofficial response) and consultation with Vladimir Skok and the International Relations Directorate Staff at the suggestion of Roger Butt, International Comparative Research Branch

Croatia: Biserka Cvjetanin, Institute for International Relations, Zagreb

France: Jean-Michel Guy, Ministère de la Culture et de l'adminis-

tration général. Département des études et de la prospective

Finland: Ritva Mitchell, Arts Council of Finland

Germany: Andreas Wiesand, Zentrum für Kulturforschung, Bonn

Greece: Dora Konsola, Panteion University, Regional Development Institute

The Netherlands: Cas Smithhuijsen, Boekmanstichting

Norway: Foreign Ministry; Arne Holnen and Magne Velure, Royal Ministry of Cultural Affairs; Per Mangsted, Telemark forskning

United Kingdom: Rod Fisher, International Arts Bureau

Endnotes:

¹ This ideological battle no doubt also influenced the responses of the survey. See the last section of this report.

² In comparison to these state budget figures, the UNESCO budget for 1999 is about 515.8 million Euro in total and, more specifically, 40.6 million Euro for "heritage and creativity".

³ In this connection we should pay tribute to IRMO, which has been able to raise funds and make CULTURELINK possible and also move Croatia to the forefront of cultural information and documentation.

⁴ I.e. projects, such as Design Forum Finland (exhibitions of Finnish design), conducted with the intention of promoting national cultural products abroad.

⁵ Of these three states, only the Netherlands says that these agreements play a (slightly) significant role in their international

cultural relations. Nonetheless, these agreements are an indicator of the geographical scope of such relationships.

⁶ The Dutch government supports such European networks as ELIA and CIRCLE.

⁷ The latter two projects are particularly important for Finland.

⁸ In short, these editions were "Canadian" editions of magazines such as Sports Illustrated which differed very little from their "American" counterparts (apart from some special "Canadian" editorial content) and as such were much cheaper to produce than competing Canadian magazines which must produce original content for a relatively small market. The American contention is that it violates the principles of free trade to limit in any way the distribution of these magazines in Canada.

Before the turning point of 1989, political and ideological attitudes of the Polish people and – consequently – their political identity seemed uncomplicated. Politically active people considered it important to declare their attitudes towards the so-called authority, namely, party establishment and its numerous arm's length bodies. Obviously, opposition circles had been focusing on the polarised image of political and ideological reality in which a conflict between the "nation" and the "authority" was the only thing that mattered. It seemed that solving the conflict would help eliminate all problems and obstacles to Poland's civilisational development. Above all, however, it would allow Poland to join the family of wealthy European democracies. This major conflict overshadowed all other divisions in the Polish society. Most sociologists agree that a polarised society cannot exist, that in social life one always encounters a multitude of divisions, pressures and conflicts, that is to say a dynamic process of continuous changes – not a stable structure. On the level of ideological discourse this social reality was not visible, and exposing it might seem harmful, because it would break the unity and turn people's attention to less important concerns.

Paradoxically, the concept of national unity, which has been ever-present in the Polish culture since the time of partitions (i.e. when the new shape of modern Polish nation emerged), was also supported by the communist authorities. They saw it as very useful and employed it to promote the image of a politically and ideologically uniform nation "wisely guided" by the communist party. The existence of divisions within the Polish society (excluding class divisions, which were supposed to decline as relics of the past) was seen as weakening moral and political unity that was considered the society's strength. It is obvious that the vision of unity promoted by communists was in fact incompatible with the concept of pluralistic society, in which the multitude of interests, attitudes, ideologies, beliefs, life styles are the factors which stimulate the society and make it develop. One might expect of the opposition to advocate pluralism. The opposition, however, saw unification against communism as their chief objective. It seems that it was this unification that in fact led to the birth of the Solidarity movement, the victory in the June elections, and the collapse of communism. Shortly after, however, the concept's weakness and its incompatibility with the civil society's principles became obvious.

After 1989, all of the hidden or forgotten divisions became transparent, which for many people – used to thinking in terms of national unity and proud of the recent, brilliant success of the united nation – was very disappointing. However, the progress in ideological, religious and political pluralism, the divisions in the sphere of economic interests, the emergence of different subcultures or the rediscovery of regional and ethical

Zdzisław Mach is a professor of sociology and Director of the Jagiellonian University's Centre of European Studies. He specialises in culture and social identity. His major publications include: *Symbols, Contact and Identity* (SUNY Press, 1993), *Niechciane miasta* (Universitas, Kraków 1998).

differences are natural phenomena resulting from rejecting artificial unification, unlocking social communication and economic interests, and the birth of the market of goods and services, and also ideas and life styles. Shortly speaking, this pluralism is essential to the formation of civil society, the concept of which – apart from individuals' and groups' participation in social life – also involves people's right to unite and their varying world-views.

A central role in creating both the social and symbolic vision of unity of the Polish nation was performed by the Catholic Church. Together with nobility and intelligentsia, priests became the makers of the symbolic world of national culture and identity in the 19th-century Poland, in which – due to the lack of an independent state structure – culture was the nation's foundation. In the European countries where the maker of a modern nation was the state aspiring to the national state status, responsibilities connected with building culture and national consciousness were shared by state administration and state-controlled educational system. In those countries, it was also easier to link national consciousness with the idea of civil society, and perceive people's responsibilities to the state in terms of their patriotism. The boundaries of national culture were gradually adjusted to political and territorial borders of the state; according to the nationalistic principle, all of its citizens were potential members of the national society, and the state was gradually creating a uniform national culture through various accessible means, especially education. Where the nations were emerging on the areas administered by the state identified with another nation (which was the case in most Central European countries), their national borders were built of symbols: they were in fact cultural boundaries. The "us" was separated from the "them" by the boundaries of language, religion, literature, mythologised history. These boundaries did not have to match administrative and territorial borders. In this way, national minorities occupying the same area and participating in the same social and economic system as the cultural and national majority, could be separated from the latter by the cultural boundary for good. Such was the situation in Poland, for instance as far as the relationships between the Polish and the Jewish people were concerned. In this context, religious organisations (especially as uniform and centralised as the Catholic Church) could play a special part. In Poland, the Church has been so closely connected with the vision of the nation, and Catholicism with the country's culture, that the notion "Catholic Pole" has emerged and it still makes sense to many people. National status of the representatives of religious minorities in Poland could be questioned. In some Polish people's imagination the independent Poland of the future would be an ethnically uniform state. In Poland of the 1920s and 1930s, this attitude led to the politics of the National Democratic Party and survived in the communist Poland which was artificially "mopped up" of national minorities.

The great process of social and cultural change after 1989, connected with the Polish society's opening itself to the world, had a deep impact on the identity of the Poles. People began to ask themselves new questions about their image and status among other nations. Basic principles, which had never been discussed before, were now questioned. Many see it as a sign of crisis, whereas others perceive it as the evidence of a prolonged struggle with civilisational backwardness that needs to be made up for. The Polish people (especially the youth) have been looking for their own identity in the context of relationships with other nations and ethnic groups, and also in the context of their own history. The history of Poland and the Polish people is being revised, and quite a lot needs to be done in this respect. The version of Poland's history, which was taught in schools and became the base of most people's historical identity, was often incomplete and false but, above all, it was told from the perspective of a uniform Polish nation. The history of the minorities was either overlooked or disregarded – just like the history of some regions of Poland. Those who are lucky to live in Warsaw or Cracow learn Polish history filled with events connected with their familiar places. But if they live in the country or the areas which did not belong to the Polish state for centuries, it is highly possible that they won't learn anything that had happened in their region or city. Official history has then nothing to do with locality; it is a history of an abstract nation without any reference to local identity. As a consequence, the shaping of local identity is separated from the history of Poland as a whole. The country's history should be presented as a base of collective identity connected with a place, a "private" homeland.

Local identity seems to become increasingly important. This results from several factors. One of them is definitely a stronger individualisation of the society and linking the social identity with the perception of one's own interests. Another reason is people's disappointment with the ideology-infused public life during the communist regime, a depreciation of such important notions as "nation" or "patriotism" which still have to

acquire new meaning. The importance of local identity will probably grow parallel to the progress in European integration and the regionalisation of Europe. It is regions, namely historical, geographical, economic and cultural units, that will become the framework of collective identity. Nationalists who see nation-state as the highest of values and the ultimate goal, see this idea as unacceptable, but it seems that nationalists are fated to fail in the long run.

Some regions of Poland have an extremely strong historical and cultural identity. One should first mention Silesia, but the growing interest in the heritage of Galicia also seems noteworthy. Cracovians' nostalgia for good old Austrian times is manifested in numerous symbols of "Galicianness". Obviously, there is an element of contrariness in their wish to separate from the Polish capital city overpowered by authority and money, but this wish is also a *signum temporis*: a need to create a collective identity "based on" local symbols and representation of the common past.

For several years now ethnic cultures (ethnic and religious minorities) have been the subject of a public debate. Almost nothing was being said in this respect in the communist Poland. According to the orthodox Marxist-Leninist philosophy, national and ethnic identities were nothing but relics of the past. Consequently, emphasising the permanence of ethnic minorities in modern society implied questioning the official vision of the social world or the allegedly appropriate development of the Polish society. The media's silence on the minorities in Poland and the absence of these issues in curricula led to ethnic stereotypes which have survived from pre-war times, because they have been transmitted from one generation to another only through "family channels" without ever becoming the subject of a major public debate. People have had no chance to verify these stereotypes in life, because after the war Poland was re-constructed as a state which is almost uniform in ethnic sense. What's more, in the "atomised" society, people's opportunities to contact were very limited. Minorities, however, did exist and their number was often very significant in the local context but statistically unimportant in the context of Poland's population as a whole. In some parts of Poland, for instance in Opole-Silesia or Cieszyn-Silesia, the Białystok or Przemyśl regions, ethnic relations are a key element in social life. Polish-Jewish relationships have a special status as far as the issues of ethnic relations and minorities are concerned. Since the year 1968 they have almost been made a taboo. At the same time, certain stereotypes and prejudices have been lingering. In the recent years, the Polish society have become increasingly interested in the minorities' cultures and traditions. In particular, young people would like to learn as much as possible about the aspects of Poland's social life and culture which had been eliminated from curricula in the previous years. I believe that this interest results not only from a wish to learn about the world in general but also from young people's search for their own identity. Through meeting other people and cultures we can better understand our own symbolic world and our own identity, which acquire a new meaning in a broader context.

More and more divisions can be observed in the Polish society. An increasing number of social groups have based their own individual identities on special cultural features, different interests or a feeling of discrimination. This process is similar to what has been observed in Western Europe and the United States for many years. As the examples of this phenomenon can be instanced feminism, the subculture of sexual minorities or many youth subcultures. Generally speaking, culture has been fragmented and numerous new groups of different identities and life styles have been emerging. We are witnessing the birth of a pluralistic mosaic. It is an important aspect in the formation of a civil society.

The development of the civil society, which consists of active individuals and groups aware of their roles and interests, implies political and symbolic representation. Political representation involves appointing people and institutions to act as our representatives and participate in various spheres of collective life on our behalf. Symbolic representation is about constructing symbolic images which characterise the given group's viewpoint in the best way and are the cultural manifestation of the group's status in society. Symbolic representation is chiefly connected with the sphere of memory, history and tradition. Who remembers what and how they remember it; how is the memory transmitted and what are the symbols which express it – are the issues which are key to understanding any social group's identity. Life in a pluralistic society largely involves a dialogue in the language of symbolic representations: a discussion between the groups' different approaches to life. The number of groups and visions of the world have been increasing. No single prevalent vision exists and nobody needs it

anymore. What is attractive in the new reality is this diversity of approaches; none of them is absolutely right or absolutely wrong – they are simply different.

The role of religion seems noteworthy in this respect. This aspect of social life in Poland is both immensely significant and sensitive; it has a considerable ideological import. Under the communist regime, the Catholic Church was a dominant power in the world of opposition's symbols and values; it was responsible for creating the language of symbolic representation. In the eyes of many Catholics and representatives of the Church the collapse of communism naturally implied substituting one ideology, which was dominant in the official public life and the state, by another. However, it has not turned out so obvious. It seems questionable that an open, democratic society would need a moral monopoly that is not compatible with its cultural and ideological pluralism. The Church has been gradually learning to accept the principles of the pluralistic market society – the "market" of values, ideas, beliefs and life styles. The point is that they are not commercial goods (which would be a disaster) but that they can compete in the free world and must win support if they are to survive. In this market, our partner is not an enemy but a competitor, which means that we will talk with him in an altogether different fashion. Many Poles still see religion as the central element of their identity and life style. Not all of them, however, fall under the category of "traditional Catholic", not all find the Catholic Church's interpretation of the world acceptable and its model of life attractive. Hence a great popularity of new religious movements and people's growing interest in new forms of spirituality. This phenomenon is natural in the times of great transformations and a crisis of traditional attitudes and identities.

Europeanness is another new and important aspect of the Polish people's changing identity. It is new not in the sense that the Poles did not consider themselves European before – their attitude was quite the reverse. However, their Europeanness had been rather uncomplicated, purely ideological and for many years had not been connected with a choice or a practice of social life. More than anything else, it had been about various myths: the border line, the forefront, Poland's appurtenance to Latin culture as opposed to the barbarism of the East, and also the dream of a wealthy Europe. Today, Europeanness chiefly involves the opportunity of joining the European Community, which is extremely important to all spheres of social life and has a crucial influence on all of us. The prospect of joining the European Union implies both expectations and fears. After a period of great enthusiasm, a crisis of support to the idea of integration has been observed. "Euroenthusiasm" mainly resulted from people's hopes that the dream of a free and wealthy Europe would come true. They realised, however, that they must earn freedom through a difficult process of building democracy and civil society, learning tolerance and respect to minorities, accounting for the blemishes in history. Wealth can only be found in the distant future, and – in economic and social terms – Europeanness mainly involves competition where it is one's actual asset not sentiment that really matters. This means that many Polish people might never become European in the mythological sense of inhabitants of the world of freedom and wealth, whereas the better educated, younger and more energetic still have some chance in this respect. Such a prospect seems promising for Poland as a whole. Aside from that, the country has no other sensible options. However, for many individuals and groups and also some regions of Europe this seems to imply threats: a necessity to adjust to high standards and cope with competition. Obviously, one can also connect the costs, which Central and Eastern Europe has to bear, with indispensable systemic transformations rather than European integration. Still, the fear is there and "Eurosceptics" use it as one of their arguments.

European integration is also another important aspect of the transformations of identity. Next to regionalisation, it is also an alternative to the dominance of national identity. Is it possible to create a European identity similar to national identity? If it is, then it won't happen soon. National identity was being formed on the basis of culture, history and tradition, and also in the context of relations with other nations: a nation had to separate itself from others with a symbolic or even a material barrier to protect its own interests. In many cases it implied a real threat from other nations. One should hope that Europe will not have to endlessly protect itself from external enemies and that Europeans will not have to build their new identity on the concept of "common enemy". The opportunity and purposefulness of creating a model European culture also seem questionable. However, one can speak about some eligibility criteria of Europeanness, namely an ability to cope with the world of market economy, participation in civil society or subordination to the state based on the rule of law. European identity, however, chiefly means a sense of attachment to the social and cultural world which is far wider than

a nation – the world which has a common history and tradition and is clearly different from non-European civilisations.

The sense of national identity remains the basic criterion of most Poles' self-identification. However, this identity has been changing or perhaps even disintegrating. At the same time, new and varying identities and cultures are emerging; various traditions are being revived; various symbolic representations are being created. Regionalisation of the country and the emergence of different identities of minority groups are accompanied by the process of European integration and constructing the European identity – an idea that's gradually turning into reality. All these phenomena are part of the process of creating civil society, the important aspect of which are the changes in people's consciousness and culture. Cultural identity is closely connected with political attitudes. One of the features of Poland's politics today is using symbolic images which link the visions of the past with the representation of contemporary interests and inter-group relations. Political options and favoured symbolic visions of the world are connected with perceiving individual and group interests, which is clearly manifested in people's attitudes towards Poland's integration with the European Union. This phenomenon is important to the process of decentralising the state and developing local government. It is possible that, on the level of national identity, patriotism will also begin to imply responsibilities to the state and a civic attitude – not only the typically Polish readiness to fight with the enemy for the homeland's freedom. Regardless of the actual shape of specific stages of this process, the new Polish society will certainly be more diverse and open, and – in terms of culture and politics – it will be more pluralistic than the society we are used to and still remember so well.

The World Is Asking About Poland. Promoting the Country at the Turn of the Century

The development in Poland's internal reforms and its Euro-Atlantic integration is accompanied by a heated debate about the international image of our country, and also about the opportunities of creating this image through state institutions' promotional activities. Poland is becoming a field of action of all globalisation-related phenomena, which is manifested in a unification of mass consumption and demand. At the same time, we are entering the "market" of keen yet amiable competition in demonstrating our attractiveness and originality. If, in the case of industry, trade, and norms of public life, what we need most is maximum conformity with the most developed countries' standards, then in culture or tourism we must be original and unique, an integral feature of the regional and European contexts.

International image of a country is certainly a significant element of its international potential; it can offer additional opportunities or cause serious limitations. Today, an increasing number of Polish people are present abroad not as accidental tourists or illegal employees – but as partners in international exchange. In all such situations, on all social levels (from members of the government to school pupils visiting their friends from a partner's school), more and more often we come across the consequences of various ways of perceiving Poland and Polish people by other countries. We encounter positive and negative stereotypes of the Polish character but, in most cases, the knowledge about Poland is simply very narrow and selective.

How many faces does Poland have?

Discussions regarding the image of Poland rarely lead to univocal conclusions. Some disputants ignore results of various polls and studies. Giving the highest priority to their personal feelings connected with the recent situation of Poland and Polish people, they tend to present these emotions as corresponding with the perception of our country abroad. Even experts dealing in such type of activities don't often agree when it comes to the most basic judgement. Observing these discussions and press publications which accompany them, one becomes convicted that the world's image of contemporary Poland is extremely varied and highly ambivalent. It seems, however, that it should be completely different.

Rafał Wiśniewski – Hungarian philologist, employee of the Polish Embassy in Budapest in 1991–1997, Director of the Polish Institute in Hungary, organiser of the *Express Polonia* Festival of Polish Art in Hungary (1997), employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw since 1997 (now works as Director co-ordinating information, promotion and cultural and scientific policy section), author of Polish cultural diplomacy reform programme launched in autumn 1998.

Considering European standards, Poland is a relatively large country, and it is obviously dominant in Central Europe. Our state is more than ten centuries old, and the country's contribution to the continent's politics, economy, and culture over the ages cannot be questioned – albeit from our own perspective. Many Polish people have been emigrating to other countries for over a hundred years, which is also a natural channel of popularising Poland abroad. Despite these "preliminary" assets, most Polish people do not see their country's image as objective or true.

Average citizens of the Western countries tend to see Poland as a distant place that's blended into some East European zone of perpetual coldness, where things are often in a mess. Can you find a Frenchman who would believe that the distance from Paris to Rome is just the same as to Warsaw? Contrastedly, a considerable number of inhabitants of the former Eastern bloc – the former Soviet Union in particular – don't even perceive Poland as the forefront of the West but the West itself. The reasons seem quite prosaic: the level of criminality in Poland is lower; it is the state of law; its governments change in a legal manner; it has free media and a higher standard of living. We, namely Polish people, however, don't enjoy the fact that we are perhaps the best known nation in Central Europe. We want to compare ourselves with equally grand nations, namely Italian and Spanish people, sometimes with the French and the German, namely the nations of a "happier" part of Europe, which speak international languages and used to have large colonies (excluding Germany, that is).

One sees at once that the image of Poland abroad is extremely inconsistent. Crowds of illegal workers seem to clash with our romantic spirit (uprisings!) and art (e.g. Chopin, Wajda); the notoriety of car thieves is incongruous with the Christian tradition; altruistic ideals and economic clumsiness have been recently replaced by a new image of Polish people as the most entrepreneurial tradesmen in Europe, let alone the paradoxical success of shock therapy (considering a several-percent increase of GDP, is "polnische Wirtschaft" a compliment or a prejudice?). Hence, it seems that the right way to begin any discussion on Poland's image abroad should involve an honest self-reflection. What we really are like? To what extent is the literary stereotype of Poles and the Polish character real? In what aspects do such features as the legendary Polish hospitality, attaching special meaning to family values, romantic ideals, etc. still exist? Such a reflection doesn't necessarily need to imply a pessimistic attitude. In fact, it might help us to update the stereotype in a creative way.

The participants of the debate on shaping Poland's foreign image vary in their judgements of the recent image of our country in the world. They also have different opinions on the assets we have or can have with regard to promoting Poland. Some content themselves with saying that the fact that Pope John Paul II and Lech Wałęsa are well-known in many regions and that a dozen or so Polish names have made it big in contemporary world culture can solve the problem, because it confirms Poland's international status. Others point to the fact that the popularity of a dozen or so outstanding individuals (comparable to the number of similarly famous Czechs, Hungarians or Romanians) in the world of global communications does not naturally imply international acknowledgement of Polish values and the European character of all Polish culture, let alone the country's economic standards.

It is not coincidental that, when speaking about Polish assets abroad, we as if automatically refer to the symbols from history, politics, culture, and science. In fact we cannot boast many world-famous trademarks (like the Czech engineering industry, the Finnish architecture, or the Swedish applied art) or tourism (like Prague and Budapest – if I may use comparisons with the countries which are smaller but with history similar to Poland's). However, this one-dimensional approach is not beneficial: a good image of any country must be comprised of many different elements (economy, culture, traditions of public life, catering industry), which are large and small, major and minor, special or totally down-to-earth. The greatest threat to any country is that, to foreigners, its name implies few or simply no associations at all.

As regards foreign policy, extremely important is Poland's perception by a specific group of people, namely politicians, diplomats, big business representatives, media commentators. These circles have been exerting a considerable influence on the decisions of heads of states, and, at the same time, they have the best access to information. This group's opinions – or, should I say, the fluctuations of these groups' opinions on Poland – have been a significant factor of our state's foreign policy. As far as this group is concerned, the most important is fast, convincing and real information. At the same time, the real key to success is not about special

promotional actions of the state but an actual progress in its reforms and integration with the world. In these circles, traditional stereotypes, preferences and prejudices are the quickest to be verified.

The deficit of knowledge and information

Regarding these objective and subjective differences in evaluating the image of our country abroad, and considering the chances of shaping the image by state structures, there's no doubt that – compared with our country's objective significance in Europe and other continents – the world has far too little knowledge about Poland, its past and present, culture, economy, and tourist attractions. I'm focusing on the information-related notion of knowledge on purpose. It would not make any sense at all to artificially promote a prosperous image of our country – it would be verified immediately, and it would also imply our immaturity. Hence, one should assume that promoting Poland is not really the same as marketing napkins or a washing powder. Effective promotional campaigns of Polish regions, industrial goods or cultural festivals must be governed by universal rules of marketing, including the specifics of a local context. However, promoting Poland is above all about credible and faithful information, which is never stereotypical or pushy and encourages other countries to continue the dialogue.

The effectiveness of such a method has been confirmed in everyday experience: vast majority of foreigners coming into contact with Poland, its society, economy and culture will quickly realise that their knowledge or assumptions regarding this country have been far too limited or sometimes even negative. We should be glad that only a very small number of people leaving Poland are disappointed. This does not imply any sort of artificial optimism at all. However, it is a starting point to better learn things and perceive Poland in the way which is true to its real potential.

The sources of ignorance: the origin of stereotypes

Where does the foreign countries' poor knowledge about Poland originate? Why are their judgements often far more pejorative than it would be justifiable?

Among the factors influencing this should be instanced the fact that, in the 19th century and the early 20th century, when many other countries in this region were establishing their international image, the Polish state did not exist. In the opinion of foreign countries, the lack of a state system effectively erased many previous economic and cultural achievements of the former Kingdom of Poland (a marketing expert would refer to it as a multiethnic and multireligious progenitor of the European Union). Starting in the 19th century, our political backwardness was accompanied by an obvious economic underdevelopment. Some regions of Poland, the peripheries of the partitioned parts of the country, started to epitomise poverty and backwardness. During the interwar period, Poland and a vast majority of the region (excluding Czechoslovakia) became part of the sphere that was seen in the West as a source of problems, which again worsened the negative perception of this region's authoritarianisms and ineffective economic and social reforms. After World War II, which brought to Poland (the victim of two totalitarian systems) unbelievable losses including the destruction of the legacy of multicultural Polish Republic of the Jagiellonian dynasty, our country became an insubordinate participant of the Communist bloc. Hence, promoting Poland in an excessively energetic manner was not in the interest of the Moscow centre and its local representatives. Polish economy (unlike Hungary's economy, for example) was not dependent on the offensive export (namely export that needed to be promoted). Due to easy access to many raw materials, innovation was not at all necessary. Consequently, the country preferred to boast the coal miners' strong muscles rather than new technologies. Separated from the free Europe by German Democratic Republic and Czech Socialist Republic, Poland did not aspire to becoming a tourist attraction. The only sphere of the country's relatively intensive dialogue with the world was then its (elitist) culture and – to some extent – science. However, neither of the two spheres required a sophisticated promotion, because the selectively liberal policy of our authorities (as compared to the rest of the bloc) made us extremely attractive to many Western countries, as well as Central Europe's intelligentsia.

As regards promotion, Poland entered the 20th century's last decade without any major assets. Many regions of the world have kept numerous negative stereotypes of our country. Apart from that, we still lack the simplest forms of co-ordinating a non-slogan-like international image of our homeland. Poland needs a comprehensive promotional campaign, a popularisation of its economic and cultural achievements, but also a visible success of the political and social transformation of the nineties, namely the period when – despite all problems – this country of food coupons, shortages and perpetual crises turned into a driving force of the entire region's growth.

The image of the country and raison d'état

Does the general image of the country exert any influence on specific decisions of statesmen, major investors, and also editorials in the world's best-selling dailies? Can one indicate the dependence of the image of such a large country and nation on effective promotion? Are there any connections between the image of Poland and major political and economic decisions taken in the last years?

Polish foreign policy is now less and less a sophisticated play of the elite. The institutions responsible for this policy and decision-making in this respect have been democratised. Diplomats' decisions have become increasingly influenced by the attitudes of major opinion-making groups or even entire societies.

It is not a coincidence that, in the process of expanding NATO, the United States saw it as the most important to admit Poland. This was thanks to the country's strategic position, its populational, economic, and military potentials, and also thanks to the influence and involvement of Polish expatriates in America. Equally important was the fact that many average Americans chiefly associate our region of Europe with Poland, and the aspirations to freedom in this part of the Old Continent are being mainly linked with the Poland of Solidarity, as Jan Nowak Jeziorański wrote. After the country's World War II experiences, and after the contemporary decisions regarding the question, "Does it make any sense to die for Gdańsk?", the recent dilemma, namely "Would it make sense to die for Białystok?", acquired an altogether new meaning that was now advantageous to Poland. Without Kościuszko and Pułaski, the "Polish Chicago", Zbigniew Brzezinski, Lech Wałęsa and Czesław Miłosz it would be far more difficult for us to achieve all this.

It seems that the opinion about an increasing significance of promoting the objective image of the country abroad is yet to be fully confirmed in the coming years. Clearly, the recent international decisions regarding Poland have still had little impact on the people of those countries. Poland's joining OECD does not exert any major influence on the life of an average French citizen. Today, for a statistical taxpayer in the West, Poland's integration with NATO will mean as little as what he has to pay for several hamburgers. Up until today, in the eyes of the societies of Central and Eastern Europe the process of political and military co-operation has not implied any major change in their everyday life, either. At the end of the nineties, however, we are witnessing a major change in this respect.

The challenge of integration with the European Union

Most importantly, from the stage of decisions connected with treaties, politics, and the army we are shifting to the stage in which political decisions are becoming increasingly concrete and perceptible to a considerable number of people. For the inhabitants of the former Soviet Union, Poland's integration with NATO and the European Union is now not only about approaching the Western structures: the Russians will obviously have to face the problem of limited opportunity to travel and – consequently – smaller chances to supplement their income. Central European co-operation does not involve disassembling the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid anymore. Now it's also CEFTA agreements, which lead to some conflicts in economic interests. Most importantly, however, unlike the expanding of NATO, which is mainly of interest to politicians, military men and publicists – the vision of enlarging the European Union by Central European countries (Poland, in particular) is the problem which average Mr Schmidt, Mr Brown or Mr Chevalier are keenly interested in.

Poland's image abroad and general attitudes to Poland in many countries have become key concerns for the strategic objectives of our foreign policy and – consequently – of the programme of creating conditions for Poland's new development at the dawn of the 21st century. In Poland's international situation in

the nineties, this challenge is relatively new, and we are almost unprepared to face it. We do not really know what the state expenditure on promotion will be. We do not know whether the post-communist distribution of budget outlays among certain departments and state agencies is appropriate. There is no general mechanism of co-ordinating promotional activities of various governmental institutions. It's also noteworthy that we lack an efficient system of information. In most cases, state structures' promotional activity involves reacting rather than inspiring things. Even the media do not seem interested in a comprehensive discussion regarding the issues of promotion.

New model of promotion

Creating a new model of international promotion of Poland which would allow us to face the challenges of the new century, we must combine all efforts of state, private, and self-governmental institutions in an extremely careful manner. This definitely won't be achieved through increasing the number of new governmental agencies or bureaux, but through inspiring a public discussion on different problems connected with shaping Poland's image, and then translating the results of this discussion into various institutions' decisions. The government will have to revise and co-ordinate many of its structures and also the state expenditure on promotion: from the problem of dislocation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' public diplomacy to a critical reflection on promoting Polish economy and supporting the promotion of tourism from public resources. We must answer some major questions. Is our presence really noticeable in the countries where Poland has actual interests? Are there spheres in which maintaining promotional institutions does not make sense anymore? Which spheres of promotion require the state's direct involvement? Which of them should be a responsibility of economic, non-public entities? Does the state have all of the instruments of promotion, which the countries with a similar potential possess (I'm referring to quality – not quantity)?

If we don't begin a public discussion regarding these questions, we'll face a serious threat: under the umbrella of promoting Poland, public resources might be spent on internal or branch interests. International exhibitions, festivals and promotional campaigns will not be held to improve Poland's image but they will remain abstract pseudo-events attracting little international attention. Promoting Poland will also require organising occasional big events, but nothing is better than everyday activities carried out in many corresponding spheres.

We also have to prove the great import of promotional activities – especially in the context of administrative reform – undertaken on the level of region/voivodship, city, gmina, and even a single university, cultural institution or producer union. Mass media are extremely important in this respect. It won't be long before not only Poland as a whole but also Silesia, the Mazury, and the Tatra Mountains will become an integral part of the European consciousness. A network of information must be created, which will organise these initiatives scattered all around the country into a uniform structure; one which will demonstrate the centre's preferences to regions (i.e. not obligating them but keeping them updated). The information network will also let the centre realise the whole range of local initiatives connected with promotion (also including indirect promotion of the country).

What are Poland's assets?

Speaking in terms of development, we can be proud of Poland's enormous economic leap which took place in the nineties. The tempo of the Polish society's catching up with the standards of such countries as Czechoslovakia or Hungary as early as the eighties, was impressive and it has attracted many experts' attention. Nota bene, it is the evidence of Poland's potential to develop, which had been smothered by the communist system. However, one should remember that, in very many countries which are important for us (also including our neighbours) the societies do not have a basic knowledge of the Polish society and economy of today. Not long ago, namely 1992–1993, people intending to visit our country used to call Polish institutions in Budapest and Belgrade and ask if they would need to take bread and petrol coupons with them. But even today many countries still perceive Poland in the context of the eighties rather than the nineties. Such an image has negative

effects at least on the social level, namely when a local self-government, a school or an economic chamber are choosing a partner in Central Europe; when the destination of a summer bicycle trip is being set out; when an excursion to a cultural festival in our region of Europe is being considered. Insufficient information on contemporary Poland and its problems (which, speaking in terms of quality, are now different from what they were ten or even five years ago) hinders many of our country's opportunities to co-operate on macro and other levels.

In Central and Eastern Europe after a short period of fascination with models of life coming chiefly from the West – this region's elites are gradually realising that it is very useful to observe successes and failures in other countries undergoing transformation. In this respect, Poland is or might become a testing ground for unique experiments: our reforms are diverse and often effective, and our transformation's starting point was similar to the average situation in the region. Wouldn't we be able to launch a more independent promotion of our own experiences, namely some kind of a Polish "transformation know-how" programme?

Such an activity would also be significant for our efforts to convince the West that, regardless of our economic backwardness, Poland is and must remain a natural element in the European structure, and therefore become a member of the European Union. Poland's increased responsibility in the region as a medium-sized country and NATO's member definitely cannot be seen in terms of the interwar period; it is a source of additional responsibilities rather than easy profits (in the same way as in Germany or France). Still, promoting our experiences would not only be purely altruistic, as it would inspire social contacts, investigating markets. . .

The still-unused reservoir of Poland's potential with regard to promotion is our cultural and natural heritage, and also all aspects of culture and science. Symptomatically, in the nineties many initiatives promoting Polish culture in the world were inspired by foreigners fascinated by our country. It seemed as if some of them believed in our culture's attractiveness more strongly than those in charge here in Poland. . . Not to mention that the former are always ready and willing to present our culture in accordance with the newest standards of promotion.

Poland still doesn't attract many tourists, even though statistical information might turn out different (because the category of tourism also includes weekend shoppers). The still-few foreign visitors have been enchanted by dozens of Polish museums and monuments of art, also in the provinces. However, the wealth and originality of collections, the expertness of the art of conservation and exhibition are too rarely accompanied by foreign-language catalogues and brochures, let alone the fact that many collections are not always made available to the public, which is natural in the West. . . Sometimes it seems that we are not fully aware of all the treasures we have, or we think that they can only be interesting to Polish visitors or school children.

The opening of Central and Eastern Europe (that's chiefly Slavic after all) to foreign investments and contacts offers the Polish language a unique chance to become second to Russian. In this way, it might be taught in many other countries of the world. Recently, the growing popularity of the courses in Polish and the Polish studies abroad is a clear evidence of such a tendency. It must be said that this does not only apply to Polish expatriate groups, who are now increasingly proud of their origin. The inability to submit a certificate of the command of Polish, acknowledged by Polish and foreign institutions, is, however, a serious barrier. A similar problem is caused by the lack of an extensive system of support to Polish institutions and initiatives abroad (I'm not only referring to the philological meaning of the notion "Polish").

Promoting historical and contemporary achievements of Polish science – especially including social, exact, and applied sciences – could also become a living proof of Poland's presence in Europe. Moreover, it could create natural bridges to the countries in which Polish scientists and discoverers were working away from their homeland. The importance of science in promoting one's country has been brilliantly used by such institutions as the Humboldt Foundation, the Japanese Foundation or the British Council. Our institutes for culture and even some stations of the Polish Academy of Sciences, however, very rarely treat science as a tool for promotion.

* * *

At the turn of the century, the dream of many generations of Polish people, who want to see Poland as a country that grows, is integrated with Europe, and co-operates with its neighbours on peaceful terms – comes true. Such Poland must respect itself; it must see its good points and achievements, and also consciously

promote the information about itself. The world will now be asking more questions about our country, as our share in international production and trade, tourist and social exchange, cultural and scientific co-operation will continue increasing. The answers to these questions don't only depend on ourselves, because we are not the only participants in the information superhighway. However, we are the ones to give the objective knowledge of Poland and its achievements a chance to reach our close and distant neighbours through effective promotion.

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]

A. Diagnosis of the current state of cultural institutions in Poland

The growing contrast between the political and social reality, undergoing rapid changes after 1989, including totally new rules of economic life, and increasingly stiff and obsolete managing system of national cultural institutions, especially those still functioning as the so-called budget institutions, is the basic reason for a system collapse of the culture sector in Poland. Facing a strong competition on the market of services offering suggestions for spending leisure time, Polish culture loses, mainly due to the inconvenience of the burden of the obsolete system mentioned above. The visible sign of the culture being pushed out beyond the area of the system changes is also the decreasing prestige of the institution of the Ministry of Culture and Art.

The mixed system of financing cultural institutions existing *de facto* since 1990 is, as a matter of fact, based on the legal and financial conditions codified before 1989, thus in a completely different political and economic reality. A dependence can be clearly seen between the lack of vision and understanding of the role of culture in the changing society and a deepening crisis of this sector, in other words, the lack of symmetry between transformations in the economic sector and changes in the culture one. A vivid example of this lack of symmetry is the fact of forcing (by decreasing allocations or increasing demands) directors of cultural institutions to collect non-budget funds for maintaining state institutions, at the same time, leaving the legal system unchanged which makes the rational usage of collected funds impossible. Therefore, a withdrawal from budget financing is not accompanied by a change of the financing model and, what follows, the model of managing the culture. The current system is thus inconsistent and full of contradictions.

After ten years of transformation, most of these contradictions are of a doctrinal nature, as for example:

1. Thinking about culture is still burdened by the ballast of Marxism – including still existing conviction of the unproductive character of this sector as an element of the superstructure. It is overlooked that in many countries there simply exists a concept of cultural industry which is one of the fastest developing markets of employment;
2. The current model of the state cultural policy is based on standards taken from the centrally ruled state and centrally controlled economy. It can, therefore, work only under the conditions of full financing from the state budget what, after 1989, has been becoming more and more beyond the resources of the state.
3. Today there is a call for a wide outlook on different functions of culture in a modern society and contemporary civilization, e.g.:

* March 21, 1999.

- a) As a factor of creation preceding a change;
- b) As a factor of economic development;
- c) As a foundation for social education;
- d) As a market of employment;
- e) As a tool for social policy;

4. The lack of wider outlook on the role of culture is accompanied by a static rather than dynamic view on it.

5. Preserving of the extensive model of cultural policy in Poland is reinforced by a crisis of intelligentsia.

6. After 1989 a model has been established – being now lethal for culture - that effort and devotion should be expected from intelligentsia without a just gratification. Even if this was, in short term, justified after 1989, stopping intelligentsia from advancing into a class of well paid professionals is leading not only to the crisis of this class but to crisis in other sectors by Marxism considered unproductive.

7. This is in a total opposition to contemporary tendencies in civilization, where collecting and processing information is just one of the most important sectors of development, and creativity has an economic dimension.

8. The lack of a clear management system of personal resources and ideas as well as the state policy towards intelligentsia meant as a creative class, is grossly revealed in the area of culture. These days, lack of competition on an employment market is dangerous for many cultural institutions. The same work is much better paid in other sectors. This fact leads to drainage of the most talented professionals and a negative selection of personnel.

9. Domination of the extensive managing model of culture is a particular paradox in the face of the large demand for highly educated professionals, what is now a basic obstacle to development in Poland.

10. In this context the thesis of a hyper production of intelligentsia is especially false in Poland in 1999, where the so-called over-production of intelligentsia is a direct result of the lack of structural solutions and management of human resources also in the sector of culture.

After 1989 there have been only attempts at modifying the management system of culture created for a totalitarian state and centrally controlled economy. Further toleration of this system increases discrepancies and causes crisis in culture bringing irreversible damage.

The status of budget institution held in Poland by the so-called institutions of dissemination (e.g. museums and libraries) is such an area of contradictions between the old system of management in culture based on a state control and monopoly in financing and, the post-1989 aspiration of cultural institutions to acquire independence.

Financial regulations that are in force today in Poland do not make a distinction between budget funds and institution's own income as well as special income. Special income can result from, for example, fund raising, but also enterprising activity of directors of cultural institutions, such as additional investment funds obtained from various subjects. Finance authorities are very pleased with any activity of cultural institutions in raising funds from non-budget sources, but instead of rewarding active institutions for efficiency and capability, often punish them by subsequent reducing of allocations.

In financial plans prepared by institutions, departmental authorities do not take into consideration the economic risk on the side of the institution's own income and special income, as an essential factor in the managing of cultural institutions after 1989. Special income endangered with economic risk is treated as a regular income from activity! Allocations are being reduced under the assumption that an institution will "somehow" manage and at the same time the responsibility is shifted wholly on the director of a given institution.

People running cultural institutions are in fact forced to lead an extensive managing activity, not only without having signed suitable contracts for it but, most of all, moving in a jungle of archaic law and financial rules according to which they are merely administrators, and not managers responsible for the financing and development of their institutions.

The Ministry of Culture and Art has not noticed, until now, that budget based activity of cultural institutions requires only simple administrating abilities. The new situation implies the necessity of possessing managing abilities. These abilities are forced, among other things, by the fact that culture is functioning in circumstances of international competition.

A paradox of the present situation lies in the fact that the central administration, not being able to face objective needs of financing cultural institutions introduces even more bureaucracy into managing procedures. This adds to the frustration of directors of many cultural institutions, who carry the responsibility for the survival of their institutions.

Promoted after 1989, in the situation of a permanent crisis of public finances, the idea to compensate insufficient state allocations for maintaining cultural institutions with money earned by them is very often in a glaring opposition to the aims they fulfil and threatens with lowering the level (quality) of their performance. Moreover, one cannot ignore the fact that private sponsoring in Poland is still very limited, and at the same time differentiated.

There is an urgent need for an immediate and realistic calculation of the maintaining and functioning costs of cultural institutions. For example, annual allocation for the International Cultural Centre in Cracow is, at the moment, sufficient only for moderate salaries and their derivatives. It does not account for functioning costs of the institution, such as: media, mail and telephone services, estate tax, insurance, not to mention necessary amortisation etc. The structural analysis of the budgets of cultural institutions separating personal, material and investment costs is a perfect illustration of the institutional collapse. One has an impression that the department prepares allocations for subordinate institutions for the next year ignoring their annual financial reports (which contain real costs of their maintenance). It is impossible to sustain a situation when the state creates rules and then opposes itself because it is unable to enforce its own law. To begin with, it is unable to execute the statutory act according to which the organiser guarantees financial support for maintaining cultural institutions.

Among other things, the financial collapse means that cultural institutions give up their basic duties. Commonly known are problems with completing good quality instruments for the Philharmonic or the most significant Polish museums abandoning their attempts to purchase objects, important for their collections. These facts prove that it is necessary to make it possible for cultural institutions to be able to open a credit account in justified cases. However, the present law and financial system excludes such possibilities.

The situation in which the responsibility for the survival of undercapitalised institutions is shifted to directors-administrators (and not managers), while at the same time the statutory duty of maintaining institutions by an organiser is not fulfilled, is accompanied by spending significant budget funds on promotion tasks in the field of national culture. These funds are taken beyond the limit of the state budget because budget institutions of the Ministry are very often unable to make such projects going on the basis of the formal law. This makes the financial situation of these institutions even more difficult and makes it impossible for them to use substantial means from the state budget. The status of a budget institution is therefore a serious obstacle in gaining additional financial means. Moreover, in many cases current regulations hinder and even make it impossible for the budget based cultural institutions to gain funds from international partners (for example, the term such as incentive does not exist in the Polish regulations).

Growing international contacts, which become an element of everyday activity of the increasing number of institutions in Poland, and rules of financing of projects by foreign partners imply that it is necessary for the institutions to possess a minimum quota of their own capital. In other words, it is impossible to obtain foreign funds without the institution's own contribution. It is logical that the amount of funds gained from abroad is also a function of the amount of individual funds for programmes. Their shortage limits naturally the international activity of many of the most important institutions in Poland. Present regulations of budget institutions and budget law do not sufficiently recognize the possibility of obtaining various funds beyond the state budget, and hence make the rational financial policy difficult. In the situation of a budget funds deficit, this is an extremely damaging waste of money.

Obtaining funds from different partners working on the basis of different financing and re-financing rules requires also a more flexible policy of employment. The question of salaries and limits for wage-fund has recently become a serious problem in this matter. The specific character of the activity of many cultural institutions requires employing people who are highly qualified, independent and have a good command of foreign languages. The work sometimes also requires them to work overtime. The current wage scale and limits of wage-fund as well as rules hindering extra contracts with the full-time employees have significantly limited possibilities of gratification for employees according to their qualifications and work. The present system still promotes a poorly qualified, badly working and low paid employee and not the one highly qualified, devoted to the job and hard working. The described situation is becoming a serious threat for maintaining staff of the best-qualified professionals who find better conditions of employment even in other budget institutions. An evident barrier appears in this respect, again caused by existing rules and decisive algorithms promoting an extensive and static model of activity.

As for now, budget financing of cultural institutions still leads to unnecessary and strong influence of the state on cultural institutions! This, in due course, intensifies incompetitiveness on the employment market of culture. Last years brought the progressing degradation of highly qualified personnel in cultural institutions. Meanwhile, a change in the structure of employment (which abandons the concept of calculated posts and introduces contracts) has been recently made easier by the reform of social insurance.

The conclusion is simple. In the circumstances of a growing conflict between the archaic corset of the stiff and bureaucratic frame of the institutions' financial activity and their being permanently and increasingly under-financed by budget, authorities are not prepared to react in a flexible way.

In the ranking of institutions the Ministry of Culture should first of all take into account the effectiveness and award higher allocations depending on it. One cannot tolerate the phenomenon of *uravnilovka* (equalization) and keep up developing extensive system that promotes excessive employment at the expense of under-paying of highly qualified personnel.

Much should be done to eliminate bureaucracy in the relations between founders and subordinate institutions. Although institutions are granted a legal status still, in some cases closely connected with the internal activity of institutions, the organiser makes the arbitrary decisions. The tendency has been growing again since 1993.

After December 31, 1998, the reform significantly limited instruments of the state policy towards necessary changes in the field of culture! It should be stressed that the winning view was shortsightedness devoid of wider vision, and instrumental approach towards the most important cultural institutions in the country, as well as the state' disposing of the collections of national importance.

We are convinced that the lack of concept for using the great potential of cultural institutions as a factor equally developing and promoting our country is more and more harmful not only to the culture itself but most of all to Poland. The principal task in a situation of a necessary strict budget economy should be the saving of the existing cultural institutions. Unfortunately, allocations for occasional ventures must recede into the background, even if they were of justified importance. We are seriously afraid that the Ministry's financing of projects, which are treated as national priorities and are handed over for realization to numerous private entities weakens in fact the condition of the state's most important cultural institutions. The maintaining and development of these institutions should be fully guaranteed. We suggest starting a rational discussion on the subject of the cultural institutions' place in Poland, as soon as excitement caused after introducing the administration and autonomy reform calms down. We are convinced that expected restrictions and a selection of existing cultural institutions should be followed by a transformation and reinforcement of a selected small group of the most important and internationally recognized cultural institutions that are crucial for the fulfilment of strategic aims of the new cultural policy.

Referring to our experience we find it necessary that urgent action in the following matters should be taken:

- Change of the law on cultural institutions so as to enable the institutions to use optimally institution's own and special income as well as allocations from various sources including international ones;

- Abandoning the system of so-called calculated posts;
- Giving up wage scales, in agreement with trade unions;
- Defining in the Polish law the difference between economic activity and non-profit activities;
- Introducing a zero VAT for the income gained from our cultural services;
- Allowing credit accounts for some investment and artistic projects;
- Allowing reckoning up expenses of the project after its realization and not making it dependent on the budget year;
- Recognizing that although culture does not expect privileges, it does need, however, a special handling due to a specific relation between culture and economy;
- Seeking mechanisms linking culture and cultural heritage with tourism and leisure time industry.

The change of the system in Poland after January 1, uncovered the ultimate bankruptcy of a system based on static and bureaucratic methods of management of cultural institutions. The old system could have existed in such conditions (with a great extravagance) when there was the abundance of financial means. Their shortage should additionally force necessary changes*.

B. Reform of the institutional aspects of culture in Poland

The administrative reform of the country being just introduced favours the necessary reform of cultural institutions. The generally right postulate, to decentralize and hand over by the Ministry of Culture and previous provincial administration the responsibility for financing cultural institutions to the region, district and commune councils increases the responsibility of the government for:

- New legal frames for the functioning of cultural institutions of all levels in a new system and economic reality;
- Quick modification of the managing system of the public purse property, confided to the care of cultural institutions of special importance for the state (the Ministry should remain the organising body for them). Here it seems necessary to use experiences from abroad. In the Netherlands, for example, all national museums were transformed into public foundations, whereas the collections remained the property of the Treasury. The state "pays" the museums for their care for national property.

One should also realize how important the cultural policy is in the programmes of the Western European countries. To mention, for instance, the new priorities in the cultural policy of Tony Blair's government or the new cultural policy announced in the programme of the new Chancellor of Germany.

Polish culture, exposed to conditions of international competition, requires also a system solution of problems related to promotion. The promotion, which is a kind of export of "cultural products" abroad, gives a chance for an essential improvement of the financial situation of many cultural institutions. This is particularly important for state institutions of which the Ministry of Culture and Art is still the organising body and has a direct influence on the management of their potential (collections).

Aims of the reform:

1. Establish guarantees for preserving and development of Polish culture;
2. Prepare conditions for the necessary legal and financial transformation of cultural institutions in Poland;
3. Make the organisation of the financial system of culture of superior importance to the financial law (this arises from the character of cultural activity);
4. Create conditions for an effective public and private patronage for culture;
5. Introduce independence of cultural institutions by securing the following for them:
 - a) Stability of financing from public sources;

* Detailed analysis of a crisis of cultural institutions caused by specific decisions made by the government on the turn of 1998/99 is not a subject of this work

- b) Independence;
 - c) Effectiveness;
 - d) Prospects for development;
 - e) Working according to the rule that money comes with efficiency;
 - f) A more flexible financial economy;
 - g) A market of public orders in the state system of Poland's promotion abroad.
6. The aim of the reform is not to increase significantly the state allocations of funds for culture but, on the contrary, to make the management of the institutional potential of culture more effective by a rational distribution of public funds.

General assumptions of the reform of the institutional sphere of culture in Poland

1. After January 1, 1999, a totally new structure of cultural institutions in Poland was set up. The existing hierarchic structure was destroyed by decentralisation and by expanding communalisation in administrative districts and large self-governed provinces. At the same time, the state limited, to great extent, its sovereignty in culture by handing over the culture to autonomies of all levels as their own duty.
2. The right direction of decentralization brings forth, however, the weakening of the Ministry's influence on creating our cultural policy. It requires the redefining of the whole cultural policy of the state and involves using some of the following:
 - Creating an aimed cultural fund (arts council) as an equivalent of the State Committee for Scientific Research (KBN) in this field, based on a national lottery;
 - Using government programmes to solve strategic problems of culture [culture should be present in newly created government programmes, government programmes for culture (not less than PLN 100 million)];
 - But first of all the modernization of rules according to which the most important state cultural institutions function and their better use for the promotion of Poland abroad.
3. Introduced after 1989, legislative changes in the management of culture, were only a vain attempt at adapting the earlier law to the changing situation, and after January 1, 1999 they became completely unsuitable to the conditions in which cultural institutions work (this refers particularly to the financial laws as well as rules of employment and gratification);
4. Present rules and labour regulations of financing for institutions do not adequately take into account the need for new technologies, as a consequence of the speedy development and requirements of civilization.
5. After January 1, 1999 a particular responsibility rests on the Ministry of Culture and Art to change the law and financial status of subordinate national cultural institutions. Separate legislative solutions for a group of several, most important cultural institutions in the country should be an example and encouragement for similar regulations taken up by autonomies of various levels.
6. The reform should become an opportunity to verify the existing network of cultural institutions in Poland (according to the objective and qualification-based criteria).*
7. The reform should be the beginning of a wider and multi-aspect understanding of culture:
 - a) As a factor of creation preceding a change;
 - b) As a factor of development;
 - c) As a foundation of social education;
 - d) As a market of employment;
 - e) As a tool of social policy;

* – One should distinguish here the institutions left on the list "32"; – Analyze the list "32"; – Define the group of cultural institutions under the management of provincial administration and for which mechanisms should be created for a potential return to the state.

- f) Not only a static, as before, but also a dynamic attitude to culture.
- 8. The authors are in favour of an individual solution based on Polish reality and Polish tradition of patronage.

Preliminary assumptions to the act on cultural institutions

1. An autonomous and individual approach to each cultural institution according to the principle: "legalize the form by giving a free choice";
2. Independence of cultural institutions should not mean a radical end to budget financing of their basic activities. This is a consequence of the specific character of many cultural institutions' activity, as well as the fact, that some of them render their services (usually of a high standard) for free.
3. Institutions that render high quality and high standard services should also be financially supported by a system of grants. New legal regulations should guarantee the state cultural institutions an equivalent use of grants from such bodies as the State Committee for Scientific Research (KBN), State Sports and Tourism Administration (UKFiT), Committee for European Integration (KIE), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MSZ) on a contract-order basis for specific services, e.g. connected with the promotion of Poland abroad.
4. The verification of the national cultural institutions anew, this time according to the merit criteria (not as in Autumn 1998) e.g.:
 - a) Value of collections (regardless of the status);
 - b) Aims of activity;
 - c) Financial standing.*
5. Criteria and conditions for transformation of institutions (transformation committee?) should be set up;
6. The principle of the reform is clarity of ownership and a choice of legislative and financial form of functioning adapted to aims, character and capacity.
7. The legislator should, apart from the existing legislative and organisation forms in which cultural institutions function in Poland, introduce a possibility to transform them into:
 - a) Public foundations;
 - b) Commercial companies.
8. To decide who would be entitled to transformation:
 - a) Proprietor;
 - b) Employees;
 - c) Public authorities.
9. The basis in the socializing process of managing of the most important institutions in Poland should be a trustee council.
10. To base the financial economy on a variant solution built upon an amended cultural activity act.
11. To separate aimed funds in order to create a system of grants supporting various enterprises in culture beyond the area of financing state cultural institutions.
12. Statutory priority to use budget funds should also be considered for the state cultural institutions (the "August" system seems to deny it).
13. New procedures should be introduced for laying out public funds in culture. Relations between the act of public orders and a research and artistic activity should be made more flexible.

* At this point it is necessary to regulate the financial standing of national institutions! The state property – as a basis for functioning of state institutions. The act should allow for a purchase or exchange of national cultural institutions' property, if it is required.

14. The Ministry should be entitled to control all the public funds but cannot interfere in the nature of a non-budget income. Contribution of non-budget funds to financing cultural institutions' projects should show an increasing tendency.
15. The problem of culture as a non-profit domain needs a separate regulation. The Ministry of Finance should define conditions for a tax exemption (of a different kind) in culture for e.g.:
 - a) VAT
 - b) Tax deductions from gifts.
16. New law regulations should precisely clarify relations between the culture sector, the act and the public orders act.
17. They should also enable cultural institutions to exercise an active management of the entrusted property (in special cases even selling immovable and movable property).
18. Use an example of the so-called artistic institutions, which since 1991 have been working on a non-budget, non wage-fund and non wage-scale basis.
19. Use the experience of the reform in other sectors, most of all the sector of higher education. Special attention needs to be paid to the precedent act on the National Ossolinski Institute, dated January 5, 1995.
20. Consider an individual approach to each verified national cultural institution in separate acts (similarly to universities and the National Ossolinski Institute).
21. Emphasize that the authors' intention is not a revolution but a rational modernization of the existing legal status.

Analysis of the list of 32 national cultural institutions left, after December 31, 1998, in care of the Ministry of Culture and Art

After December 31, institutions of a very different character and significance for the state were placed on the list of national cultural institutions.

1. The list consists of more than ten institutions of a national character that, on behalf of the state, carry out specific strategic tasks chosen by the state.
2. Together with them there are institutions of a very high professional level, which play a very important role in the whole country.
3. On the list there are also a few institutions, which could successfully exist as managed by a local autonomy.
4. Another group are of museums of martyrdom – the political role and humane dimension of these institutions suggest that they should stay under a direct influence of the Prime Minister. This, by any means, does not interfere with the control of the Ministry of Culture over them, as in the case of museums in other sectors (e.g. Polish Army).
5. Finally, on the list there are creative-work houses and institutions running services for the needs of the Ministry of Culture and Art 's.

Thus, according to the list the National Library was put in an equal position to a creative-work house in Wigry. At the same time, as a result of decisions made in autumn 1998 on judgement not based on qualifications and the legislation barriers, some institutions of a national importance were turned over to local authorities. An extreme example could be the Museum of Art in Lodz and National Museums in Gdansk, Kielce and Wroclaw. Procedures should be considered for the return of these institutions under the care of the Ministry of Culture and Art.

The essential aspect of incongruity within the "32" group is the fact that the institutions have different forms of legal and financial security and hence we have:

- a) Budget institutions;
- b) Artistic institutions;
- c) Creative-work houses (which run economic activity and should be privatised in the first place).

The above conclusions lead to a concept of a "special act" on national foundations for culture or call for fundamental amendments, or even a new act on organisation and management of cultural activity. This act would apply to the 20 most important institutions of national culture that have remained, on the "32" list. The remaining 12 institutions are different in character and can be divided into three distinctive groups:

- a) Concentration camps due to their specific character should work under the auspices of the Council for the Protection of the Memory of Combat and Martyrdom.
- b) Four centres that should work under the General Conservator of Monuments Office, established after January 1, 1999.
- c) Four remaining institutions, including two creative-work houses should be managed directly by the Ministry of Culture and Art.

The rearranging of the "32" list is also an excellent opportunity for a potential fusion of some cultural institutions. It would allow a reduction in the number of newly created national foundations to about 15 and, in consequence, it would prevent an inflation of too many National Institutes. The problem of placing the following institutions on the list of national foundations for culture should also be discussed with regional governments: National Museums in Gdansk, Kielce and Wroclaw, the Museum of Modern Art in Lodz and the palace complexes in Lancut and Pszczyna.

Act on the Twenty National Foundations for Culture and Art

Should definitely:

1. Cause autonomy of the most important institutions of national culture.
2. Take into account the specific character of cultural institutions' activity in market economy conditions.
3. Regulate, ultimately, the financial standing of the most important cultural institutions in the country.
4. Calculate actual costs of their activity and, as a result, decide about the real funds that should be transferred from the state budget for their maintenance and development.
5. Collectivise the managing of the most important cultural institutions in Poland by introducing a board of directors.
6. Make financial economy of these institutions rational and create a clear system of encouragement to develop a private patronage for national culture.
7. Clarify the fiscal policy of the state towards culture.
8. Change totally the policy of employment to make it rational and gradually remove the effects of the past non-competitive policy on the market of employment.
9. Strengthening of the most important institutions of national culture should directly lead to strengthening of our cultural potential. This would also make it more available to the society by extending the offer of these institutions, their stronger connections with the market of leisure time and development of new forms of activity in culture (mainly for children and teenagers).
10. Create a solid base for coordinated policy of promoting Poland abroad. A natural support for the promotion, both for the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other sectors, should be an institutional core established by the act and, legally and financially (foundations), prepared to carrying out of long-term projects.
11. Open the most important cultural institutions to effective competition and cooperation on the international market of art.
12. Individual legal acts for this group of institutions of culture should be considered.
13. A special government programme should be considered which could help to create additional support and modernise the national institutions of culture!
14. In the agreement with the Ministry of Finance the basic financial and legislative forms of cultural activity should be defined for the use of the reform, such as:

- I. Subject of public law – e.g. "Ossolineum" (a separate act is necessary);
- II. Institutions functioning on the basis of the state budget law:
 - a) Budget unit;
 - b) Budget institution (subject to special modification);
 - c) Aided funds;
- III. Public foundations;
- IV. Institutions of public use;
- V. "Artistic institutions" – should be transformed into commercial companies.

[translated by Krystyna Stankiewicz]

The late summer of 1975 has remained in my memory. He was waiting for me on the station platform in provincial Chantilly. We set off immediately ("You'll have to walk across the whole town," Herbert had warned) for the Condé Museum in the palace, past the Grand Stables – a masterpiece of 18th-century architecture. He delicately pointed out how this civilisation had applied its ideals of proportion and appropriateness to everyday life – an act of attentiveness which was wholly personal and devoid of pedantry. The same quality of attention was devoted to the *Tres Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* displayed in the palace's library, to Raphael's miniature *Three Graces*, and to Herbert's Sassetta.

Three times – as if with the touch of Prospero's magic wand – his attention was caught by some aesthetic secret of which I had only a vague and inchoate sense. The moment in front of the cartoon from Leonardo's workshop depicting the Mona Lisa – an oddly androgynous portrait with a male shoulder; another, in front of the dark cloud above Simonetta Vespucci's head in Piero di Cosimo's painting; and again in front of Ingres's *Venus Anadyomene*. Then there was the remark made later: that Leonardo's mysterious cartoon is like Duchamp's *Sacrifice*, hidden away in a Philadelphia museum. This was a sample of Lebenstein's elliptical thought, to whose hermetic insights I owe so much.

After the museum we went to Lucy Ulrich's estate in Gouvieux, where Lebenstein was staying. I spent nearly two weeks there. I mention this place because for me it is inextricably linked to his painting. The estate had been built for some Scandinavian artists' colony, in a magnificent 19th-century *mauvais goût* which I was just beginning to savour. I remember the overgrown pond, the hothouses, the theatre, the state of "romantic agony" which permeated the grounds. We listened to Mahler a lot. Throughout all the years that followed my meetings with Lebenstein were always accompanied by music which would have the closest of relations to his work: Monteverdi, Lully, Haydn, Bach played by Gould...

Piotr Kłoczowski – editor, literary critic, lecturer at Warsaw Theatre Academy. He has recently edited: J. Kott's *Kadysz. Strony o Tadeuszu Kantorze* [Kaddish: Writings on Tadeusz Kantor] (1997), K. A. Jeleński's *Bellmer albo Anatomia Nieświadomości Fizycznej i Miłości* [Bellmer, or The Anatomy of Physical Unawareness and Love] and Charles Baudelaire's *Malarz życia nowoczesnego* [The Painter of Modern Life], with an introduction by Czesław Miłosz (1998), published in Gdańsk by słowo/obraz terytoria.

The text was originally published in *Zeszyty Literackie*, issue 66/1999.

At that time Lebenstein was working on a cycle of paintings influenced by Strindberg and Böcklin's *Isle of the Dead*. This was the beginning of a new phase for him. It is only from today's perspective that I see the significance and the precursory nature of his quest. It was a very individual attempt to recognise the tradition of cosmopolitan European symbolism – trying out a new register for his own private mythologies, while expanding the possibilities of his art. The nascent vision of European symbolism both at its centres and on the peripheries was such that access to this aspect of modernism – including the modernism of Vienna – was still closed off.

It was through Lebenstein that I met Konstanty Jeleński. We met in Paris, shortly after my visit to Gouvieux, in Boulevard Haussmann, where the Congress for the Freedom of Culture was slowly coming to its end. I remember the first meal the three of us shared in a restaurant called Relais d'Astrog. Jeleński talked about Gombrowicz's *History* which he had reconstructed in Corsica that summer. Any account of the friendship and mutual fascination of these two people, Lebenstein and Jeleński, would have much to tell us about this important element in what Miłosz in *Rok myśliwego* [The Year of the Hunter] calls a "magic mountain" of the imagination in the late 20th century.

I first saw Lebenstein's *figures hiératiques, figures tressées, figures axiales*, in reproduction. I felt that I had stumbled upon something which struck new and hitherto secret chords within me, and that a kind of pact was being formed: an understanding between myself and this unique form. For me, he was someone who had a spiritual capacity of artistic creation. Its power and quality exceeded anything I had met back at home. Later I became acquainted with Lebenstein's carnet intime; a kind of diary from the early 1960s, where night-time and daytime visions would undergo an instant transposition into drawing, a transfer into a dimension subjected to a fascinating monomania. These drawings, with all the power and primitivism of Picasso's sketches for *Les Femmes d'Alger*, and with a similar combination of finesse and brutality, were at once exorcisms and meditations, an expression of the same dark fascination which consumed all of Picasso's work.

The two rats, drawn on a paper cloth during the first winter in Paris and given to Leonor Fini, have in them the same tortured, tragic obsessiveness which he distilled and composed in figures, chthonic bestiaries, or in fabulously refined gouaches from the 1960s and 1970s.

Lebenstein is an artist who is all too aware that there has been a rupture in tradition, and who knows that today only the artist's individual effort can match the mythical fragmentation of our experience. Then, in the autumn of 1975, I saw a number of paintings – today widely dispersed – which had been created out of these baroque depths; and was enchanted by their revelation of concealed order, structure, music. I remember especially the first version of *Insatiability* as being quite Titianesque in its carnality.

What began in the mid-1970s under the influence of Strindberg and Böcklin, was later enriched, became more multi-layered and mapping an interior topography which contains in its sweep the rocky formations of Cappadocia, the Miletus Gate right through to the Babylon Gate (the *Pergamon* cycle). The territory of Lebenstein's *Utracone królestwo* [The Lost Kingdom] reaches as far as the Bosphorus. This new Hellenistic mannerism is in no way a pastiche. It is, as it were, a mythical archaeology; sophisticated, conscious of the techniques at its disposal and the nature of the issues it wants to communicate. Lebenstein's painting often seems too difficult for today's possibilities of perception. At times it is too avant-garde, at other times, as if salvaged from the Louvre basements, it is almost embarrassing. I know of no similarly unique effort in painting of the second half of the 20th century. "There is in him some sort of fatalism, some endurance consolidated into eternity," wrote Jean Cassou nearly 40 years ago in one of the most beautiful texts on Lebenstein.

[translated by Magdalena Bleinert-Coyle]

- Chronicle



Director Jacek Purchla in the company of carollers welcomes the guests of the ICC



Many would like to learn about the future of architecture in Cracow



Folk singers graced the opening of the Spisz exhibition

Diary

January – December 1999

January

8 January

The annual New Year's meeting with partners and friends of the International Cultural Centre

8 January

Director Jacek Purchla meets Sybille Fritsch Oppermann (Evangelische Akademie Loccum)

10 – 13 January

Brussels: Director Jacek Purchla and Director Rafał Wiśniewski (from Ministry of Foreign Affairs) take part in the business meeting with representatives of Fondation Europalia International concerning the presentation of Polish culture at the *Europalia 2001 Poland Festival*; Director Purchla meets Werner Desimpeleare from Groep Planning in Bruges, Flanders in order to discuss the joint research project on the transformation of the historical centre of Cracow after 1989 (*Heritage and Transformation in Central Europe. The Case of Cracow*)

14 January

The visit of Dr Stephan Wackwitz in connection with his taking over the post of Director of Goethe-Institut in Cracow

19 January – 7 February

Romuald Loegler. *Dialogue with Time and Place*: exhibition of the designs of the prominent Cracow-based architect from the 1980s and '90s

25 January

The Oeuvre of Romuald Loegler: 1. Panel discussion to accompany the presentation of the author's works at the ICC Gallery (participants included R. Loegler, Andrzej Kadłuczka, Konrad Kucza-Kuczyński, Jacek Purchla, Janusz Sepioł and Ewa Zamorska-Przyłuska)

26 January

Marita Ulvskog, Swedish Minister of Culture, visits Cracow and participates, along with Director Jacek Purchla,

in the business meeting concerning the jointly sponsored events of Swedish Cultural Days in Poland

28 January

Working visit of Swedish Ambassador Nils-Erik Schyberg in connection with the preparation of Swedish Cultural Days in Poland

February

5 February

Architecture in Cracow: Which Way Is It Heading?: 2. Panel discussion accompanying the exhibition of R. Loegler's works (participants included Zbigniew Beiersdorf, Wojciech Bułiński, Stanisław Deńko, Marek Dunikowski, Romuald Loegler, Wojciech Obtulowicz and Ewa Zamorska-Przyłuska)

5 – 7 February

Brussels: Anna Gawron participates in the working meeting of the organisers of the Culture Management course

8 February

Visit of János Tischler, Deputy Director of Hungarian Cultural Centre in Warsaw

10 – 14 February

Vienna: Director Jacek Purchla delivers a lecture at Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa Institut, entitled *Polish Cultural Policy in the Context of Integration with the European Union*; meetings with Prof. Arnold Suppan and Dr Elisabeth Vyslonzil concerning the co-operation between the ICC and ÖOSI

16 February

Meeting with Attila Szalai, advisor of Hungarian Ambassador in Warsaw

16 February – 31 March

Spisz: exhibition presenting the culture of one of the most interesting multiethnic regions of Central Europe, prepared jointly with the "Borderland of Arts, Cultures, Nations" Centre and "Borderland" Foundation in Sejny



The exhibition of paintings by Jan Lebenstein opens at the ICC Gallery



The closing ceremony of the Cracow's part of the course in culture management: Director Jacek Purchla awards the certificate of completion to Enkeleyda Fergali from Albania

Martin Slivka and Ákos Engelmayer from Spisz during a discussion at the International Cultural Centre



Prof. Jan Ostrowski presents the sixth volume of Materials for the History of Religious Art . . .



Tomasz Gryglewicz, Tadeusz Nyczek, Piotr Kłoczowski (curator of the exhibition) and Katarzyna Bik talk about Lebenstein's art

18 February

Harriet Mayor Fulbright visits the ICC and receives information about the Centre and the College; talks on the founding at the Jagiellonian University of Fulbright International Centre for Central and Eastern Europe.

23 February

Meeting of Director Jacek Purchla and Iván Bába, the new Hungarian Ambassador, concerning perspectives of future co-operation

March

4 – 6 March

Pilsen: Anna Gluzińska takes part in the conference *At the Turn of Centuries: Culture and Arts in Czech Lands ca. 1800*, organised by Charles University in Prague in co-operation with Pilsen City Archives

7 – 14 March

Culture Management: theoretical part of the course for culture managers from Central and Eastern Europe, organised, for the second time, in co-operation with the European Network of Cultural Centres (as part of The College for New Europe)

16 March

Promotion of Volume 6 of *Kościoty i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province], edited by Jan K. Ostrowski, as part of the Materials for the History of Religious Art... series, published by the ICC

17 March

Warsaw, the Royal Castle: presentation of the reform proposal concerning cultural institutions and the system of their financing, prepared by Prof. Jacek Purchla and Andrzej Rottermund and commissioned by the Prime Minister's Office

17 March

Meeting of Director Anna Gawron with an international group of secondary school students who participated in the *European Class – History* educational programme in IV Liceum Ogólnokształcące (Fourth General Education Secondary School) in Cracow

17 March

Meeting with a group of Polish teachers who have taken part in the *Common Heritage Salzburg – Cracow* course, designed as the course closing event

18 March

Spisz as a Multicultural Region: panel discussion accompanying the exhibition in the ICC Gallery (participants included Jerzy Baranowski, Ákos Engelmayer, Jacek Purchla, Martin Slivka and Ladislav Volko)

25 March

Spisz: Close and Unknown: lecture by Antoni Kroh, curator of the exhibition presented in the ICC Gallery

25 – 28 March

Leipzig: presentation of ICC publications at the International Book Fair

29 March

Stockholm: participation of Director Jacek Purchla in the Polish-Swedish seminar on cultural policy, organised by the Polish Institute in Stockholm, in co-operation with Swedish National Cultural Council and National Committee for Cultural Co-operation in Europe; Prof. Purchla delivers the lecture: *Culture and the European Integration – a Difficult Compromise*

29 – 31 March

Strasbourg: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the conference *European Heritage in Danger*, organised by World Monuments Fund in co-operation with the Council of Europe, Europa Nostra and Save Europe's Heritage, with the paper entitled *Providing a Legal Protective Framework for Growth*

30 March

Commencement of a series of orientation meetings for students of pedagogy of the Jagiellonian University, concerning the ICC activities

31 March

Visit of the Swedish delegation involved in preparing the *Presentation of Sweden in Poland* project (Hans Pechan, Lilian Westerberg, Irena Lundberg and Józef M. Łabanowski)

31 March

Warsaw: Prof. Jacek Purchla takes part in the meeting of the Legislative Council at the Office of Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland; Prof. Purchla co-delivers a presentation on the new proposal of Cultural Monuments Protection Act

April

9 April

Warsaw: meeting of Director Jacek Purchla with Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prof. Bronisław Geremek, concerning the organisation of *Europalia 2001 Poland Festival* in Brussels

10 April

Lecture of Director Jacek Purchla entitled *Cultural Policy and Local Government* at Małopolska Public Administration School of the Cracow University of Economics

11 – 13 April

Visit of Prof. Dr. Karel Veraghtert and a group of students of the University in Tilburg

13 April – 23 May

Jan Lebenstein. Stages: exhibition of paintings on canvas and paper from the years 1956–1993 (opening participated by the artist)

14 April

Jan Lebenstein. Stages and Returns: discussion participated by Katarzyna Bik, Tomasz Gryglewicz, Piotr Kłoczowski, Tadeusz Nyczek

15 – 16 April

Berlin: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the international conference *Heritage Conservation and Employment*



A discussion of guests from the Russian Federation and representatives of Cracow's artistic circles



Jan Lebenstein (1930–1999)

The opening of the exhibition *Rembrandt, Rubens and Others*: Krzysztof Kruzel, its curator, talks on masterpieces of 17th-century printmaking



Among the participants of the seminar *Polish Culture 2000 Plus* were also two most recent Polish Ministers of Culture: Izabella Cywińska and Prof. Andrzej Siciński



22 – 23 April

Renata Latała takes part in the Fourth Professional Forum of Polish Historians and History Teachers from Central and Eastern Europe, organised in Cracow by "Wspólnota Polska" Society

23 – 24 April

Jasło: Prof. Jacek Purchla and Dr Krzysztof Broński take part in the international conference on *Spatial Development of Galician Towns Located Between the Dunajec and the San Rivers at the Period of Autonomy*; Prof. Purchla lectures on *Issues of Spatial Development of Cracow in the Period of Autonomy* and Dr Broński delivers the paper entitled *The Role of Local Government in the Development of Provincial Galician Towns: the Cases of Przemyśl, Stanisławów and Tarnów*

28 April

Director Anna Gawron meets German-speaking journalists, Nils Kreimeier (*Ost-West Contact*) and Nicolas Bernau (*Tagesspiel*)

28 April – 2 May

Glasgow: Director Jacek Purchla participates in the Annual Conference Europa Nostra

May

4 May

Brussels: Director Jacek Purchla and Rafał Wiśniewski, Director of Cultural Diplomacy Department from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, meet Luc Stainier, General Director of Fondation Europalia International, for a discussion concerning *Europalia 2001 Poland Festival*

7 – 9 May

Warsaw: Renata Latała and Aneta Gluzińska take part in the Sixth Polish European Meeting, organized by Robert Schuman Foundation and present the ICC activities, with the focus on publications

10 May

Works of Jan Lebenstein and the Concept of the Grotesque: lecture by Prof. Tomasz Gryglewicz accompanying the exhibition in the ICC Gallery

12 May

Discussion meeting of representatives of Cracow' artists and intellectuals with a group of journalists and artists who arrived in Poland for Russian Federation Cultural Days

14 – 16 May

Brussels: Director Anna Gawron takes part in the inauguration of the second part of the course for culture managers and in the meeting of Executive Committee of the European Network of Cultural Centres

17 May

Meeting of Director Jacek Purchla and Roland Blatmann, the new French Consul General and Director of the French Institute in Cracow

27 May

Visit of the Mayor of Cracow, Prof. Andrzej Golaś: discussion on forms and scope of co-operation between the ICC and Cracow's Municipal Authorities

28 May

Presentation of the newly published book by István Kovács *Polacy w węgierskiej Wiosnie Ludów 1848–1849* [Poles in the Hungarian Revolution 1848–49]

28 May

Jan Lebenstein, prominent painter and graphic artist dies in Cracow; the exhibition of his works at the ICC having ended on 23 May

30 May – 4 June

Brussels: Director Jacek Purchla sits on the Committee assessing proposals submitted for the RAPHAEL programme

June

2 June

Anna Gawron meets the delegation of cultural institutions, foundations and the government of North Rhine-Westphalia as well as the delegation of the government of Baden-Württemberg and informs them of the ICC activities

5 June

Delegates of AICA Congress, taking place in Cracow on 4 – 5 June, take part in a special presentation prior to the official opening of the exhibition *Rembrandt, Rubens and Others*

7 June – 25 July

Rembrandt, Rubens and Others: another exhibition of graphic art masterpieces from the Print Room of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Cracow

8 June

Cologne: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the session promoting Cracow, organised by the Polish Embassy and Konrad Adenauer Foundation and delivers the lecture entitled *Cracow: A Capital of European Cultural Heritage*

10 June

Polish Culture 2000 Plus: seminar accompanying the CIRCLE network Congress

10 June

Jazz concert by Leszek Żądło's band, which marks the opening of a new Conference Hall at the ICC headquarters

11 – 13 June

The CIRCLE network Congress: *Beyond Cultural Diplomacy. International Cultural Co-operation Policies: Whose Agenda Is It Anyway?*

19 – 21 June

Business visit of Anne Mommens from Fondation Europalia International

20 – 25 June

Jerusalem: Presentation of ICC publications at the International Book Fair (section: *Books from Poland*)

28 June

Meeting of the ICC Programme Council; meeting of the Council members with the ICC team



Director Jacek Purchla welcomes the lecturers and students of The College for New Europe



Prof. Lech Kalinowski talks on the history of print rooms



Dr Klaus Klemp lectures on Frankfurt's skyscrapers



The participants of the course *Lvov and Cracow in European Civilisation* in front of the presbytery in Gromnik



Dr Diane Haigh describes Baillie Scott's designs for "houses in Poland"



The promotion of a new edition of Ewa Kuryluk's *Wiedeńska Apokalipsa*. From the left: the author of the book, Prof. Jacek Purchla and Ernst-Peter Brezovszky, the Austrian Consul General in Cracow

29 June – 6 July

Multiethnic Regions: Problems of Heritage Preservation: study trip around Transylvania as part of a series of seminars *Cultural Space of Central Europe*; during the visit, on 3 July, a round table *Poland and Romania on the Ways of Cultural Co-operation* takes place in Braşov, organised by the ICC and Romanian Ministry of Culture in co-operation with the Polish Embassy in Bucharest

July

8 July

Visit of John Whitehead, Deputy Director of The British Council in Warsaw

9 July

Visit of Ernst-Peter Brezovszky, the in-coming Austrian Consul General in Cracow

10 – 13 July

Visit of Werner Desimpeleare with a team from Groep Planing in Bruges; talks on the project *Heritage and Transformation in Central Europe. The Case of Cracow*

11 – 31 July

Democracy and Diversity: summer course in The College for New Europe (under the auspices of New School for Social Research in New York)

12 – 25 July

Further summer courses in The College for New Europe:
– *Heritage and Transformation*
– *Central Europe and European Integration*

13 July

Lecture of Dr Erhard Busek *Central Europe and European Integration* to inaugurate the courses at The College for New Europe

15 July

Graphic Art and Print Rooms: lecture of Prof. Lech Kalinowski; talk of Krzysztof Kruzel on the exhibition *Rembrandt, Rubens and Others*

30 July – 29 August

Piotr Wójtowicz. An Overturned Man: exhibition of the Cracow-based artist organised in the ICC Gallery by The Cultural Centre of Małopolska

August

26 August

Visit of Dr Gottfried Zeitz in connection with his taking over as German Consul General in Cracow

31 August – 10 September

Exhibition *Oben – Türme der Stadt – Frankfurt am Main* as part of Frankfurt Days in Cracow, organised by Frankfurt City Council, Frankfurt Book Fair, Frankfurt-Cracow Friends Group and the City of Cracow

September

3 September

Lecture of Dr Klaus Klemp *Architecture of Frankfurt's Sky-scrapers*, accompanying the exhibition *Oben – Türme der Stadt – Frankfurt am Main*

5 – 15 September

Lvov and Cracow in European Civilisation: a Polish-Ukrainian course, part of the bilateral meetings program concerning social and cultural relations of Poland with the neighbouring countries, organised in co-operation with Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition at Warsaw University

10 – 12 September

Vilnius: Director Jacek Purchla and Prof. Tadeusz Chrzanowski take part in the conference on *Vilnius and Cracow in European Civilization*, organised by the ICC as part of Cracow Days in Vilnius; Prof. Purchla delivers the lecture *Cracow: Provincial City or Metropolis*, while Prof. Chrzanowski talks on *Cracow in Early Poland*

16 September

Meeting of the Cultural Committee of Cracow City Council at the ICC headquarters: presentation of the programme and plans of the Centre

17 September – 31 October

Baillie Scott. The Artistic House: exhibition of the prominent English architect of the turn of the century, linked to Arts and Crafts Movement, organised in co-operation with Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge

17 September

Baillie Scott and the Artistic House in Poland: lecture of Dr Diane Haigh

19 – 21 September

Gdańsk: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the conference of Culture Ministers of Baltic States

22 – 26 September

Conrad and History: international conference to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the writer's death (part of Kraków 2000 Festival)

28 September

Business meeting of Kronenberg Bank Foundation Council at the ICC headquarters.

29 September

Promotion of the new version (by W.A.B. publishing house) of Ewa Kuryluk's *Wiedeńska Apokalipsa* [Viennese Apocalypse], in the presence of the author of the book

October

2 – 15 October

Vienna: presentation of the ICC exhibition *19th-century Architecture of Lvov* at Technische Universität



The lecture inaugurating the series *Europa 2000 Plus – Problems – Discussions – Meetings*



Publications of the International Cultural Centre presented at the Book Fair in Cracow



The exhibition of Jean Claude Arnault's photography at the foyer of the Ravens Conference Hall



The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall: before the opening of the exhibition (Anna Śliwa and Ewa Herniczek, curator)



David Lodge signs his books



The conference *Heritage and Development*. From the left: Director Jacek Purchla, Prof. Stanisław Juchnowicz, Prof. Andrzej Golaś, Mayor of Cracow, Prof. Tadeusz Chrzanowski, President of the Citizens Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow, Janusz Sepiol, Deputy Chairman of Małopolska

5 – 6 October

Prague: Renata Latała takes part in the conference *From City Corporations to Modern Local Organisations*, organised by Prague City Archives

7 – 11 October

Brussels: Prof. Jacek Purchla, Prof. Zdzisław Żygulski and Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik take part in the inauguration of *Europalia 1999 Hungary Festival*; they visit selected Festival events in preparation for *Europalia 2001 Poland*.

13 – 18 October

Frankfurt am Main: presentation of ICC publications at the 51st International Book Fair.

13 – 22 October

Brussels, the European Parliament: presentation of the activities and achievements of Villa Decius, International Cultural Centre, Jewish Cultural Centre and Kraków 2000 Festival Bureau, as part of *Renaissance 2000* exhibition, promoting the City of Cracow

14 – 17 October

Ljubljana: Director Anna Gawron takes part in the annual meeting of the European Network of Cultural Centres

15 – 16 October

Kaunas (Kovno): Renata Latała takes part in the conference organised by Slavic Studies Centre at Vitovt University and delivers the paper *Activities of the International Cultural Centre in Central and Eastern Europe*

15 – 23 October

Guadalajara, Mexico: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the World Historic Monuments Preservation Congress and in the 12th Assembly of ICOMOS

18 – 20 October

Warsaw: Aneta Gluzińska takes part in the international symposium *Common Heritage: Art of Formerly Polish Territories*, organised by the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences and *Przegląd Wschodni* [Eastern Review] journal, and presents a paper *Architects of the Jesuit School in Chyrow (Ukraine)*

21 October

Inauguration of the *Europa 2000 Plus – Problems – Discussions – Meetings* programme, organised by Austrian Consulate General in Cracow and the ICC; the lecture *Salzburg – Experience of a Modern European Region* delivered by Prof. Franz Schausberger, Head of Salzburg's provincial government; the discussion participants included Voivode of Małopolska, Ryszard Masłowski, Chairman of Małopolska Voivodship, Marek Nawara, and Jerzy Sadecki, a journalist from *Rzeczpospolita* newspaper, who moderated the discussion

21 – 24 October

Presentation of ICC publications at the Third Book Fair in Cracow

21 – 24 October

The photographic exhibition of Jean Claud Arnault, *Road to the Islands*, with texts by Katarina Frostenson, organised

jointly with the Swedish Institute in Stockholm, as part of Swedish Days in Poland; opening in the presence of the authors

27 October

Visit of Raf Van Hellemont, Belgian Ambassador in Poland, in connection with the preparation of *Europalia 2001 Poland Festival*

November

5 November

– The Hague: Director Jacek Purchla sits on the Europa Nostra Awards jury.

– Meeting of Director Anna Gawron, Anna Śliwa and Teresa Leśniak with a group of Sozialdienst participants from Dresden; presentation of the ICC activities and international projects in the context of co-operation with the European Union

15 November

Concept-building seminar concerning *Europalia 2001 Poland Festival*, organised in co-operation with Ministry of Foreign Affairs; participants included representatives of cultural institutions and festival organising bodies

18 November

Polish-Austrian Evening at the Austrian Consulate General in the wake of the photographic exhibition *Wien, Hel-denplatz. Mythen und Massen, 1848–1998*; lecture of Prof. Jacek Purchla: *Cracow and Vienna: Mutual Relations over the Last 150 Years*

19 November

The Abbey of St. Gall and Poland – international seminar preceding the opening of the exhibition in the ICC Gallery

19 November 1999 – 9 January 2000

The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall – exhibition of photographs, plans, models, and facsimiles, connected with the Benedictine monastery, one of the outstanding centres of culture and science in medieval Europe

20 November

– Conference on *Heritage and Development: The Case of Cracow*, organised in co-operation with the Citizens Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow – *David Lodge Reads His Works*: meeting with the writer, organised jointly with The British Council, to mark the opening of The British Council branch in Cracow

December

2 December

Another meeting of the *Europa 2000 Plus* series; the lecture *Perspectives of European Economic Policy* delivered by Prof. Ewald Nowotny, Vice-President of the European Investment Bank; discussion participants included Cracow's Deputy Mayor, Jerzy Jedliński, Deputy Chairman of the European Committee of Vienna City Council, Matthias Tschirf, and Jerzy Sadecki, a journalist from *Rzeczpospolita* newspaper, who moderated the discussion



The Ravens Conference Hall

6 December

The end-of-the year meeting of partners and associates of the ICC in the Ravens Conference Hall; presentation of plans and objectives for the year 2000

6 – 7 December

Cracow-Promnice: Business meeting of the ICC Programme Council, with the participation of Minister Anna Popowicz, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage

10 – 12 December

Director Jacek Purchla, Director Krzysztof Markiel and Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik take part in the conference *Euro-*

pean Models of Culture Management, organised by Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University, in co-operation with the ICC, as part of the *European Training* project; Prof. Jacek Purchla delivers two lectures: *Towards New Philosophy of the Heritage Management and EU Policy in the Context of Cultural Heritage – RAPHAEL Programme*, while Krzysztof Markiel presents the paper *Allocation of Communal Culture Funding: The Case of Cracow Municipality*

20 December

Visit of Andreas Stadler, Director of Austrian Cultural Institute in Warsaw

[translated by Władysław Chłopicki]



A meeting with the Centre's partners and associates: Prof. Tadeusz Chrzanowski receives a honorary diploma awarded to the Citizens Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow, for supporting the ICC's investment programme. In the foreground: Anna Popowicz, Deputy Minister and Tomasz Szczypiński, Deputy Mayor of Cracow



Director Jacek Purchla welcomes the participants in a CIRCLE sitting. Seated at the table (from the left): Rod Fisher, Ritva Mitchell, Stanisław Ratajski, Anna Niewiadomska, Kazimierz Krzysztofek

The seminar *Polish Culture 2000 Plus* opens. First row (from the left): Stanisław Żurowski, Deputy Minister, Juliusz Braun, Deputy, Ferenc Puskás, the Hungarian Consul General, Andrzej Gaczol, the Voivodship Conservator of Historic Monuments, Janusz Sepiol, Deputy Chairman of Małopolska, Izabella Cywińska (Minister of Culture in 1989-1990)



Conferences
Seminars

Polish Culture 2000 Plus
10 June

Beyond Cultural Diplomacy
11 – 13 June

The work of the International Cultural Centre's activity involves, among other things, monitoring legal and institutional changes in Polish and European culture – especially financing culture. The ICC organised the seminar *Polish Culture 2000 Plus*, aimed at analysing the situation of culture in Poland, namely discussing the condition of culture and a future model of the state cultural policy. It was participated by deputies, representatives of the Ministry of Culture, the Office of the General Conservator of the Historic Monuments and many self-governing cultural institutions. The seminar's major point was the presentation of propositions prepared by Prof. Jacek Purchla and Prof. Andrzej Rottermund, commissioned by the Prime Minister's Office as part of the work on the reform of managing Polish cultural institutions.

The seminar, held on 10 June 1999, also served as an introduction to the annual session of the Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe (CIRCLE). Between 11 and 13 June 1999, members of CIRCLE representing major European institutions dealing in cultural research discussed the subject *Beyond Cultural Diplomacy – International Cultural Co-operation Policies: Whose Agenda Is It Anyway?* The participants of the meeting included cultural researchers and policy makers from different European countries. Among the themes the following seem noteworthy: the relations between globalisation and actual changes in cultural life and international cultural policy; cultural diplomacy as a significant instrument in creating the image of a country; evaluation of the situation of cultural research institutes in the context of globalisation, reduced financing, etc. During the second day of the conference, the representatives of foreign culture institutes in Poland discussed the role and the prospects of their institutions. The meeting was concluded by a promotion of the third edition of *Handbook of Cultural Affairs*, published by the Zentrum für Kulturforschung in Bonn.

Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik

The Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



During a field class . . .

Before the Polish and Romanian session: Director Jacek Purchla and Ion Caramitru, Minister of Culture



In Transylvania – one of Europe's most interesting regions, the place of co-existing cultures, nations and religions, and a continuous dialogue between the past and the present – the seventh seminar in the series called *Cultural Space of Central Europe* was held between 29 June and 6 July.

The multitude of unique historic monuments, the cultural landscape and nature of this land of complex history all create a special context for the work on Central and Eastern European cultural heritage. The participants' numerous meetings with representatives of state institutions, non-governmental organisations, and also a group of people of Romanian, Hungarian, and German origin, who have been involved in preserving and reviving cultural heritage, served as a good opportunity to learn about Romania's heritage preservation and management.

A major event in the seminar was a discussion participated by Romanian and Polish representatives of political and cultural life which was held on 3 July in Braşov. The following people met at the round table: Minister of Culture Ion Caramitru, Adriana Babeţi, Gabriel Bărtaş, Dan Bartha, Nicolae Bocşan, Cătălina Buzoianu, Stanislava Jakimowsky, Marius Laurca, Adam Maksay, Iustin Markiş, Mircea Martin, Virgil Mihăilescu, Rodica Palade, Liliana Popescu, Marian Popescu, Christian Radu, Stan Velea, Ioan Vieru, Alexandru Zub (from Romania) and Ambassador Bogumił Luft, Wojciech Czech, Alina Giurescu-Golaś, Kazimierz Jurczak, Lech Kalinowski, Jerzy Mikułowski-Pomorski, Adam Miłobędzki, Beata Podgórska, Jacek Purchla, Andrzej Siciński, Władysław Stróżewski, Andrzej Tomaszewski, Stanisław Widlak, Rafał Wiśniewski, Roman Wyborski, Jerzy Wyrozumski (from Poland).

The meeting was prepared by the International Cultural Centre in co-operation with the Ministry of Culture of Romania and the Polish Embassy in Bucharest. Its aim was to reflect on the two countries' past and talk on our cultural heritage and links. We hope that through looking for what we have in common in the culture of Europe undergoing integration we'll be able to find new ways of learning about each other and shape a new, stereotype-free image of Polish-Romanian relationships.

The session was extensively covered in Romanian press, and in the eyes of its participants it was very significant in consolidating the two nations' friendship and co-operation.

Renata Latała
The Research Institute of European Heritage

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



The Conrad conference participants in front of Villa Decius
 Prof. Jacek Purchla and Prof. Zdzisław Najder chat

This international conference was organised by the International Cultural Centre and the Kraków 2000 Festival Bureau to commemorate the 75th anniversary of Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski's death (d. 3 September 1924). It was the idea of Prof. Zdzisław Najder, president of the Conrad Society of Poland, to organise in Kraków a meeting of specialists in Conrad's *oeuvre* from all over the world who would discuss the writer's attitude to history. This theme has in fact never been investigated.

Conrad was a writer of three cultures: Polish, French and English, which is why the lecturers were chiefly the renowned specialists in his *oeuvre* from these three countries; discussions were also participated by scholars from the Netherlands, the United States and Italy. 40 people from 13 countries attended the conference. Comparing the viewpoints of specialists in many fields, namely historians, literature historians, philosophers, became an opportunity to see Conrad as an artist whose imagery drew from where diverse cultures met, combining the eastern and the western traditions of Europe. Apart from that, Poland was discussed in terms of a significant intellectual background of his work.

The opening ceremony of the conference was attended by John Macgregor, the British Ambassador in Poland, and Zinoviy Kuravskiy, Consul General of the Republic of Ukraine in Kraków. The participants and guests were welcomed by Prof. Jacek Purchla, Director of the ICC. Bogusław Sonik, Head of the Kraków 2000 Festival Bureau, concluded the official part of the opening.

The following lectures were given: *Conrad and the Idea of Colonialism* by Jacques Berthoud (France); *Conrad and Polish History* by Andrzej Busza (USA); *Conrad's Lord Jim* by Jakob Lothe (Norway); *The Irony of History* by Anne Luyat-Moore (France); *Conrad as a French Historical Writer* by Sylvere Monod (France); *Joseph Conrad: the Past as the Repository Value* by Zdzisław Najder (Poland); *Conrad and Historical Correctness* by Josiane Paccaud-Huguet (France); *Lord Jim: Reading and Writing the Past* by Andrea White (USA). The chairman of the meeting was Anthony Fothergill (Great Britain), who lectured on *Conrad and Thomas Mann – Visions of History*. Daphne Erdinast-Vulcan (Israel) was unable to arrive, but all the participants were given the typescript of her lecture on *Conrad and the Logic of Ethnography*.

The second day of the conference was opened by Prof. Jacek Purchla's lecture entitled *Conrad's Cracow*. Afterwards, lecturers and discussants (Keith Carabine and Robert Hampson from Great Britain, Addison Bross from the United States, Joseph Dobrinsky from France, Mario Curelli from Italy, and Gene Moore from the Netherlands) supervised by Allan Simmons talked about the aspect of history in Conrad's *oeuvre* in the context of the issues discussed earlier, and also the problems of the writer's reception in Europe and the world.

The conference was complemented by an exhibition of documents and photographs connected with Conrad and his family, made available by the Jagiellonian Library and the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Kraków. During the break, a press conference with the participants was held.

On 25 September the participants went to Zakopane and visited the villa "Konstantynówka", a place where Conrad used to stay. Unfortunately, the trip to his birthplace (Berdichev, Ukraine) fell through, due to circumstances beyond the organisers' control.

Barbara Szyper
The College for New Europe



Discussions during the break: Prof. Anton von Euw talks with Urszula Kropiwek, Head of the "Pro Helvetia" Cracow, and Renata Latała from the ICC Research Institute of European Heritage

The seminar was organised by the International Cultural Centre, the Archives of the Abbey of St. Gall and the "Pro Helvetia" Swiss Foundation for Culture. It was held at the ICC and it accompanied the exhibition *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall*, which opened simultaneously in the ICC Gallery, showing the splendid medieval art of this unique place. The abbey owes its beginnings and name to the hermit Gallus, allegedly of Irish origin, who erected a house of prayer in the early 7th century, gathered disciples about him and soon became famous for his pious life. About 100 years later, the Alemannic priest Otmar founded a monastery, in which the rule of Saint Benedict was later introduced. The Abbey soon became a brilliant cultural centre. In its scriptorium many manuscripts were created which reached the farthest parts of the Christian world. Thanks to the wonderful art of illumination, which was also being developed in the scriptorium, the manuscripts boasted a highly sophisticated quality. The Abbey Archives, which date back to the middle of the 8th century, belong to the oldest in European civilisation. The library is among the richest medieval book collections.

The abbey also gave rise to the city St. Gall, which takes pride in its special links with Poland. In the Higher School of Commerce, established in 1898 and turned into a University in 1995, so many Poles studied in the early 20th century that it was being called Académie Polonaise. The city and the canton of St. Gall played a significant role in educating the Polish soldiers and preparing them for life under peacetime – especially the soldiers of General Prugar-Ketling's 2nd Division of Infantry Riflemen, interned to Switzerland in 1940, after France's defeat.

The seminar in Kraków focused on the roots of European culture and the influence of St. Gall on the culture of Poland undergoing Christianisation. Its theme attracted many outstanding scholars and experts. The lecturers were: Prof. Jerzy Strzelczyk from the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (*The Benedictine Mission and the Beginnings of the Abbey of St. Gall*), Prof. Walter Berschin from Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg (*St. Gall and Reichenau in the Middle Ages – Challenges and Answers*), Dr Marek Derwich from the Wrocław University (*The Polish Benedictines' Relations with the West*), Dr Werner Vogler, Head of the Stiftsarchiv of St. Gall (*St. Gall and Poland – European Cultural Relations*), Prof. Anton von Euw from the Kölner-Universität (*The Illuminated Manuscripts of St. Gall Devoted to War Affairs, Their Origin and History over the Centuries*), Dr Dariusz Sikorski from the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (*Insular Influences on the St. Gall Scriptorium – Myth and Reality*), Dr Marian Zwiercan, curator and Deputy Director of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (*The Codices of St. Gall in the Collection of the Jagiellonian Library*). The introduction and the closing speech were delivered by Prof. Jerzy Wyrozumski.

Jerzy Wyrozumski

Head of the Research Institute of European Heritage

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



The exhibition of Romuald Loegler's designs: the ICC Gallery space . . .

Exhibitions

Romuald Loegler. Dialogue with Time and Place 19 January – 7 February

The exhibition – shown in Berlin and then in Cracow – focused on what is most important in architecture, namely time and space. The approach to these two notions was often manifested in a rather grotesque way in Polish post-war architecture: in most cases, it was the pressure of the moment that mattered – not the actual quality of a given location. Only a few architects managed to succeed in coping with this unnatural situation. However, forced to work in a time of shortages, their work was sometimes very expressive.

Romuald Loegler (born in 1940), one of the best-known architects, is also one of those whose work has had a major impact on the Polish landscape after the turning point of 1989. In the '90s, new buildings of the Academy of Economics and the Jagiellonian Library were erected in Cracow. In the autumn of 1998, a funeral home was opened in Batowice; a new philharmonic building is planned in Łódź, and a Municipal School Complex will be built in Tychy. Loegler is also known in Western Europe, especially in Germany; he received the Fritz Schumacher Award, and is an associate member of the Saxon Academy of Art.

Since the beginning of his work, the young architect has aimed at creating buildings inspired by modernist tradition (a detached house in Rzeszów, a house of culture in Brzozów). Between 1972 and 1983, he chose cube as the basic element organising space; he used to apply this form in a very strict manner: both on a plane and in space, the rectangular modular grid served as a frame for visual and practical ideas. Theoretical "manifestos" and "manifestos-realizations" were created during that period – such as a detached house in ul. Ehrenberga in Cracow. Later (1984–1987) Loegler began to move the various elements that make up the modular grid, which made his designs more complex and varied; during that period he mainly created villas and detached houses. Around the same time (1980–1985) he introduced post-modern details in his designs, which can be observed in their purest form in the interesting pink facade of the building in al. 29 Listopada in Cracow. Then (1986–1996), Loegler gave up Cartesian coordinates and deformed the modular grid through bending or stretching (*Block 2* in Berlin, a funeral home in Cracow, and others). In the late '80s, a design for the Jagiellonian Library was made, and a house in ul. Rzeczna (Cracow) was realised. In the '90s Loegler introduced light in his creations. It now became the basic form in his architecture: glass walls were created, which show the inside of the building and make the elevations look spatial. He also used elegant constructions and materials, which – combined with the extensive use of glass – turned his buildings into sophisticated art forms (a design for a school in Meissen, a building in ul. Smocza in Cracow).

The exhibition organised at the International Cultural Centre was for Cracovians a rare opportunity to learn about the work of a living architect. It was accompanied by two panel discussions concerning Loegler's art and the question, "what will be the future of Cracow's architecture?"

Ewa Zamorska-Przyłuska
Architektura & Biznes



The Spisz exhibition.
Below: a folk relief portraying Our Lady

Exhibitions

Spisz • Spiš • Zips • Szepes *16 February – 31 March*

For the last several years, the "Borderland of Arts, Cultures, Nations" Centre in Sejny has been organising meetings and symposia devoted to multicultural regions of Central and Eastern Europe, including Bosnia, Bukowina, Prague, the Baltic States. In May 1998, in a cloister on the Wigry lake the "Borderland" Centre in co-operation with the International Cultural Centre prepared a seminar on Spisz, an opportunity to remember that, over the centuries, this region's culture was created by different nations: Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Russes, Jews and others. It was in Spisz that Eastern Europe's main trade routes met. Unlike the neighbouring regions, Spisz has preserved many wonderful works of art and a distinct cultural identity.

The seminar's programme also included the opening of an exhibition prepared by Barbara Magierowa and Antoni Kroh in Sejny's White Synagogue. It was a presentation of photographs of the most valuable historic monuments of Spisz, photocopies of documents (from the deed of lien of the cities of Spisz of 1412 to the evidences of communist repression), and also publications on Spisz (in several languages), regional costumes, old drawings and photographs, and objects connected with the Spisz and Orawa plebiscite that was planned to be held in 1919.

The exhibition was later shown in the ICC Gallery in Kraków. It was complemented by the exhibits made available by the Ethnographic Museum, the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Cracow, the Main Mountain Library of the Polish Tourist Country-Lovers' Association, the Slovak Society in Cracow and private collections. In 1999, it was presented in Slovakia (Levoča, Kežmarok, Stará Ľubovňa). It is also going to be shown in Bratislava and Bochnia.

The exhibition's catalogue was published by the "Borderland" Centre and the ICC. It includes several dozen or so photographs in colour, essays by Krzysztof Czyżewski, Prof. Jacek Purchla, Antoni Kroh, and Ákos Engelmayer, and also a diary and a list of source material. All texts in the catalogue and the descriptions of the exhibits were written in four languages (Polish, Slovak, German, Hungarian).

"Today, after about 150 years of national conflicts and the tragedies they caused, Spisz's national traditions are still in antagonism. . . . It seems that the most important issue now is to reanimate the culture of Spisz as an integrating factor," the catalogue reads. We hope that through organising this exhibition we have made some contribution in this respect.

Antoni Kroh
Curator of the exhibition

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



"Selected paintings on canvas and paper": the artist's last exhibition



Exhibitions

Jan Lebenstein. Phases. Selected paintings on canvas and paper from 1956–1993 * 13 April – 23 May

The exhibition was prepared during 1998 in Paris, in Jan Lebenstein's workshop at rue des Ecouffles, in the Marais district. Tomasz Stróżyński, Director of the Polish Institute in Paris, immediately offered us a venue: three splendid rooms in the Institute at rue Jean Goujon. After the Paris exhibition, Tomasz Stróżyński went on to organise its Polish edition.

The exhibition shows all the phases of Lebenstein's work in chronological order: from *figures hiératiques* and *figures axiales* – "the stamps of Eros and Thanatos", as his friend Konstanty Jeleński called them – through bestiaries, and then gouaches from the mid-1960s where Lebenstein's private mythology gains its mature, "deciphered" shape; from large oil paintings from the mid-1970s depicting the artist's mythologised version of everyday Parisian reality, to the parallel series from the 1970s and 1980s: the *Sweetie Bar* cycle and works from the "Hellenistic kingdoms" current, with the Pergamon triptych (*Pergamon I/III*) from the 1990s.

The character of the exhibition is best described by its subtitle: "Selected paintings on canvas and paper from 1956–1993". We have chosen the most outstanding works (e.g. two classic *figures axiales*: 104 and 107) as well as works which are seldom shown (the cycle of gouaches from the 1960s and early 1970s); we also included completely private capriccia, such as the triptych of three variations on a 17th-century mannerist painting which unexpectedly turned out to be emblematic of Lebenstein's entire *oeuvre*. We had no intention of giving the exhibition a monographic character, and certainly not a merely retrospective one. Our aim was to remind and to condense that which makes Lebenstein's original style unique.

Piotr Kłoczowski
Curator of the exhibition

[translated by Magdalena Bleinert-Coyle]

* Phases is the last exhibition of Lebenstein's works prepared before his death: 4 December 1998 – 28 January 1999: Paris, Polish Institute, 10 February – 31 March 1999: Lublin, Lublin Museum – the Castle; 13 April – 23 May 1999: Cracow, International Cultural Centre; 17 June – 12 September 1999: Gdańsk, National Museum – Modern Art Department; 24 September – 24 October 1999: Toruń, "Wozownia" State Art Gallery (celebrating 20th Congress of the Association of Polish Artists); 7 – 30 November 1999: Poznań, "Zamek" Cultural Centre, 14 December 1999 – 28 January 2000: Szczecin, Pomeranian Princes' Castle; 14 March – 10 April 2000: Rome, Polish Institute. Curator of the exhibition: Piotr Kłoczowski. Catalogue: *Jan Lebenstein. Etapy / Etapes*, ed. by P. Kłoczowski and E. Muszyńska, Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 1998.



Masterpieces of 17th-century printmaking in Cracow (Sienna Street)

Part of the exhibition at the ICC Gallery



Exhibitions

Rembrandt, Rubens and Others. Masterpieces of 17th-century Printmaking from the Print Room of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Kraków 7 June – 25 July

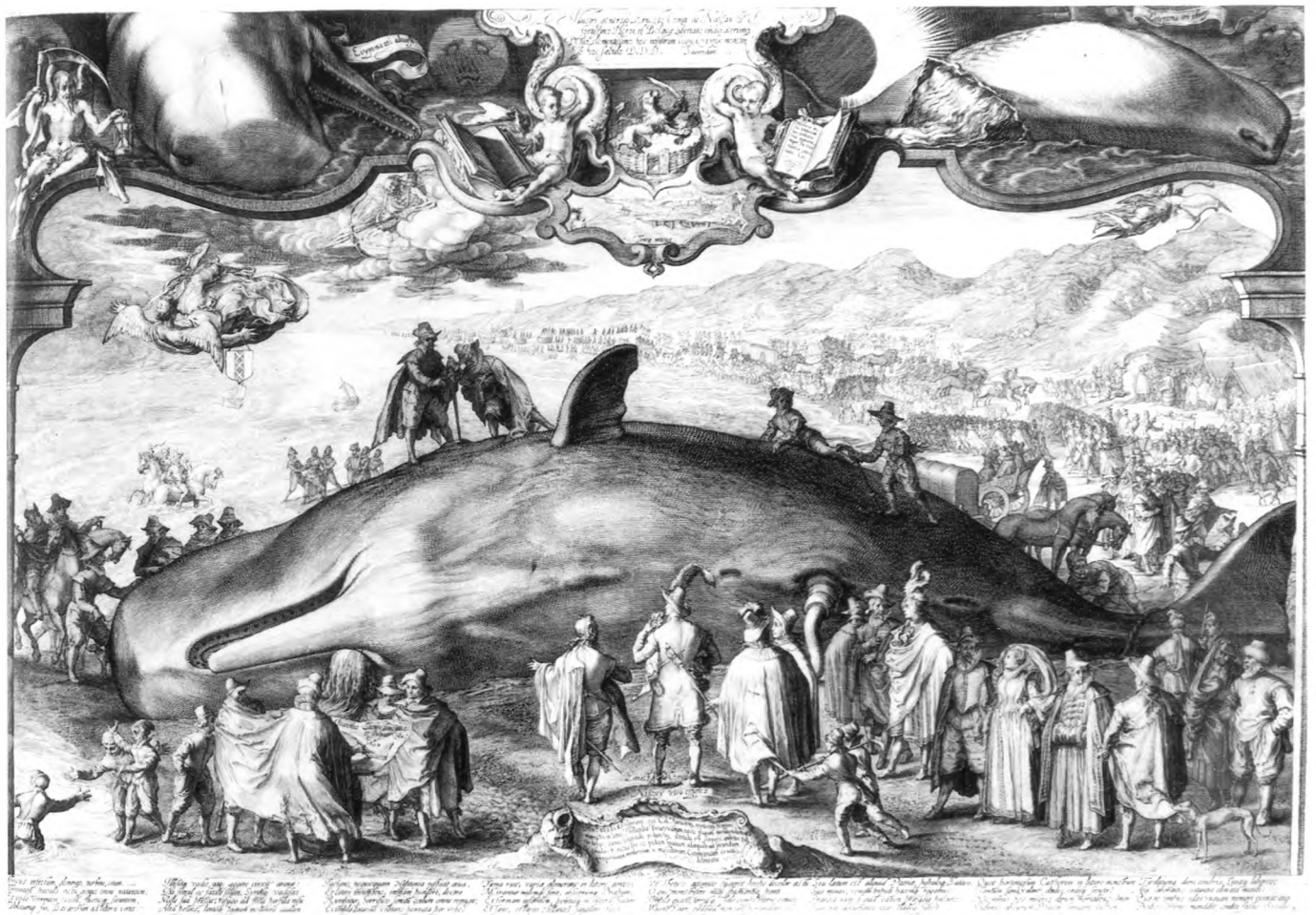
This was the third International Cultural Centre's exhibition based on the collection of the Print Room of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Cracow.* It was opened by Hendrik Goltzius's (1558–1617) *Master Prints*, a splendid recapitulation of the previous achievements in engraving. They are presentations of the way Goltzius imitated the techniques of Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, and also the printmaker's unique style of the "swelling line". These manners of engraving could also be observed in large-sized prints of Nicolaes de Bruyn, Jan Saendram and Cornelis Galle II.

Peter Paul Rubens introduced a free and sophisticated manner of drawing. The technique of his most renowned disciple Lucas Vorsterman was hence termed "burin painting". Among other famous printmakers from the "Rubens graphic school" were Pieter Soutman, Paul Pontius, the brothers Schelte and Boetius Bolswert, and also woodcutter Christoffel Jegher. France was unbeatable in the art of engraved portrait: the skills of Robert Nanteuil, Gerard Edelinck and Jean Morin could be admired in several of their prints. Another splendid French artist was Claude Mellan, a master in the equidistant technique of engraving. His *The Sudarium* (an almost three-dimensional image of the face of Christ) was created by cutting one uninterrupted line, beginning at the tip of the Lord's nose and developing from the middle of the composition in spiral circles.

The popularity of nocturnal scenes (Tenebrism) which began in the second half of the 16th century led to devising a new technique: about mid-17th century, mezzotint – also referred to as "black style" – was invented. The exhibition offered an opportunity to observe the way the technique was developing: from Hendrik Goudt's prints of dense lines drawn with a burin and dry point to the velvet-like textures of the mezzotints of Wallerant Vaillant and other Dutch artists. The efforts of creating colour graphics were represented in Johannes Teyler's prints, and the experiments in stippling – in a portrait by Jan Lutma II, composed of dots stamped on the plate with a hammer (the technique referred to as *opus mallei*).

Italian artists were the first to sense the picturesque quality of etching. The most outstanding Italian etcher was Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione. Several of his works were shown accompanied by etchings created by other Italian painters: Guido Reni, Salvator Rosa, Pietro Testa, and also Jusepe de Ribera from Spain. The most famous French artist of the turn of the 17th century was Lorraine-born painter and etcher Jacques Bellange (ca. 1575–1616), whose work was later forgotten. The prints of another Lorraine-born artist, Jacques Callot (1592–1635), were among the finest in our exhibition. Callot's follower was Abraham Bosse, the most faithful chronicler of the epoch's everyday life. A separate part of the exhibition was devoted to the Czech artist

*The following exhibitions were also held in the International Cultural Centre Gallery: Francesco Bartolozzi. *Prints from the Graphic Collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Kraków*, 13 September – 19 October 1995; *Masterpieces of 15th and 16th-century Printmaking from the Graphic Collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Kraków*, 7 April – 1 June 1997.



Jan Saendram, *Stranded Whale Near Beverwyck*, 1602, engraving

Vaclav Hollar (1607–1677), a master in portraying fur textures and women's apparel. Polish printmaking was represented by the mezzotints of Jeremiasz Falck, Willem Hondius (Dutch artist working in Gdańsk) and a very rare hand-coloured woodcut entitled *The Good Serf*. The most important were 27 works of Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669): portraits and self-portraits, biblical scenes and scenes of everyday life, one landscape, nudes, and also one of his most famous etchings, *Faust*.

Our aim was to present the artistic styles clashing in the 17th century: the declining Mannerism and the late Renaissance, the pompousness of the baroque period, realism and caricature, and also the primitiveness of folk art. The exhibits' richness of imagery and styles will certainly be long remembered by many art enthusiasts who visit the ICC Gallery.

Krzysztof Krużel
Curator of the exhibition

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]

Part of the exhibition: the model of Halcyon Cottage and a photograph of the house in Blackwell

Exhibition opening: Edyta Supińska-Polit, curator, introduces the guests to the atmosphere of Baillie Scott's houses. Also pictured: Dr Diane Haigh and Director Jacek Purchla



Exhibitions

Baillie Scott. The Artistic House 17 September – 31 October

The British architect Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott (1865–1945) was one of the most prominent representatives of the Arts and Crafts movement. Through reviving craftsmanship and opposing the eclecticism of Victorian architecture, the makers of the Arts and Crafts largely contributed to the birth of the "artistic house" concept, namely a dwelling where utility is accompanied by beauty, and the building, its interiors and garden form a perfect unity.

Baillie Scott's began his work as an architect in his own right on the Isle of Man, where he arrived in 1889. It was on the Isle that he created his first house designs, including his home in Douglas, and also some public buildings. Owing to his articles, which he started publishing in *The Studio* (a new periodical that enjoyed a considerable readership in Europe) in 1895, he became the most popular and acclaimed representative of a new trend in British architecture, often referred to as free style. Consequently, he received many commissions for house designs from the Continent. After having left the island in 1901 he was commissioned to design two houses in the Polish borderlands. His designs were also executed in Romania, Switzerland and Germany. Baillie Scott's houses can be found all over Britain: in Scotland, in the vicinity of C. R. Mackintosh's famous Hill House; in Blackwell, the Lake Country (the house is now being turned into a museum devoted to Baillie Scott and the Arts and Crafts). He also designed houses for professors in Cambridge (e.g. Church Rate Corner, 48 Storey's Way). In the early 20th century he was connected with the garden city movement (his designs include Waterlow Court in Hampstead).

In the same way as other artists connected with the Arts and Crafts, Baillie Scott designed both the houses and their interiors and fittings: furniture, panelling, lighting, stained-glass windows. Apart from that, he created gardens. The key feature of his design was always the hall with fireplace that was supposed to serve as the house's central living area. He devoted a lot of attention to detail in his designs of inglenooks with settles, where the family could talk, read or relax. Baillie Scott's interiors are richly ornamented by motifs taken from nature, chiefly floral patterns. Trees (rowan, oak), flowers (carnations, roses, lilies, bluebells) and fruit (apples, pomegranates) are integral part of the architect's rational yet poetic imagery. Light played a special part in his interiors as did various motifs, qualities of the materials, and also sophisticated colour patterns: blue set against yellow, or a combination of violet, green, and white.

The exhibition at the ICC Gallery was a presentation of Baillie Scott's *oeuvre* from his earliest works to house designs created during the last stage of his career. Charlotte Wood's splendid photographs show the houses and their interiors, and such details as gables and fireplaces. This exhibition was first presented in Kettle's Yard gallery, Cambridge, in 1996. The opening at the ICC was complemented by a lecture delivered by Dr Diane Haigh, the Cambridge exhibition's curator.

Edyta Supińska-Polit
Curator of the exhibition

The treasures of the Abbey of St. Gall. Above: a capital of the Gosbert Basilica. Below: ivory tablets adorning the covers of codices



Exhibitions

The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall *19 November 1999 – 9 January 2000*

The Abbey of St. Gall is among the best known centres of European culture. It is known to everyone interested in the medieval history, culture or art. Its former glory is evidenced in the preserved monastery buildings and the collections of the Archives of the Abbey of St. Gall and also its library. The exhibition in the International Cultural Centre was based on the collection of the Abbey Archives.

The beginnings of the monastery are traditionally associated with the Celtic monk Gallus, allegedly one of the followers of Saint Columban. The place where the claustrum was later erected, had been first chosen by Gallus to retreat as a hermit. The monastery was not founded until the early 8th century; the first document, which mentions St. Gall's monks and the abbot, is dated to 6 November 744. Between the 9th and the 11th centuries St. Gall became one of Europe's major cultural centres. The art created during that period, for example the illuminations in the codices or on their covers, magnificently adorned with ivory and golden tablets, serve as a splendid proof of the artistic standards set by St. Gall. The 9th century is referred to as the golden age in the monastery's history. It was then that such impressive art objects as the famous, unique plan of the monastery buildings or *Casus Sancti Galli* by historian Ratpert were created. After the monastery's decline in the 15th century and its temporary dissolution during the Reformation, the second half of the 16th century was the time when the abbey began to flourish again, strongly marking its presence in European culture in the following centuries. In the 18th century, a late-baroque church and a magnificent monastery library were built. The wonderful development of St. Gall was stopped by political changes at the turn of the 19th century. The Grand Council of the Canton of St. Gall dissolved the Abbey of St. Gall on 8 May 1805.

The abbey's impact on the medieval art, literature and historiography was the strongest, but one should not forget about the role it played in the field of music: until today, many valuable manuscripts have been preserved in the monastery library - such as the first theoretical treatise on selected musical issues written in Old High German by Notker the German. Historians associate the first recorded German sermon, delivered in the 7th century to the then-pagan Alemans, with Gallus. The evidence of the development of literature in the vernacular is the 9th-century translation of the Rule of Saint Benedict, on which the monastery life was modelled. These are but a few examples illustrating the extraordinary role of the Abbey of St. Gall in the shaping of the monastic culture and the culture of Europe as a whole.

The exhibition presented in the ICC Gallery intended to present the treasures usually hidden in the vaults, and unveil their forgotten beauty.

Ewa Herniczek
Curator of the exhibition



Catherine Ruys and Piet van Looke from Bruges conduct workshops

It was the second time that the International Cultural Centre and the European Network of Cultural Centres (ENCC) organised a culture management course for those involved in this field from Central and Eastern Europe (especially for employees of cultural centres). Among many applicants, 19 people from six countries from Central and Eastern Europe were admitted (Albania, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Romania). Each candidate was obliged to submit a letter of motivation and an essay in English on a selected issue of cultural management.

The partner in this project was the Flemish Federation of Cultural Centres (FEVECC). The course was consisted of two parts. The first, theoretical part was held in Cracow between 7 and 14 March 1999. It included: lectures on the cultural policies of Poland and Flanders; interactive classes analysing the work of the institutions where the participants have been employed; classes concerning mission statement, modern methods of management, strategic planning. The participants made SWOT analyses of their centres' work. One of their tasks was also to draw up a comprehensive plan of a cultural event and then present it to the other students.

The English-language classes were supervised by renowned specialists from Belgium and Poland. Catherine Ruys, Head of the Training Institute for Public Services (WIVO) in Bruges and Prof. Willem Elias from the Free University of Brussels visited Poland for the second time. The other guests of the ICC were: Piet van Looke, Head of the Cultural Centre in Lokerem, and Marianne Cosserat, project manager in the Brussels branch of ENCC.

During the participants' seven-day stay in Cracow, a visit to the National Museum was organised where they were introduced to its Deputy Head, Zofia Gołubiew, and then shown round the exhibition *Picasso, Léger, Nolde, Miró and Others*. In the "Biwa" tea-room of the Centre of Japanese Art and Technology "Manggha" a meeting with Sławomira Borowska, a participant of the first course held in 1997, took place.

The second, practical part of the course in the form of a ten-day internship at Flemish cultural centres took place between 14 and 22 May 1999.

Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik
The Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



*Democracy and Diversity: students
and their lecturers,
Dr Elżbieta Matynia and Prof. Shlomo Avineri*



It was the eighth time that the rooms of the Polonia Institute of the Jagiellonian University in Przegorzały were filled with the multilingual conversations of students participating in classes organised by the New School for Social Research (based in New York) as part of the *Democracy and Diversity* programme. As usual, about fifty people from the United States and Central and Eastern Europe came to Kraków to earn credits in two of the following four subject groups:

- *Sustaining Democracy;*
- *Ethnos and Demos: Nation, Nationalism and Politics of Ethnicity;*
- *Media and Democracy;*
- *Theories of Gender in Culture.*

From the beginning, the course has been supervised and organised by Dr Elżbieta Matynia, Head of the Transregional Studies in the New School for Social Research. The academic staff was now composed of Prof. Jeffrey Goldfarb, Prof. David Plotke, Prof. Ann Snitow (USA), Prof. Shlomo Avineri (Israel) and Prof. Ivan Veyvoda (Yugoslavia).

Towards the end of the three-week session, a two-day conference on new democracy in Central Europe 10 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall (*The State Democracy in the Region 10 Years After the Fall of Communism*), and also on the war in Yugoslavia (*The War in Yugoslavia: Lessons, Outcomes and Prospects for Reconstruction*). This extraordinary forum, which also attracted the attention of many participants of the College's other educational programmes, was attended by Adam Michnik (Poland), Jan Urban (Czech Republic), Irena Gross (USA), Andranik Migranian (Russia), Ivetta Radicova (Slovakia) and Gazmed Pula (Kosovo). Shortly before the programme's conclusion, Mary Simons delivered an additional lecture on the democracy in the Republic of South Africa.

Just as in the previous years, the students attended meetings with invited guests (Czesław Miłosz) and organised an evening of poetry and music aimed at presenting their cultures to other participants. They also visited the Collegium Maius of the Jagiellonian University and went on a tour of Auschwitz.

Anna Depowska
The College for New Europe

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



The course participants in the courtyard of the castle in Niedzica

Classes with Prof. Gregory Ashworth



The course was devoted to cultural heritage in the context of political and economic transformations in Central Europe. Specialists in heritage preservation, art history, tourism and economy shared their knowledge with 20 students from different countries.

Prof. Jan Bakoš (Bratislava) presented major modern theories of conservation; Prof. Adam Miłobędzki (Warsaw) discussed the future of art conservation in the context of advantages and disadvantages of today's cultural changes. Through describing the tension between heritage preservation and tourism, Dr Lester Borley (Edinburgh) indicated the chances of overcoming this conflict in a creative way. Prof. Gregory Ashworth (Groningen) discussed a somewhat risky assumption that the notion of heritage was manufactured by politicians and thinkers who use history in their political, ideological and economic trickery. Prof. Joseph Rykwert (London, New York) spoke about tradition as preserved in old architecture – a source of identity lost in the universalist history.

In seminar groups, Prof. Miłobędzki and Prof. Rykwert supervised a discussion on the national style, Romanticism and Modernism in art as conditioned by ideological identity and in connection with the idea of heritage preservation. Prof. Miroslav Baše (Prague) and Dr Zbigniew Zuziak (Cracow) focused on urban and regional town planning, reviving and creating preservation zones and adjusting architecture to the landscape and culture. The group supervised by Prof. Ashworth and Dr Borley discussed the problems of planning in heritage preservation, economy and culture as a whole. In his inspiring lecture, Prof. Jacek Purchla's aimed at characterising the heritage of Cracow and also its problems connected with the throngs of tourists, the architects' excessive "boldness", and advertisements that spoil the city's image. This lecture was complemented by Dr Zuziak's and Rafał Solewski's field classes.

During a study tour of the Spisz and Podhale regions, the participants compared various aspects of their theoretical knowledge with concrete examples of the economic and systemic transformation's impact on cultural heritage. This experience proved that there's a strong need for planning and control of economic development in the regions boasting wonderful landscape and interesting history.

At the end of the course, its participants presented their essays on the possibilities of applying their newly-acquired knowledge in solving regional problems of cultural heritage preservation.

Rafał Solewski
The Research Institute of European Heritage

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



Another part of the study tour: Kalwaria Zebrzydowska

The College for New Europe

Central Europe and European Integration 12 – 25 July

The courses regarding the issues of European integration have been extremely popular with university students. It doesn't seem surprising, for the future of young people is closely connected with the tempo and direction of transformations in Europe.

International Cultural Centre and International Cultural Centre Foundation organise the session *Central Europe and European Integration* in co-operation with the Institut für Donauraum und Mitteleuropa in Vienna. In 1999, the programme also received a financial support of the Polish Ministry of Art and Culture. Originally, it was planned to focus on the problems of integration of Austrians and Poles, namely two nations which used to be connected politically, economically and culturally. However, it soon turned out that these issues also attracted the attention of young people from other Central and Eastern European countries.

In 1999, 24 students (from Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Sweden, Ukraine and Hungary) participated in the session. They were studying under the supervision of lecturers from the following: the University of Vienna (Prof. Hanspeter Neuhold), Katholieke Universiteit in Leuven (Prof. Rik Torfs), the Cracow University of Economics (Prof. Jerzy Mikulowski-Pomorski), and the Jagiellonian University (Dr Jakub Basista, Dr Marek Kucia, Prof. Zdzisław Mach, Dr Leszek Mitrus, Prof. Jacek Purchla). The lectures, as usual in the College, were delivered in English.

Co-author of the course's programme and also one of the lecturers was Dr Emil Brix, Consul General of the Republic of Austria in Cracow between 1990 and 1995 and head of the Austrian Institute in London. The opening lecture entitled *Central Europe and European Integration* was delivered by Dr Erhard Busek, Vice-chancellor of the Republic of Austria in 1991–1995, president of the Advisory Board of the ICC Foundation. The lectures and seminars were devoted to the following subjects:

1) National and ethnic identity (*Plurality and Pluralism of Central European Culture; Transformation of Social and Cultural Identities in Central Europe; Ethnic Revival, Ethnic Conflict and New Ethnicity; Conceptions of Collective Identity in the Social Sciences; Stereotypes and Prejudice; The Project of Europe: Is There a European Identity?*).

2) The role of religion in social life (*New Religious Movements in Europe and in the USA: Comparison; Islam and Religious Freedom; Church and State in Europe: Different Models; The Internal Structure of the Roman Catholic Church and Modern Society; Church, State and Identities of Poland*).

3) Political and economic aspects of the period of transformation in the context of history (*The Division of Europe – Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. Communist Takeover and Stalinism; International Integration of the Soviet Bloc and the Cold War. Attempted Reforms of the Communist System; The Velvet Revolution – Common Aims or Rivalry? Political and Economic Transformation after 1989*).

4) Political and sociological aspects of integration (*A Central European City; The European Union as a Major Actor in European Security Policy; EU Enlargement: the Political Dimension; NATO's Eastern Enlargement and*

The course closes: Barbara Szyper awards certificates to participants



the "New Alliance"; the Borders of Central Europe – Past, Present, Future; Problems of Liberation and Civil Society in Central Europe; The Role of Nation States).

A certificate of completion was awarded to students who passed a final (written) exam; an important element in evaluating the students' work was also their involvement in the classes.

The session was complemented by a study tour of Lanckorona, Wadowice, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Żywiec, Bielsko-Biała and Cieszyn, which was aimed at emphasising the problems connected with the development of cities situated on the border of different cultures.

Significantly, the summer courses of The College for New Europe also involve inspiring the students to integrate and offering them various opportunities of meeting young people from other countries. Owing to the co-operation of BBI (Berlin-Brandenburgisches Institut für Deutsch-Französische Zusammenarbeit in Europa e.V.), our students met their colleagues from France, Germany and Poland whose visit to Cracow was part of their cultural education programme.

The students were satisfied with the programme, but they thought it was too time-consuming, due to which they could not take part in other groups' classes or become better acquainted with Cracow and its vicinities. At the students' request a visit to Auschwitz was organised, their only extra-curricular excursion.

Comparing this year's session with the previous four, one should mention the participants' high level of knowledge, genuine enthusiasm, and also a splendid ability to get on with other students and tutors. As regards the main subjects and integration, the organisers were also satisfied with the programme, which served as a good opportunity for the young representatives of a dozen or so countries to make good friends.

Barbara Szyper
Head of The College for New Europe

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]



The opening ceremony of the Lvov and Cracow summer school
in the Ravens Conference Hall

During the break, one could get the autograph of the Rector of the Jagiellonian
University. Next to Prof. Franciszek Ziejka are Father Stanisław Obirek
and Prof. Jacek Purchla



The College
for New Europe

Lvov and Cracow
in European Civilisation
5 – 15 September

It was the second summer school organised by the International Cultural Centre and Warsaw University's Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Central and Eastern Europe, under the auspices of the International Humanities School of Central and Eastern Europe. The seminar was participated by more than 30 students from Ukraine, Belorussia and Poland, and Polish and Ukrainian lecturers.

Part I was held in Kraków. It was comprised of lectures and field classes. Focusing on historical, political and economic aspects, Prof. Jacek Purchla, Prof. Jerzy Wyrozumski, Prof. Antoni Podraza and Prof. Jan Malecki spoke about the relations between Cracow and Lvov, Małopolska and Russia, and also about the medieval, modern and contemporary Cracow. Dr Marek Walczak, Prof. Jan Ostrowski and Prof. Franciszek Ziejka presented the development of the city's art and culture. Field classes devoted to Cracow's art and architecture were supervised by Dr Marek Walczak, Dr Piotr Krasny and Rafał Solewski.

Part II was a study tour of the region formerly known as Galicia. The participants visited a medieval castle in Dębno, a wooden church in Gromnik, archaeological excavations on the site of the prehistoric and early-medieval castle in Trzcinica, a manneristic palace in Krasiczyn, a wooden Orthodox church in Owczary, the Skansen museum in Sanok. They familiarised themselves with the town planning and art monuments of Krosno, Biecz and Sambor; they also visited Ivan Franko's birthplace. Dr István Kovács, the Hungarian Consul General in Kraków, lectured on the role of tradition in education – in the context of Central Europe's modern history.

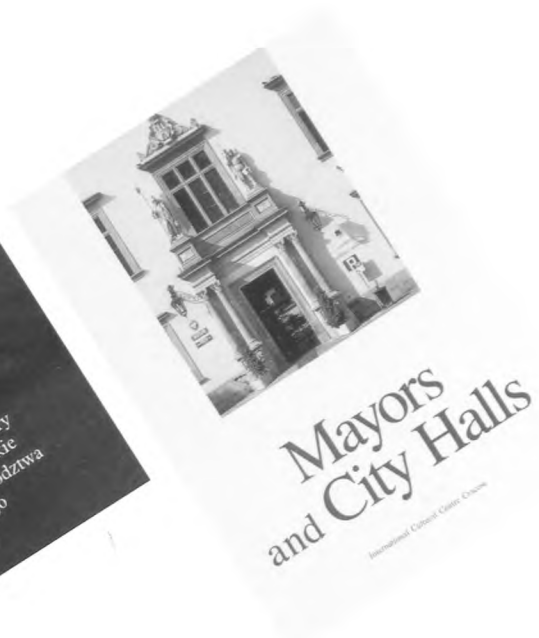
Organised in Lvov, part III was comprised of lectures by Ukrainian and Polish scholars. Prof. Andrei Rudnitsky, Prof. Yaroslav Isayevitch and Prof. Yaroslav Hritsak talked on the history and the changes in social and cultural life of Lvov and Ukraine. Prof. Adam Miłobędzki presented the art of the baroque period in the south of the historic Kingdom of Poland. Prof. Jacek Purchla and Taras Vozhnyak, Head of the Foreign Department of the City of Lvov, discussed the future of Lvov and Cracow in Central Europe as a part of the united Europe of Regions. The participants also visited Lvov to learn about the reconstruction and conservation of its monuments, and also the traditions of this multicultural (i.e. Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Armenian, and Austrian) metropolis. They met writer and poet Yuri Andrukhovitch whose work is closely connected with the Lvov of today.

The students and lecturers were unanimous as to the fact that it was one of the best meetings organised by the International Humanities School of Central and Eastern Europe.

Rafał Solewski
The Research Institute of European Heritage

[translated by Paweł Łopatka]

- Publications



Cracow – Dialogue of Traditions (1991)

A volume of essays under the editorship of Z. Baran published together with "Znak" Publishers on the occasion of the CSCE Symposium. It presents Cracow's tradition as still living and thought-provoking rather than sacred. The authors include A. Vincenz, K. Dedecius, E. Brix, J. Woźniakowski, J. Turowicz, T. Kantor, and J. Purchla (156 pp., 31 black-and-white illustrations, Polish and English version).

Wojciech GAŁĄZKA

Oswajanie skorpionów

[Taming the Scorpions] (1992)

A volume of studies and sketches concerning Bulgarian culture and its dramatic dilemma between native and foreign, on transcending its limits and taming the other cultural spaces that are the metaphorical scorpions of the title (127 pp.).

Jan K. OSTROWSKI

Cracow (1992)

A modern artistic guide to Cracow, co-published with WaiF Publishers, and a monograph of the city, presenting Cracow's urban layout, its monuments, and the major historic sites (both church and secular) in its vicinity (388 pp., 198 black-and-white photographs, 16 colour photographs).

Jacek PURCHLA

Europejski Miesiąc Kultury w Krakowie – czerwiec 1992 / European Cultural Month in Cracow – June 1992 (1993)

A generously illustrated book (190 photographs) documenting the organizational and thematic preparations, financial principles, the course and reception of the European Cultural Month, supplemented with interesting archival materials to demonstrate the scale of this unique festival of European culture (240 pp.).

Jacek PURCHLA

Teatr i jego architekt / Das Theater und sein Architekt (1993)

This book, published in connection with the centenary of the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre, discusses the complex origins of the new building of the Municipal Theatre, and its place in the work of Jan Zawiejski who designed the building. It attempts to place this Cracow theatre in the history of Polish and European theatre architecture (127 pp. + appendix 12 pp., 92 illustrations).

Władysław STRÓŻEWSKI

O pojęciu inspiracji / On Inspiration (1993)

An essay by an eminent philosopher published in 100 numbered copies by the International Cultural Centre to mark Krzysztof Penderecki's sixtieth birthday.

Piotr KRAKOWSKI

Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy [Art of the Third Reich] (1994)

The first Polish book to present a reasonably comprehensive and expert characterization of German art after Hitler's coup (architecture, sculpture, painting, and political

posters). In his foreword and afterword the author explains the need to write such a book, to see German art of that period through the eyes of a Pole, and to treat it as a special warning precisely because of great similarities to what happened to art in the countries of the socialist camp (254 pp., 216 colour and black-and-white illustrations).

Adam MIŁOBĘDZKI

Architektura ziem Polski / The Architecture of Poland (1994)

Architektura ziem Polski / Architektur Polens (1998)

A compendium of knowledge about buildings on Polish lands, from the earliest period of the Polish State up to the present. It shows the history of architecture as a particularly great dialogue between new concepts of the philosophy of life coming from the West and rendered into form, and the native tradition and culture (Polish-English version 164 pp., Polish-German version 162 pp., +160 colour and black-and-white illustrations).

Zdzisław NIEDZIELA

Słowacja znana i nieznaną [Slovakia Known and Unknown] (1995)

Another volume in a series of essays on the culture of Central-European countries. It deals with literature, shows centres of spiritual life and the intellectual legacy of the Slovaks. It is a contribution to the knowledge and understanding of our neighbouring country (132 pp., 25 illustrations).

Władysław SEMKOWICZ

Polacy i Słowacy w dziejowym stosunku

[Historical Relations between the Poles and the Slovaks] (1995)

A re-print of a work published in 1938, written with great academic competence and reflecting the state of knowledge at the time it was written. With friendly affection it talks of the legacy of Slovak culture and our mutual links (64 pp., 14 drawings).

International Cultural Centre Cracow (1996)

A brochure presenting the goals and areas of activity, the organizational structure, and the output of the ICC so far: conferences and seminars, exhibitions, educational activity, publications (40 pp., 50 colour photographs, Polish and English versions).

Miasto historyczne. Potencjał dziedzictwa [The Historic City.

Heritage Potential] (1997)

This book includes texts written by both Polish authors and – which is particularly interesting from the viewpoint of Polish needs – by Western authors, and is grouped into two parts: part I, *Concepts, Doctrines, Strategies*, and part II, *Cities – Selected Examples*. Such a choice of texts and their layout are intended to illustrate the complex nature of preserving historical cities in a market economy and in the context of progressive globalization. Among the authors are: G. J. Ashworth, S. Belniak, K. Broński, D. Geffers, K. Görlisch, W. Kowalski, S. Maciejowski, T. Markowski, A. Miłobędzki, G. Piccinato, A. Prior, J. Purchla, M. Thomas and Z. Zuziak. Edited by K. Broński, J. Purchla, and Z. Zuziak (228 pp.).

Jan PATOČKA

Kim są Czechi? [Who are the Czechs?] (1997)

Philosopher Jan Patočka wrote his essay in the 1970s, when any discussion of a nation's identity, its past and present was impossible in Czechoslovakia. The essay – a repetition of history – aims to outline the main developmental tendencies of the Czech nation and state, and to show the problems of Czech national identity and political awareness formed in a historical process (trans. J. Baluch, 95 pp.).

Tadeusz BARUCKI

Architektura Węgier [The Architecture of Hungary] (1997)

This publication is an attempt to present Hungarian architecture – its past and present – within the present-day borders of Hungary. This publication supplements our knowledge of Polish-Hungarian political and cultural links with material documenting the existence of relations between

the two countries in architecture. The book also contains 133 illustrations, a list of major buildings and the reflections of many modern architects on architecture (156 pp., 133 colour ill.).

Lidia KORCZAK

Litwa. Przechowana tożsamość. [Lithuania. The Preserved Identity.] (1998)

In seeking the roots of Lithuanian culture identity, Dr Lidia Korczak was confronted in her essay with a fundamental question: why Lithuanians did not first vanish in the sea of Russian culture, when the borders of their state contained extensive areas of Ruthenia, which had been Christianized much earlier, and why, on the other hand, did they not lose their identity after several centuries in the Polish Commonwealth. To answer this question, the author draws upon pre-Christian layers of Lithuania's spiritual life, and the wealth of its myths and ideas (140 pp., 11 ill.).

Exhibition catalogues

Jan Vermeer van Delft. St. Praxedis (1991)

This remarkable publication confronts two paintings of St Praxedis, by the Italian artist, Felice Ficherelli, with a painting by the Dutch master, Jan Vermeer (from the collection of Barbara Piasecka-Johnson). Text written by: A. K. Wheelock Jr., National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.; J. Grabowski, IRSA, Vienna; J. Purchla, ICC, Cracow; and L. Koenig, CEDART, Florence.

Alfons Mucha.

Plakaty ze zbiorów lwowskich

[Posters from the Lvov Collection] (1992)

This catalogue, published on the occasion of an exhibition of a collection of posters by A. Mucha, one of the most popular creators of Art Nouveau style, contains numerous reproductions of the artist's works and a note about him and his work.

EGO.

Dudziński w Krakowie / in Cracow (1992)

EGO was published for a retrospective of Andrzej Dudziński organized by the ICC in Cracow. It consists of works that are a survey of the artist's output over 15 years, including newspaper graphics, featuring the "Pokrak" (freak) bird, published in American and Western European media, and the artist's latest works devoted to human birds in courtship. In addition to a documentation of exhibited works, this publication contains sketches, interviews, and critiques written by well-known scholars, critics, and fellow artists.

Graphik des deutschen Expressionismus (1992)

Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, Lyonel Feininger, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Otto Mueller, Emil Nolde, Max

Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff are the most outstanding representatives of German Expressionism. The album contains biographical notes and 187 reproductions of graphic art by these artists. Foreword by J. Purchla. Introduction by S. Sabarsky (German version + an insert in Polish).

Gustav Klimt (1992)

This album contains 134 reproductions of paintings, drawings, and watercolours by Gustav Klimt, "the king of Wiener Sezession". Foreword written by J. Purchla. Artist's profile by S. Sabarsky (Polish version).

Natalia LL (1992)

This catalogue was published in connection with an exhibition of works by Natalia Lach-Lachowicz, a representative of conceptualism in Polish art. It contains a text about the artist and her work written by P. Krakowski and 26 colour and black-and-white repr. (Polish-English version).

Tadeusz Brzozowski.

Malarstwo, rysunek / Paintings, Drawings (1992)

This album contains 24 reproductions of paintings and drawings by Tadeusz Brzozowski, one of the classics of the Cracow Group. Also: a diary, selection of major publications about the artist, selected bibliography, major interviews with Brzozowski, filmography, and exhibitions.

Dłubak.

Przeciw stereotypom / Against Stereotypes (1993)

This publication contains 23 works of Zbigniew Dłubak from different periods of his career, as well as a biography, works, exhibitions, a selected bibliography and texts about the artist written by art critics.

Grand Prix '91. Günter Dollhopf (1994)

A catalogue published jointly with the International Print Triennial, accompanying the exhibition of the laureate of the last year's triennial. It contains 16 expressive black-and-white illustrations depicting the artist and his works, a biographical note, and essays on the work of G. Dollhopf written by L. Puyplat and U. W. Ulrich (Polish-German version).

Margot Trierweiler. Malarstwo / Malerei / Painting (1994)

This publication, accompanying the exhibition of paintings by the contemporary German artist, contains reproductions of her paintings, a note about her work, and opinions of critics.

Nowosielski. Rysunki / Drawings (1994)

A minicatalogue published in connection with an exhibition of Jerzy Nowosielski's drawings in Budapest, organized for the Polish Institute. It contains reproductions of drawings from the collections of the ICC and the Starmach Gallery, and a note about this outstanding artist.

Oskar Kokoschka. Wczesne lata

[Oskar Kokoschka. The Early Years] (1994)

This catalogue contains 102 reproductions of oil paintings, drawings and watercolours by one of the leading exponents of European Expressionism. It is supplemented with comments by P. Krakowski, J. Purchla, S. Sabarsky and P. Werkner on the artist's life and work.

Artysta i jego Mecenas [The Artist and his Patron] (1995)

This publication contains 23 reproductions of drawings by J. Malczewski from the years 1885–1905. They come from family collections presented to the Royal Castle at Wawel by Prof. Karolina Lanckorońska. There are also texts by J. Purchla, L. Kalinowski, K. Lanckorońska and J. Winiewicz about the history of friendship between the Artist and Count Karol, about Professor Lanckorońska and about the works on display during the exhibition.

Krzysztof KRUŻEL, Jan MOTYKA

Francesco Bartolozzi. Ryciny ze zbiorów graficznych Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie

[Francesco Bartolozzi. Plates from the Graphic Collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow] (1995)

A catalogue containing precise academic descriptions of 148 plates – by a graphic artist from the late 18th – early 19th century, "master of the stipple technique" – from the Polish Academy of Sciences Library. The publication contains forewords by K. Grodziska and J. Purchla, and indexes: iconographic, of authors of patterns and publishers of prints; the chapter "Watermarks" constitutes an extremely valuable section, as it establishes many new facts from the fields of paper and watermark science (128 pp., 30 ill.).

Artyści węgierscy / Hungarian Artists.

Bukta – Halász (1996)

This catalogue accompanied the exhibition of two well-known artists. It is supplemented with an essay analysing the current situation of the fine arts in Hungary, with texts characterizing the work of Imre Bukta and Károly Halász and reproductions of their works (50 pp., 10 colour illustrations).

Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1996)

This exhibition catalogue presents, for the first time in Poland, the life and work of this pre-eminent Scottish architect and designer (1868–1928), one of the main proponents of European Secession. Together with a foreword by J. Purchla, which provides Mackintosh's historical background, the book also contains a biographical note, outlines the themes of Mackintosh's work, as well as a chronology of his life and career prepared by D. Leśniak, curator of the exhibition (40 pp., 6 black-and-white + 8 colour reproductions).

Egon Schiele (1996)

Following catalogues of the work of Gustav Klimt and Oskar Kokoschka, this presents the art of another outstanding Austrian expressionist (1890–1918). The publication contains colour reproductions of Schiele's 10 oil paintings and 100 drawings and watercolours as well as texts by J. Purchla, S. Sabarsky, P. Krakowski and P. Werner, which analyse many aspects of the artist's life and work (168 pp., 25 black-and-white + 110 colour reproductions).

Józef Czapski. Obrazy i rysunki ze zbiorów prywatnych

[Józef Czapski. Paintings and Drawings from Private Collections] (1996)

This catalogue was published for an exhibition to mark the centenary of the artist's birth. For the first time in Poland it presents paintings from the Popiel de Boisgelin collection, also drawings from the private collections of the Woźniakowski family, K. Zachwatowicz, E. Łubieńska, I. and S. Rodziński; it contains texts by J. Woźniakowski, K. Czerni, J. Marciniak and S. Rodziński as well as reproductions of all the paintings on display (44 pp., 18 colour repr.).

Wobec Thanatosa. Galicyjskie cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1918 / Galizische Kriegsriedhöfe aus den Jahren 1914–1918

[In the Face of Thanatos. War Cemeteries in Galicia from 1914–1918] (1996)

This catalogue documents the dynamic output and artistic value of 400 necropolises during the First World War. They are a keepsake of the battles of that conflict and a monument to the cultural splendour of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The illustrative material (photo by M. Sajduk) is complemented with essays from J. Purchla and P. Pencakowski, curator of the exhibition (24 pp., 8 black-and-white + 9 colour reproductions).

Architektura Lwowa XIX wieku / Die Architektur Lembergs im 19. Jahrhundert

Architektura Lwowa XIX wieku / Архітектура Львова XIX століття

[The Architecture of Lvov in the 19th Century] (1997)

This catalogue documents an exhibition organized by the ICC. Texts by J. Purchla, Y. Biryulov and M. Sepiał, together with a wide selection of photographs from archival Polish and Ukrainian collections and original publications of the time illustrate the cross-sectional development of Lvov's architecture and provides the reader with a better understanding of Galicia's old capital and its multicultural character during this period. Historicist, Art Nouveau and modernist buildings are of a high aesthetic and cultural value. At the same time they represent an important chapter in Polish 19th-century artistic culture, which until now has not been the subject of any systematic research (Polish-Ukrainian version, 75 pp. + 174 ill., Polish-German version, 75 pp. + 174 ill.).

Arcydzieła grafiki XV i XVI stulecia

[Masterpieces of 15th and 16th Century Graphic Art] (1997)

This publication presents 109 of the most valuable woodcuts, copperplates and etchings of the leading graphic schools of 15th and 16th century Europe: the German school (Schongauer, Dürer, Cranach), the Netherlandish school (van Leyden, Wierix, Cranach) and the Italian school (Mantegna, Raimondi). The prints are accompanied by a text written by K. Krużel, providing an insightful description of the origin and technique of particular works. The work is preceded by an introduction written by Prof. J. Purchla, a foreword written by Dr K. Grodziska on the history of the Graphic Collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and an essay presented by Prof. L. Kalinowski on artistic graphic art and Print Collections (156 pp., 109 ill.).

Henryk Morel (1937–1968). Rzeźba, rysunek, kompozycja przestrzenna

[Henryk Morel (1937–1968). Sculpture, Drawings, Spatial Composition] (1997)

This catalogue presents the very interesting work of an artist who died prematurely. He was a graduate of the A. Kenar School and the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. Morel's work here is edited by A. M. Leśniewska, curator of his exhibition at the ICC Gallery. In addition to an essay analysing Morel's output, with a supplementary appendix, it contains a biographical note, a list of exhibitions, a selected bibliography and several dozen reproductions of his drawings, designs and sculptures as well as spatial compositions. (64 pp., 60 black-and-white + 3 colour reproductions).

Marcel Mariën (1920–1993) (1997)

This catalogue includes both a biography and the work of Marcel Mariën, a Belgian iconoclastic artist, who was an outstanding representative of the second generation of surrealists. A sketch on the artist's life is provided by X. Canonne, which is preceded by A. Zeñczak's short outline on

surrealism. The catalogue also contains a biographical note, a list of Mariën's publications and exhibitions, some interesting photographic documentation, and a dozen or so colour and black-and-white reproductions of his works (Polish-French version, 96 pp., 34 ill.).

Toshihiro Hamano. Człowiek i sztuka / The Man and Art (1997)

[jointly with the International Print Triennial Society, Cracow]

This catalogue presents the work of an outstanding Japanese artist, laureate of the International Print Triennial Cracow '94, painter, sculptor, author of prints and monumental compositions, and a landscape gardener. Hamano combines Eastern and Western influences, tradition with modernity, the individual with the collective. The publication, in addition to an essay on Hamano's art written by B. Kowalska and a foreword written by the editors, Prof. J. Purchla and Prof. W. Skulicz, contains a detailed biographic note, prepared by the artist, as well as many photographs (112 pp., 38 colour and 80 black-and-white ill.).

Emil Nolde. Grafiki i akwarele [Emil Nolde. Watercolours and Prints] (1998)

This catalogue contains reproductions of several dozen watercolours and prints of Emil Nolde, a prominent German expressionist, the "master of etching and wood engraving", the greatest colourist of the 20th century. These works come mostly from private American collections. The album is supplemented with texts written by Prof. J. Purchla, S. Sabarsky, and the curator of the exhibition A. Zeñczak. There is also an essay written by T. Gryglewicz (156 pp., 64 colour reproductions).

Krzysztof Penderecki "Czarna Mask". Współczesny taniec śmierci. / "The Black Mask". Contemporary Dance of Death (1998)

This publication accompanies an exhibition organized within the framework of the Krzysztof Penderecki Festival. Reproductions of famous representations of the dance of death, opera drafts, and photographic documentation of the performances are preceded by essays: T. Chrzanowski's *Theology of Horror*, M. Tomaszewski's *Listening to Penderecki*, R. Chłopicka's *Theme of Death in Penderecki's Musical Theatre*. The publication is supplemented with a list of Penderecki's major works and selected literature (92 pp., 17 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Margaret Hunter (1998)

This catalogue presents drawings, oil paintings and sculptures of the Scottish artist, Margaret Hunter (b. 1948), a student of George Baselitz, who works in Berlin and Glasgow. In addition to reproductions of her works, the catalogue contains an essay by I. Gale on Hunter's artistic profile, a biographical note, and a list of the artist's major projects and achievements (Polish-English-German version, 52 pp., 21 colour reproductions).

Polak, Węgier... Potrójny dialog / Poland and Hungary... A Triple Dialogue (1998)

This catalogue accompanied an exhibition which may be described as a specific kind of dialogue between six works (rather than between the artists themselves, as is usually the case) produced by modern Polish and Hungarian artists: Katarzyna Kozyra and Péter Forgács, Ryszard Winiarski and Dóra Maurer, Antoni Mikołajczyk and János Megyik. In addition to introductory texts written by Prof. J. Purchla and Dr L. Beke, the catalogue contains essays on the work of each individual artist, written by M. Hussakowska-Szysko, I. Hajdu, L. Beke and G. András, together with biographical and exhibition notes (68 pp., 6 colour reproductions).

Vieira da Silva. Grafika [Vieira da Silva. Graphic Works] (1998)

This catalogue presents the copperplates, serigraphs and lithographs of Maria Helena Vieira da Silva (1908–1992). She was an outstanding Portuguese painter. Her works represent the vein of lyrical abstraction. In addition to prints, the catalogue contains A. Zeñczak's text characterizing the artist's profile against the background of the artistic milieu of the Montparnasse and École de Paris, a diary of her life and work, and critics' notes on her work and personality (48 pp., 25 coloured + 3 black-and-white reproductions).

Baillie Scott. Dom dziełem sztuki / The Artistic House (1999)

A publication accompanying the exhibition of works by M.H. Baillie Scott (1865–1945), an outstanding architect and a representative of the Arts and Crafts movement, the author of the idea of "an artistic house" where its practical service corresponds with beauty, and a block of stone, the inside of the house and the garden produce a harmonious artistic effect. The catalogue contains a foreword written by prof. Jacek Purchla and the texts by dr Diane Haigh (Baillie Scott and the artistic house in Poland) and Edyta Supińska-Polit, the exhibition curator (The house of Baillie Scott or the poetic way of living), as well as two comments by Baillie Scott on his own projects, a biographical note

and numerous reproductions: the photographs of the houses, the interior designs, the garden details and concepts made by the artist (88 pp., 44 colour and black-and-white illustrations).

Rembrandt, Rubens i Inni & Others (1999)

This catalogue was published to coincide with an exhibition of 17th-century prints from the Print Room of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, which are stored in the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Cracow. The album section presents 100 prints by Rembrandt van Rijn, Paulus Pontius, Robert Nanteuil, Hendrik Goudt, Johannes Teyler, Jacques Callot, Václav Hollar and by painters from Rubens' school. The text section contains an introduction by J. Purchla, an essay by L. Kalinowski's on artistic prints and print rooms, a history of the Cracow collection written by K. Grodziska, and a text by the curator of the exhibition, K. Kružel, describing the prints, with special attention given to the development of graphic techniques (126 pp. + 100 drawings)

Romuald Loegler. Dialog z czasem i miejscem
[Dialogue with Time and Place] (1999)

This catalogue accompanies an exhibition featuring the design of the distinguished Cracow architect Romuald Loegler and contains essays on his work written by art historians and architects; an outline of his career (professional work and practice, awards, one-man and group exhibitions, lectures and seminars, monographic publications, and publications in Polish and foreign journals); as well as plans and photographs of his designs and projects: Bank PKO B.P. in Nowa Huta, 1998; the Gate to the City of the Dead – a funeral parlour in Kraków Batowice cemetery, 1998; an extension of the Cracow University of Economics – the teaching and sports pavilion, 1998; study of a detached house, designed 1998; an office building in Warsaw, designed 1998; the Artur Rubinstein State Philharmonic, designed 1998; the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Berlin, competition design, 1998 (64 pp.).

Materials from seminars, symposia and research projects

Final Document and Proposals Submitted by the Delegations of the Participating States (1991)

Materials from the CSCE Symposium on Cultural Heritage held in Cracow in June 1991.

Gothic Architectures in Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, and Hungary (1992)

The 7th volume of the Niedzica Seminars on Gothic art. The seminars are held every other year and each time are devoted to a different period of art and artistic links between Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, and Hungary. Art histo-

rians, architects, and historians take part in the seminars (80 pp. + 86 sketches and illustrations, texts in English and German).

The Jagiellonian University in the Evolution of European Culture (1992)

The CSCE Conference on Cultural Heritage was held in Cracow between 28th May and 7th June 1991. This publication is the result of a session organized by the ICC and the Jagiellonian University as part of the CSCE Conference and contains papers delivered at that time (95 pp., texts in English, French and German).

Managing Tourism in Historic Cities (1992)

Authors of this book – experts in urban economy, management, and planning – deal with the problem of tourism in the situation of a market economy. Special emphasis has been laid on the question of tourism as a means of revitalizing European historic cities (272 pp.).

Cultural Policies (1993)

The new political reality in Central Europe at the threshold of the nineties placed artistic circles and the whole culture in post-Communist countries in a wholly new, and for many unexpected, situation. The past model of artistic patronage, based on state monopoly, broke down. Our part of Europe struggles with a multitude of new problems. Some eminent representatives of culture from Poland and Germany make comments on Polish and German experiences. These may serve as advice to others (104 pp.).

Das 500jährige Jubiläum der Krakauer Studienzeit von Nicolaus Copernicus (1993)

Nicolaus Copernicus enrolled in Cracow University in the winter term of 1491–92 and studied at the Department of Liberal Arts until 1495. The extent to which Copernicus' four-year studies influenced his creative personality is the dominant, although not the only, goal of this book (164 pp.).

Managing Historic Cities (1993)

This book presents various aspects of the regeneration of historic cities, with special focus on problems that are caused for the cultural space of the city centre by the rules of a market economy. The many different examples of inner city regeneration in countries with advanced market economies provoke questions about the feasibility of using their experiences in the cities which are only now entering that road (290 pp.).

Régions, régionalismes et conscience régionale face à l'intégration européenne (1993)

The session, whose results are contained in this publication, was organized to close the European Cultural Month and attempted to answer the question of how, in the face of European integration, to preserve the wealth of regional cultures with their diversity of languages, denominations, customs, etc. The session aimed to distinguish those elements which contributed to the creation in Central Europe of culturally mixed areas, and to make us realize the benefits and dangers arising from the inevitable integrating process (208 pp. + 16 ill., texts in French and German).

L'Université et la ville au Moyen Age et d'autres questions du passé universitaire (1993)

This volume contains material from a symposium organized by the International Cultural Centre together with the Jagiellonian University, the University of Bordeaux III, and the French Institute in Cracow. The topic "City and University in the Middle Ages" was considered wide-ranging because both the municipal borough in its established form

and the university fraternity in its dynamism and expansiveness were products of the Middle Ages, and their coexistence added vigour to both structures (168 pp., 39 ill.).

Heritage Landscape (1994)

This publication contains a series of lectures delivered by world-famous experts as part of a conservation course of The College for New Europe in 1992. It is intended for professionals involved in the protection of cultural heritage (118 pp.).

Stereotypes and Nations (1994)

Papers given during an international conference under the same title, organized in June 1993. It presents, in a comprehensive and unconventional way, the issues of national stereotypes: how they are formed and how they function in popular consciousness and in art, and what threats they pose. The authors include C. Miłosz, S. Barańczak, T. Venclova, K. Zanussi, T. Jastrun, K. Dedecius, S. Frenkiel, L. Baier, R. Scruton, F. Alting von Geusau, J. Błoński, U. Altermatt, and R. S. Amossy (330 pp., Polish and English versions; 1999 – German version).

Wokół Matejki

[Around Matejko] (1994)

Materials from an international symposium organized in autumn 1993 to mark the centenary of the artist's death. It is an attempt to look on Matejko as a painter – and not only as a specialist in the philosophy of history or co-originator of the main national myths – by setting his work against the wide background of 19th-century European painting (165 pp., 135 colour and black-and-white illustrations).

Theatre Architecture of the Late 19th Century in Central Europe (1995)

The book contains selected papers given during an international conference organized by the Centre in 1993 to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Slowacki Theatre. Rich comparative material makes possible a multi-faceted formal and programmatic interpretation of theatre architecture from the turn of the century, set in a wider historical context. This publication also permits us to determine the effect the constructed theatre buildings exerted on urban planning; it permits us to answer the question of to what extent theatres inscribed themselves in the cultural landscape of cities and metropolises and to what extent they determined it for the decades to come (145 pp., 131 ill.).

Zarządzanie kulturą

[Management of Culture] (1995)

This volume contains selected materials from a seminar for cultural managers, which was held in March and April 1993. There is an overview of institutions and international foundations, provided with their addresses and comment on their activities and the kind of help they offer; the characterization of different forms of institutional management; proposals for new solutions possible for Polish

culture; discussion of the issues of advertising, marketing, techniques of presenting the work of a cultural institution, and techniques of painting its picture in the minds of the recipients (178 pp.).

Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach
[Cultural Ties Between Poland and Slovakia Throughout History] (1995)

The outcome of a symposium organized in June 1995 by the International Cultural Centre and the Slovak Institute in Warsaw (in cooperation with the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art and the Slovak Ministry of Culture). The conference was of an interdisciplinary nature; it focused on Polish-Slovak political relations from a historical perspective, analysed cultural relations and literary ties between the two nations, and looked at issues of cultural contact in the border area. The meeting demonstrated the extent of the friendship between Poles and Slovaks, emphasized linguistic and cultural similarities, showed the effect Polish literature had on the process of awakening Slovak national identity, and demonstrated the actual problems of and opportunities for present-day coexistence of both nations, especially in the border zone (366 pp.).

Miasto i kultura ludowa w dziejach Białorusi, Litwy, Polski i Ukrainy

[The City and Folk Culture in the History of Belarus, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine] (1996)

This volume contains papers given during a conference organized by the ICC in September 1994; it focused on the cognitively important opposition "the city – the country", and its particular relation to the field of culture. The authors discuss the part of folk culture in the formation of urban culture; the value of particular components of both cultures; the force of tradition in the life of the city and the country; the role language plays as a carrier of cultural contents; the manifestation of identity of particular cultures, in customs, literature and everyday life; and they try to conduct a typology of some cultural phenomena in the area concerned (368 pp.).

The Historical Metropolis. A Hidden Potential (1996)

This volume – containing the texts of papers given at an international conference organized in May 1996 – presents an interdisciplinary definition of the historical metropolis, showing the geographical, historical, sociological, economic and artistic factors that have shaped Central European urban centres throughout history, using the examples of Budapest, Zagreb, Prague, Bergen, Rome, Munich, Nuremberg, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Cracow and Czerniowce. Such a broad context makes it possible to see and understand the phenomenon of the historical metropolis, the current state of cultural heritage and its potential role in forming urban space (256 pp.).

Polska i Węgry w kulturze i cywilizacji europejskiej
[Poland and Hungary in European Culture and Civilization] (1997)

Materials from a conference organized by the ICC in April 1996. The statements of the participants revealed the follow-

ing sets of problems: development of national consciousness in both countries, the shape and social range of already developed national identity, including the phenomenon of xenophobia; the nobility as part of a cultural legacy as a value, and as a barrier to building a European consciousness; folk culture and authentic folklore: the dangerous process of sidelining them on the one hand and their genuine culture-forming role on the other; the pedigree of the intelligentsia; the cultural legacy from the years of totalitarian subjugation; our common place in the culture of the new, integrated Europe (380 pp.).

Radio. Szanse i wyzwania [Radio. Opportunities and Challenges] (1997)

This volume, published jointly with Radio Kraków S.A., contains comments from radio technicians, psychologists and sociologists of culture who participated in the conference, *The Culture-forming Role of Radio*, organized by the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, Radio Kraków S.A. and the Public Radio Association in Poland on 14–15 February 1997 to mark 70 years of Radio Kraków. The authors describe the situation of radio at the threshold of the 21st century: against the background of other media sources, in the context of revolutionary changes in broadcasting techniques, in the face of a re-evaluation of the cultural canon, as a means of broadcasting which creates and strengthens social ties (136 pp., 7 ill.).

Sztuka około 1900 w Europie Środkowej. Centra i prowincje artystyczne

[Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces] (1997)

This publication is the outcome of a conference under the same title, organized by the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, which gave particular attention to the cultural phenomenon of Central Europe. The turn of the century is an especially intriguing period. It was precisely around 1900, when our part of Europe – beset with increasing contradictions, conflicts and threats – reached a uniquely high level of creativity, leading to an unprecedented great intellectual and artistic contribution to the cultural heritage of our continent. In addition to traditionally large centres, such as Vienna, Munich and Berlin, this publication draws attention to smaller and lesser known centres and regions of Central Europe in their widest meaning: from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic, from Helsinki and Riga to Ljubljana and Zagreb. Academic editors: P. Krakowski, J. Purchla (440 pp., 178 ill.).

Czechy i Polska na szlakach ich kulturalnego rozwoju

[The Czech Republic and Poland on the Routes of their Cultural Development] (1998)

This volume of materials is the outcome of a bilateral conference organized in 1997 by the International Cultural Centre. It discusses the many aspects of Czech and Polish history and culture; although this culture shared the same roots, it followed different patterns of evolution. In their papers, Polish and Czech authors discuss similarities, differences and interrelations in the history of both nations (Academic editor: J. Wyrozumski, 286 pp.).

Mayors and City Halls (1998)

This publication is the outcome of a conference organized in late November and early December 1995 by the ICC in association with the ICC Foundation. The aim of the conference was to compare the opinions of specialists in the history of art, architecture, town planning and cultural heritage preservation on the role of art and architecture, and town planning in particular, in local government policy and the consciousness of city residents. The conference was also designed to review internationally used methods of research and preservation with regard to urban architecture and town plans, to present the municipal architecture of Poland and Central Europe, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries. The publication provides an important scholarly aid for local and regional governments, conservators, experts in museum studies, and staff at institutions involved in cultural heritage preservation (286 pp. +198 ill.).

Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej
na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej

[Materials for the History of Religious Art
in the Eastern Borderlands of the Old Polish Republic]
edited by J. K. Ostrowski

Vol. I, part 1: *Kościół i klasztorzy rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1994)

The series attempts to catalogue monuments of religious art on the borderlands of the old Polish Republic (today's lands of Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine) and movable buildings now scattered primarily in the west of Poland. The first volume contains monographic descriptions of the churches in Buczacz, Hodowica, Lvov, Nawaria, Olesko, and Podhorce. With the great variety of catalogued monuments, what they share is availability, relatively high artistic class, and copious documentation (125 pp. + 366 ill.).

Vol. I, part 2: Jerzy T. Petrus *Kościół i klasztorzy Żółkwi* [Churches and Monasteries of Żółkiew] (1994)

Another volume in a series which is an inventory and documentation of Żółkiew's religious monuments, particularly the parish church under the invocation of St Laurence the Martyr, the church of the Assumption, the monastery of the Dominicans, the church of the Sacred Heart, the nunnery of the Felicians, the former church under the invocation of St Andrew and the former nunnery of the Polish Province of the Dominicans (200 pp. + 355 ill.).

Vol. I, part 3: *Kościół i klasztorzy rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1995)

This volume discusses the area of the former Wisznia decanate and parts of the Dobromil and Jaworów decanates. Parishes active there from 1941 enter the composition of the Mościce (Jaworów, Milatyn, Sądowa Wisznia, Stojanice, Twierdza) and Sambor (Błozew, Czystki, Dobromil,

Dziedzictwo a turystyka [Heritage and Tourism] (1999)

The book comprises papers which are the outcome of a conference organized by the ICC in September 1998. The papers present a review of attitudes towards the issues included in the title: from an enthusiastic approval to an extreme scepticism. Tourism has become another opportunity for development and, on the other hand, a serious menace to historic cities. The authors, who mostly represent countries much more than Poland engaged in investment in touristic trade, share their experiences from the point of view of art historians, urban planners, economists, sociologists and psychologists. In conclusion they point the necessity of integrated approach to the question of heritage, the functioning of the city and the market; the approach which requires an adequate strategy of management (181 pp.).

Nowe Miasto) decanates, as part of the Lvov archdiocese. The examples in the book are buildings varying as to the time of their construction (from the end of the Middle Ages until the interwar period) and as to their historical importance and artistic status. However, all the buildings discussed in the book are poorly researched in both Polish and Ukrainian literature (222 pp. + 276 ill.).

Vol. I, part 4: *Kościół i klasztorzy rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1996)

Of the ten historical monuments discussed nine are located in the area of the Lvov archdiocese (Kulików, Podhajce, Biały Kamień, Nadwórna, Mikulińce, Monasterzyska, Gwoździec, Milatyn Nowy, Winniki), while the tenth, the church in Niżankowce lies within the former borders of the Przemyśl diocese. Churches in Kulików and Niżankowce were built in the final phase of the Late Gothic period in the Rus. The temple in Podhajce illustrates the specificity of the existence of Gothic forms in the architecture of Royal Rus in the 18th century. The oldest parts of the churches in Biały Kamień and Nadwórna date back to that century. Most of the churches discussed are works from various periods of the 17th century, which played a vast role in the development of art in the eastern borderlands (211 pp. + 402 ill.).

Vol. I, part 5: *Kościół i klasztorzy rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1997)

Volume 5 of this series deals with historic monuments of the old Sambor decanate of the Przemyśl diocese in its pre-

1991 boundaries. All the towns included in the volume belong to the Sambor decanate as part of the Lwów archdiocese. The buildings described in this publication are located in Biskowice, Borynia, Brześciany, Chyrów, Czukwia, Felsztyn, Ilnik, Komarniki, Laszki Murowane, Łomna, Rakowa, Rozłucz, Sambor, Sasiadowice, Stara Sól, Stary Sambor, Strzałkowice, Turka, Wojutyce and Wolcze (367 pp. + 613 ill.).

Vol. I, part 6: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1998)

Volume 6 of the Materials deals with historic monuments of the Drohobycz decanate in its prewar boundaries. In addition to parish churches, this publication also discusses several subsidiary churches and even late chapels on Młynki in Drohobycz and in Stara Wieś. The buildings described in this publication are located in: Borysław-Tustanowice, Borysław Hubicze, Borysław Mrażnica, Dublany, Gaje Wyżne, Krynica Szlachecka, Letnia, Lipowiec, Majdan, Medenice, Neudorf, Nowoszyce, Podbuż, Równe, Rychcice, Schodnica, Słorisko, Stara Wieś, Stebnik, Stupnica Polska, Truskawiec, Wacowice, Winniki and Wołoszcza (250 pp. + 336 ill.).

Vol. I, part 7: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1999)

The volume comprises monuments of religious art situated in the area of the Przemyśl diocese, within the borders of the Old Republic of Poland and brings to the end the descriptions of the places (the other volumes contain lists of the places and monuments presented). The articles refer to parish churches and chapels of Andrianów, Balice, Chłopy, Czajkowie, Czyżowice, Hussaków, Kalinów, Komarno, Koniuszki Siemianowskie, Krysowice, Lipniki, Łanowice, Miżyniec, Mościska, Myślatycze, Pnikut, Pohorce, Radenice, Radochońce, Rudki, Rumno, Tamanowice, Trzeniec and Tuligłowy. The publication presents the variety of the Przemyśl area considering its cultural and ethnic questions, indicates the significance of the patronage of lordly families for the artistic development of the region, thus giving an opportunity of analysing and comparing the monuments of architecture, painting and sculpture which belong to different periods – from Gothic till the year 1939 (pp. 424 + 555 ill.).

Yearbooks of the International Cultural Centre

Vol. 1 (May 1991 – May 1992)

Vol. 2 (June 1992 – May 1993)

Vol. 3 (June 1993 – May 1994)

Vol. 4 (June 1994 – May 1995)

Vol. 5 (June 1995 – May 1996)

Vol. 6 (June 1996 – May 1997)

Vol. 7 (June 1997 – December 1998)

These volumes contain reports of the activity of the International Cultural Centre. They contain information about research programmes, seminars, conferences and exhibitions held at the ICC Gallery. The section Reflections • Impressions • Opinions includes essays on philosophy, culture and history. They complement and comment on the current research and on the statutory activity of the Centre. They are provided with interesting photographic materials and a Diary (starting from Vol. 2), which records in detail current work of the ICC (Polish and English versions, in two volumes).

[translated by Jerzy Pilawski, Anna Depowska]

- Appendix

Programme Council
*of the International
Cultural Centre*

Andrzej ROTTERMUND – *President*
Wojciech CZECH
Lech KALINOWSKI
Jerzy MIKUŁOWSKI-POMORSKI
Anna NIEWIADOMSKA
Krzysztof PENDERECKI
Andrzej SICIŃSKI
Władysław STRÓŻEWSKI
Andrzej TOMASZEWSKI
Andrzej WAJDA
Rafał WIŚNIEWSKI
Jacek WOŹNIAKOWSKI
Jerzy WYROZUMSKI

Organizational structure of the International Cultural Centre

MANAGEMENT

Director

Prof. Jacek Purchla

Deputy Director for Organizational Affairs

Anna Gawron

Deputy Director for Administrative Affairs

Wiktor Trzaska (until Sep. '99)

Krzysztof Markiel (since Sep. until Dec. '99)

Chief Accountant

Maria Biel MSc

TEAM

The Research Institute of European Heritage

Prof. Jerzy Wyrozumski (Head)

Dr Krzysztof Broński (Deputy Head)

Aneta Gluzińska, Renata Latała,

Rafał Solewski (until Oct. '99)

Library

Agnieszka Bromboszcz

Organizational Bureau

Barbara Bańka

The Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences

Regina Pytlik (Head)

Barbara Kołacz, Teresa Leśniak,

Dr Monika Rydiger, Anna Śliwa,

Alicja Walkiewicz-Górka, Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik

Office for Economic Affairs

Anna Ferens

Sylwia Jankowicz (until July '99)

Gaja Noemi Mount

Grażyna Sanak

The College for New Europe

Barbara Szyper (Head)

Rafał Solewski (since Oct. '99, Deputy Head)

Anna Depowska, Paweł Korus (until Nov. '99)

Accounts

Barbara Sendor

Patrons and sponsors
*of the International
Cultural Centre*
(January – December 1999)

the Government of Flanders
the Ministry of Culture of Romania

the Ministry of Culture and Art of the Republic of Poland
the General Conservator of Historic Monuments of the Republic of Poland
the State Committee for Scientific Research
the State Sports and Tourism Administration
the Council for the Protection of the Memory of Combat and Martyrdom

the City of Cracow
the Citizens Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow
the Kraków 2000 Festival Bureau

Institut für den Donaauraum und Mitteleuropa, Vien
The British Council, Warsaw
Cracow University of Economics
the International Cultural Centre Foundation
Foundation for Polish Science
the Stefan Batory Foundation
"Pro Helvetia" Swiss Foundation for Culture

DHL Worldwide Express
Polish Airlines LOT
Pension Fund Society Nationale-Nederlanden Polska S.A.
Tishman Speyer Properties Polska Ltd
Pilkington – JPG S.A.
EMPiK Ltd
ES System Lighting Technology Centre
Jacek i Ryszard Kasperczyk s.c., Construction and Repairs Co.

Media patronage

Dobre Wnętrze
Radio Kraków
TVP Kraków

Statutes of the International Cultural Centre *

Chapter I GENERAL PROVISIONS

§ 1

The International Cultural Centre, hereinafter called "the Centre", is a cultural institution established by the Instruction No. 11 of the Minister of Culture and Art of 10th May, 1991 concerning the foundation of the International Cultural Centre, changed by the Instruction No. 18 of 6th July 1992, functioning in compliance with the 25th of October 1991 Act on organizing and implementing cultural activities (Law Gazette No. 114, pos. 493 of 1994. No. 121, pos. 591) and the present Statutes.

§ 2

1. The Centre's main base shall be in the city of Cracow.
2. The Centre shall act on the territory of the Republic of Poland and abroad.

§ 3

The Centre is subordinated to the Minister of Culture and Art.

§ 4

The Centre shall use a round stamp with the emblem of the Republic of Poland in the middle and the inscription "The International Cultural Centre in Cracow" in the rim.

Chapter II GOALS AND TASKS

§ 5

The Centre is a cultural institution of a research and development, educational and informational nature.

§ 6

The aim of the Centre's activity is to support European cooperation and cultural integration, and to preserve its cultural heritage through:

- 1) promotional and informational activities in all areas of European culture.
- 2) conducting research and studies on the European heritage with special emphasis on:
 - a) the phenomenon of multiculturalism and intermingling of cultures
 - b) the cultural area of Central and Eastern Europe
 - c) the Polish cultural heritage abroad

* In accordance with the Instruction No. 27 of the Minister of Culture and Art of 18th May 1995

- 3) education for the benefit of New Europe, provided within the topics which cover the Centre's scope of activity.

§ 7

The Centre's principal tasks include:

- 1) encouraging cooperation amongst cultural institutions involved in the preservation of Poland's and Europe's cultural heritage,
- 2) organizing academic research on specific problems of culture as well as promoting the results of such research,
- 3) organizing international cultural festivals,
- 4) organizing and carrying out various forms of educational activities addressed principally to youth,
- 5) publishing activity and the operation of a specialized library,
- 6) accumulating and disseminating information concerning the cultural life in Poland and Europe.

Chapter III

ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

§ 8

1. The Centre's activities shall be supervised by a Director appointed and recalled by the Minister of Culture and Art.
2. The Deputy Directors and the Chief Accountant shall be appointed and recalled by the Director.

§ 9

The specific duties of the Centre's Director are:

- 1) to direct the activities of the Centre and to supervise the funds to be administered by the Centre,
- 2) to determine the appropriateness of expenses and administrative expenditures within the guidelines of the approved budget,
- 3) to determine whether the bequests and donations should be accepted, and to decide about acceptance and transfer of deposits,
- 4) to conclude agreements regarding employment, work orders and contracts, and to manage personnel-related matters,
- 5) to represent the Centre.

§ 10

1. The following are the Centre's most important organizational units:
 - a) The Organizational Bureau,
 - b) The Research Institute of European Heritage,
 - c) The Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences,
 - d) The Training Centre – The College for New Europe.
2. The Centre's Director is empowered to create, combine, divide, and dissolve the Centre's organizational units.
3. The detailed scope of activity of the organizational units will be determined by the Centre's Director in a set of organizational rules.

Chapter IV

THE PROGRAMME COUNCIL

§ 11

1. The Programme Council hereinafter called "the Council" shall function at the Centre as an advisory and opinion-forming body to the Centre's Director.
2. The Council shall be composed of between 10 and 15 members appointed and dismissed by the Centre's Director from among:
 - a) representatives of the Minister of Culture and Art,
 - b) authorities on art, cultural heritage and its protection,
 - c) art critics, art historians and patrons of culture.

§ 12

1. One of the Council's tasks is to provide opinions and suggestions on matters related to the Centre's overall activities.

2. The Council's activities shall be directed by a Chairman appointed by the Council members.
3. The Chairman shall convene a session of the Council at least once a year.
4. The Council shall act on the basis of regulations resolved by itself.

Chapter V
ASSETS AND FINANCES

§ 13

1. The Centre's activity is based on the funds from the budget; from the Centre's own means acquired from the statutory activities; voluntary contributions, donations, and bequests from natural and legal entities; and from other sources.
2. The basis of the Centre's financial activity is an annual financial plan drawn up by the Director.

Chapter VI
FINAL PROVISIONS

§ 14

1. The Centre shall be subject to entry in the register managed by the Minister of Culture and Art.
2. The Centre shall begin its activity and acquire the status of a legal entity immediately upon its registration.



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Chief Editor
Jacek Purchla

Editor
Teresa Leśniak

Graphic Design
Lech Przybylski

Translated by
Magdalena Bleinert-Coyle
Władysław Chłopicki
Anna Depowska
Paweł Łopatka
Jerzy Pilawski
Krystyna Stankiewicz

Formatting
Dariusz Put

Photographs
Andrzej Janikowski
Miroslav Baše, Aneta Gluzińska, Paweł Korus, Zbigniew Kos,
Renata Latała, Marek Pięta, Krzysztof Zgłobicki,
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Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
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tel.: (012) 421 86 01, 421 84 00, 421 77 02
fax: (012) 421 85 71, 421 78 44
e-mail: sekret@mck.krakow.pl
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