

Council of Europe
Conseil de l'Europe



CC-CULT (96) 22 B
Provisional version

COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

EUROPEAN PROGRAMME
OF NATIONAL CULTURAL POLICY REVIEWS

CULTURAL POLICY
IN SLOVENIA

Report of a European panel of Examiners

by
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Herengracht 415
1017 BP Amsterdam
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De uitleentermijn bedraagt 4 weken. Mits tijdig aangevraagd is verlenging met 4 weken mogelijk, tenzij de publicatie inmiddels is gereserveerd.

De uitleentermijn is verstreken op:

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Slovenia is an exceptional country in many ways. In its smallness it combines the different European landscapes: snow-covered mountains, smooth hills with full of churches on top, dark forests and plentiful green meadows, a small piece of the Mediterranean coast, old settlements and modern cities with historical centres pleasant to live in.

The Slovenian language has always played an important role for Slovenians. But they never lived in their own state before. Today, only a few years after becoming independent, the country operates like a normal European state having fully developed its democratic procedures. After only a few years of severe problems of transition, economic success is becoming visible. These efforts give hope for the continuous social adjustment needed for the implementation of further democratic perspectives.

Slovenia is special and that holds true also for its people. The members of the examiners' group of the Council of Europe really felt welcome and in good hands. It was impossible not to become close to this country and to our interview partners. As the organisation of our visits was excellent, we never really felt that carrying out almost 100 interviews in only 10 days was hard work. Thanks to Ms Marjutka Hafner, the Secretary General, and Ms Barbara Berce, Counsellor to the Minister, who were the main organisers and guides of our tours, we could meet a lot of interesting people, get an impression of the country and its different cultural features, and thus thoroughly enjoy our stay.

We want to thank all our interview partners from all the different areas of Slovenian culture who placed their time and their experience at our disposal. In particular the co-operation with the staff of the Ministry of Culture was extraordinary. We found that most of the colleagues were not only prepared to present their work in detail but also to take part in mutual exchanges of thoughts, which made our work varied and interesting.

The examiners are especially grateful to the new Minister of Culture, Mr Janez Dular. He took a lot of time discussing cultural policy issues with us and answering our questions. This general interest gave us the impression of being engaged not only in an official procedure but also in a common learning process with new perspectives for all involved.

We want to thank the main authors of the National Report, Ms Vesna Čopič and Mr Gregor Tomc, who gave us the necessary overview of the historically grown framework of Slovenian cultural policy. Ms Vesna Čopič was with us during most of our interviews and shared her wealth of indispensable additional information.

We all hope that these common efforts will not remain a single attempt but rather mark the beginning of a permanent scientific accompaniment of Slovenian cultural policy.

COMPOSITION OF THE PANEL OF EXAMINERS

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-oOo-

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SCHEDULE OF THE EXAMINERS' ACTIVITIES

16 February 1996

Preliminary meetings by the President, Rapporteur and Programme Adviser with authors of National Report and Ministry officials in Ljubljana

9 - 13 April 1996

First visit by Panel of Examiners: Ljubljana

6 - 11 May 1996

Second visit by Panel of Examiners: Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Koper, Piran, Novo Mesto and Ivančna Gorica

12 - 14 September 1996

Meeting of Panel of Examiners in Vienna

27 - 28 September 1996

Meeting of Panel of Examiners in Paris

25 November 1996

Debate at Culture Committee, Strasbourg

1. PREFACE:

Some characteristics of the European Programme of National Cultural Policy Reviews, and the role and the mandate of the Panel of European examiners

It was in June 1985 that the Council of Cultural Co-operation's member states adopted a common European programme devoted to the assessment of national cultural policies of the member states of the Council of Europe.

This review of the national cultural policy of Slovenia is already the ninth in a series of country reviews being undertaken under the auspices of the Council of Europe. After Sweden, France, Austria, the Netherlands, Italy, Finland, Estonia and the Russian Federation, Slovenia also signalled its readiness to enter into the European discussion on cultural policy matters by evaluating its cultural policy framework. After some time of preparation the main work was done in 1995 and the first half of 1996. At the moment of presentation of the Slovenian results, evaluations of the cultural policies of several other European countries are in progress.

The process of reviewing national cultural policies follows a method developed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) for reviewing national educational policies. The key steps are:

- ▶ the preparation of a background report by the national authorities,
- ▶ visits by the examiners to the country concerned to take direct evidence, interview key informants and discuss matters with officials and others,
- ▶ preparation of a report by the examiners, and
- ▶ a discussion between the national authorities and the examiners at a review meeting on the basis of questions formulated in the examiners' report.

In the case of Slovenia, the national authorities prepared a national report written by several authors but mainly by Ms Vesna Čopič, adviser to the Slovenian Ministry of Culture, and Mr Gregor Tomc, sociologist of the University of Ljubljana, who were both responsible for the text. The draft report mainly sketches the historical development while the presentation of today's framework does not yet allow an overall evaluation. This is the result of the lack of a systematic cultural policy planning approach which has not yet allowed the implementation of a National Cultural Programme, which is still in a preparatory stage. Therefore certain cultural policy measures carried out by the authorities cannot be assigned to specific cultural policy objectives, which makes assessment somewhat difficult. Nevertheless a draft version of the National Report had to serve as a main information source

to the European examiners during two one-week visits to Slovenia, in April and in May 1996. A list of the people they met and the places they visited is included in appendix 1.

The examiners travelled to different places in Slovenia like Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Koper, Piran, Novo Mesto and the small village of Ivancna Gorica to collect materials, carried out interviews with the leading members of the Slovenian cultural community and developed assessments of and recommendations on the present situation as well as recommendations for future action. The process culminates in a review meeting in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg at which the national authorities formally respond to questions posed by the examiners. This meeting takes place in November 1996.

The quality of such an attempt at European co-operation in the field of culture very much depends on the preparatory work within the country about to be evaluated. The examiners can only lay foundations of the assessment. They are definitely not the experts from abroad, there to explain what has to be done. Rather, it is their main aim to bring international perspectives to bear in ways which might assist the country in its own efforts to implement an effective concept of national cultural policy.

A secondary purpose is also to identify points that might interest or assist those responsible for cultural policy in other countries. Furthermore, the case of Slovenia, operating largely successfully in a transition period, could challenge cultural policy makers in other so-called reform states to consider their respective experiences.

As in many other European countries cultural policy research has not played a very important role in Slovenia up to now and the professional development of a quantitative as well as qualitative data base still remains to be undertaken.

The absence of an elaborated cultural policy objective - Slovenia is not the only European country missing such an instrument - forced the examiners to renounce the usual method of analysis. This method - by now commonly used within this European programme of reviews - has developed certain criteria like creativity, participation, decentralisation or democratisation. But it requires more or less clearly defined cultural policy objectives which can be examined in terms of their respective measures and their efficacy.

The examiners had to decide to choose another procedure, starting with some aspects of the socio-political framework of Slovenia in transition, to present at least a fragmentary scenario within which Slovenian cultural policy takes place. This chapter starts with some geopolitical considerations, gives a brief description of the political framework of the new state and tries to provide some general cultural orientation.

The next chapter gives an overview of Slovenia's rich cultural heritage, the strong and lasting role of its cultural institutions and the broad interest of Slovenians in taking part in cultural life.

While chapter four deals with the individual disciplines, discusses pertinent problems which arose during the interviews and make some recommendations, chapter five presents key issues and problems and offers some more general recommendations. The report concludes with a

summary of recommendations which might be useful and be taken into account in the development of further perspectives for Slovenian cultural policy.

For the examiners it was not possible to take an art-form-by-art-form-approach or to cover each area of cultural activity in equal detail; rather, it was the overall structures which were of central interest.

It was our interview partners who stated that Slovenian culture for quite a long time was seen as one of the regional cultures, be it in the former Habsburg Empire or in the former Yugoslavian Federation. Now that Slovenia is independent and a state in its own right its culture - whether its representatives like it or not - is also going to be put to the test of European competition. For this the prerequisites are good - since in Slovenia culture is traditionally highly valued - if at the same time limited in cultural market terms: e.g. the Slovenian language, as the basic value underlying all of Slovenian culture, is spoken only by just over two million Slovenians at home and abroad.

Therefore the question how to achieve a certain degree of international comparability of explicit cultural policy procedures seemed as important to the examiners as the question how Slovenia, from the very beginning of its nation building process, can now further develop its cultural life in all its diversity also on the European level.

As to the question what kind of cultural policy is needed by a small and independent European state like Slovenia, the examiners do not have an answer, either. But some proposals can be made the realisation and implementation of which requires a broad and maybe also critical public debate.

The examiners' intention was to support this discussion by bringing in some new perspectives for cultural policy development. The next steps are up to the responsible persons in Slovenia alone.

2. INTRODUCTION

The Slovenian language is certainly the most important evidence of Slovenian nationality. It has to be seen not only as the most appropriate form of cultural expression but also as the essence of the notion of the newly established Slovenian state. In the last 13 centuries there has never been an independent Slovenian nation with a defined territory. But there has been the ongoing fight for the right to use the Slovenian language, be it under the rule of the Bavarians a long time ago, in former Yugoslavia until a few years ago, or, to this day, in Austria.

2.1. Geopolitics

Out of the former Yugoslavian Federation, five nations have emerged, though only one, Slovenia, has achieved full acceptance by its population as well as recognition by the international community. Slovenia as "the sunny side of the Alps" is a small state with a territory of about 20,000 square kilometres, half of it covered by forests.

Apart from some remaining territorial claims by Croatia in Istria, its borders are more or less uncontested. Apart from some increasing social problems caused by the transition process, the Slovenian population of about two million people is not very polarised socially or politically, let alone at war within itself with ethnic and religious minorities. On the contrary, the Italian and Hungarian minorities enjoy special rights. The population density is about 100 inhabitants/square kilometre. The Slovenians who left the country in former times for political or economic reasons and now still live abroad are also an important issue in cultural policy considerations.

Although Slovenia is economically successful its level of urbanisation is relatively low and the country is therefore largely determined by its rural character. The capital Ljubljana is located in the heart of the country and has 280,000 inhabitants. Only the second largest city, Maribor, also has more than 100,000 inhabitants. The rest of the Slovenians today live in 145 municipalities. All municipalities together cover the territory completely.

Slovenia, at the cross-roads of the most important European cultural directions, has found its own cultural profile. It was the impression of the examiners that even many Slovenians are not fully aware of Slovenia's specialness which is mainly characterised by its population, its territory and its language. Together with its stable cultural infrastructure - in comparison with some other countries in transition - it forms a good basis for further development.

2.1.1 A small and export-oriented country can be economically successful

When dealing with the economic situation of the young Slovenian state all serious analysts agree in speaking of a story of success. This is all the more surprising if we look at its beginning. The decision to become independent was mainly a political and not an economic one. The costs of the break-up of the Federation have been considerable also for Slovenia. The loss of the internal Yugoslavian market, linked with the considerable shrinkage in the markets of the former communist countries of central and eastern Europe, caused considerable difficulties for the economic framework.

Slovenia, which had the most advanced economy in all of Yugoslavia with less than 10% of the Yugoslavian population producing almost 20% of the total GDP, had to stand the test of at least two transformation processes: changing the system from self-management to a full market economy and from a regional to a national economy.

Soon after the country became independent the Slovenian government defined Slovenia's main economic goals: stabilising the economy, preparing for market economy, fighting high inflation rates through restrictive monetary and budget policies and membership of international organisations, including the European Community.

The result of the reorientation towards market economy first was a severe depression between 1989 and 1993. While wages were kept artificially high, trade was reduced more than 24%. Slovenian products became less competitive on international markets, which were further weakened by a recession in western Europe.

The decline in GDP was 30% with all negative side effects, e.g. decreasing living standards, reduction of domestic demand in connection with a drop in manufacturing output, exploding inflation and increasing unemployment rates. Also, the almost 3,000 subsidiary enterprise units operating in other former Yugoslavian republics were all effectively lost.

But as of summer 1993 the economic situation improved. In 1994 economic growth ran to 5.3%, in 1995 the percentage was 3.5%. In the same year the GDP came to 18.5 billion US \$, that is 9,351 US \$/capita, which is a figure similar to that for EC members Greece and Portugal. It is the result of the quick revival of economic ties, e.g. with Germany or northern Italy; Austrian banks once again invested. Slovenian exports found their largest markets in Germany, Croatia, Italy and Austria.

Slovenia, with its small internal market and therefore heavily dependent on external trade, very quickly had to develop alternative markets for export. This very important economic sector was initially also impeded by the country's reliance on the unstable Yugoslavian monetary system until October 1991, when the new Slovenian currency, the tolar, was introduced. Slovenia's status concerning membership in international financial institutions was clarified as early as mid-1992, when it took over 16.4% of the former Federation's obligations. Immediately afterwards Slovenia became eligible for new loans from the World Bank and borrowed on the international financial markets.

On the positive side of the starting balance the characteristics of "socialised enterprises" have to be mentioned. With their highly experienced managers and qualified employees they were

used to acting quite independently according to their individual market strategies, also in foreign markets.

In 1992, immediately after achieving independence, Slovenia had also an inflation rate of 201%. Because of the restrictive monetary policy of the central bank the rate could be reduced to 12.5% in 1995. The tolar, which became fully convertible in autumn 1995, is meanwhile one of the most stable currencies of the so-called reform countries.

Concerning the labour market, official statistics say that in 1995 the unemployment rate of 13.8% (ILO: 7.4%) compared with 14.5% in 1994 (ILO: 9.1%) was still very high. In 1995 on average about 255,000 (i.e. 36%) fewer people were employed in companies and institutions as compared to 1987. On the other hand, the number of employed and self-employed persons in the small-scale private sector has increased considerably. Also the number of employees in government services is steadily increasing (22% more than at the time of independence in 1991).

Estimations of the rate of increase of labour productivity are around 4%. The slight increase in employment rates is effected mainly by the increase in the informal forms of employment, which are cheaper than the regular forms. About 40% of the registered unemployed engage in various shorter, informal forms of employment. The number of young unemployed people and the number of those seeking first employment has been reduced only very slowly.

On walking through Ljubljana, extreme forms of poverty, like in many other European countries, cannot be found. Maybe this is the result of a social agreement among employers, employees and the government laid down by law. In the first years of economic reorientation the high wages delayed the economic progress for the population at large but softened the transition process for large parts of the population. In 1995 the average gross wage per employee increased by around 4%, which is even higher than was envisaged by the social agreement.

Today Slovenia fulfils at least two so-called Maastricht-criteria laid down by the European Community. So it is not surprising that Slovenia is by now not only a member in all major international organisations but also signed an association treaty with the EC in May 1996 after Italy had given up its protest.

After the initial western orientation of the Slovenian economy, future markets are also being rediscovered in the former Yugoslavia, though not mainly as sales markets but for relocating the production of certain goods in regions with cheap labour. Particularly in Bosnia, Slovenian companies are prepared to re-establish many business-connections. There are plans to establish free trade areas with Croatia and Macedonia.

2.1.2. A pluralistic political landscape in a democratic society

Slovenia was one of the first countries in transition to have developed an authentic and pluralistic political landscape based upon a democratic consensus. The political spectrum ranges from right to left and is represented by at least five distinct political parties which have developed their individual profiles. Today the Liberal Democrats of Slovenia (LDS) of

president Janez Drnovšek is in coalition with the Slovenian Christian Democrats (SKD) under the former president Lojze Peterle. Up to the beginning of 1996 the Social Democratic Associated List (ZL) also was part of the ruling coalition.

Although Slovenia used to be part of a communist country its politicians seem to have no major problems with its communist past. This may partly be because the Slovenian nation was not an issue for the Nazis and the communist "Tito partisans" safeguarded Slovenian unity. Today Milan Kučan, a former popular leader of the Slovenian League of Communists, whose father was shot as a partisan by the Germans, is a widely acknowledged figure of national integration.

The Associated List grew out of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia. It attempts to tie its politics to partisan traditions. The origins of the Liberal Democrats can also be found in the former communist youth organisation. Its leader Drnovšek was even former president of Yugoslavia. For them the time between 1981 and 1991 has to be seen as a hard but necessary stage of transition to gain full sovereignty. For the Christian Democrats it is sometimes not so easy to come to terms with this period, e.g. when they demand special rights for the so-called "optants", former Yugoslavian citizens belonging to the Italian ethnic group. The interpretation of the past is therefore still a hot issue not only as a domestic affair but also in the conflict with Italy, and it has even led to personal consequences within the government.

As far as the examiners could determine the individual Slovenian political parties have not yet articulated their respective cultural policy programmes.

2.1.3. Shadows of the past

In trying to understand what might have been the main reasons of the social, political and economic changes that led to Slovenia's independence we have to go back to the 80s. In May 1980 Josip Broz Tito died at the Ljubljana Clinical Centre. Soon afterwards it became clear that nobody in Yugoslavia could offer adequate solutions for the deepening economic crisis, the political inertia, frictions like those in Kosovo, and the mounting ethnic problems. The self-management system became more and more one of self-reference. Its underlying intention, to give the people complete control of society and to regulate the course of social history on the basis of mutual agreement, was not believed in any more. Opposition grew.

It was as early as the mid-70s that the individual Yugoslavian republics, including Slovenia, reached full cultural independence. So it is not surprising that the representatives of culture played an important role in starting not only cultural but also political changes.

On the one hand a more traditionally oriented direction tried to criticise and undermine existing reality through critical reviews and the presentation of forgotten and suppressed aspects of history. In the theatre, in novels and essays artists found forms of expression where opinions that were proscribed in politics were tolerated. On the other hand the so-called alternative or sub-cultural sector had also been flourishing since the late 70s. Cultural movements like "punk" were originally regarded as exemplary cases of "non-culture", since they tried to destroy in the most radical way the established and officially imposed notion of what Slovenian self-managing socialist culture should be like.

In 1984 a tourist promotion campaign "Slovenia - my country" was launched and found its way to the latent feelings of many Slovenes that had evidently only been waiting for expression. In spring 1987 a group of liberal and Catholic-oriented intellectuals associated with the magazine Nova Revija published, in the famous 57th issue, "Contributions towards a Slovenian National Programme", in which they demanded the introduction of political pluralism, democracy, market economy - and the independence of Slovenia within a Yugoslavian confederation. The condemnation by the official Yugoslavian Communist authorities followed immediately. But the new liberal leadership of the Slovenian Communists under Milan Kučan decided to drop their opposition. The way was free also for many communists to join the demands of Nova Revija.

The Belgrade central government put increasing pressure on the Slovenian "renegades". In 1988 it had a group of four young Slovenes headed by Janez Janša arrested and accused them of working against the Yugoslavian army. It staged a show trial against them before a military court in Ljubljana in the Serbian language instead of Slovenian. The trial, today known as the "JBTZ Affair", had exactly the opposite effect. It became a focus of homogeneity for the Slovenian people and an occasion for the public exposure of the anachronism of the system. Milan Kučan himself declared that the Slovenian nation could not respect a state that did not respect the Slovenian language.

The break-through happened in 1989. A public meeting in Cankarjev dom Congress Centre in Ljubljana was jointly organised by the Slovenian government and the opposition. Both sides condemned political violence and called for peaceful coexistence. From the beginning of the year, new political parties had been formed. They adopted the so called "May declaration" for a sovereign state based on human rights, freedom and democracy. But even in 1990 Slovenian politicians still clung to the hope of preserving some connection with the other Yugoslavian republics, as many Slovenes wanted to preserve some continuity with what had been good under the old regime, including general employment and the high level of social security and equality.

Instead the Yugoslavian authorities insisted on a violent course of keeping Yugoslavia centralised and unchanged. Even Slovenian President Milan Kučan was increasingly convinced "that the interests, and even the survival of the Slovenian people, have been jeopardised in the insupportable conditions in Yugoslavia". And also Janez Drnovšek, at that time President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, showed solidarity with the Slovenian republic's decision for independence.

Slovenia began considering international political and legal norms for declaring its independence. The governing Demos coalition prepared an all-nation plebiscite which was fixed for December 23, 1990. Even the leadership of the Catholic Church acted politically and expressed its support for the plebiscite. The outcome was quite clear; of the 89% of eligible voters who participated, 90% voted for a free and independent Slovenia. After the independence of the Republic of Slovenia was proclaimed on June 25, 1991, the Yugoslavian army went into action. But after only ten days of war the Slovenian Territorial Defence forces and international negotiations were successful in bringing about the end of military hostilities. After a three months' moratorium with the assurance that the European Community would then recognise the independence of Slovenia, Belgrade started to withdraw the Yugoslavian army. In autumn 1991 Slovenia became a sovereign state, with its own government, now the

sole authority. In December 1991, the new constitution was adopted. After some governmental troubles concerning the laws of privatisation, denationalisation, social policy, and the influence of the Catholic Church a new coalition was formed by Janez Drnovšek. Internationally the recognition process was concluded by the admission of Slovenia as a full member of the United Nations. It is hoped that this very short and fragmentary synopsis has shown that in the long run nationalism, mainly influenced and carried by a growing cultural self-confidence, was the stronger force and got the better of communism. The historical fact that the concession of cultural independence did not lead to a better co-operation of the Yugoslavian republics but to full national independence can be seen as a kind of paradox.

2.1.4. What really changed?

In many interviews the examiners asked their conversation partners what really changed after Slovenia became independent. Most of their answers seem to indicate that at least for them there was hardly any discontinuity between the time before and after separation.

First of all the continuity of the political players in Slovenia is remarkable. The role of the main politicians who already played a decisive role in the former system is widely respected within the population at large. Some political commentators, again mainly from the sphere of culture, fear that the system is too slow in completing the transformation. For example, in 1993 some prominent writers protested that Communist vestiges still dominated Slovenia through cliques and informal groupings and were responsible for "a whole series of scandals and deviations".

But not only in the political sphere, also in the state administration the examiners' group was confronted with considerable continuity. This continuity made the peaceful transition possible by putting the new constitution into place and arranging successfully for the passage of literally hundreds of laws to convert the system from socialism to pluralism.

Of course there are still some procedures which persist even though they may be against the spirit of the new laws. But in circumstances of transition it is sometimes easier to change laws than to change certain traditions or the procedures and the mentality behind them.

2.1.5. State of privatisation

One of the main issues of political controversies in the ongoing reform process has been the transformation of ownership, or so-called "privatisation". It was hoped that the privatisation of "socialised capital" - which in the system of workers' self-management was owned by all members of society - together with the rehabilitation of the banking system would encourage private entrepreneurship.

But despite laws for the privatisation of socially owned enterprises which were already adopted in the "Marković reforms" of 1989, privatisation in Slovenia has not progressed very far up to now.

In 1992, 85% of all employees were still working in the public and semi-public sectors. In 1993 only slightly more than 10% of the listed publicly or socially owned enterprises had passed into private hands. The growth in the number of small businesses cannot obscure the continued existence of socialised property.

One reason for the slow pace of restructuring property relations may be based in the rising unemployment and the general economic crisis, giving rise to an increased interest in maintaining social peace. So a moratorium was put into effect on the bankruptcy law that was designed to weed out inefficient enterprises which had been protected by subsidies.

For a long time the ruling political parties could not reach agreement on the form and the mechanisms of privatisation. The idea of slow transformation, primarily by sale of socially owned enterprises to the workers and the managers, was opposed by a plan of fast-track privatisation under which socially owned enterprises were to be nationalised and stocks distributed to all residents.

At the end of 1992 the Parliament passed a new Law on the Transformation of Company Ownership, which can be seen as a compromise. The mechanism is not easy to understand - shares go to various financial funds as well as to employees and former employees, but also to the public - but this is not only the critics' argument. The government itself stated that "the ownership transformation required by the Law does not necessarily mean real privatisation of the company in the economic sense". In any case the influence of the state is secured by government-controlled funds which hold the largest single interest.

This ongoing state influence also in "privatised" companies compromises the primary goal of privatisation, namely the increase in efficiency. In most cases the management remains unchanged. Many companies remain in the hands of institutional owners, mostly in the hands of the state, which might even lead to a decrease in efficiency.

Unlike in other communist countries with a comprehensive planned economy, market economy already existed under the self-management system. Therefore it was not necessary to totally convert the structures. But the relative success of self-managed enterprises in Yugoslavia, and in particular in Slovenia, whose economy was no doubt the most dynamic in former Yugoslavia, made it all the more tempting not to change too much.

As far as the examiners could see the changes of ownership effected so far have not brought about an overall new management approach encouraging self-initiative. This general cautiousness in implementing new management methods also has consequences for cultural institutions, which are now organised as public institutions.

2.1.6. Slovenians and "non-Slovenians"

Today Slovenia is a national state which is fully acknowledged by the international community. For a comprehensive nation-building process it is also necessary to clarify relations with non-Slovenians. Tourists, foreign investors or refugees all have an important impact on the development of an open society and thus also influence cultural awareness.

Tourism

Naturally non-Slovenians are welcome mainly as tourists. As Slovenia can be counted among the most beautiful and pleasant countries in Europe, which is both a special gift from nature and the result of long-standing cultural efforts by its entire population, the development of tourism was quite satisfactory under the former system. Despite the fact that since the autumn of 1991 Slovenia has been safe, the tourism industry had to put up with sluggish seasons in 1991 and 1992. A volley of energetic promotion campaigns launched in 1993 against this severe downfall soon bore fruit. Today about 50,000 people are employed in tourism. Projections for the next couple of years are also optimistic.

Foreign investors

It is one thing to take economic advantage of the recreational wishes of non-Slovenians; the possibility of growing foreign economic influence is quite a different matter. As up to now Slovenia has used the chances of economic recovery on its own it is understandable that the Slovenian population finds it difficult politically, but also culturally, to accept increasing foreign economic activity and the need for more foreign investment. The negative effect of this attitude is that at least some potential foreign investors do not feel very welcome.

Under the Slovenian constitution foreigners are not allowed to buy real estate. This provision, which will probably not survive European Community regulations, expresses a state of indecision reminiscent of wanting to have one's cake and eat it, too.

"In the soul of the young Slovenian nation a permanent struggle can be perceived between the fear of being isolated and the fear of foreign determination"; this assessment, while coming from the economic sphere, may also apply to cultural identity. Franc Hrovat, a Slovenian politician: "In respect of our identity, our language and our culture we have to look for new ways. We should go out, open our country and present ourselves outside".

Refugees

But not only foreign investors are sometimes seen as a threat. The Yugoslavian turmoil also brought other "foreigners" into the country. By April 1992, Slovenia had given refuge to some 5,000 displaced persons from Croatia as well as another 11,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. By June the figures had risen to somewhere between 50,000 and 60,000, resulting in Slovenia's closing its doors to any further refugees.

It is most remarkable that these refugees do not appear to be a cause of heated political controversy. But some problems still remain, in particular with Croatia, which are interlinked with certain aspects of the unresolved past.

2.1.7. Relations with the neighbouring countries

Other peoples, especially those of the neighbouring countries, also influence cultural attitudes. Therefore the current relations with Croatia, Italy, Hungary and Austria should be mentioned.

On the diplomatic level Slovenia as a successor state of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia unilaterally adopted all the international obligations of the former federal state and also all bilateral agreements.

In the sphere of foreign policy, good relations with the neighbouring countries - which are sometimes still strained - can be seen as an important national objective. Cultural agreements with all of these countries are either in effect or under preparation.

In its efforts to find acknowledgement and establish connections, especially with some western European countries like Germany, Slovenia might have turned its back too much on an essential part of its own history in the last few years. Maybe it is the current increasing problems of the western economies which have caused the country to stop looking in only one direction (namely to the west) and have helped it - together with the growing historical distance - to improve co-operation also with its neighbours.

Croatia

Relations between Slovenia and Croatia, which have developed in different directions economically as well as politically, have not really improved up to now. Bilateral trade was temporarily reduced by half; the so-called "electricity war" about the common atomic power station of Krsko has repeatedly given rise to political provocation. Of course Croatia, which had temporarily lost almost 1/3 of its territory, is rather sensitive when it comes to redrawing common borders. Especially in the question of the sea borders in the bay of Piran in the gulf of Trieste, both sides have proved inflexible up to now.

Some Slovenian newspapers think that the Croats have a bad image in Slovenia these days. This mistrust is one result of the necessary mourning of the break-up. It was the former Minister for Foreign Affairs who stated that it would be of essential importance for Slovenia not to be named in the same breath as the other countries of ex-Yugoslavia any more. Slovenia was not to be associated in any way with the tragedy of Bosnia, Serbia, the Kosovo, but also with Croatia.

Towards normal relations with Italy

As parts of Slovenia were annexed by Italy during the Mussolini era, some unresolved conflicts still remain. These open questions also considerably influenced Slovenia's efforts for association with the European Community. In 1994 the Christian Democrat Lojze Peterle, at that time Minister for Foreign Affairs, achieved a compromise in the unsatisfactory bilateral relations: the so-called "optants were to have the right to buy back their land which they had to leave behind in the 50s. But the Italian right-wing coalition had its own agenda and tried to stir up nationalistic feelings with this issue.

The Italians forced the Slovenians to modify their version of history according to which they were on the right side of the great anti-Hitler coalition, and thus also against Italy. Peterle had problems maintaining this picture even in his own party.

The result was a practicable compromise, but the Minister had to leave office. The next Minister, Zoran Thaler, had to enter into new negotiations with Italy. He reached a new,

though not a better agreement, which was finally also accepted by the Slovenian Parliament, but Thaler was also forced to resign.

Today the political circumstances in Italy have changed, the amounts of money still in dispute are negligible. Italy has given up its veto against Slovenia's association agreement with the EC.

In this connection it has to be said that Slovenia treats its Italian minority with great respect; the relevant provisions were kept in the new constitution. This cannot be said in the same way of the Slovenian minority in Italy.

As one result of the Italian annexation, certain archive materials were taken from Slovenia to Italy. The fact that they are still there continues to affect the completeness and therefore the quality of the Slovenian archives. The examiners recommend that a quick solution be found for this unsatisfactory situation.

Silent relations with Hungary

Although Hungary annexed parts of the Slovenian territory no problems seem to survive from this fact. The Hungarian minority, living mainly in the eastern part of Slovenia, even enjoys considerable rights guaranteed by a 1992 constitutional amendment. Like the Italian minority, the Hungarians are allowed to send their own representatives into the various public bodies.

At the moment some important projects concerning the improvement of transport links between Hungary and Slovenia are being negotiated.

Austria and Slovenia: a long common, but still ambivalent, history

The 60s and 70s saw considerable turbulence in the relations between Slovenia and Austria, especially concerning the treatment of the Slovenian ethnic group in the Austrian regions of Carinthia and Styria. Today the situation appears to be relaxed but still not without problems.

It was in the 7th century that Slavs founded "Carantania", which was located mainly on the territory of today's Carinthia and Styria. 200 years later it was colonised by Bavarians and, after its conversion to Christianity, integrated into the German Empire. After Carinthia became part of the Habsburg Empire in 1335, the Slovenians started their fight to keep their own language: it was the war-cries of Slovenian peasants, as a somewhat romantic Slovenian school of historiography would have it, which marked the beginning of the Slovenian nation in the peasants' wars. Without any doubt the early development of a common written language - it was the religious reformer Primož Trubar who printed the first book in Slovenian language - shaped the Slovenians' perception of themselves as being a "people under the Magna Charta of grammar".

In the 50s of the 19th century the capital of Carinthia, Klagenfurt, became the centre of Slovenian culture. The founding of the Hermagoras publishing house as well as the regular publication of at least four Slovenian newspapers together with the establishment of a network of reading associations improved people's competence in using the Slovenian language also in rural areas. A first bilingual school founded by Hussites was established in 1872. This date

can also be seen as the starting point of the conflict about promoting or driving out the Slovenian language.

In 1848 about 1/3 of the Carinthian population was Slovenian, in 1919 the percentage was down to 20, and another twenty years later only 43,000 people remained.

After the Second World War bilingualism was officially established in the southern part of Carinthia, also in schools. Under the pressure to negotiate the State Treaty, the Austrian authorities gave special rights to the Slovenian minority. But after the Allies had left Austria in 1955, the German-nationalist associations (Heimatbund, Kameradschaftsbund) started to boycott any possible peaceful coexistence. In 1958 the law on bilingual schools was repealed after a series of strikes; in 1959 the Slovenian language became a foreign language in schools and other official institutions.

It took another 15 years to realise the right of the Slovenian population to name their villages and towns in the Slovenian language. But in more than 200 municipalities these bilingual place-name signs were removed by fanaticised members of the German-speaking population. This "Ortstafelsturm" (storming of the name signs) became a hot political issue and led to the resignation of the political leadership of Carinthia. In 1976 the Slovenian population boycotted a census, which was followed by a political ice-age. It was not until 1989 that Slovenian representatives agreed for the first time to take part in the ethnic minority councils ("Volksgruppenbeiräte"). New bilingual schools, also at secondary level, have been established in the last few years.

2.2. Current political and administrative structures

2.2.1 The new state

On 23 December 1991, exactly one year after the plebiscite for an independent state, a new constitution was adopted. It defined Slovenia as a democratic republic and a welfare state governed by the rule of law.

The highest legislative authority is the National Assembly, which has 90 deputies elected for a four-year term of office. All deputies are elected by general and direct suffrage. The National Council with 40 deputies has an advisory role. While the deputies of the National Assembly represent all people, the deputies of the National Council represent special interest groups, e.g. local interests, non-profit organisations, employers, employees, farmers, small business people and freelancers.

In accordance with the Constitution, one representative each of the indigenous ethnic communities of Hungarians and Italians occupies a seat in parliament.

The government is the highest executive body, independent within the framework of its competences and answerable to the National Assembly. At the beginning of 1993 the National Assembly passed a new Law on the Government which reduced the number of ministries

from 23 to 15 and the number of government members from 27 to 16. The ministry mainly dealing with cultural affairs is the Ministry of Culture, which remained in place.

2.2.2. The heritage of local government

It was a political objective in former federal Yugoslavia to prevent nationalism, which, it was feared, would have promoted a break-up along ethnic lines. The chosen instrument was splitting the state up into many small self-governed communities according to the principle of "divide and rule". In view of the challenges of independence there were some practical reasons for temporarily concentrating government authority in the hands of the central state authorities.

But the long-standing tradition of local self-government, which was originally implemented as a programme of broad participation, is still alive. The ideological intention was to overcome the system of hierarchical political representation by giving all people political power to actively influence their living and working conditions. In this commune system, the municipality was meant to function as a basic social and economic cell with far-reaching tasks in all spheres of social life. They were seen as important parts of the mechanism of state administration.

From the distance of today this political construction could be seen as mainly idealistic, but in its attempt to avoid nationalism it had very real consequences. No doubt in reality most of the power remained in the hands of the leaders of the Communist Party, which functioned as an ideological transmission belt between the state authorities and its members. But at the same time the "Yugoslavian experiment" fundamentally differed - also concerning the living conditions of the population - from the highly centralised and even totalitarian approach of the communist regimes in other countries.

From one extreme to the other

In the period from 1964 to 1974 the mechanisms of government were transformed according to a comprehensive concept of self-management. In this communal system the so-called socio-political communities with their own budgets and sources of funding acted quite independently. In 1975 the framework changed again: the individual republics of Yugoslavia for the first time became culturally independent. The system of "communalisation" was modified by a "polycentric development of Slovenia", and as one result the municipalities, up to that time responsible for cultural matters, were replaced in this function by "cultural communities" and the "Cultural Community of Slovenia". As these cultural communities acted like separate small states, they severely lacked co-ordination.

The legal basis changed several more times in those days and of course was again challenged by Slovenia's independence. First of all, in an attempt to counteract the deep economic recession, the Slovenian government decided to place most of the revenue in the responsibility of the central authorities. This decision certainly made it easier to monitor public expenditure but weakened the influence of the other public bodies, in particular the municipalities.

In 1993 and 1994 certain laws on local self-government were adopted to separate the functions of the state from those of local self-government bodies. Thus the Law on Administration lays down that the state is to take over most of the duties administered by the old municipalities on behalf or for the benefit of the state. It stipulates that all administrative tasks and duties in fields for which particular ministries have been established as well as all other administrative tasks of a governmental character are to be transferred from the municipalities to the state.

The changes in the legal framework of self-government are mainly provided by the Law on Local Self-government, the Law on Local Elections, the Law on the Referendum on the Establishment of Municipalities and the Determination of their Boundaries, and the Law on the Financing of Municipalities.

2.2.3. The increase in the number of municipalities

So far Slovenia has decided by referendum to transform the 62 former administrative municipalities into local communities; 147 newly created municipalities which have the status of legal entities have been established by the National Assembly, and their municipal councils as well as their mayors have been elected. The new municipalities vary widely in population, area and the number of settlements. There are municipalities of less than 1,000 inhabitants, 14 have between 1,000 and 3,000, most have between 3,000 and 50,000, Celje, Kranj and Novo Mesto have more than 50,000 but fewer than 100,000, and only Maribor and Ljubljana have more than 100,000.

Although the laws have already been passed, it is mentioned even in official documents that "the separation of competences between national and local authorities has not yet been completed". Also the municipal administrations, which are to serve the municipal councils as well as the mayors, have not yet been fully established and staffed in all places.

Given this concentration on the separation of competences it is not surprising that concrete procedures of inter-municipal co-operation as well as co-operation between the national and local authorities have not yet been established.

The concept of local self-government is based on the separation of the functions of the municipal council and the mayor. Both are voted into office by direct election and neither may interfere with the authority of the other.

The Law on Local Self-government lays down the main duties of the municipalities: citizens must be guaranteed basic living conditions, such as the provision of the basic necessities of life, access to medical care and social welfare, elementary education, minimum public utilities and housing conditions, basic transport and communication links, banking facilities and premises for administrative and political activities.

The examiners' group found it remarkable that such a detailed catalogue of municipal tasks laid down by law did not contain any provisions ensuring an adequate cultural infrastructure.

The law also mentions:

- ▶ "indirect" duties which are imposed on municipalities by regional legislation, and
- ▶ state duties which are delegated to municipalities by agreement with individual municipalities and with appropriate financing.

A law on the stimulation of regional development and a law on regions are still in preparation. Therefore regional legislation cannot yet impose any duties on municipalities. Concerning the duties to be delegated by the state a fundamental problem has to be taken into account: in the law no precise separation of authority between the state and the municipalities has been formulated.

So it is not surprising that the Constitutional Court has repeatedly invalidated individual provisions of the law.

Two options are being discussed.

- ▶ One says that the local self-government bodies should not be responsible for executing the duties of the central government and that these should be carried out by the central government's regional bodies.
- ▶ The other proposes that local self-government bodies should carry out all tasks of the central government except those that are explicitly reserved for its own bodies.

A compromise is not yet in sight.

The examiners got an overall impression that there is still some "old thinking" around which abstractly shifts from extreme centralism to extreme decentralism while failing to look for appropriate and effective divisions of competences which would allow for new forms of vertical as well as horizontal co-operation and thus the solution of concrete problems.

2.2.4. The special role of urban municipalities

The Constitution of Slovenia also includes provisions on so-called urban municipalities. In creating an urban municipality territorial aspects, population, number of jobs, network of public services, cultural activity, hospitals, telecommunication centres etc. have to be taken into consideration. On this basis the National Assembly has already established 11 urban municipalities: Celje, Koper, Kranj, Ljubljana, Maribor, Murska Sobota, Nova Gorica, Novo mesto, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec and Velenje.

The function of these special municipalities is still not clearly defined. Officials working in the Ministry of Self-government explained that these municipalities are meant to be hubs of certain functions of regional significance. Urban municipalities are not only supposed to perform tasks in the sphere of urban development including all kinds of public utility services as well as cultural, educational, procurement and other functions, but they are also supposed to be geographical, economic and cultural entities ensuring a common development policy also for the surrounding areas. In this sense they are understood as motors of regional

development. Again it must be said that there is no clear definition of the special competences and status of urban municipalities.

The question arises how the specific elements of rural and urban municipalities should be defined by law. Such a law could also regulate the position of Ljubljana as the capital of Slovenia. A special bill on the capital was first prepared in 1994 but subsequently withdrawn.

Most of the people the examiners talked to were convinced that the present state of the reorganisation of local self-government can only be a first step in the functional and organisational reform process. Nevertheless this unclear division of competences and especially the lack of concepts for the implementation of regional structures should be solved as soon as possible. These structures have a great influence on the founding and funding practice of cultural institutions.

It seems clear to the examiners that for Slovenia it would be quite inefficient to construct a third political and administrative level without fully taking the existing opportunities for co-operation into account. Where fear of co-operation still exists, new structures will not solve the problems, either.

The profound impact of this issue on Slovenian cultural development will be discussed later.

2.3. General cultural orientations

2.3.1. The importance of the Slovenian language

The notion of a Slovenian nation was kept alive mainly by the fight for the use of the Slovenian language, and not so much by fighting for a certain territory, which was always in the hands of foreigners. So the Slovenian language as the most important medium of cultural expression symbolises not only cultural awareness but also Slovenian national awareness as such.

As early as in the 19th century Slovenian reading circles conveyed the political idea of a Slovenian nation. 100 years later it was especially Slovenian writers who successfully worked for Slovenia's independence. The Slovenian language has to be acknowledged as an important political issue. This was also evidenced by the struggle for the equality of the Slovenian language against militant "Yugoslavianism". The continuing political significance of the Slovenian language makes it self-evident for policy makers of all directions to consider language policy the core issue of Slovenian cultural policy. This approach is also extended to all Slovenians abroad.

2.3.2. The contribution of culture to national awareness

But it was not only the language, it was culture at large which gradually led to a new quality of national awareness. As mentioned above, as a result of the growing economic difficulties

combined with increasing ethno-political tensions the Yugoslavian Constitution of 1974 ceded all responsibility for cultural affairs to the individual republics.

The institutional conditions were quite fortunate. As a result of official cultural policy approaches in the 60s and early 70s stressing cultural education programmes, a varied institutional infrastructure for cultural production as well as reception had been established. Even in 1988, at a time when the economic situation was already rather weak, the Slovenian republic continued to run at least 33 museums, 7 institutes for monument preservation, 6 archives, 8 galleries, 7 theatres, 2 opera-houses, 2 orchestras, 13 publishing-houses, a film distribution house, 11 cinema companies, a radio and TV station, 30 libraries and 26 cultural centres. For example Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana, one of these cultural centres, established in the late 70s, alone has 6 halls and 2 galleries. Situated in a city of only 250,000 inhabitants, it is one of the biggest such centres in Europe.

There is no doubt that Slovenian national awareness was always strongly influenced by cultural values, which are represented by famous artists like the writer Ivan Cankar or the architect Joze Plecnik. But beside the preservation of unique cultural traditions in the late 70s and early 80s new cultural phenomena appeared, especially in the sub-cultural and alternative sphere.

2.3.3. The so-called alternative culture as a political avant-garde

Quite similar to developments elsewhere in Europe, an alternative cultural scene developed also in Slovenia, trying to overcome the dominant but sometimes slightly antiquated cultural institutions. Especially in Slovenia these endeavours soon got a rather political twist. Sub-cultural activities more and more often became a subversive but tolerated form of expression of political resistance against the ruling inefficient system of socialist self-management, advocating the creation and promotion of new patterns of behaviour and life. Their contributions towards establishing a civil society in Slovenia should therefore not be diminished or underestimated.

Some of the highlights have been "Laibach", "Mladina", initiatives in connection with "Nova Revija", the main oppositional magazine, "Radio Student" or "Skuc" (the students' cultural and artistic centre), the campaign for the right to civilian (i.e. non-military) service or the trial of The Four (see above) and the dramatic events on Roska Street. All these activities today can be seen as assertions of a growing Slovenian national consciousness.

New artistic directions like "Neue Slowenische Kunst" emerged. "Radio Student" increased the possibilities of the media. It was not only the first independent students' radio station in Europe but also the first to introduce a number of new broadcasting techniques previously unknown in Slovenia. The weekly magazine "Mladina" transformed itself step by step from an alternative weekly to an important political force. "Skuc" was the central cultural and artistic institution of the alternative movement which tried to create the conditions for innovative production and organisation of culture. The result was the creation of an original Slovenian punk-movement together with a new and increasingly also internationally recognised theatre, dance and film scene.

In a system of repressive tolerance the conditions of alternative cultural production were not easy but obviously challenging for the participants. It gave them a feeling of being not only an artistic but also the political avant-garde which had no other way of manifesting itself.

In the 80s a lot of mainly alternative artists and sub-cultural activists tried not only to translate cultural aims into political results but also to confront the various branches of Slovenian contemporary art with the respective international developments. It was their achievement to help to transform the political landscape in Slovenia and likewise to try to modernise the cultural landscape and make it competitive on an international level.

Today the sub-cultural sector - again not only in Slovenia - seems to have lost much of its power. Whereas in the former system official structures like the Communist Youth gave some silent support to selected activities, the political and economic changes have made the conditions of alternative cultural production even harder. Therefore this kind of cultural avant-garde has more or less disappeared. Only the ongoing altercations around "Metelkova", an independent cultural centre in the heart of Ljubljana with the claim of being autonomous and self-determined, reminds the visitor of the origins. These attempts for an internationally oriented modernisation dating back to the 80s seem to be in danger today.

As early as in the first days of Slovenia's independence, the basic orientation for the future cultural development was defined: a new principle was formulated which was meant to guarantee a "dynamic balance to provide opportunities to all artists and institutions who in the past had been left out or neglected because of their ideological or aesthetic orientations". This was modified by the principle of "balance between tradition and innovation", which did not mean equal rights for preservation and modernisation, but rather suggested that in the last few decades cultural development had leaned too far towards modernist and experimental art directions and should be reconciled with the European humanist tradition to pay more attention to the natural and cultural heritage.

To sum up, a first hypothesis can be formulated that in the regional context of the 80s there was more cultural awakening than in the phase of national consolidation in the 90s. The full implications of the change from being a region - though a culturally rich one - within a larger state to being a state in its own right at European level are not really taken into account by the cultural policy decision makers yet.

2.3.4. The position of cultural policy in the new Slovenian democracy

It is said that in the final period of the self-management system "culture became the focal point of Slovenian national progress", but there is no evidence of an ideological continuity in this phase of state consolidation. Of course in each of the former communist countries culture played a highly important and symbolic role which is no longer needed to the same extent in the framework of a modern civil society.

Immediately after Slovenia became independent there was considerable fear within the cultural scene that the Slovenian state would no longer need culture, or that at any rate culture would lose the role and position it had held in the communist system of self-government. In

fact some temporary turbulences in the funding system did occur, but none of the big changes did.

Up to now there is no relevant party-political discourse on cultural policy issues, nor is there such a thing as a distinct cultural policy programme of any of the newly established political parties. Political discussions in parliament only play a minor role.

This may be one of the reasons why most of the interview partners of the examiners' group were convinced that state cultural policy would no longer play an important role after 1989.

Although the constitutional changes now allow the free and uncontrolled expression of opinion as well as the performance of cultural activities by anyone, people's readiness and maybe also ability to take part in a public cultural policy debate, which is essential for the development of a civil society, is not very great. The relative continuity of the existing cultural policy measures should not obscure the fact that the present lack of cultural policy is immense.

The Minister of Culture

Obviously the Minister of Culture plays the most important role not only in cultural policy making but also in managing almost all of the practical procedures relevant to cultural policy. His influence was even increased when Slovenia became highly centralised and the Minister of Culture was put in charge of most public funding. His considerable power today is limited only by the limited financial resources and by the inertia of the old structures and procedures.

In 1991 the first Minister of Culture in the governing coalition which took over from the Communist Party worked out a paper called "Some points of Departure of Slovenia's Cultural Development" to be discussed in parliament. It formulated some guidelines, mainly regarding priority objectives of a future cultural policy. Around the same time the Parliamentary Cultural Committee put forward its own "Resolution on Culture" which mainly demanded that a new legal basis be created after independence.

Neither the Minister's Points of Departure nor the proposals made by the Committee have been discussed in parliament. Instead, reality took over. The parliament passed many individual laws to adapt the legal framework for cultural matters to the new circumstances and formally gave the entire executive power to the Minister of Culture.

It soon turned out that politically no major changes were planned. On the contrary, the cultural funds have been stabilised around 0.8% of GDP, which compares quite well internationally, and the structures, especially those concerning the working modalities of cultural institutions, have remained almost the same. And the non-institutionals, who were a very important driving force of cultural - and political - development in the 80s, still have no competent and reliable partner on the side of cultural policy-making and cultural administration.

As the highest cultural authority, a Minister of Culture needs to demonstrate political will. The continuing absence of a political agenda for culture means that work goes on without direction. Maybe the inertia is too great, as it is in many other European countries. This

assessment is supported by the fact that most of the new cultural laws, above all the "Law on the Fulfilment of Public Interests in the Field of Culture", introducing many changes in the business relations between state authorities and the cultural sphere, are not yet implemented, as most of the interview partners declared unanimously.

The result is the position of a Minister of Culture without a clear cultural policy profile. He/she mainly has to execute the wishes of the individual cultural institutions. As most of the state funds are reserved for them, there is not sufficient leeway for the development of new cultural perspectives.

It is therefore not surprising that the public image of the ministry does not seem to be very good compared to others. As there is no real cultural policy it seems to be almost impossible for the Minister to act politically, to launch new or even controversial initiatives and develop a modern profile for his/her sphere. Instead he/she is under some pressure to administrate the preservation not only of cultural but also of organisational heritage.

The National Cultural Council and the National Cultural Programme

Instead of acting politically and articulating its political will in the field of culture, the government commissioned a National Cultural Council to formulate directions for the preparation of a "National Cultural Programme". This Council has to be seen as a consultative body to the government and consists of 18 representatives of the cultural sphere. The president of the National Cultural Council is appointed by the Prime-Minister. It is supposed to formulate contextual guidelines and policies for the preparation of a National Cultural Programme and co-operate with the Ministry in the preparation of a draft version. The co-operation between the Cultural Council and the Ministry of Culture, especially with the Minister personally, does not seem to have been very successful until now.

The programme in itself - in accordance with the "Law on the Fulfilment of Public Interests" - is to lay down, in an annually revised edition, the principles and goals of cultural policy. It is to define the respective development strategies, objectives and orientations as well as the financial implications with regard to the national budget and other public and private resources.

The issues to be elaborated include:

- ▶ principles and goals of the cultural policy,
- ▶ measures in the cultural policy for the development of cultural activities and the protection of the cultural and natural heritage,
- ▶ criteria for setting up public infrastructure in the field of culture,
- ▶ criteria for the founding of public institutions in the field of culture,
- ▶ and many others.

As far as the examiners learned the National Cultural Council has already formulated some guidelines for the preparation of the National Cultural Programme. So it is obviously mainly up to the Ministry of Culture to make use of them when formulating the Programme, which should be adopted by the National Assembly as soon as possible. As far as the examiners could see it is not at all clear when such a cultural policy programme will actually be

available. This is all the more regrettable as the lack of such a document is likely to further delay the implementation of the Law on the Fulfilment of Public Interests in the Field of Culture.

For a more detailed discussion, please see chapter five.

The Cultural Chamber of Slovenia

The Cultural Chamber of Slovenia, another advisory body that looks like a concession to the former system of self-government, has not been established yet.

This Chamber, according to the law, is to consist of "vocational or professional societies and associations engaged in cultural activities within the field of culture". It is up to the associations to establish such a chamber as the only requirement the law imposes is that "the Chamber shall begin its operations ... as soon as no fewer than five vocational or professional societies with more than two hundred members, or at least one hundred professionals in the field of culture, ... become members".

On reading the text of the law one has to assume that this Chamber is to play an important role in cultural policy-making, e.g.:

- ▶ monitor and evaluate the state of culture and the implementation of the National Cultural Programme, and issue opinions, initiatives and suggestions,
- ▶ issue opinions on the draft national cultural programme and reports on the implementation of the National Cultural Programme,
- ▶ deliver opinions on draft laws and other regulations governing the field of culture, as well as other draft laws and regulations which concern the field of culture,
- ▶ convey to the Minister its opinion on applications for entry in the register of independent professionals in the field of culture,
- ▶ make proposals for appointments to the National Council of Culture and to other councils, committees and expert groups, ... and also to the professional boards of public institutions ...,
- ▶ provide professional assistance to its members, and
- ▶ carry out other activities specified by law and the Chamber Articles.

The Law on the Fulfilment of Public Interests stipulates the implementation of an annual procedure under which the government has to submit to parliament a comprehensive report on the current development of cultural policy measures, complete with an evaluation of results and a proposal for required changes. That means a political vote of confidence for the Minister of Culture every year.

This cultural provision may share the same lot as others, existing only on paper and bearing no consequences. Nobody today can say when there will be a first National Cultural Programme submitted to parliament.

The examiners' impressions of this situation can be summarised as follows:

- ▶ either there is no political will to have such a document which would bind the Minister's decisions to a publicly declared programme, or
- ▶ there is a dispute about the direction of this programme and no common denominator can be found, or
- ▶ the staff of the Ministry as well as the representatives of the cultural institutions are not interested in new directions in cultural policy but in business as usual.

The Ministry of Culture

It is largely thanks to the Ministry of Culture and its professional apparatus that almost all cultural operations of any significance could go on largely undisturbed by the troubles of transition. Despite this remarkable success the staff is still impeded by some unsolved issues from the past which sometimes make it difficult for them to act more effectively or even take the offensive.

As a result of the former self-management system, the Cultural Community of Slovenia, the authority which was comparable to today's Ministry, until the 80s was rather dependent on the municipal cultural communities, which disposed of the funding budgets. While a 1981 law did increase the Community's competences, this administrative body of the republic was in practice still left with tasks associated with the preparation of legal regulations and monitoring their implementation. Its power to correct decisions of the municipal cultural communities remained very weak.

The result was a division of labour under which the Cultural Community was responsible for the development of the legal framework while the municipal communities made the programme and spent the money. Beyond that no formalised co-operation was provided for.

Starting from the 70s - when the overall economic situation started getting increasingly worse - the funding of some cultural institutions, especially in the field of preservation of cultural heritage, was transferred to the republic level. This new division of competences led to a common funding system under which the republic and the municipalities each contributed 50% to the budgets of the cultural institutions.

The Cultural Community of Slovenia, later called the Republic Committee for Culture, was divided into two bodies with different tasks: the Committee of Culture was mainly responsible for the preparation and implementation of laws relevant to the field of culture and the required research; the Association of Culture, on the other hand, was mainly responsible for funding and financing.

After the change of the political system the Cultural Community was abolished. The staff of the Association of Culture formed the nucleus of today's Slovenian Ministry of Culture. This might be the reason why so many interview partners thought of the Ministry mainly as a money distributing machine not really capable of developing appropriate cultural policy concepts.

According to the 1994 Law on the Organisation and Working Domains of the Ministries, the Ministry of Culture has jurisdiction over matters related to creative work, the dissemination and protection of cultural values, public libraries and international co-operation.

The following official list of priority tasks was compiled by the Ministry itself. The Ministry has to:

- ▶ prepare all documents for the government and the parliament,
- ▶ exercise the founder's rights in the national cultural institutions,
- ▶ appoint directors of the national cultural institutions,
- ▶ distribute subsidies for cultural programmes and cultural institutions,
- ▶ decide about entries into the register of independent artists,
- ▶ cover social security for independent artists,
- ▶ decide about study and work grants for artists, and
- ▶ decide about state grants for retired artists.

For the fulfilment of these tasks, the Ministry is composed of three bodies. They are mainly in charge of issues to do with the preservation of cultural heritage: *the Cultural Heritage Office*, itself divided into three departments, for Monuments, Museums and Archives; *the National Archive*; and *the National Inspectorate for Cultural Heritage*. An *Arts Directorate* has also been established. The following services complete the structure of the Ministry: *Financial and Economic Affairs*, *Legal Affairs*, *Documentation and Analysis*, and *International Affairs*.

Six Advisory Bodies to the Minister assist in the decision-making process on funding. There are expert groups on theatre, music and dance, fine arts, libraries, for the national grant for retired artists and for social security of independent artists.

As the examiners only spoke to a few of the civil servants of the Ministry and do not really know their exact job descriptions, it is not possible for them to present a detailed assessment of the efficiency and suitability of the work which is done there. A few considerations based on the results of the interviews might still be helpful.

The principle of balance between tradition and innovation, as mentioned in the first official papers, is not mirrored in the catalogue of competences. The preservation of cultural heritage seems to have a far greater impact than contemporary art and culture.

As has already been mentioned, various funding procedures bind most of the personnel capacities, while there is a lack of developing and preparing structurally relevant cultural policy decisions. As most of the officers were already employed in the Association of Culture, they are mainly used in funding procedures. But who takes care of the remaining founding rights of the Ministry, who permanently monitors the programmes and activities of at least

the most important cultural institutions which are funded from the budget of the Ministry? The absence of a special policy department advising the Minister on formulating and articulating his political positions is also conspicuous. Similarly, no appropriate monitoring measures for the individual cultural policy decisions could be observed.

The examiners' group got the impression that the Ministry is still organised in a rather old-fashioned way. No efforts have been made to develop a modern corporate identity. This would require the implementation of appropriate management methods. To improve the public opinion of the Ministry's contributions to the social and democratic development of the country, the introduction of appropriate public relations measures should also be considered.

In order to ensure a higher degree of objectivity, future cultural policy decisions should be more strongly based on research. Therefore co-operation also with external cultural research initiatives should be intensified.

Regarding forms of external co-operation, clear relations between the municipalities as the former basis of cultural development and the Ministry are missing. There is considerable dissatisfaction, obviously because of the lack of money available for the municipalities, but also because they have no competent partners within the Ministry to solve occurring problems or find synergy effects. As the Ministry in any case cannot possibly deal with the individual representatives of at least 147 municipalities, the implementation of a regional structure with special competences for the urban municipalities is inevitable.

The fear of falling back into the old system that comes up when actual policy-making is done at state level should not lead to inactivity and defensiveness at both state and municipal level. Instead, appropriate co-operation forms should be negotiated.

Another regrettable lack is to be observed in the more or less non-existent co-operation between the individual ministries dealing with cultural affairs. Thus the Ministry of Education and Sports is responsible for cultural education and professional training programmes in the field of culture. The Ministry of Science and Technology covers research programmes in the field of culture and ensures the protection of intellectual heritage. The Ministry of Environment and Physical Planning decides over permits for projects with an environmental impact and is now responsible for the preservation of natural heritage. And the Government Information Office is responsible for the media.

The responsibility for international cultural co-operation seems to constitute a special challenge. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Science and Technology, the Ministry of Education and Sports and the Ministry of Culture all have responsibilities in this area. In all these ministries departments for international co-operation have been established which up to now have acted quite independently of each other. International co-operation is therefore a very important sphere where an appropriate inter-ministerial division of competences combined with suitable and fruitful forms of co-operation should happen.

All our interview partners within the various ministries gave the impression of being not just "bureaucrats", but also personally highly interested and involved in cultural matters. With them it should be possible in principle to introduce a new administrative approach with a

view to implementing modern management methods, developing up-to-date cultural policy concepts and instruments, and introducing models of professional co-operation.

For detailed recommendations, please see chapter five.

Selected aspects of the financial framework of the state funding system

It has already been mentioned that as a result of monetary measures taken by the central government to control excessive inflation rates and economic depression, the Ministry of Culture got charge of most of the cultural budget. While the total share of culture could be stabilised around 0.8% of GDP, about 70% of the total amount of these funds is now distributed by the Ministry, leaving only the remaining 30% for all of the municipalities. While the municipalities express their dissatisfaction with this provisional solution, a typical centralisation effect can be observed. More and more institutions of any kind want to become national institutions and for the funding reasons.

When the Ministry of Culture took over the funding of cultural activities from the National Cultural Community in 1990, the government introduced a unified budget which contains culture, education, health care and several other issues. It is centrally controlled by the Ministry of Finance, which also carries out all payments. The amount available for culture is determined by the annual budget laws.

In former times the payment of funds was seen as a very simple transaction. Meanwhile many additional instructions have been issued by the Ministry of Finance some of which have to be applied to culture but are not compatible with its specific requirements. They cause considerable complications and uncertainties within the Ministry as well as for the beneficiaries (e.g. programme funds are not available in advance but only after the respective activities, on submitting the original receipts). Further inter-ministerial negotiations will be needed.

As long as a National Cultural Programme does not exist, state funding is exclusively based on an annual financial plan which is published by the Ministry. It is developed with the help of external consultative bodies and only of advisory character. In the last few years the budget was adopted rather late in the funding cycle by parliament, which led to additional problems for the initiators of state-funded cultural activities.

The funding framework is divided into payments for funds, public cultural institutions, individual programmes, cultural programmes for minorities, professional artists' associations, basic social security, pension subsidies, special cultural programmes, scholarships, educational programmes, investments and some others.

A look at the statistics compiled by the Ministry shows that the ratios between the individual sectors have remained remarkably constant. It is a sign of continuity that the funding shares for of the different categories do not differ considerably between 1991 and 1994.

The cultural tasks of the municipalities

As mentioned above, the cultural tasks of the municipalities are not defined by law; nor can a clear division of competences between the state authorities and the municipalities be found. Concerning the funds available for cultural investments, the municipalities today only play a subordinate role. Their remaining tasks include public libraries, cultural centres and other municipal cultural institutions, the purchase of a certain percentage of library books, amateur activities, minorities, certain cultural events and restoration projects, and joint funding of certain programmes with the Ministry.

The individual municipalities' range of cultural activities is extremely varied. They are far from having common standards. The result is a confusing mixture of responsibilities and obligations, and neither the municipalities (by co-operation) nor the state authorities (by delegation) seem to be strong enough to arrive at satisfactory solutions. Where legal provisions do exist, no sanctions are envisaged. Especially in the case of joint funding the state does not or cannot insist on the agreed principle of mutuality. It is often the municipalities which are unable to fulfil common agreements because of insufficient funds.

This vicious circle should be interrupted. The present weakness of the municipalities makes the state authorities to act strongly with the result that the municipalities in turn remain weak. A new equalisation model would be needed to enable both the state authorities and the municipalities to act as strong partners who can co-operate horizontally and vertically.

The present-day dilemma of the cultural weakness of the municipalities in general clearly shows how important coherent cultural policy concepts would be for the restructuring of public responsibility on the different levels. With today's cultural policy structures and the funds available to municipalities, it is impossible to implement measures enabling municipalities to promote cultural activities.

"Public interests" in the field of culture

It is commonly agreed that the former system's main focus was on the economy. The political conviction prevailed that within a functioning economy the rest - and thus also culture - would develop more or less automatically. Even after 1989 this attitude has continued to play an important role. Nevertheless an impressive cultural infrastructure has been maintained also during transition and the state has tried to ensure further cultural development by declaring a public interest in the field of culture.

With the proclamation of the "Law on the Fulfilment of Public Interests in the Field of Culture" in 1994 the state declared its intention to be engaged in cultural affairs, to define the framework and share in the costs. This new law, which was meant to close the gap of the missing legal basis, lists the most important issues in which the government and local communities intend to be involved:

- ▶ ensuring the foundations for a balanced cultural development,
- ▶ providing conditions for the creation, dissemination and accessibility of cultural goods,
- ▶ protecting the cultural and natural heritage,

- ▶ promoting Slovenian culture inside and outside Slovenia,
- ▶ cultural education, and
- ▶ culturological research.

This wide scope of competences is to be elaborated in detail by the National Cultural Programme. On the hand the National Report states that as "the National Cultural Programme will merely be a general cultural policy document, it will be the Ministry's job to make this general document concrete".

In this procedure there are at least three different levels of concretization, and, in the view of the examiners' group, the entities concerned keep passing the buck round in circles. In the absence of contents, this leads to a stabilisation of the status quo.

The law on the one hand sets out its intentions in rather general terms, leaving a lot to interpretation; on the other hand it goes into great organisational detail, e.g. by laying down a comprehensive job- description for managers in public institutions.

The examiners' group's interest in evaluating this law must mainly be in the practical consequences of its adoption.

By way of a preliminary assessment it must be said that:

- ▶ the "National Cultural Programme" is still in preparation,
- ▶ the National Council of Culture, though it has been formally established as an advisory board, is not professionally equipped and does not co-operate appropriately with the Ministry of Culture,
- ▶ the Cultural Chamber has not yet been established,
- ▶ concerning the financing of cultural programmes, the Minister is unable to implement new procedures and criteria for lack of a political agenda,
- ▶ concerning the public infrastructure, a comprehensive register of cultural institutions and their tasks has not yet been compiled,
- ▶ the framework of public institutions has not been changed yet, even though the law does require (Art 60) public institutions to bring their founding acts in line with its provisions within six months.

The adoption of this law was an important step forward, not only because it declares the state's intention to protect cultural interests but also because it makes the framework of the state's cultural policy more logical and transparent, at least theoretically. But this first and very provisional list of steps which have yet to be carried out also shows that there is still a lack of accompanying measures which would be needed for its successful implementation.

The law provides very few sanctions. Currently not enough attention is paid to monitoring and evaluating the process of its implementation. According to the interview partners it is mainly

the absence of a National Cultural Programme which hinders further steps. Therefore one gets an impression that there is a lot of good will with hardly any consequences.

Clear political will is needed to bring this law to life. This would in turn require a transparent timetable fixing time limits for the individual steps. Furthermore, clear tasks must be defined for all involved in this matter.

Many of the interview partners were convinced that new laws could improve their situation. In the last few years the Slovenian parliament has been very busy and passed a great number of laws, also on cultural issues, but there have been almost no changes in practical terms until now. This lack of consequences obviously renders most of these laws ineffective.

When looking at the implementation process of the Law on Public Interests, one cannot help but suspect that there is another public interest hidden under the surface of the official text. As a gesture to the reformers it proclaims the state's guardianship of culture as well as a willingness to modernise the administrative system. But by not providing for any consequences or sanctions for failure to carry out these provisions, the law also proclaims an unwillingness to risk trouble. The result: things stay as they are; the public interest to guarantee continuity seems to be stronger than the interest to enable new initiatives to develop.

The Law on Public Interests reasserts the freedom of expression granted in the constitution by proclaiming that "activities in the field of culture shall be free".

For the examiners it remained unclear whether the text of this law also covers private interests, e.g. when it lays down that "the National Cultural Programme shall specify the foundations of the cultural policy and define the scope of activities in the field of culture financed or co-financed from the national budget and other public or private resources". For the examiners this passage of the text of the law was somewhat confusing because it seems to allow the interpretation the state could intervene in the allocation of private resources for cultural activities.

The state evidently plays the most important role in safeguarding the public interest in the field of culture. These efforts are acknowledged e.g. by the Slovenian population's participation in cultural activities, which reaches remarkably high levels.

Naturally, cultural policy reforms meet with interest on the part of the involved experts, such as artists or cultural managers. It was not possible for the members of the examiners' group to find out whether these cultural policy reforms are discussed also by the public at large. The Ministry remains the most important mover in the reforms, but because of its weak image it appears unlikely that the public or the media will develop any broad interest in them.

2.3.5. The functioning of cultural institutions

Like in most other European countries the operation of the cultural institutions in Slovenia represents a focus of national cultural policy. Naturally they devour most of the public funds, often considerably reducing the funds available for discretionary use. In Slovenia at least 70%

of the funds are necessary to cover the current expenses of the main cultural institutions for salaries, material, operating costs and investments.

These cultural institutions, equipped with guaranteed funding for regular operations, additionally compete with independent artists and initiatives for funding for special programmes. This procedure apparently survived the former system when funding was divided between regular activities and special campaigns. The fund for the latter, which was exclusively reserved for certain important programmes, served - in the days of autonomous cultural communities - as a budgetary reserve for the republic authorities. This division is obviously still in effect. But today it is not only inadequate and arbitrary; it is also unjust, especially towards new, experimental and non-institutional initiatives which have to compete under unequal conditions.

But nevertheless these two ways of funding cultural institutions still exist: for the basic operations including salaries, materials and other regular costs there is a special state fund which is more or less guaranteed. The institutions get the money in advance, normally 1/12 per month. This fund takes up the biggest part of the state funding scheme. In addition to that, the Ministry has another budget for financing extraordinary activities like festivals or certain exchange programmes. For this money the institutions compete with all non-institutional initiatives for which it becomes harder every year to survive in this unequal competition.

Cultural institutions still are to be seen as more or less independent entities. The director is normally appointed by the Minister. In the absence of regular appraisals combined with an effective monitoring system, the ability of the Minister and his staff to intervene beyond this point must be considered rather limited. On the contrary, one almost gets the feeling that the state mainly pays for the independence of these institutions.

Since they date back to the times of self-management, most of the institutions have boards. One-third of their members are nominated by the state, one-third by the employees and one-third by certain associations of public interest. These boards were often represented by the interview partners as being incomplete, non-functional or mere token bodies. No institution could be found where such a board was acting as a proper supervisory body. The new Law on Public Interests, which lays down precise organisational procedures for the management of cultural institutions, has also been unable to change this chaotic situation up to now.

The result: the appointed directors and their permanent staffs continue to act without any serious accountability, except possibly to the "third power", the media. The institutions are quite inflexible in terms of exchanging staff members, but in respect of their activities they are not subject to any common cultural policy planning procedure. They are not obliged to co-operate with other institutions working in the same cultural field and because there is no system of delegation and no division of tasks they are not co-ordinated in their activities by a central authority.

It should be said at this point that artists and cultural workers employed by cultural institutions are counted among the most privileged employees in Slovenia - at least as far as the security of their jobs is concerned (employees in cultural institutions are treated like tenured civil servants, which means that their positions are guaranteed for their entire working lives; this is one of the reasons why the unemployment rate in this sector is close to zero).

This state of affairs, which is, of course, massively supported by the unions, is also one of the reasons why the implementation of professional management methods and more flexible employment schemes, which would be more appropriate to the cultural sector, is not taking place.

The difficulties of the privatisation process have been outlined above. It is not only in the cultural field that the public sector has probably remained the most important in Slovenia. When the new constitution created new opportunities for the corporate sector the cultural sector remained largely public. The institutions in question became public institutions, all employees became state employees. The state was again obliged to support these institutions; however, any other intervention would have been seen as politically suspect.

A certain fear was expressed by the interview partners that the freedom of cultural and artistic creativity might be in danger when exercised within state institutions. These sentiments appear understandable in the light of the historical experiences. From the point of view of democratic development it must be pointed out that political influence is not an inevitable consequence of co-operating with state authorities. In a process of reorientation of the state authority direct political influence should be removed. Instead, there is a need for a new division of competence whereby managerial approaches within state administration provide transparent contracts between state authorities and cultural institutions' management. These contracts designate particular roles but ensure cultural and artistic freedom within these roles, e.g. provision of funding to institutions to achieve specific cultural policy objectives agreed with the Ministry while the institutions manage their allocated resources in achieving their artistic goals within the designated objectives.

Today the state is the founder of only about twenty so-called public cultural institutions. But it also funds or at least co-funds many inter-municipal and municipal institutions of which it is not the founder. 8 professional theatres, 3 music institutes, 32 museums, 9 galleries, 7 institutes for the preservation of monuments, and certain cultural centres enjoy additional state funding. All of these institutions were founded in the previous era by the municipalities in compliance with the principle of communalisation. The rights of the founder are still retained by the municipalities while the state has to pay.

The system of being a founder without exercising the corresponding rights and obligations seems to be rather questionable. Instead, the funding system should be adapted in such a way that the authority which provides the money should also be obliged to monitor its use.

In summary it must be concluded that within the cultural institutions and also in their co-operation with the state authorities everybody did their best to keep things going during all the difficulties of transition. Today this form of continuity is sometimes seen as a burden which takes up most of the public money without promoting cultural development. Therefore a new cultural policy approach is called upon to rethink the present structures, not only with a view to making them more effective but also to facilitating the emergence a new quality of creativity which - without any doubt - can be found in the cultural institutions.

Resolution of the dilemma among Slovenian cultural institutions regarding funding and founding roles and responsibilities underpins the future success of cultural policy implementation. If viewed through the lens of governance a framework for resolution is

apparent. The legal competence for governance needs to be explicit for all cultural institutions. Skills needs for governance must be addressed. Ironically, in view of other comments of the examiners regarding excessive use of legislation, recent legislation in Canada supporting a reorganisation of its cultural infrastructure wrote the addressing of training needs regarding governance into the law.

2.3.6. Private cultural initiatives are still at the very beginning

Normally the extent of private cultural initiative says something about the quality of the respective civil society. This is not true in former communist countries, where it evidently takes time to translate the people's changing self-confidence as citizens into the diversity of cultural initiatives entering into new relations with the state sector, relations which are reciprocal rather than one-sided and politically determined.

The Slovenian cultural sphere was exceptional in this respect. Nevertheless a paternalistic model of cultural policy is prevalent even today. It is still generally agreed that it is mainly the task of the state to promote cultural development. The process of privatisation in general, including the promotion of private initiative, is only very slowly finding its place. The fear of losing the old seems to be very common. So it was only consistent first of all to transform cultural institutions into state institutions managed by state employees. As they are consuming more and more public funds, private initiatives remain without significant support.

Market-oriented thinking in all cultural fields could, along with a corresponding practice, help to develop new perspectives. For example, while most of the traditional cultural institutions go on waiting for public money, some of the cultural centres like Cankarje Dom in Ljubljana or Narodni Dom in Maribor have started to implement new management methods and developed new business approaches which enable them not to be totally dependent on public money. These pioneers have to fight inflexible structures and to overcome a lot of prejudices.

Some new initiatives somewhere between music, visual arts and new technologies, which form part of the present youth culture, are also much more pragmatic and largely manage to do without public funding. This is what really makes them "private" today.

The old so-called alternative and sub-cultural scene of the 80s, which saw itself as an independent force, seems to suffer from burn-out syndrome. As in other European countries, their power has disappeared with the enemy.

The examiners were not aware of appropriate cultural policy measures to promote independent cultural initiatives. As this has been a hot issue also in other European countries it seems safe to assume that one-dimensional measures will fail. Rather, a mix of incentives has to be offered, including the implementation of new management methods, training measures as well as appropriate incentives for private companies to co-operate.

Serious doubts are justified if further tax reliefs are offered as the only solution. As in the former system the tax system was quite different from western-oriented models, and people's readiness to pay taxes is still rather weak. (There are estimates that the Slovenian state loses about 20% of its tax income through tax-evasion.)

Most of the major industries are only formally privatised, with continued massive state influence. New private enterprises are mostly small and have no significant liquid capital. What is more, the managers are not used to investments in cultural activities. So it is not surprising that in 1995 private companies only used 27% of the amounts which can be spent tax-free on charitable causes like health care, education and culture.

Also the ideological objective of transferring public cultural funds into the hands of private interests by way of an appropriate tax policy has to be unmasked as an illusion. Today, at least in Slovenia, but also in many other small countries, there is no way around predominant state activity. But this does not mean that all cultural activities have to be run in the way of state administration. Even the opposite can be true if the cultural sector becomes a pioneer in implementing appropriate managerial methods to make cultural activities as successful as possible.

In many European countries a not-for-profit company structure is a major vehicle for cultural activity outside of national, regional and local institutions. Agreeing guidelines for role, structure, governance and access to public funding is critical for the development of a not-for-profit layer within the cultural sector. This layer can also accommodate much alternative cultural activity, maximise effective use of limited resources, and provide the responsiveness to new initiatives so necessary for vibrant cultural development.

3. SLOVENIA'S CULTURAL WEALTH

No doubt Slovenia is a culturally rich country. Throughout history it has been influenced by many different cultural movements, whether they came from the Habsburg empire, from Yugoslavia or from the neighbouring countries. It has learned a lot by assimilating all these influences and combining them into a unique composition we can admire today. This treasury holds not only cultural goods which can be preserved as part of the cultural heritage but also common skills and attitudes which the examiners came to esteem highly during their visits. Some of these are presented in the following chapter.

3.1. Slovenia's understanding of different cultural languages

Slovenia having had the good fortune to be only peripherally involved in the violent separation of Yugoslavia, the country's official representatives today consistently try to prevent any further involvement in ex-Yugoslavian contexts. After being recognised as an independent state it is in Slovenia's interest to obtain a new image which is as remote as possible from the catastrophe in the former neighbouring republics. Thus the former short-time Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zoran Thaler, speaking of Slovenia's relations with the other ex-Yugoslavian countries in an interview with a German newspaper, said: "The situation in our country is completely different. We want the world to take notice of that. It is dangerous for Slovenia as a de-facto part of former Yugoslavia to keep occupied with the problems there".

So it is not surprising that while relations with Croatia are still precarious and diplomatic relations with Belgrade have not yet been established, Slovenia's western ambitions have become politically dominant. The conclusion of the association treaty with the European Union in May 1996 was a great success and an important step forward in these efforts.

As early as 1974 the then new Yugoslavian constitution conferred the entire responsibility for culture on the individual republics. Slovenian legislation of 1981 provided the legal framework which consequently led to a process of gradual transition from cultural to an increasingly political national self-awareness.

But now that culture has fulfilled this historical task, what further contribution could it make towards a contemporary profile of this young nation at the cross-roads of different influences? This question of "the right combination of Germanic and Romance influence in Slovenia's cultural development" already arose in the Ministry of Culture's document "Some Points of Departure of Slovenia's Cultural Development" of 1991.

Economically the country's dependence on the German market is getting stronger. At the same time Germany and Austria were the first countries to recognise Slovenia's independence, even before the European Community. By comparison - also due to some remaining cultural problems - relations with Italy have been strained, and the economic ties are not so strong, either. So it is only natural that there should be a significant faction demanding close cultural co-operation with Germany to accompany fruitful economic relations.

But what, to turn the question the other way round, could be the main cultural interest of European countries like Germany in Slovenia? Of course it can be the force and the dynamism of a vibrant culture in the country itself. But beyond that Slovenia's function as a bridgehead to the other Balkan states which it has outperformed economically for quite a long time should not be underestimated.

It is a delicate undertaking to raise the question of the cultural impact of the former Yugoslavian republics on today's Slovenia. But once the insanity in the Balkans gives way to normality, Slovenia will be well-equipped also to help others understand the cultural background and the different cultural codes in these countries. Slovenia should not thoughtlessly give up one of the few advantages which remain from the former political landscape, starting with the widespread knowledge of the relevant languages. When economic relations with the other former Yugoslavian countries intensify again, as they are currently starting to do, these cultural skills might help a lot.

This advantage is perhaps only one expression of a general ability Slovenia could contribute to the European cultural community. Slovenians have always been influenced by different, sometimes contradictory, cultural influences. They are used to this. They can pass on the idea that culture is not one-dimensional but a complex phenomenon which develops its profile by manifold interchanges and mutual co-operation.

Slovenia at the cross-roads could be an important European cultural catalyst bringing different cultural approaches together, combining and developing them and deriving from this ability its own unique cultural awareness.

3.2. The wealth of Slovenia's cultural heritage

Travelling around Slovenia you will find a marvellous landscape which presents itself as an important part of the country's cultural riches. In respect of cultural monuments many of the Slovenian interview partners agree in saying that there are only a few supreme objects to be found. But they impressively exemplify Slovenia's position at the cross-roads of different cultures. Many of Slovenia's cultural monuments express these exchanges and are therefore worth being taken care of by the state and society. The Catholic Church with its about 2,000 churches, many of them visible from far away on their hilltops, has also made an important contribution to the cultural landscape.

It is almost impossible to find an appropriate classification system for all these monuments. So we have to find our way by looking into the past: after World War II, about 500 castles were classified as being of special importance. As a result of changed political interests the number of cultural monuments had increased to nearly 30,000 by 1975. Many of these (9,000)

were classified as being of artistic and architectural value, more than 1,000 as urban monuments, 15,000 as ethnological monuments, some as technological monuments and more than 2,000 as monuments of the workers' movement.

In 1994, according to the latest available figures in the National Report, about 500 natural and 2,400 cultural monuments were chosen out of 10,000 objects.

3.3. The Catholic Church as an important preserver of Slovenian culture

Relations between the church and the state in former Yugoslavia were quite different from what they were in other communist regimes. The Catholic Church was not formally outlawed; it had its own departments of theology, was able to publish and hold its services. In a climate of repressive tolerance the church was permitted to take care of its cultural treasures but often lacked the money to maintain them.

Today the Catholic Church plays a special role as the owner of an immense treasury of immovable and of course also movable objects which form an important part of the Slovenian cultural heritage. Especially in the 50s and 60s the situation was not easy at all, all attempts to restore church property were politically opposed with the argument that, as a result, the influence of the church might be strengthened. In the 70s church-owned monuments were more and more treated like secular ones. This equal treatment also expressed itself in equal tax reliefs.

After the new political system had been established the Catholic Church considerably gained in importance. It was actively engaged in the social transformation process and now has political links especially to the Christian Democratic Party. The church also plays an important role in forming public opinion: it publishes two important newspapers, the daily *Druzina* and the monthly *Ognjsce* with a total circulation of more than 150,000. In addition, the Catholic Church also runs its own television channel and radio station.

For some time now there has been a joint commission dealing with open questions concerning the relations between the state and the church. These include questions of denationalisation of cultural heritage and of religious life.

In the eyes of the church representatives to whom the examiners' group talked, their social influence should be increased further. The church complains about "the general slowness of the state" which leads to many problems, especially at municipal level. Their wish for closer co-operation with local political institutions is largely ignored, they say. As the Catholic Church is the main owner of the Slovenian cultural heritage - estimates are up to 80 % - it would like to have more influence within the state preservation system. The church complains that the competent institutions have a kind of monopoly. What is more, the church wants to run its own restoration centres, but they should be recognised and, within the framework of national priorities, also funded by the state. The church has already taken the initiative by opening a restoration workshop of its own in Maribor. More of these church-run centres are in preparation.

3.4. The maintenance of a functioning cultural infrastructure

An international comparison shows clearly that Slovenia is one of the few countries in transition which have been able to preserve all their cultural institutions. While in most of the other central and eastern European countries the cultural infrastructure largely broke down, artists lost their jobs and the public's interest melted away, nothing of the kind happened in Slovenia. This impressive record was compromised only in the very first years of Slovenia's democratic restructuring by some uncertainties in the funding. But the cultural institutions emerged from these turbulences even stronger than before.

One of the first things the examiners' group found among their documents was a very impressive list of cultural institutions such as publishing houses, galleries, museums, public libraries, archives, institutions for protection of cultural heritage, university libraries, cultural centres, theatres and musical institutions, and cinemas. These are also presented in "Slovenia for everyone", an official booklet for visitors from abroad.

Cultural institutions have no doubt been very important in the past and they obviously continue to play a dominant role in Slovenian culture. Today this stable cultural infrastructure has to meet new challenges which are closely interlinked with the readiness of its managers to take into account international quality standards on the one hand and the increasing requirements of market economy on the other. Several considerable obstacles will have to be surmounted in the process.

One of these is ideological, founded on the position that market economy is bad for culture in general. As in the 80s culture was the main form of expression of resistance against the old regime, a self-image developed which culminated in the dictum: "Culture is what Slovenia is all about". Until that time, the notion of Slovenian nationality had consistently been identified with its culture or rather, with the comfortable existence of its cultural institutions. In the shortest possible version: there is no Slovenia without its cultural institutions; or the other way round: if you try to change the framework of these institutions you try to destroy Slovenia.

One group of representatives of the cultural sector with whom the examiners spoke still doubt whether the majority of the Slovenian population made the right decision when voting for market economy. At least "culture" should be seen as a kind of reservation for political dreams where the forces of market economy have no power. Their message - that culture is unique and therefore not suited to competition - is true and false at the same time. In any case the proponents of this direction obviously cannot accept that an ongoing and dynamic quality debate is needed especially in the field of culture and that culture cannot fall back into stubborn traditionalism while social changes are accelerating all around.

Another obstacle is more political in nature: keeping these cultural institutions running in the old way guarantees jobs. While the unemployment rate continues to be relatively high in other sectors, nothing like that has occurred in the field of culture. When these institutions became state institutions their employees became state employees who need no longer fear for their jobs. The political decision not to change the system of cultural institutions has to be seen as part of the social partnership arrangement with the unions and consequently as a contribution to social security and political appeasement.

The third obstacle is perhaps more rational: a simple transformation of the now state-dominated cultural infrastructure according to market economy terms cannot be successful. In a market with only two million people the demand for cultural goods is bound to remain too small. The problem is compounded by the fact that the Slovenian language is not widely spoken in other countries, with the exception of Slovenes abroad. Therefore the market cannot be expanded at will.

The role of public funding will therefore have to be kept strong if there is to be further cultural development, and the cost of the required infrastructure will necessarily be higher than in other countries. But this has almost nothing to do with the necessity of implementing new organisational and managerial methods which are suited to the general modernisation process which is taking place in Slovenia today. Being "effective" is also the only way for cultural institutions to combine a continued Slovenian cultural uniqueness with the highest possible cultural quality standards in international competition. This, however, requires an authentic cultural policy approach rather than just a mechanical one.

For the examiners' group it was rather strange to explore the funding system of these institutions. It often seemed to be the number of employees and not the importance of certain cultural activities that decides over the extent of funding. Therefore the interest of the director of such an institution to have as many employees as possible appears only natural. Interview partners even repeatedly expressed the suspicion that some institutions would not stick at passing dead people off as active members of their staffs.

The examiners' group had no opportunity to verify or falsify these allegations, which are also mentioned in the National Report. Anyhow, they say something about a general misconception of cultural policy as part of the social welfare system, reducing cultural policy authorities to remote-controlled book-keepers.

It will be an important task of Slovenian cultural policy not only to develop appropriate perspectives for these cultural institutions but also to implement managerial methods to guarantee the realisation of further planning. As the evidence of the successful Slovenian economy shows the capacity is there. It is up to cultural policy to make use of it.

3.5. Great security for cultural employees

It has to be seen as an impressive political success that the general employment situation for cultural employees was hardly affected by the new political and economic conditions in Slovenia. Almost all of the employees kept their jobs, none were given notice, and employment conditions remained mostly unchanged. It must be acknowledged that official cultural policy treated the existing employment conditions with great respect and thus contributed to continuity and the further existence of a stable cultural infrastructure. Of course these concessions also had their price.

It was in the 50s that the cultural institutions became separate legal entities with administrative and operational independence. That meant that these institutions employed not only artistic and/or research staff but also managerial, book-keeping and administrative professionals. All of them were involved in a self-management process which, according to

the political programme of the then ruling Yugoslavian Communists, gave the so-called "cultural workers" the right to decide entirely on the conditions and results of their work. Many people think that this procedure soon turned into a ritual, and that the main purpose of the institutions, namely the production of the highest possible quality in their respective fields, suffered as a result.

Usually the administrative and technical staff within the self-management system took part in artistic quality decisions which, as the National Report puts it, made the situation "utterly chaotic". The bi-cameral system which followed, and which outsiders can hardly understand, was not able to improve the managerial framework, either.

In this tradition of lifelong employment for cultural workers it was the job of the trade unions to keep things going. They played a dominant role in the management of cultural institutions, which has not really changed to this day.

Today there are about 3,500 permanently employed cultural workers, 2,700 or 75% are union members. But many freelancers are also unionised. Together with the union members in the Slovenian radio and TV stations they are a force to be reckoned with, and they are also experienced in public relations.

The trade unions alone are authorised to negotiate collective agreements for the employees in the non-commercial and cultural institutions with the Ministry of Culture. The directors or managers of the institutions have hardly any leeway for individual arrangements in dealing with permanent employees. In the interviews the representatives of the union of cultural workers pointed out that their first priority has to be the welfare of their members, which is only natural.

But it is something else that endangers the cultural institutions. As the unions and the way in which they see their role have not fundamentally changed since the political and social changes took place in Slovenia, they seem to believe that they still in effect run these institutions. The separation of interests necessary to develop a dynamic and fruitful tension between the management and the employees of these institutions has evidently not yet been effected. On the contrary, the more the hands of the managers are tied the more it is up to the unions to preserve continuity.

This profound contradiction can in the long run only lead to an increasing inflexibility of the institutions and a further deterioration of professional quality while the principal, the Ministry of Culture, lacks the initiative to develop new cultural policy approaches.

There is, however, some hope for new and more flexible relations in the cultural sector. Thus the unions have agreed to new regulations which allow five-year contracts for new employees, and for directors to pay certain employees slightly more than provided in the binding collective agreements.

These changes are becoming more and more important because of the changes in the general labour market. Before 1991 there were only small differences in the salaries of employees in cultural and non-cultural institutions. The employees also had more or less the same level of training. Now the gap is widening. The price of the low unemployment rates in the cultural

sector must be paid: while the average income in the private sector is increasing, the cultural sector remains stagnant. Especially for highly qualified professionals and ambitious artists it is becoming less and less attractive to join a cultural institution. More money can be earned in the private sector and the working conditions in cultural institutions in other countries are becoming more and more attractive.

This is one of the reasons why directors of cultural institutions are complaining that it is becoming increasingly more difficult to find young and efficient professional staff, which in the long run is the only guarantee for a stable profile with internationally presentable quality production.

Young artists and freelancers are the losers of this constellation. Their chances to find adequate conditions to realise their ambitions, which is becoming more and more important for a modern, European profile of Slovenia, are decreasing at the moment.

There can be no doubt that social security is an important factor in cultural work. But the question must be permitted whether lifelong, "tenured" state employment is adequate for the varied professional requirements in the cultural scene. Cultural production derives its strength mainly from passion, maybe even obsession. This often means acting spontaneously and reacting flexibly to unexpected changes. Therefore the institutions need comprehensive management competences increasing their freedom to negotiate flexible and adequate relations with their employees which are also attractive for artists. Otherwise cultural institutions are in danger of becoming an expensive reservation of provincialism for which taxpayers will no longer be prepared to pay such a high price.

3.6. Slovenians' great interest in cultural activities

The widespread interest in cultural activities in Slovenia is evident. As early as 1980 an opinion poll came to the result that the level of knowledge about the Slovenian cultural heritage is surprisingly high among the population. Nevertheless it was a courageous political act to construct one of the biggest cultural centres, Ljubljana's Cankarje dom, in a city with about ¼ million inhabitants in a republic with barely two million people.

It is primarily the (even political) importance of the Slovenian language and the associated cultural heritage which account for the widespread interest in cultural matters. It has to be taken into account, however, that Slovenia in general is not very urbanised. This could not even be changed by the "polycentric" development efforts in the former system which tried to improve the economic, social and also cultural infrastructure throughout the country. Opportunities to take part in cultural events are still much rarer for the rural population than for inhabitants of the few cities.

It is not easy to assess the concrete participation behaviour of the Slovenian population. Standards of measurement for attendance are unclear and even the counting methods are often not valid (e.g. the examiners were invited to several performances which were officially sold out but only about ¾ full).

There are almost no consistent statistics available. Most of the interview-partners in the cultural institutes could not provide details about their audiences or visitors, either. This is all the more remarkable as quantitative but also qualitative data are needed not only for cultural policy planning but also for the professional development of tailor-made marketing strategies.

In the 90s, only part of the cultural institutions have been able to keep the number of visitors stable. Some suffered severe losses although others, e.g. theatres, even report a slight rise in the number of visitors.

Cinema has lost audiences dramatically. Cinema attendance declined sharply, obviously as a result of the economic crisis in the early 90s, and is only now starting to improve again. However, it must be taken into account that in most other European countries cinema attendance has also gone down dramatically.

The public libraries, on the other hand, still play an important role as the basis of the Slovenian cultural infrastructure. The number of members and borrowers is constantly increasing; the number of young readers is particularly high. The network of bookshops is weak by comparison. Most of them are owned by publishing houses and would not be able to survive in the market place. There are very few bookshops selling books in other languages.

The cultural centres around the country together with the network of amateur initiatives are trying to shake off their former ideological fetters and trying to make their cultural activities accessible to a broader public not mainly interested in so-called high art. While the amateur sector is trying to find a new basis the independent sector has lost most of its dynamism and thus its appeal, also in the eyes of non-insiders.

A lot of schools, especially primary schools outside the cities, are also involved in cultural activities. But apart from that the cultural interests of young people, focused mainly on internationally oriented popular music, new media and "interdisciplinary" events have not really been taken into account yet.

The examiners' group found the situation in some museums, especially "regional" ones, rather strange, as they appeared to be more or less "dead" institutions. Sometimes almost no visitors were to be found in very beautiful buildings, and some exhibition halls were closed altogether. According to the official statistics the number of visitors has declined by half in the last few years. Even though there is some plausibility to the explanation offered by some of the directors of these museums, namely that many visitors in the former system have to be deducted in the statistics as participants of "political tours", the present numbers together with the real emptiness of the premises must be seen as an alarming sign.

Another important disseminator of culture is the Slovenian public broadcasting network. Although there are no specific provisions in respect of its cultural mission, RTV is generally required by law to pay special attention to Slovenian culture.

The classical music programmes on the radio reach about 6 - 8% of the population and certain cultural programmes on TV up to 15%, a remarkable proportion by European standards.

As already mentioned, the Hungarian and Italian minorities enjoy special rights. These minorities articulate themselves mainly culturally; e.g. 6-8% of the Slovenian Hungarians are organised in groups of singers, musicians and dancers. The state supports these activities. RTV has special regional stations for the Italian minority in Koper and for the Hungarian minority in Maribor, for whom it regularly broadcasts special programmes.

All in all it is evident that in Slovenia there is great, though not uniformly widespread, interest in culture as well as a solid cultural infrastructure. Naturally the balance between town and country stipulated by the first Minister of Culture after independence, or the balance between old and young people has not yet been achieved.

3.7. The continuing importance of non-institutional cultural activities

While the official cultural infrastructure has largely remained intact the conditions for non-institutional cultural activities have changed dramatically.

According to one definition, "non-institutional" refers to all those initiatives which are not funded by the state. This provocative saying reveals something about the non-existent, or at any rate still rather tenuous relations between the alternative and avant-garde scenes on one hand and the state authorities on the other.

In the period of self-management this scene was able to draw the public's attention to its activities even though the conditions were not very favourable. Nevertheless a lot of experimental projects were funded by cultural communities, some by the Cultural Community of Slovenia or even by the official student youth organisation. Of course the scene also suffered from the non-existence of a significant cultural industry.

Nevertheless a vivid and exciting scene arose as an unconventional expression of resistance against the dominant political circumstances. The former regime, which found these performances quite suspect, had no clear strategy how to deal with them. As their representatives did not like to be compared with totalitarian Stalinists they had to find a way between the devil and the deep blue sea, that is between tolerance and repression. Therefore it was difficult but possible to express, at least to a certain extent, a highly critical and controversial approach to arts and culture. Somehow the scene was able to survive in the lap of the official cultural system.

Especially the non-institutional scene became very important in the fight for independence. At the same time it was also increasingly recognised and acknowledged in the international cultural arena.

But after the victory celebrations the situation for the independent scene got worse. Not only did the market break down, but state funding also came to a temporary end. Additionally, places where it had been possible to perform were commercialised and could not be used any more.

Also in the field of mass culture, like rock music, the market broke down while foreign influence increased massively.

In the activists' opinion, which they expressed in the interviews, it seems that since 1990/91 there has been no more place for them in the new cultural programmes and official considerations. The suspicion was uttered that most of the official cultural policy decision-makers fear a strong and independent scene and its anarchic energy, which might keep on provoking the new state, making orderly conditions impossible.

But maybe the reasons lie deeper. All over Europe the so-called alternative scene has lost much of its innovative dynamism and with it much of its social influence. Former concepts of artistic avant-gardism have been replaced by equally popular and pluralistic approaches. New forms of co-operation among non-institutionals and with traditional institutions have evolved which make a sharp division between these two branches seem more than questionable. In the long run these traditional institutions will only be able to survive if they are prepared to give space to young, innovative and experimental forces.

But naturally one must also take into account that the political framework has changed, affecting the general attitude towards all kinds of social margins. Surely the former Communists did not have the same attitude towards young art forms as e.g. today's ruling Christian Democrats. But what really are the differences? Maybe this questions boils down to the question what will be the place of the non-institutionals in a future public funding system.

In the minds of the independents some cultural policy-makers must suffer from amnesia since they are not prepared to analyse the recent cultural history, especially with regard to the contribution of the independent scene. If it were not for its positive effects on the development of a pluralistic and democratic society in the 80s, Slovenia's cultural policy would be in permanent danger of falling back into traditionalism.

In view of the latest available data on the Ministry of Culture's funding of non-institutional activities in 1994 presented in the National Report, there may be a small gleam of hope, especially as it is primarily non-institutionals that benefit from increasing contributions for foreign touring programmes or international co-operation projects.

As the non-institutionals have always been considered a "residual" category there are no special funds for domestic productions provided for them. With their applications they have to compete with the much stronger traditional cultural institutions and their so-called special programmes. As a further disadvantage in this kind of competition most of these initiatives cannot be reduced to any specific art category, as their approach is mainly interdisciplinary. Therefore the installation of a separate programme fund for experimental, avant-garde and mass culture together with a foundation for non-institutional artists is widely demanded.

A study on the establishment of such a foundation for independent artists, which was commissioned by the Ministry, has already been completed, but the results are not known to the public.

When a specific alternative infrastructure like "Metelkova" is demanded, the responsible persons readily refer to the existence of the cultural centres and disregard the fact that the alternative initiatives of the 80s understood themselves as a better alternative to these officially managed centres.

4. INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINES

After this description of the main fields of Slovenia's cultural policy, selected disciplines will now be dealt with in more detail. Beginning with some problems of cultural heritage and public libraries, this chapter will then move on to the most important branches of the performing and fine arts. Some problems of individual artists, amateurs and art mediation will also be analysed.

In another part cultural-industry relevant issues like book production and publishing, film and the media will be discussed as well as the impact of market economy on these sectors. In this context the significance of commercial initiatives, sponsoring, and certain tax regulations will also be assessed.

At the end of each part of this chapter the reader will find some recommendations which the examiners formulated in comprehensive discussions. Some of them apply to more than just a single issue even though they are not repeated elsewhere, while others exclusively concern the problems described in the respective section. This procedure is also used in Chapter 5, where the reader also will find some recommendations at the end of each part.

4.1. Cultural Heritage

4.1.1. Administration of the protection of cultural heritage

The administration of the protection of cultural heritage is mainly the responsibility of the Office for Cultural Heritage within the Ministry of Culture, accompanied by the State Archive and the Inspectorate for Cultural Heritage. The main tasks of the Office for Cultural Heritage are the preparation of legal procedures, the provision of funding and the development of a common and binding classification system, which is as yet missing.

On the so-called "inter-municipal" level seven additional institutes are in charge and - as the times of self-management are not really over yet - still act quite independently of state authorities and at the same time of each other. They are located in Maribor, Celje, Ljubljana, Novo Mesto, Piran, Nova Gorica and Krajin.

Although the Office for Cultural Heritage was authorised to devise a uniform methodology at least for these seven institutes, this task has not been completed to date. Rather, each of these inter-municipal institutes has developed its own priorities, which are mainly:

- ▶ physical planning and landscape planning,
- ▶ restoration and the operation of workshops,
- ▶ co-operation with external specialists,
- ▶ classification of standards, and
- ▶ taking the relevant decisions.

Even the directors of these institutions, who are otherwise highly sensitive about keeping their independence, do agree that a nation-wide common classification system should be developed under the auspices of the central authorities.

As no appeal is possible against the decisions of these institutions, a new division of tasks has to be worked out. Their present competences allow them to decide which monuments should be restored, to carry out the restoration work and to inspect the quality of their own work. To the examiners this seems to be a fatal case of combining the "trias politica" of planning, performing and evaluating tasks in on hand without any kind of external control.

There are more than 1,000 applications for preservation to be dealt with annually. Each of the regional institutes has its own priority list. They are normally based on the importance of ongoing activities, on cultural heritage in connection with certain anniversaries, and on the existence of a significant local interest.

New co-operation forms have to be established also on the level of the official bodies. In the last few years the expenses of the institutes were shared by the state and the municipal founders 50:50. The more the individual municipalities run out of money, the more difficult joint financing becomes. Also the transformation of the political landscape from 62 to the present 147 municipalities does not make the situation any easier. The same must be said concerning the continuing lack of regional structures which is making "inter-municipal" procedures more and more complicated.

The costs of protection are supposed to be shared between the owners and the authority. But there are no transparent criteria for the owners as to what will be the ratio of public funding. The examiners were told that, as in other European countries, an owner of a monument classified as cultural heritage is not allowed to carry out restoration work even at his/he own expense if there is no public money available.

The administration of cultural heritage after 1945 has obviously been a very complex task. The National Report very impressively sketches its obscure history, which is very difficult for outsiders to follow. Accordingly, the legal basis had to be changed several times. And also the 1981 Law on the National and Cultural Heritage, which still provides the framework for state action, is going to be changed again.

The fact that a common and binding classification system is not applied is immediately evident. The central state register and the registers of the "inter-municipal" institutes for cultural heritage are not up to date and rather incomplete. Until the reform of local self-government the designation of cultural monuments or sights was in the jurisdiction of the individual municipalities and done without uniform or harmonised criteria. The results were bound to be quite disparate, and the problems in developing common cultural policy directions in this field accordingly persistent.

A special case seems to be the protection of natural heritage. Although the division between cultural and natural heritage is still unclear, the nature conservation service underwent certain changes which led to the incorporation of these tasks into environmental protection. In 1994 the relevant competences were transferred to the Ministry of Environment. This change of competences appears sensible, especially if it means an improvement of inter-ministerial co-operation, which obviously does not exist so far and which many Slovenian experts are demanding.

Individual directors of restoration institutes have developed proposals concerning new ways of co-operation with owners of cultural monuments, e.g. to provide favourable loans or loans which can be repaid in instalments, or to develop transparent criteria for private owners under which circumstances the restoration of their properties can take place. Hopefully some of these proposals will be part of the new law which is just in preparation. The law which is currently still in effect is rather oriented towards imposing the usual restrictions or duties on the owners of monuments.

4.1.2. Restoration and conservation of cultural heritage

Besides the institutes for the protection of cultural heritage there are a National Restoration Centre and seven "regional" institutes. The main task of the Centre is to carry out practical and theoretical as well as development work in the field of restoration and conservation. Again, the linkages between this centre and the regional institutes dealing with the concrete restoration and conservation work are weak and unclear. This is also true of their respective research work, which lacks uniform working methods or common professional training programmes.

The main problems seem to be the lack of cultural policy direction and unclear competences. There are a lot of complaints about cultural policy being merely day-by-day crisis intervention which opens up no new perspectives. Again hopes for amendment of the law cover up the lack of tools to implement the existing standards and provisions.

The research activities, it is generally agreed, have to be professionalised, otherwise further evaluation and categorisation programmes will not lead to the desired results. The co-operation between the National Restoration Centre and the "regional" ones is highly personalised. A control function does not exist because there is neither a clear division of competences nor a transparent system of delegation.

The centres are obliged to co-operate with museums and archives. Besides the restoration centres, the Academy of Visual Arts also runs a new department for restoration.

4.1.3. Archives

Another part of the cultural heritage belongs to the archives. Besides the State Archive within the Ministry of Culture there are other six so-called "regional" archives located in Koper, Maribor, Ptuj, Nova Gorica, Celje and Ljubljana. Each of these "regional" archives covers certain municipalities which no longer have their own archives. But it is the task of these

municipalities to collect important materials which they subsequently have to transfer to the archives.

Whereas the expenses used to be shared, these archives are now fully funded by the state while the founding rights belong to one or several municipalities.

Again the question of the division of competences between the State Archive and the "regional" ones remains unclear. The new legislation currently in preparation should help to solve open problems concerning the development of a uniform methodology of work, uniform selection methods, a stable funding system, the division of founding rights such as the competence to appoint the directors or to select the members of the executive boards and to define their duties.

A very sensitive political and also economic issue is the question as to the conditions under which archive materials can be used by the public, by political or economic competitors, by certain experts or by foreigners. A profile for users has not yet been developed.

As it is suspected that - for different political reasons - there are a lot of materials in neighbouring countries, the issue of archives also constitute a highly delicate matter of international relations. A legal basis is still needed for the restitution of archive materials by Italy, as well as regular diplomatic relations between Slovenia and rump-Yugoslavia, as significant parts of Slovenian archive materials are still assumed to be in Belgrade.

4.1.4. Museums

It was an important experience to learn about the sometimes bitter difference between aspiration and reality in Slovenia as exemplified by the gap between the intention and the actual significance of laws. One example among others: the still effective Law on Natural and Cultural Heritage was adopted as early as 1981. Although it also contains the most important provisions for the museum sector, these provisions were never fully implemented. Obviously the founders, the then Slovenian republic and the municipalities, did not have the power to influence the self- or collectively managed museums.

The social framework has meanwhile changed considerably. It is still the general impression that the museums are without clear cultural policy directions and thus without comprehensive governance.

There is now one general National Museum alongside many specialised national museums. As there are no clear standards of excellence up to now nobody can answer the question why they are really called "national" and why there have to be so many of them. In addition to the National Museum there are nine other museums, called "regional" museums although no official regions have yet been established. Also the division of competences between the national institutions and the regional ones which are considered to be of national significance is still treated as a secret. All in all 56 Slovenian museums are members of the official association of museums.

In the former system the most of the so-called national museums were founded by several municipalities, so they often still have several founders. The state is normally the only funder but as a rule has not obtained any founding rights. This might be one of the reasons why there is no continuous communication between the institutions and the Ministry.

At the same time the representatives of these institutions complain about serious problems which they are unable to solve by themselves. For example, the National Museum in Ljubljana feels underprivileged. It no longer has a permanent exhibition because it is now located in one building together with the National Geographic Museum and the National Anthropological Museum. Regarding to its central task, namely to collect and present the movable cultural heritage, it is largely cut off from its sources. The whole of the Slovenian territory is partitioned for the benefit of the individual "regional" museums; all parts are under the exclusive control of the local authorities and their museums. As all items excavated in the last few years have gone to these museums, conflicts with the central institution are only natural. Additionally, the National Museum has no purchasing fund at its disposal to expand its collection.

In general, all of what are nowadays national museums were not founded as such. Therefore it is not surprising that their central functions are still rather unclear. By no means do they represent any defined "national" standards.

Obviously in an attempt to avoid hierarchical structures, no vertical co-operation basis has been installed, either in terms of territory or programme. Each institution is completely left to its own devices. No system of guest exhibitions or exchanges of exhibitions has been established. After an initial failure (due to utopian ambitions) no further attempts to unify the methodology or to establish a universally binding register have been undertaken to date.

On the so-called "regional" level things do not look any better. The directors of regional museums with whom the examiners spoke are not prepared to explain what their institutions really stand for. They complain about the absence of an overall cultural policy, the artificial separation of national and regional museums or the lack of co-ordination between the municipal and the state authorities.

Often located in very beautiful buildings with a lot of staff, the museums sometimes do not know what to exhibit. Most revealing for the examiners was the situation in the City Museum in Ljubljana, which is currently being completely remodelled. The restoration will take up almost half of the amount the city of Ljubljana spends on all cultural activities in a year. But up to now there is no comprehensive concept of the contents of this museum.

Especially in this sector the extent of the unfortunate development - institutions just working for their own sake - is remarkable. There is an impressive lack of horizontal as well as vertical co-operation. The result is virtually "dead" institutions with insufficient ideas about their future role and function. In any case, for reasons of quality a certain degree of concentration will have to be taken into consideration. Even Ljubljana, Slovenia's capital, cannot afford so many museums, especially if their tasks remain so unclear.

This uncertainty obviously becomes manifest in a remarkable decrease in the number of visitors. Some of the museums have lost half of their visitors in the last few years. The

official annual average numbers of visitors meanwhile are between 15,000 and 30,000. This reduction might among other things result from partly not very visitor-friendly opening hours. Besides, only a few museums provide qualified educational programmes apart from ordinary guided tours.

To sum up, while the central functions of the national museums are unclear there are far too many, unevenly distributed regional museums with equally unclear tasks, few visitors and a great lack of co-ordination and co-operation. In view of these weaknesses the international comparability of the museums is limited.

At the moment a new law on the preservation of cultural heritage is in preparation. Its authors are trying to "deregulate" the activities of the museums, regulating only those among them which are charged with duties of protecting the movable cultural heritage, leaving all other tasks to self-regulation within the museum sector.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Clarify the division of competencies between state authorities and other public authorities
- ▶ Clarify the relationships between public authorities at the different levels and the inter-municipal institutes
- ▶ Clarify the division of competences between national and other institutes
- ▶ Institute co-ordinating mechanisms in the sector of cultural heritage between public authorities of all levels and the institutions
- ▶ Develop a common and appropriate system of standards e.g. for methodologies, categorisation, evaluation and professionalism
- ▶ Break up the unity of planning actioning and controlling
- ▶ Provide opportunities to appeal
- ▶ Provide reliable funding
- ▶ Provide transparent criteria for the public shares of these funds
- ▶ Address the research needs in the sector
- ▶ Address training needs in the sector concerning professional as well as managerial skills
- ▶ Address the need of management skills especially in museums
- ▶ Develop respective profiles for users of archives
- ▶ Address the role of the National Museum
- ▶ Address the role of the other museums
- ▶ Introduce audience development methods in the museums sector

4.2. Public Libraries

As the Slovenian language plays such an important role in the formation of Slovenian cultural awareness it is not surprising that the public libraries have to be seen as the main foundations of cultural policy measures. However, this does not preclude considerable tensions within this field.

The present public library system is still based on the 1982 Law on Libraries, which was completed by the definition of detailed standards for purchasing, management, activities and services. A new law is currently in preparation.

The 60 public libraries are public institutions and were as a rule founded by the municipalities. The further splitting-up of the municipalities into 147 in 1994 is threatening to atomise and maybe also de-professionalise the present library system. There are a lot of new municipalities whose representatives are not prepared to co-operate with their neighbouring municipalities but try to establish their own, though possibly very small, public libraries. Each library has a library council whose members are nominated by the municipality, the library workers and the readers. The funds, including the salaries, mainly come from the municipalities, though the Ministry of Culture also contributes certain amounts.

The existing network is impressive: 60 main libraries (the number is the result of the former division of the republic into 62 municipalities), additionally about 230 lending service points, 400 bookmobile stops and more than 100 bookmobile collection lending points. It is the task of all central libraries to provide training for library staff as well as advisory services in organisational and library-specific matters. Together they employ about 750 people almost 600 of whom are members of the professional staff.

In 1994 there were about 5.5 million books, 1.5 million volumes of periodicals, and 350,000 items of non-book materials in the public libraries. In former times 45% of the stock was Slovenian literature, 55% was foreign-language titles; today about 70% is Slovenian, the remaining 30% is mostly Serbo-Croatian. The public libraries are going to be connected in a network via the Slovenian common catalogue database COBIB and the bibliographic information system COBISS. According to the brochure of the public libraries, special services are also offered for adults and for young people up to the age of fifteen. Many libraries have specialised collections (e.g. art, toys, music or local history) and some are designing new methods of working with certain target groups.

The Institute for Information Science in Maribor (IZUM) functions as a consultancy and information centre for public libraries.

The public libraries can take pride in having almost half a million members, that is 20% of the whole population. The high proportion of children, who by now represent more than 50% of the members, is particularly remarkable. The membership fee is 800 SIT/year; children are exempt. Some research work is done to find out about the readers' needs.

The directors of individual public libraries mainly complain that the standards laid down in 1985 are still not observed. To them the preparation of a new law seems to be very important,

although the examiners are not really convinced that a new law alone will be able to solve the occurring problems.

Concerning the purchasing of new books, only 40-50% of the quota is usually reached. The municipalities as the founders only guarantee 30% of the purchases. The same amount is guaranteed but not necessarily paid by the Ministry of Culture. The rest is normally unavailable altogether. There are no additional funds for audio-visual materials. Professional staff in special departments are in charge of purchases. In the last few years there have been no more "recommendations from above" as to which books should be bought.

In future, according to the directors, the number of books purchased is to be increased considerably. Two books/inhabitant is supposed to be the lower limit. Today the official ratio is one book/five inhabitants. This would mean a tenfold increase, which would be quite extraordinary.

Where the existing library associations, the Union of Public Libraries and the Section for Public Libraries of the Library Association of Slovenia, are missing general cultural policy objectives, they have made proposals for the National Programme. But regrettably up to now there has been no official reaction, as a library director reported.

The main objective of the associations is to change the status of the public libraries to make them national institutions, working on the basis of uniform standards. This proposal was rejected and the libraries are forced to operate according to the conditions in the individual municipalities. Some municipalities have run out of money and are no longer able to guarantee the existence of their libraries.

A special case seems to be Ljubljana, which since 1994 has been divided into five separate municipalities. In Ljubljana the central library alone covers more than 40% of the activities.

Most of the libraries are now equipped with computer hardware and library software. They are mainly supported by the Institute for Information Science in Maribor (IZUM). It provides a sophisticated electronic network including all Internet services. In addition to the public libraries which take part in this network, every place in Slovenia with more than 10,000 inhabitants in principle also has its own electronic link. All libraries can use their own local databases, but more than 90% of the public libraries are already interlinked with COBISS. IZUM runs many training programmes and offers support services for the librarians.

The National and University Library of Ljubljana also offers training programmes for libraries. In the interviews with the library directors some reservations were expressed concerning the National Library's readiness to co-operate with them. Especially in the field of electronic networking the directors expressed the impression that the National Library has wasted a lot of time by failing to prepare for the information age, which will make rigid hierarchical thinking not only unnecessary but also counterproductive. The directors reported much better experiences with IZUM.

The National Library has also made some proposals concerning the National Cultural Programme. Their main concern is the establishment of a National Centre of Information. As

a first step it wants to install a reference centre to serve not only other public institutions but also private enterprises.

On the whole the public libraries do not seem to be in a crisis. But there is a lot of old-fashioned thinking around which might be dangerous for the future. As the 147 municipalities differ very much in size, population and other characteristics, it must be counterproductive to cover them all with artificially harmonised quantitative standards. The main challenge of the public libraries should be to develop more independent initiative in providing attractive services which are requested by the readers. Therefore the examiners cannot agree with the directors' proposals to strengthen the influence of the national authorities only because of the weak hope of receiving more reliable funding from them.

Instead, enlarged competences for the directors should be considered. They should be authorised not only to provide appropriate cultural services for their readers but also to co-operate across the municipalities and with other institutions active in the field of culture.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Avoid further fragmentation
- ▶ Protect the high standard of the Slovenian public library system
- ▶ Maximise shared maintenance and use of libraries
- ▶ Provide an attractive range of services to the user

4.3. Performing arts

4.3.1. Theatres

Slovenia has two National Theatres: one in Ljubljana and the other in Maribor. They are entirely independent of each other in their programming. All in all there are 12 large and medium-sized theatres, located not only in Ljubljana and Maribor but also in Celje and Nova Gorica, with permanent professional companies. Additionally many of the cultural centres regularly offer theatre performances. Still, more theatre halls and auditoriums, one of them with 850 seats for the Slovenian National Theatre in Maribor, were opened last year.

No doubt theatre plays an important role in Slovenia. It was in the interest of the former decision-makers to establish a dense network of professional theatres to cover as much of the Slovenian territory as possible. This infrastructure has survived the change of the political system and today represents quite a challenge for the necessary modernisation of cultural policy.

In the times of self-management the internal structure of these theatres eventually became entirely self-contained. Thus each of them came to be largely independent from what happened outside. The collective management, formed mainly by the employees, remained without any state control and produced programmes of only very modest standards. The idea of self-containment is evidently still alive, judging by the assertion of the artistic director of one of the National Theatres that he is completely autonomous in his activities even though a programme committee has been established, as he does not really have to take their recommendations into account.

It was more and more the non-institutional theatre of the 80s which fascinated the audiences with its new forms of theatrical presentation expressing exciting political messages, forcing the traditional stages to rethink and revitalise their somewhat moth-eaten performances.

Nevertheless the new cultural policy of the 90s first tried to safeguard what already existed. All professional theatres became public institutions, their employees became state employees. But while the founding rights mainly remained in the hands of one or several municipalities, funding was mainly taken over by the Ministry of Culture. This divergence brought a new responsibility vacuum to the theatres: the state finances but has no supervisory functions, while the municipalities as founders do not finance nor supervise.

So the Ministry of Culture has to come to terms not only with the fact that it has almost no influence on the operation of the individual theatres but also that together with the opera and ballet houses these theatres receive more than 90% of the total theatre budget. Only 3% remains for theatre festivals and about 1.5% for the independent and off-scene. These data make it obvious that within this funding framework there is no more leeway for cultural policy making. It may be paradoxical but it is nevertheless true that the attempts to safeguard existing institutions have actually put theatre policy out of commission.

It is the fringe-groups, from which in the 80s some important directors, emerged, that mainly suffer from this inflexibility. 1990 only 0.5% of state funding was given to them, and now the percentage is still negligible at 1.5%. However, the fact that the share of funds for foreign exchanges has increased is very positive. There are some cultural centres like Cankarje Dom, which organise increasingly successful off-theatre festivals which support the Slovenian fringe groups and at the same time promote international exchanges.

The National Report refers to a gradual but not dangerous decline of audience numbers in the traditional theatres. Two-thirds of the theatre goers buy season tickets, which means that the character of the audience obviously does not change very much. As far as the examiners could ascertain, no distinct marketing and distribution strategy has been developed so far. While some touring is done to reach people in remote areas too, a willingness to co-ordinate these activities was not to be detected, either on the part of the Ministry or on the part of the theatres.

Especially in the field of theatre it can be seen very clearly that Slovenia's cultural policy, equipped with limited financial resources, still suffers considerably under a burden of problems which it has not caused but which it has to solve as soon as possible.

4.3.2. Music and Dance

Culture obviously showed different faces also in the communist states. While in the former Soviet Union classical composers and musicians were officially celebrated and even the contemporary Shostakovic again and again enjoyed considerable appreciation, so-called "serious" music was undesired in the former Yugoslavia. Yugoslavian socialist culture was not supposed to be professional but amateur, and it was not supposed to be too serious.

This may be one reason why Slovenian classical music and its composers, with very few exceptions, have not found sustained international acknowledgement. Its standards hardly exceeded the regional level. Nevertheless Slovenia runs two big opera and ballet houses, one in Ljubljana and the other in Maribor, a Slovenian Philharmonic and several professional ensembles of the RTV. Symphonic concerts can be performed in 8, opera and ballet in 5 and ballet performances in 13 venues. Additionally a lot of professional musicians who are not employed in any particular music institution perform in different, mostly chamber, ensembles.

The conditions for the training of prospective professional musicians are not too good. The Slovenian Academy of Music is very small; the quality of instruction greatly depends on the individual teachers. Therefore many musicians and also classical dancers were only trained in secondary school, while for vocalists the Academy of Music is too small altogether and no other training opportunities are available to provide a sufficient number of qualified singers. This is one more fact to underline the need for international co-operation.

In the individual interviews the directors of the music institutions were generally convinced that for the work of their institutions "almost nothing has changed through the co-operation with the Ministry".

The situation is characterised by:

- ▶ quite vague contracts with the Ministry which have partly remained unchanged for many years,
- ▶ the fact that the implementation of these contracts is not evaluated by the Ministry,
- ▶ the fact that the annual financial plans of the institutions are mainly based on the number of employees, whose salaries are more or less fixed, and not on their programmes and the quality of these programmes,
- ▶ the difficulty of engaging foreign artists because limited budgets do not allow payment of international, market-orientated fees,
- ▶ the modest influence of the boards, which are often not yet complete,
- ▶ a lack of co-operation between the institutions, especially concerning the necessity of a nation-wide touring system.

It was mainly the non-institutional music activities which, especially in the 80s, for the first time tried to give Slovenia an also internationally relevant image as a modern creative and

innovative force. Most of these approaches were interdisciplinary; it was especially punk-groups (later "New Wave") like "Laibach" or "Children of Socialism" that opened up new dimensions, using the effects of rock-music, its messages and its direct impact. The production of music and video cassettes, fan magazines and booklets encouraged specific forms of organisation and self-reflection which became part of the political struggle.

Also the Students' Cultural and Artistic Centre (SKUC) was specialised in organising concerts for foreign and domestic pop groups. It is thanks to SKUC that the Slovenian youth was able to attend live performances of some internationally famous punk and new-wave groups.

In the field of dance it was the Ljubljana Dance Theatre (LTD) whose foundation in 1984 marked the beginning of modern dance also in Slovenia. As in the musical subculture, soon most of the modern dance activities not only took place in Ljubljana but were scattered all around Slovenia, attracting a new and increasingly also internationally experienced dance audience.

These attempts at diversity in music and dance outside direct state influence have hardly become easier in the 90s. While internationally cross-over concepts are trying to overcome the existing barriers between modern and classical forms of music, Slovenia's official music policy still seems to be informed mainly by traditionalism. In the last few years there has been a change in the remaining state funding of non-institutionals in the field of music. Often the money is no longer given to the performers directly but to the organisers; it is then up to them to include the respective performances in their programmes.

It is the main cultural institutions for classical music that are the big winners, at least in financial terms. They are about 90% publicly funded, which is one of the highest ratios in all of Europe. Their performances are highly concentrated in Ljubljana. As far as the examiners could find out there is no discussion on ways to decrease this percentage to find a new balance in future. Also, no explicit ticket-price policy was to be found, and the same applies to co-operation, especially regarding the two competing opera houses.

There is hardly any data on the present conditions for composers. A separate public fund for them does not exist, so they have to depend on commissions to produce new works as their most important source of income. Most probably they benefit from the 1994 Slovenian Law on Copyright and Related Rights, which was modelled on similar arrangements as in the EC countries.

Since 1992, the number of newly commissioned and publicly financed musical works has been increasing. About 8% of the financial means for certain campaigns are also intended for new works of music. RTV also gives support to composers by commissioning new works and performing them. The RTV symphonic orchestra pays special attention to Slovenian contemporary music. Additionally, RTV does 18 radio programmes on the Slovenian Filharmonija and 6 musical TV transmissions annually.

Beyond that, the market for music publishing, which until 1990 was entirely in the hands of the state, is still very modest.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Develop the role of the publicly funded performing arts institutions in the context of a coherent national picture
- ▶ Develop new contract-based relationships between public authorities and the performing arts institutions; devise a term of contract more appropriate than the current one year; monitor the implementation
- ▶ Bring in new management methods
- ▶ Develop incentives to improve earned incomes
- ▶ Address audience development methods including youth
- ▶ Accommodate national and international touring and exchange programmes
- ▶ Address the development of interdisciplinary programmes
- ▶ Encourage new co-operation between traditional performing arts institutions and independent productions

4.4. Fine Arts

The fine arts, like music not dependent on the Slovenian language, could be an excellent means to give Slovenia a cultural profile abroad.

It is not only visual arts but also the related art forms like architecture and design from which Slovenia's cultural policy could derive competitive advantages. An appropriate applied-art concept has not, however, been drawn up. As Slovenians are proud of their historical achievements it was surprising for the examiners not to find a clear cultural policy position towards traditional crafts.

To start the analysis of the position of fine arts in the former system, it has to be conceded that there were some fascinating awakenings as early as the 80s associated with "Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK)". The central art movement of this time appeared under the motto of "retro-garde". The retro-principle advocated a constant changing of artistic languages, and therefore switching from one form of art to the other. It eclectically merged with art history, selecting from it and from culture as a whole. NSK, e.g., acted as a collective with its own "Internal Book of Rules". Its conceptions of modernism in times of socialism advocated individualism, although its totalitarian actions often tended to destroy it. Laibach, a collective which grew out of NSK, were using all the avant-garde methods: manifestos, collective performances, provocation of the public and interfering with the political establishment; Slovenia had never seen anything so shocking.

After independence the official cultural policy, often provoked by these "extremists", in principle tried to defend pluralism and the equal treatment of all trends, regardless of aesthetic, ideological and other stances. In real life, however, as the National Report confirms,

the state's cultural policy was primarily concerned with cultural heritage and the regular operation of institutions.

Some of the examiners' interview partners from fine art institutions were, however, quite dissatisfied with the present art policy. They said they received neither cultural policy directions nor any kind of feedback concerning their institutional planning.

Again a cultural policy deficit becomes apparent. There were some institutions whose *raison d'être* remained quite unclear. But there is obviously nobody in the state authorities to define the tasks which these institutions are expected to fulfil. Meanwhile the only goal of their management, in the absence of cultural policy directions, is to survive without too many troubles. At the same time the principle of "divide and rule" makes horizontal co-operation, and therefore also an appropriate division of labour, much more complicated than necessary.

The problem of the lack of communication between the Ministry and the institutions produces not only a feeling of isolation but also some other very negative effects. The directors of the most important public museums of visual arts, e.g., expressed their frustration at not receiving any backing from the Ministry. On the contrary, they have the impression that they act within a framework of increasing bureaucratisation. As a result they say they are no longer interested in participating in the development of concrete common cultural policy measures. They also have not been asked to take part in the development of the new National Cultural Programme; the suggestions they deposited have remained without any official response so far. Furthermore, they do not feel in a position to act within a clearly formulated exterior policy to improve their international relations.

The fine arts institutions suffer from a lack of purchasing funds. Only about 10 million SIT is earmarked for this purpose for all of Slovenia at the moment. So it is hardly possible to build up any kind of internationally recognised collection; a purchasing fund which would allow the building-up of a significant collection of contemporary Slovenian art would have to amount to at least ten times as much. (In an at best semi-legal manner, funds intended for construction are partly used for purchasing.)

Apart from the national institutions there are also a large number of regional institutions, and also private galleries. The National Report mentions 800 temporary and more than 250 permanent exhibition premises. These numbers appear very high compared to the number of Slovenian painters and sculptors. (One explanation offered to the examiners is the fact that in former times the political importance of amateur art necessitated a lot of exhibition space; the results were often far from meeting professional artistic standards.) So it is not surprising that the representatives of the Union of Slovenian Painters complained in a discussion with the examiners that there are only four or five professional galleries in Ljubljana and maybe 15 all over Slovenia. There is also no networking among the publicly financed galleries.

The painters agree with the view of the representatives of the institutions that Slovenian fine arts are still isolated from the rest of the (western) world. They miss an appropriate exterior cultural policy. The regrettable result is the absence of an international market for Slovenian art. But more than that, the painters cannot detect any kind of cultural policy for the visual arts. They have the impression that cultural policy is mainly concentrated on language-oriented arts forms.

The painters e.g. demand affordable studios. Also the future of scholarships seems to be unclear. So far there is no purchasing fund for public buildings (cf. "Percent for art") which would not only improve the production conditions of the artists but also the public visibility of their products. This would mean that a certain percentage of the money used for the construction of public buildings should be dedicated to purchasing and presenting art. Such purchasing funds have by now been established in most European countries. The existing copyright provisions for visual artists have not yet been implemented.

Finally, a number of new private exhibition centres and sales-galleries have appeared. Also some public galleries try to find creative solutions, such as e.g. the City Gallery of Ljubljana, which, faced with a lack of purchasing funds, has built up a permanent exhibition with gifts from the artists.

Another encouraging development is the fact that art policy is going to support not only the traditional forms of fine arts but also photography, design, and illustration.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Develop visual arts policy
- ▶ Widen the concept of visual arts to include applied arts
- ▶ Develop the role of the publicly funded visual arts institutions in the context of a coherent national picture
- ▶ Develop appropriate horizontal and vertical co-ordination and co-operation in the sector
- ▶ Improve international co-operation and mutual exchange programmes
- ▶ Introduce a percent for art scheme
- ▶ Address audience development
- ▶ Assess the role of fostering public collections of art work of living artists

4.5. Individual artists, amateurs and art mediation

4.5.1. Individual artists

The comparison between the privileged status of being an employee in a cultural institution and the status of "independent" artists is of special interest. Even in the old system it was possible to be a self-employed artist. But not only artists made use of the advantages of this status. So under the changed political circumstances access to self-employed status was formally restricted because the state was obliged to pay basic social security contributions for the artists it thus patronised. Today about 700 artists benefit from these provisions.

So-called "independent" artists can mostly be found in artistic spheres in which large cultural institutions are not active and employment is therefore not possible.

There is no clear assessment of the classification, the number and the working conditions of Slovenian artists in the different fields. The National Report does contain a lot of data but they do not provide a clear picture. On the one hand it mentions the number of 400 independent artists, mainly painters, sculptors and free-lance architects. On the other hand it speaks of about 800 independent "cultural workers" in this field. The possibly very small number of independent writers, composers, film-makers and some others who can in principle make a living from their artistic work has to be added. However high the actual number of these independent artists might be, compared with the number of employed arts professionals in cultural institutions, which is at any rate much higher, they play only a minor part. There is also some evidence that the gap between these two sectors is going to widen even further.

As far as the examiners' group could ascertain there are a lot of associations of independent artists. It is hardly possible to estimate their present influence on the public cultural policy debate. Six of them, among them painters, writers, film-makers and composers, send representatives to the National Cultural Council.

But the establishment of the Cultural Chamber, which is intended as an umbrella organisation of these associations, seems somewhat questionable to the examiners. Its description expresses a lot of "old" thinking. As long as the definition of the tasks of the other players such as the Ministry, the Parliament, the Cultural Council, the Unions or the still existing artistic associations remains so unclear, a new organisation - which is in many ways reminiscent of the old system - will not solve any problems.

In addition, although there are a lot of issues described which directly concern the interests of independent artists, the associations obviously are not prepared to establish such a chamber because they cannot see the added value. None of the interview partners missed another organisation of this kind. The reasons might be found in some bad memories of the former system, in the belief that there is no chance to influence official ministerial decisions, in the unwillingness of the individual artists to co-operate on this level, in the continuing attitude of some people in the arts who still expect decisions from above, or simply in the present weakness of the associations. Nevertheless it was reported to the examiners that some individual artists are going to try a first kick-off to establish this chamber.

Let us look at one of these associations a little more closely. The Union of Slovenian Painters has 635 members working in different sectors of the visual arts. In the eyes of its representatives it mainly has trade union functions, but it also provides services to its members, e.g. assistance with bookkeeping or applications. The union has four employees and receives about 7 million SIT per year in public funding.

The living conditions of the individual members today are judged to be very hard. According to the association, very few independent Slovenian artists are able to survive on their artistic work alone. They need additional income, e.g. from teaching or from their partners. Also their chances to be presented in Slovenian galleries or even abroad are rather slim. The complaints of the representatives of the union can be summarised in the statement: "There has never been a cultural policy for visual arts".

Composers are normally commissioned by certain cultural institutions. There are also state scholarships for composers.

Representatives of the artists in the non-institutional sector sing more or less the same tune. As artistic avant-garde they are prepared to play an innovative role when experimenting with new, often interdisciplinary art forms or using the new aesthetic and communicative opportunities of the so-called new technologies. But instead of being accepted as the spice of the scene, their representatives feel that they are still treated as a "residual category" of the official cultural policy and demand appropriate support from the state: more public recognition, a separate fund for experimental, avant-garde and mass culture, and a foundation for non-institutional artists.

It was the impression of the examiners that the self-confidence of many individual artists, which is essential if they are to take the initiative and jointly defend their interests, is not very highly developed yet. The general invitation by law to organise is obviously not enough. It takes competent partners to assist in the development of adequate forms of co-operation.

If this sector is not sufficiently respected in its present dynamic significance, the impressive results of which can today be found all over Europe, Slovenian cultural policy, insisting only on untroubled continuity, will be in more and more danger of losing touch with current relevant artistic developments.

4.5.2. Amateurs

The amateur sector has lost much of the influence it had in former times. The communist cultural policy makers, mainly for ideological reasons, tried to create a counterweight against all suspect forms of allegedly bourgeois elitist art by involving all workers in culture.

It was especially in the 70s that amateur culture played quite an important role in the official cultural policy. Interested participants were organised in a tight network of municipal amateur organisations. The political significance was seen in carrying out a comprehensive programme with the objective of associating culture not only with leisure time but also with people's working lives. Nevertheless a lot of at least semi-professional groups of specialised artists, among others choirs and brass bands, were active as well. But in the 80s, according to the National Report, the involvement of the Cultural Communities in amateur activities decreased considerably.

The period after independence brought further uncertainties for the organised amateur sector. The 1993/1994 Law on Local Government has to be seen as an important caesura. The old municipalities, up to that time the main funders of amateur activities, were split up into a number of smaller entities which became more and more opposed to paying contributions to activities that were no longer located in their territory.

But there are still about 100,000 Slovenians involved in amateur cultural activities. The number has been steadily decreasing over the last few years. The activists are organised in about 1,700 amateur clubs and groups. The Municipal Union of Cultural Organisations

functions as an umbrella organisation of local organisations representing up to 30 groups in every community.

The union is still organised as a state organisation but is about to be transformed into a foundation for amateur activities at national level. It is funded partly by the Ministry of Culture and partly by the individual municipalities. The Ministry pays 100% of the salaries and a much smaller amount for programme work, which is mainly the task of the municipalities.

The main tasks of the union are the training of group leaders, the organisation of certain performances and festivals and the promotion of the best groups e.g. in international competitions. The union organises not only amateurs but also professionals, especially in remote areas where there are no other activities.

The professional staff consists of more than 100 people. The municipalities as a rule do not interfere in the activities of the amateur groups, for whom they often provide rooms in their cultural centres. The municipalities also contribute to the regular activities of the amateur groups.

After the upcoming reorganisation of the union, the new foundation will be the second attempt after the establishment of the Slovenian Film Fund to keep certain cultural activities at arm's length. This Slovenian Fund for Amateur Activity will no longer be part of the official administrative structures. But it is again the state which will support the activities to the extent of 50%.

The amateur foundation will have its own board: 50% of the delegates will be appointed by the government, 50% will come from the group associations. There will be several branches like brass music, dance or puppet theatre with their own advisory boards; the delegates will equally represent the municipalities and the groups themselves.

There is a certain fear that the new foundation might not succeed in attaining an attractive service-oriented image. Its representatives have made it clear that it will not be enough merely to obliterate the old class-conflict slogans, but that it will be necessary to convince people that it is no longer a state agency which wants to organise people only for political reasons. The alternative would be that certain cultural activities would be confined to a few cultural centres, while many rural areas would not be served any more.

For the examiners the question arose whether amateur activities should be funded directly by the state authorities. For them the specific local connection and therefore the municipal competence is evident. Therefore the state should limit its activities in this field to providing an appropriate framework. This limitation is the more important the more the suspicion is still alive that the state is trying to maintain its political influence in this field.

Up to now there has been no approximation of the amateur sector and the independent sector. The "independents", especially in the cities, are normally referred to "their own organisations" while the amateurs go on carrying out their own, often rather traditional, activities. New forms of amateur activities like "community art", which tries to combine social and aesthetic elements in a new and creative way and which has become quite common in other European

countries, has obviously not yet reached the Slovenian professional discussion on the further development of the amateur sector.

4.5.3. New forms of art mediation

The reforms of the 70s provided for art instruction in secondary schools. Cultural activities, especially in the fields of music, visual arts, cinema, drama and dance were incorporated in all programmes of secondary school education. It was also envisaged that schools should co-operate with local cultural institutions and with amateur organisations, an attempt which has not been very successful.

In 1990/91 further reform plans were carried out which also did not significantly improve the pupils' exposure to arts and culture within the regular school curriculum.

In 1996 new legislation on education was introduced which had been developed with the assistance of international experts and with a lot of similarities to the English school system.

In compulsory schools two music lessons and two art lessons a week are provided whereas dance is normally integrated in physical education.

Under a new co-operation model, primary-school pupils can choose additional music-oriented subjects in music schools which are organised separately but whose certificates are recognised by the regular schools.

Especially in villages primary schools function not only as educational institutions but also as cultural centres with a special local approach. More than 2/3 of these schools are involved in cultural activities for their areas.

In secondary schools a new subject on arts-history has been introduced, dealing with the entire range of arts. Besides there are special schools for different kinds of art education.

On this level pupils can choose whether to take part in the normal school programme only, or to have some additional art-oriented instruction, or to attend special art-oriented schools which are located in Ljubljana and Maribor, with the disadvantage that their diplomas do not permit admission to most non-art-oriented university studies.

The new legislation promotes cross-curricular and project-oriented school activities. While the schools try to develop their individual school profiles, pupils have more opportunities to choose individually what they want to learn.

To sum up, on the part of the school-system there are some very interesting efforts to use these opportunities to include the arts in regular school teaching. The results of these efforts however do not seem very widespread. On the other hand most of the cultural institutions - apart from offering special school performances - have not yet discovered the chances which intensive co-operation with all types of schools opens up.

Of course there are some special programmes for young people, who are normally pupils, offered by individual cultural institutions like museums or cultural centres, but there is no professional educational staff in charge of these activities. Accordingly - as far as the examiners can see - the methodological discussion on "arts and education" is not very advanced yet.

"Art mediation" as a new professional attempt to combine the necessity of sensitising young people - who are the visitors and the audiences of tomorrow - for the arts and at the same time using the creative and innovative potential of the arts for the implementation of new education methods must be seen as a growing challenge of cultural policy. Training programmes for institutional staff and for interested teachers should be provided to exchange experiences, improve the professional discussion and prepare appropriate activities.

In this connection the lack of co-operation between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education is all the more regrettable. The establishment of an inter-ministerial working group of experts to find appropriate solutions should be considered.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Preserve the distinguished state payment system of social security for registered artists
- ▶ Introduce more working grants
- ▶ Accommodate artists' policy in the cultural policy development process
- ▶ Address the lack of programme funding and venues for amateur activities available at municipal level
- ▶ Develop an arts mediation programme linked through the formal education system
- ▶ Develop educational outreach programmes in museums theatres orchestras galleries and other institutions
- ▶ Resource both appropriately

4.6. How to strengthen the market forces in the field of cultural industries

Today's Slovenia shows impressively how a small country is capable not only of surviving but of succeeding economically on the international markets. The country's extraordinary degree of export-orientation made Slovenian enterprises attractive international trade parterres. This welcome development considerably helped to mitigate the social consequences of the economic crisis in the early 90s.

How to deal with culture in this connection? It has often been said that its mission is incompatible with the market forces. But this questionable attitude denies that cultural

products are traded in the market place. Slovenia as a whole has decided to become a market economy, therefore culture, as a part of it, also has to stand the test of the market forces, although with the support of the state.

Within a market economy the cultural industry necessarily forms the backbone of cultural operations. It is mainly up to them to produce cultural goods and to supply them to the consumers. It is the task of the state, on the other hand, to intervene when the market - for whatever reason - does not function properly. This can mean making the market work again by changing the general conditions, or offering certain incentives. But acting outside the market or trying to negate its logic cannot make sense for a comprehensive cultural policy. According to some economic analysts the cultural sector suffers from market failure, therefore there is a role of the state in offsetting this failure but without denying market economy applications to the overall sector.

The success of Slovenia's cultural policy will mainly depend on its ability to establish a framework for the cultural industry, which is mainly oriented by the national, but more and more also the international markets. Its policy-makers can decide whether to open up the cultural spectrum towards international development and co-operation with all market-relevant consequences (a perspective which is successfully demonstrated in other political, social and economic areas), or to pay a disproportionate public price for maintaining a cultural closed-shop.

4.6.1. Books and Publishing

The necessity to decide which way Slovenia wants to go can be exemplified by the field of books and publishing.

In the former system there were always 13 to 15 publishing houses in Slovenia, which the state increasingly forced to operate on a commercial basis, the main reason being the increasing economic crisis. At the same time the state supported publishing not only by direct funding but also with favourable loans, attractive interest rates or sales tax reductions.

For the main publishing houses, all of which were politically influenced, the last years of the communist regime already brought some liberalisation. Nevertheless some pressure remained, and so it was not easy for them to find their way between the market forces and the political necessities. The possibility of running a publishing house privately existed only theoretically. Only two publishing houses were run by the church, and some university institutes published their own research results.

After the political changes the now privatised publishers suffered severely from the temporary economic troubles, especially the high inflation rates. The state abolished almost all indirect subsidies; publishers seeking public support are now referred to the programme fund of the Ministry of Culture, where they have to compete with applications for special funds by the cultural institutions, the non-institutionals and other initiatives. The only remaining measure in the field of indirect state subsidies for publishers consists in the reduction of the sales tax on certain books to 5%, which can be granted by the Ministry on application.

Nevertheless Slovenian publishers acknowledge that their situation is still much better than in other Eastern and Central European countries: almost all publishers survived after 1991. In addition, an impressive number of new publishers have entered the market: in 1996, 350 publishers were members of the Chamber of Commerce. (The common impression is that very few will be able to survive, while the rest are mainly idealistic one-person-enterprises with no market-economy experience.) So far there are no official criteria for the assessment of this complicated market. The measures which have been taken in this direction must be considered rather arbitrary.

In Slovenia about 3,000 new titles are published annually. About 1,000 are translations. Only a very small percentage can be classified as fiction. The number of new titles has remained almost unchanged in the last few years. The conditions for poetry are extraordinarily difficult, and they are only slightly better for essays and for classics. But none of these could be published only by private initiative.

To reach just the break-even point it is necessary to sell at least 1,500 copies. But for special interests like Slovenian literature or scientific books there are only 300 to 500 readers in all of Slovenia. Today the publishing of only about 150 - 200 titles/year is supported by the state. Special applications must be submitted on the basis of which an expert group of the Ministry draws up a priority list. Therefore the necessity of further flanking measures by the state to facilitate the continued production also of non-best-sellers is evident.

The published authors still seem to be in a privileged situation although very few are able to live off their literary work alone. Regardless whether the texts are economic successes as well as artistic ones, most publishers feel as obliged as ever to go on publishing Slovenian literature, with or without state support. What is more, the authors' fees are normally fully paid in advance, and royalties are also quite high. (80% is paid on delivering the manuscript, the rest afterwards. These regulations are binding for all books which are subsidised by the state.)

The mutual recognition of Slovenian and non-Slovenian literature is rather inadequate. Although there are two foundations specialised in the translation of Slovenian books, publishers alone cannot afford to have Slovenian authors translated under the prevailing circumstances. Only ten translations are supported annually by the Ministry. Therefore it is still very difficult to sell the works of Slovenian authors abroad. At the same time only a very limited number of translations of central works of foreign literature is available. Bookshops selling foreign literature in the original language can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The network of bookshops, which was quite impressive before 1990, has since become rather fragmentary. There are very few shops left which specialise only in books. They are normally owned by certain publishing houses. In order to reach the buyers, books are more and more often sold by mail-order or through book-clubs.

The data of the National Report show that while the number of state-supported periodicals and newspapers is continually increasing, books are subsidised less and less. The suspicion expressed in the National Report that newspapers play a more important role in the considerations of the cultural policy makers than Slovenian literature could not be verified.

Although book prices are not fixed by law, they are in practice. The normal margin for book shops ranges is 25 and 40%.

The main recommendations made by the publishers are as follows:

- ▶ future cultural policy measures should be based on more objective assessments,
- ▶ Slovenia needs a comprehensive network of well-stocked bookshops,
- ▶ the Ministry of Culture should support not only the production of individual titles, but also publishers with distinct programmes,
- ▶ an international offensive should be launched, including measures to improve conditions for translations,
- ▶ the total abolition of all indirect subsidies should be reconsidered,
- ▶ a new and appropriate state funding system is needed which is not mainly geared to individual book productions but to publishing programmes.

The examiners would like to add the observation that the book market - also that of other small countries with their own languages - is internationally rather well analysed. In the light of these analyses, Slovenian cultural policy should abandon selective interventions in the book market in favour of a much more systematic approach. This would make it possible to define the specific features of its situation and design a policy programme in terms of priorities.

As all international comparisons show, although the electronic media are advancing, books will remain one of the main cultural media.

4.6.2. Film

Two films marked the entry of Slovenian film into the last decade before independence: "The Raft of the Medusa" and "See You in the Next War". Only today can one perceive how prophetic this latter title was. "The Raft of the Medusa" supposedly was the first Dadaist film produced in the former Yugoslavia. It showed a lot of fascinating novelties, which became characteristic of Slovenian film at that time. Formally it is based on quotes not only from poetry or other writings, but the whole network of symbols like pictures, photography, letters, newspapers or fashion. As far as contents are concerned, it contrasts the Slovenian and the non-Slovenian, e.g. Slovenian versus German or Spanish, or Slovenian versus Bosnian.

After the première of "See You in the Next War" critics wrote that it was "an unacceptable film, ideologically questionable, imbued not with communism but with Christian democracy".

No doubt, although only about 40 Slovenian films were produced in the 80s, they were able to play an avant-gardistic role and contributed to the change of the political system. Today Slovenia, like other small European countries, has to deal with the question whether it can

afford a national film industry at all. For the time being, the cultural policy makers have decided in the positive.

During the period of self-management "Viba-Film" was established as the sole film company to produce Slovenian films. At the same time the screening of films became the responsibility of the municipal cultural communities. In 1990 the national film production and the reconstruction of the weakened film industry were taken over by the Ministry of Culture. It decided to build new film studios and to establish a National Film Fund to improve the conditions for film-making. The sole distribution company, "Vesna-Film", went into liquidation in 1992 and was replaced by a number of private companies operating mainly as agents for Croatian distributors.

The Slovenian Film Fund was established in 1995. Modelled on similar European funds like the one in Austria, it mainly acts as an attractive funding source. The members of the fund are appointed by the Minister of Culture, who is advised by associations from the film sector.

The fund contributes up to 80% of the total costs. For five years the producers have to share the profits, 75% of which goes back to the fund. In the first year of its existence the fund supported the production of three feature films and ten short films with about 250 million SIT. For 1996 almost the same amount will be available.

At present the fund and the national television corporation do not yet co-operate (as is the case in some countries too), although the law requires both to do so. This unwillingness to co-operate seems quite harmful to the examiners. There is a lot of evidence, also in other European countries, which suggests that the co-ordination of all available energies is needed to make the step from individual film studios to at least the beginnings of a national film industry.

Instead of co-operation there is an unnecessary form of competition. The result: RTV produces its own films, mainly 60-minute TV films, without any co-ordination with the fund. Co-operation with private film producers is negligible. Up to now no Slovenian private producer spends money on feature films.

International co-operation is also still in its infancy. Individual producers and the fund are going to launch an international marketing offensive without the help of official external cultural policy. Besides, Slovenia wants to become a member of EURIMAGES.

After an explosion in the number of private film producers in 1990, 29 remain in 1996, which is still far too many in view of the lack of commissions.

As far as video productions are concerned, this art form has not yet found its place in the system of public financing. The fund still has no mechanisms for monitoring and assessing this form of artistic production.

For a long time film was the most important form of cultural expression in Slovenia and Slovenian films were extraordinarily attractive. Today they only account for a very small share of the attendance in Slovenian cinemas, but regrettably no precise data are available.

In any case almost 90% of the films shown in cinemas come from the USA and are distributed by private distribution companies.

In 1986 there were about 150 cinemas, run mainly by the cultural communities. Today fewer than 100 remain, which are going to be privatised. This decline was naturally accompanied by a similar decline in the number of viewers, which has been increasing slightly again since 1993. Cinemas in Ljubljana account for almost 50% of cinema attendance.

4.6.3. The media as cultural mediators

In the times of self-government, when the media were transformed from state institutions to "activities of special social significance", it was - against all official political concepts - the alternative sector which changed the media landscape in the most innovative way. "Radio Student", founded as early as 1969, revolutionised the forms of media in Slovenia. Embedded in the student revolts of the 70s, which marked a cultural caesura also in Slovenia, it introduced a number of previously unknown broadcasting techniques: live transmissions, call-in programmes, pop hit parades and on-the-spot reports. It has to be recognised as the first independent audio-visual medium in Slovenia.

"Mladina", the corresponding newspaper, similarly transformed itself from an alternative weekly to an important cultural political force at that time. Its circulation rose from 5,000 in the beginning to more than 80,000. This is comparable to the present circulation of "Delo", which today at about 90,000 has the greatest number of readers. (The Slovenian Catholic daily "Družine" follows with about 70,000.) "Mladina" originally started as a cultural and informative weekly for young people and reoriented itself towards political themes in the second half of the 80s. Both "Mladina" and "Radio Student" played an important role in the democratisation of Slovenia. They served as something like "detonators, they created the conditions under which a new political culture could be formed" (Igor Vidmar).

The other media more or less had to follow these pioneers after 1990. A new law on public media was adopted: all media with the exception of national radio and television had to pass into private ownership and be at least formally independent from any political party.

In the sector of print media - quite unlike in other former communist countries - all newspapers could survive. What is more, a number of new titles appeared. Today six daily newspapers are published in Slovenia (total circulation about 350,000) along with three political weeklies and some regional papers.

The examiners could not assess the influence of these newspapers on today's public cultural policy debate due to a lack of detailed information.

In the sector of the audio-visual media National Radio Television still plays a prominent role. A special Law on Radio Television of Slovenia (RTV) was adopted in 1994 with the aim to preserve the Slovenian national and cultural identity. RTV operates:

- ▶ two national TV networks
- ▶ one regional network, which also broadcasts in Italian (Koper) and in Hungarian (Maribor)
- ▶ three national radio stations, one of them specialised in culture, and
- ▶ two regional radio stations (also in Maribor and in Koper).

The law explicitly requires RTV to create and to broadcast cultural and artistic works produced both in Slovenia and abroad: in creating and preparing its programmes, RTV must among other things "further Slovenian culture, encourage Slovenian cultural creativity and freedom of artistic creation" as well as "educate and develop the culture of speech". The total annual turnover of RTV is about 15,000 million SIT. 70% goes to TV, only 3.5% is explicitly dedicated to culture.

At least 40% of the transmissions have to be domestically produced; there are no specific regulations concerning cultural programmes. At any rate, compared with other programme categories, the proportion of imports is highest in this field. As the Slovenian film production has collapsed, RTV tried to compensate for this deficit by its own film production. Today RTV produces two feature films, six TV-dramas (60 min) and one to two serials (each of 30 to 50 minutes) annually.

At the moment there are negotiations in progress between the National Film Fund and RTV to start certain co-operation forms as provided by law. Having been the only film producer of any significance for some time, RTV does not like the idea of sharing the decision which film treatment should be produced and subsequently broadcast with the National Film Fund. But - as already stated - a better and intensified co-operation between RTV and the National Film Fund is essential.

There is a special offer for students of the Slovenian Film Academy to work temporarily in RTV.

As far as music is concerned, RTV maintains its own symphony orchestra, a big band and three choirs. As already mentioned before, the symphony orchestra pays special attention to Slovenian contemporary music. RTV also commissions contemporary Slovenian composers. The RTV big band performs about 40 times a year. It is the only professional jazz band in Slovenia.

RTV produces 5 to 6 TV dramas per year. Some of them are especially dedicated to the preservation of Slovenian literature. Also about 50 radio dramas are produced annually. Performances with live-audiences are currently a special attraction.

RTV has contracts with certain cultural institutions, such as Slovensky filharmonija, whereby RTV has committed itself to 18 radio broadcasts and 6 TV transmissions of the orchestra's performances annually. It is the Ministry of Culture which funds these joint projects. From case to case RTV also produces opera transmissions and takes co-organise special cultural events like the Ljubljana festival.

Two-thirds of all TV viewers are not interested in cultural programmes. They consider them too "high" or too "serious", which makes them a special interest of a minority elite. In the area of radio the share of listeners to classical music is impressively high, ranging between 6 and 8%. For special cultural broadcasts the share is up to 15%.

Of course RTV is engaged in a difficult competition with three commercial TV-stations which are mainly supported by different political parties, and 57 radio-stations. None of these are obliged to provide special programmes which are dedicated to culture and art. It is one of the demands of RTV also to oblige these stations by law to provide cultural programmes.

RTV is increasingly searching for international co-operation. It tries especially to bring small European broadcasters together. Within the EC RTV already enjoys indirect co-financing for co-operation projects with EC countries. RTV is a member of the EBU and applies the according categories.

For its programmes for the recognised minorities, which are prescribed by law, RTV receives some extra money from the Ministry of Culture, as it does from case to case for certain special performances.

RTV will start to be transmitted also via satellite in October 1996.

RTV is still an impressively large apparatus with about 2,300 employees, in need of both modernisation and rationalisation.

An official cultural policy concerning the development of the media has not yet been formulated or even publicly discussed. Media and cultural policy matters do not seem to be very much interlinked. With the exception of contracts between some cultural institutions and RTV, cultural policy interventions are at best sporadic.

4.6.4. The challenge of the new interactive media in the field of culture

In connection with the innovative potential of the media the so-called "new media" should also be mentioned. These media are inevitably going to change the environment of our daily life considerably. At the same time they also represent a new artistic medium to be dealt with. All over Europe initiatives such as "ars electronica" in Linz/Upper Austria have been founded to improve conditions for the these very young and experimental art forms.

The examiners were not confronted with such attempts in Slovenia. Maybe the organisers forgot, maybe these activities do not rank very high in the official priority lists, or maybe they do not even exist yet. In any case no assessment is possible at this point.

For the time being the examiners would like to recommend that this future aspect of cultural development should not be forgotten but should receive some official attention. The introduction of attractive public presentations, of programmes for the motivation of the art scene or support for international co-operation should be considered.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Acknowledge and rise to the challenge of market forces in the field of culture
- ▶ Use systematic a approach to review the publishing industries including translation, distribution and marketing
- ▶ Introduce agreements between the National Film Fund and RTV
- ▶ Create appropriate conditions for improving international co-operation
- ▶ Introduce an art house film circuit
- ▶ Include cultural aspects in a central way in media policy, e.g. input of a defined percentage of cultural programmes in domestic media productions
- ▶ Include media aspects in a central way in cultural policy
- ▶ Intensify co-operation between RTV and cultural institutions
- ▶ Be aware of the potential for culture of the new media

4.7. Market economy influences

4.7.1. Commercial initiatives

The National Report mentions private organisers as something very peripheral. Although Slovenia is no longer a communist country, they are still unable to play a significant role in Slovenian culture. One reason could be the extraordinary dominance of the traditional cultural institutions almost totally funded by the state and not used to the much more laborious competition in the market place. In such an environment with different classes of suppliers private initiatives can only have a very small chance to survive. Another, related reason lies in the refusal of official cultural policy to really stimulate the market forces also in this policy field.

Nevertheless there has been a private sector in entertainment for a long time though its role was more or less invisible until 1990. Vocal choirs and brass bands operated as societies and some classical musicians operated independently. In the area of so-called sub- and alternative culture, frequently changing independent organisational structures were also able to survive because of the idealism of their members.

In the 90s some cultural centres discovered the advantages of not being fully dependent on public funding. Some of them by now receive more than half of their earnings from private sources (including ticket sales).

In the field of entertainment private companies can register and organise concerts. New private publishers today have almost no chance in the market. For them an appropriate

cultural policy approach has not yet been developed. In the present environment they are able to survive only because of their self-exploiting idealism.

The fact that private initiative is virtually non-existent should sound an alarm to all cultural policy makers interested in promising perspectives. In the longer term the state will not be able to function as the sole subsidiser. If it is to decide on specific focal activities, it will need a strong and effective counterpart also in the private sector to carry out those activities which are expected by society. In modernising the system it should be also taken into account that private initiatives normally work much more efficiently.

4.7.2 Sponsoring

In the last few years an impetuous public debate on sponsoring has arisen all over Europe. An often rather naive approach was tied to the hope that increasing funds from private companies would at least make up for a decreasing public financial commitment, and the ideological aspect behind it was kept in disguise. Many cultural policy makers for a long time clung to the belief that no real changes would have to be made within the area of culture; the success would depend exclusively on the willingness of individual business people to give money. And to do so they must get enough tax incentives.

All experiences - and by now there are a lot - show that this is a much too narrow and at the same time unprofessional approach. The attempt to bring the economy and culture more closely together necessitates considerable changes in both spheres. Sponsoring must first of all be characterised by an attitude which expresses itself in the willingness and ability to work together. This also means the willingness to accept the economic logic of the potential partner and take the partner's needs into account when planning, preparing, presenting and performing the respective cultural activity.

This introduction is needed to caution all those who still imagine that easy money can be made by sponsoring. Just the opposite is true. Even in the most advanced European market economies the financial contributions coming from the private sector are not sufficient to keep the cultural infrastructure running without public money. And in order to get sponsor money the applicant has to muster a lot of planning capacity, persuasive power, creativity and readiness to adapt his intentions to the partner's needs. In many European countries the contributions of sponsors to the overall cultural budget are only between 3 and 5%.

There can be no access to new financial resources without changing one's own objectives and structures. Often disillusionment follows these first, necessarily unsuccessful, attempts. The next step is to consider on a more professional level how to make one's own activities fit for new forms of co-operation which are not guided by idealism but the exchange of concrete services. Successful sponsoring intervenes in the management as well as in the marketing methods of the sponsored institutions. To be prepared for these new challenges, professional know-how is needed.

Besides these fundamental changes in professional attitude, successful sponsoring also depends on the existence of strong private capital. As already mentioned the process of privatisation in Slovenia is turning out rather slow. Almost all big enterprises are still under

at least indirect state control. At the same time a lot of small enterprises have appeared in the market place who often lack the required financial resources. Foreign private commitment is only slowly increasing - on the whole these are hardly good conditions for private sponsoring.

Nevertheless the examiners were confronted with many individuals as well as representatives of cultural institutions who are disappointed by the existing state funding system and concentrate their hopes on private money, often without having any experience in this kind of business.

Existing state instruments to improve sponsoring are blunt and ineffective. Although the Law on the Tax on the Profits of Legal Entities provides that "for donors payments for culture shall be counted under costs, but no more than a maximum of 0.2 per cent of their turnover" the respective companies in 1995 used only 27 per cent of this amount.

Up to now very few cultural institutions with managers who are used to thinking in economic terms have been successful in finding Slovenian sponsoring partners. They proved to the examiners that sponsoring can be successful also in Slovenia when it is managed professionally.

The number of enterprises which are in principle interested in culture cannot be assessed due to the complete absence of research in this field.

The examiners propose to set up a programme of sponsorship development to be implemented by a business council for the arts which would act as:

- ▶ deviser and developer of strategy for business sponsorship,
- ▶ information resource,
- ▶ provider of training including the transfer of skills between the cultural and corporate sectors,
- ▶ promotion of business support.

4.7.3. Special culture- specific tax regulations

One way for the state to influence the cultural market is to collect taxes and redistribute the money according to its own ideas. The other, more indirect way is to provide certain incentives within the tax system. The most important culturally relevant tax regulations are tax incentives for private funding, special tax regulations to support artists, and VAT regulations concerning cultural goods.

To start with tax incentives, the Law on the Profits of Legal Entities in principle is an important instrument for steering decision-making relevant to cultural funding. But it has already been mentioned that the existing tax regulations are not fully exploited by potential sponsors or other donors and can therefore not be considered sufficient to increase private commitment.

But there are some other culturally relevant provisions.

The 1993 Law on Income Tax, for example, allows tax reliefs for money spent on good causes, including culture, to the extent of 3 % of the taxpayer's tax base. At 10% the percentage was significantly higher before 1993. This cut has to be interpreted as a considerable demotivation of private commitment.

As far as the taxation of the artists' incomes is concerned, there are special income tax exemptions for self-employed cultural workers of up to 40% of their earnings which can still be granted at the moment. According to EC law the tax on creative work will have to be the same as on any other.

Special sales tax regulations on cultural goods allow a tax rate of only 5% on culturally important publications, while all others are taxed at 20%. Publishers' applications are evaluated by an expert group within the Ministry of Culture.

As far as sales tax is concerned, the 1992/93 Law on Sales Tax allows reliefs only for purchases of museums and galleries themselves but not for private donations.

All these different aspects to a taxation system can principally be supportive of cultural development. Attractive tax incentives for investors/contributors to the sector, both for corporate bodies and for individuals, is recommended. However this action is one which should not be overestimated in its ability to secure funding but which nevertheless can provide valuable complementary funding. An artist-friendly personal taxation system with a generous tax deduction provision for expenses is an effective support for artists. When Slovenia introduces a VAT taxation system it is recommended that a special low cultural VAT rate be included.

Special recommendations

- ▶ assess the impact of improving market forces on the field of Slovenian culture
- ▶ provide appropriate assistance in culture-related business start-ups
- ▶ set up a business council for the arts
- ▶ a comprehensive sponsorship programme to be developed by this business council
- ▶ when introducing VAT, consider a special low culture rate
- ▶ implement a targeted tax incentive policy for culture
- ▶ preserve the taxation system for artists

5. DECISIVE ISSUES, PARTICULAR PROBLEMS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

At the end of their journey which in the course of an intensive programme took them to many places of the Slovenian cultural landscape the examiners will try to develop some more general recommendations.

The four main problem areas of the present Slovenian cultural policy for which they have developed proposals for a fruitful further development are as follows:

1. the general lack of cultural policy,
2. the unclear cultural policy responsibilities between high levels of centralisation and decentralisation,
3. the continuing overinstitutionalisation, and
4. the limitations of the existing public funding system in the face of the challenges of market economy.

The examiners are aware that they have an outsiders' view, but they have done their best, each according to his or her own experience, to observe the present situation with a sympathetic, critical and unprejudiced eye. But in analysing opportunities and problems they could only go into as much detail as the available materials and data permitted. Nevertheless they hope that their sometimes perhaps too critical remarks can be used productively in the public debate and cultural policy decision-making processes of the future.

5.1. The general lack of cultural policy

Of all the examiners' experiences in their contacts with representatives of present-day Slovenia, the general lack of cultural policy, or even the lacking will to make cultural policy, was the most conspicuous.

There is no political agenda for Slovenian cultural policy to be found. Maybe it is the seduction of continuity, maybe the remainders of the highly fragmented self-management system mixed with residues of old ideology, maybe it represents the individual institutions' obsession with survival, or it is the expression of a general uncertainty which keeps most of the people concerned in a waiting position. Whatever the reasons might be, the existing system is increasingly suffering from the lack of clear perspectives and directions. Neither within the individual political parties nor in the Ministry has a cultural programme been formulated which could be publicly discussed; nor have the political representatives very credibly expressed their readiness to really direct the existing cultural infrastructure in a way that would permit the realisation of a clear will in the area of cultural policy.

One of the results of this deficit can be observed in the Slovenian National Report, for whose authors it was more or less impossible to perform a scientific evaluation in the original meaning of the term due to the absence of officially formulated cultural policy objectives and the respective cultural policy measures.

5.1.1. The seduction of continuity

When reading the National Report carefully one will find that the contributions dealing with historical aspects of Slovenian cultural policy are markedly superior to the evaluation of present developments. Of course only a few years have passed since Slovenia became independent and turned over a new leaf in its history. But the more the examiners' group went into detail the more the suspicion grew that at least the main stream has not really changed yet. It became one of the standard questions of the examiners to ask "What has really changed?". And the interview partners' most frequent answers were: "Actually not so much" or even, "Almost nothing".

These answers largely correspond to a general impression of the examiners which can be characterised by the word "frozen": Slovenian cultural policy seems frozen somehow. And the main challenge to the respective decision makers would be to defrost the situation, to liquefy not only certain procedures but also the attitudes behind them. While this frozen character appears to guarantee continuity it also expresses a lack of learning ability which should be encouraged in the future.

Of course, many things have in fact changed. The cultural communities have been abolished, the self-management system has gone, funding has largely been shifted from the municipalities to the Ministry (at least formally), a lot of new culture-specific laws have been passed by parliament. But all these puzzle pieces do not provide a clear picture of today's cultural policy system.

As the republic of Slovenia in the 80s saw itself as the vanguard of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in more than just economic terms, the view might have arisen that not so many fundamental changes would be required; Slovenia only had to get rid of Belgrade's domination and to turn its eyes from east to west, and the rest would be business as usual. In view of this collective self-image it is not really surprising that in spite of the severe economic recession immediately after independence the political personnel could largely remain in office and the main institutions could be kept running.

This kind of continuity reconciling different historical periods is also visible in the present Slovenian cultural policy, maybe even more than elsewhere. It is not only the National Report of 1996 which impressively illustrates this fact. It is also the continuity in the personnel of the cultural institutions and the Ministry as well as the largely unchanged framework of these institutions, generating cultural programmes very similar to the ones of ten years ago.

This phenomenon opens up the concept of cultural policy in a broader sense to include an open and controversial discussion of recent Slovenian history. The following hypothesis might be offered in this connection: there will be no consistent contemporary concept of Slovenian cultural policy without a fundamental debate on recent Slovenian history.

Like in other European countries, this readiness to enter into this debate can be measured mainly in the marginalised spheres of culture. But at the same time it must also be said that up to now the cultural institutions have not found a responsive partner in the Ministry, which mainly seems to restrict itself to the role of a money-providing bureaucracy. In view of the fact that the prevailing mainstream, mainly represented by the traditional cultural institutions, is going to prevent all efforts at further development it would first of all take a broad and controversial public discussion on the priorities of cultural policy objectives. In the examiners' eyes this discussion has not yet started.

5.1.2. The lack of cultural programmes of the political parties

The articulation of key cultural policy interests still seems to be quite unusual. Up to now the Slovenian political parties have not developed proper cultural policy programmes. It is therefore not really surprising that - as e.g. the chairperson of the Parliamentary Cultural Committee analysed - cultural policy debates do not play an important role in the parliamentary process. Very few deputies are specialised in cultural policy affairs; the lobbying in this field is not really promising, either.

In the same manner as cultural policy is not on the political agenda the respective executive bodies are not able to make up for this vacuum. A certain standard of discussion, also at political level, on cultural policy issues is eminently necessary to improve the ability to define and to articulate the public interest in this field and to realise it.

The Ministry of Culture as the main executive body is obviously acting mainly as a stabiliser of continuing processes and not able to issue clear directions for further development. And further down the chain the individual cultural institutions are mostly waiting for what will come from above and they are not prepared to work together or form umbrella forums to articulate their common interests. Even the proponents of the non-institutionals had to concede in the interviews that their umbrella organisation does not work.

5.1.3. Cultural policy legislation between aspiration and reality

The deputies have worked hard in this field. Hundreds of new laws have been passed by the Slovenian National Assembly since the proclamation of the new Slovenian state, some of them also with consequences for the cultural sector. Others dating back to the former system are still in effect. Accordingly, most of the interview partners believed that an appropriate legal structure was needed. At the same time they did not really feel bound by the regulations which have been provided.

Therefore culture-specific laws must be seen as "soft" laws. Often highly detailed, they nevertheless leave much leeway for interpretation to the various interest groups. The result is a certain schizophrenic behaviour between accepting and distrusting.

Contrary to some hopes the examiners are convinced that new cultural laws are not the only way to solve existing problems; others, e.g., would be to change traditional administrative procedures by introducing appropriate management methods, to foster private initiative or to

promote institutional initiative. The issue of the current gap between legislation and the implementation of that legislation needs to be addressed.

Slovenian cultural laws are sometimes formulated like very detailed instructions and therefore not appropriate to different circumstances, with the result that they are necessarily not followed to the letter (e.g. the Law on the Fulfilment of Public Interests does not restrict itself to providing a general framework for the cultural institutions but lays down a lot of details on how they should be operated).

To the examiners the law-making process sometimes did not seem very transparent. Who really decides that a new law has to be prepared? And who is involved in the preparatory process? The relevant procedures remained unclear. Therefore even the Minister himself conceded that as a result of the sheer quantity and the speed at which some laws are passed, the quality might have suffered sometimes.

Democracy only functions when laws are widely respected. Laws which are adopted but not respected weaken democratic achievements. The Ministry of Culture as a democratically legitimised institution should have a special interest not only to prepare new laws but also to bring them to life. For this purpose sanctions are not the only appropriate means; first all other, creative methods like involvement, training, public relations or lobbying should be applied.

During the two visits of the examiners there was almost no interview without the stereotypical sentences: "For this we need a new law", or actually, "For this a new law is in preparation".

What was really surprising was the fact that on the one hand there was broad agreement among the interview partners in saying they need a legal basis for their work, and on the other hand a rather limited acceptance of the fact that these laws might actually have consequences for this work.

It has already been pointed out that e.g. the very important 1994 *Law on the Fulfilment of Public Interests in the Field of Culture* has remained without incisive consequences. The text lays down a cultural policy framework which the examiners' group could not find in reality.

The examiners also were confronted with the preparatory work for a new law on cultural heritage issues which will replace the 1981 law. Although a draft version had already been circulated, there were directors of so-called "regional" institutes for the protection of cultural heritage who had not even read this text. But still they were deeply convinced that a new law would help to solve their problems.

Can the reasons for this be found in old and schizophrenic ways of thinking? Can it still be the case that those in positions of authority create laws without consequences while the others try to find loopholes which will not upset their respective ambitions? At any rate this situation seems rather inadequate. Laws become obsolete if they are not obeyed. But it is not only sanctions that make the implementation of a law successful. It is also the active participation of the professionals it will concern in the preparatory process.

New procedures must therefore be developed to activate the respective forums in the preparatory phase, to accompany the process by permanent monitoring but also to provide clear sanctions for failure to obey the law once it is in force.

To sum up, when new laws are demanded it should also be taken into account that laws cannot solve all problems. Especially in this phase of transition the main challenge must be seen in the readiness of individuals to take the initiative - e.g., a law cannot prescribe co-operation. If the individuals are not willing to co-operate there is no use in a law; then only positive incentives of the state authorities like promotion or motivation can help.

5.1.4. The lack of a National Cultural Programme

The general frustration at the present lack of cultural policy is - still - offset by an equally general hope that a National Cultural Programme will solve the problem. For this purpose a National Cultural Council has been set up by the government to formulate the respective guidelines. But it is the Minister of Culture and his staff who have to prepare the cultural development concepts.

These 18 experts, as far as the examiners' group could ascertain, in the present constellation are hardly capable of fulfilling unrealistically high hopes. They have been given nothing to go on, they do not have a professional secretariat, and also the basis for co-operation with the Ministry was said to be quite weak.

At the last moment it was reported to the examiners that the National Council has already made a first proposal for cultural policy guidelines. They have formulated "Premises for the preparation of the National Cultural Programme". It includes the following headings:

- ▶ The right of citizens to culture should be introduced in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia as a positive human right
- ▶ The establishment of a nation state calls for the confirmation and supplementation of the fundamental national cultural institutions
- ▶ Developmental processes relating to culture need to establish a balance between what must be protected against external competition, with the aim of preserving national cultural identity, and what must be exposed to international competition
- ▶ Cultural policy must strengthen polycentricity in the spirit of democratic decentralisation and co-ordinated cultural development
- ▶ The regional level of the provision of cultural wealth must also be established
- ▶ The maintenance and development of a uniform cultural space is Slovenia's permanent and ongoing task
- ▶ Democratisation in the area of culture is of vital importance for the overall development of democracy and culture

- ▶ The de-etatisation of the public sector: the institutional organisation of culture, which comes from the past, must be given a counterpart in civil society and in the balance between the public and the private sector
- ▶ Cultural policy must not depend only on day-to-day policy and those in power but strive to achieve the highest level of social and political consensus possible
- ▶ The responsible state and local community bodies must fill the gap which emerged in the area of cultural policy upon the abolition of the cultural communities. Cultural policy must become a subject of interest and the responsibility of all national and local bodies, as well as of responsible bodies within cultural institutions
- ▶ The implementation of premises and guidelines for the drafting of the National Cultural Programme must also include the strategic redistribution of funds obtained from the part of the state budget allocated to culture and from individual cultural activities
- ▶ Consolidation of the state's role as patron: a shift from artistic and professional assessment to the provision of cultural processes
- ▶ The state's role as patron and the importance of the cultural market must supplement and not exclude one another
- ▶ The state must provide additional funds to ensure that those areas of culture which have not yet met UNESCO standards are duly adjusted
- ▶ Tax policy must become an instrument of cultural policy
- ▶ In accordance with international conventions, the state is directly responsible for the overall state of the cultural and natural heritage
- ▶ The planning of programmes must be long-term
- ▶ Slovenia's integration into the European Union must maintain Slovenia's cultural sovereignty as one of the essential components of its national future, and
- ▶ As the Yugoslavian cultural space has collapsed, Slovenian culture must strive to affirm its position in the cultural space of Europe.

This very comprehensive framework is accompanied by general guidelines for preparing the National Cultural Programme.

As far as the examiners can assess everything has been done by the Council to make possible the formulation of the National Cultural Programme by the Ministry of Culture. But there is nobody within the Ministry to ensure that the deadline can be kept - the programme is supposed to be ready by the end of 1996. The procedures for implementing, accompanying, monitoring, and assessing the results are still unclear.

In any case the preparation of this National Cultural Programme should not be used as an excuse for not formulating a political will.

5.1.5. New tasks for the Ministry of Culture

In the ranking of the public image of the individual Slovenian ministries the Ministry of Culture these days can be found in last place. Of course it might be seen as not so important because in fact it represents less than one percent of the total state budget. But have all Slovenians forgotten that it was culture which was one of the main stimuli for the change of the political system?

Apparently some uncertainties concerning the role of the Ministry have obscured the former significance of the field. Maybe, as is often supposed, it is the present dominance of economics which makes it difficult for other political issues to compete. But maybe these uncertainties are also, at least partly, home-made.

It was the Minister himself who spoke about the changing role of the state producing a lot of insecurity. In former times, he said, the state had a clear role as a leader of society. Now the politicians together with their bureaucracies are in danger of going in another direction than society, including artists and other cultural activists.

The necessary - and hopefully temporary - centralisation of the funding system also brought new problems, all of which together explains that the Ministry acts very cautiously, at the expense of showing a clear cultural policy profile.

Concerning ministerial objectives the examiners were also confronted with the insufficient exercise of founding rights. The situation presents itself as rather obscure and unsatisfactory. In many cases the Ministry funds cultural institutions more or less entirely but has no founding rights at all. (Only in the case of one theatre, the philharmonic orchestra, a film studio, a restoration centre and some museums is the state both founder and funder.)

In other cases there are a lot of founders involved who are not interested in exercising their founding rights because of the fragmentation of the municipalities. As a result the responsible supervisory boards have either not been established yet, or they are incomplete, or simply not functioning. In any case a severe lack of supervision must be noted.

Maybe these founding rights themselves have by now become an anachronism. This does not mean that there is no need for control but that the supervisory rights could be given to the public body which is the main funder.

On observing the operations of the Ministry one gets the impression that the officials and the Minister mainly function as a kind of fire brigade, as crisis managers pushed by the unions and the cultural institutions, or at best as operators of a rather inefficient money-distributing machine.

But behind this necessity to act as a trouble shooter the fundamental questions are becoming more and more acute: what future role is intended for the Ministry? How will the Ministry

articulate a political will and express its willingness to really direct Slovenian cultural policy? And how can it succeed in exercising its political responsibility?

Nobody within the Ministry could articulate the main short-, medium- or long-term objectives of this central steering authority.

Instead, ready reference is made to the National Cultural Programme which everybody hopes will soon be available. Nothing can better express the staff's uncertainty as to whether it wants to be part of a central steering body and/or an executive, a catalyst or maybe only an institution meant to balance the different interests.

As a concrete recommendation the examiners propose the following restructuring steps: as existing problems, especially in the field of planning and cultural policy development, should not be dealt with entirely outside the Ministry, a ministerial department should be installed which is mainly responsible for these tasks. This department should be charged with supporting the decision-making process in the field of cultural policy by providing the necessary basic input.

It should make proposals on the prospective structure, advise the Minister and play a central part in the necessary rationalisation and objectivation of cultural policy decisions. It should be the developer as well as the guardian of the current cultural policy directions which the other departments should help to fulfil. This department should act in close co-operation with the National Cultural Council and prepare the cultural policy documents which are currently missing. It would also be the main co-operation partner for accompanying research work which has to be done in this field.

The task of filling the void of a coherent cultural policy, which seems to be one of the most important challenges, could temporarily be fulfilled mainly by a short-term ministerial task force, possibly supported by extra-ministerial experts on certain issues.

Therefore the examiners recommend not only a restructuring of intra-ministerial tasks but also the improvement of inter-ministerial co-operation and co-ordination. According to the reports which the examiners received these connections still seem to be very weak.

These efforts would not only help to improve the image of the Ministry but also to formulate an unequivocal political will which is needed to express the main contributions the Ministry is prepared to make to the present development of Slovenia in a clear and transparent manner.

At the same time its clients should no longer be treated as petitioners but as professional partners with whom it is connected by common interests and contracts. Especially with the cultural institutions a clear contractual basis has to be found. Therefore managerial know-how has to be implemented not only in the cultural institutions but also in the Ministry itself. Furthermore, control mechanisms and evaluation procedures should be introduced, not only for external cultural activities but also within the Ministry.

At the same time the position of the advisory boards at ministerial level should be improved.

The Ministry of Culture has a central public function as a credible advocate of Slovenian cultural development. This image should be worth filling with persuasive power which can only come out of the readiness to change.

5.1.6. The lack of permanent accompanying evaluation

The rational basis of Slovenian cultural policy must still be considered rather weak. This means not only quantitative statistical materials and qualitative assessments, e.g. concerning the participatory behaviour of the different segments of the Slovenian population; it also means clear business relations in the form of detailed contracts between e.g. the Ministry of Culture as the client and the cultural institutions as renderers of services.

Both the National Report and the interviews have shown how much the present Slovenian cultural policy is still entangled in its past. For external observers a lot of explanations of the historical context are needed to make them understand how things work today. This makes it difficult to draw international comparisons.

In many European countries cultural policy decisions are highly dependent on informal channels and personal relations. Cultural policy is often mainly treated as a matter of opinion and the result of the personal experience of the individual decision makers.

Slovenia has already taken the first step of "objectivation" by adopting a great number of culturally relevant laws. But this necessary process has to be accompanied by scientific resources. It does not make very much sense to create a new law without having the instruments to implement its provisions.

The development of appropriate scenarios requires a scientific basis. The National Report, which for the first time in Slovenia tries to give not only a historical but also a current and comprehensive description of the cultural policy framework, suffers from an obvious lack of reliable data.

As long as such foundations are not available the respective cultural policy decisions remain arbitrary. Maybe the reason why the official cultural policy sometimes insists on continuity is precisely this lack of alternatives, which can only be developed on a scientific basis.

Today so many more or less independent activities are happening, but there is nobody who has an overview of the relevant objective data. To solve this problem, the cultural policy-makers should negotiate a common structure and undertake to provide all the necessary data on the basis of this structure.

While this task has to be fulfilled partly intra-ministerially by the competent departments, the examiners recommend the establishment of a cultural policy research centre which could be an appropriate instrument to collect and evaluate these data.

The National Cultural Council also seems to be in great need of objective foundations if it is to work efficiently. It could advise such a centre in certain preparatory research tasks.

Such a research centre is also indispensable to making Slovenian cultural policy internationally comparable, so that Slovenia can be a predictable and reliable partner also in international cultural policy making. With the help of such a centre it would be much easier to work out a professional evaluation programme, as originally developed by the Cultural Committee of the Council of Europe, and to adapt it regularly to new developments.

Special recommendations

- ▶ That political parties articulate cultural policy programmes
- ▶ That the Minister raise the level of parliamentary discussion on culture
- ▶ That the Minister take the initiative in cultural policy development
- ▶ That a highly competent task force under the auspices and direct responsibility of the Minister be set up to kick-start the process of cultural policy development
- ▶ Improve inter-ministerial co-operation
- ▶ Improve the working conditions of the National Cultural Council and make it a genuine consultative body as defined in the law
- ▶ Establish a department of cultural development within the Ministry
- ▶ Establish a research centre for cultural policy

5.2. Finding an appropriate way between centralisation and decentralisation

Slovenia has undergone massive and rapid changes in its constitutional framework. Some resulting problems are of relevance also to the field of cultural policy.

Several distinct issues can be diagnosed:

- ▶ there has been no regional infrastructure up to now,
- ▶ the increasing number of municipalities has led to increasing challenges of inter-municipal co-operation and co-ordination,
- ▶ there is no clear division of competences between the municipalities and the state authorities,
- ▶ there is a lack of horizontal as well as of vertical co-operation.

While the main reasons for these problems - of course - are the immediate result of the transition process, some of these problems have to be seen as residues of the old self-management style of thinking which often impedes the development of proper co-operation forms. The continuing rural dominance also has to be taken into account.

The reason why the examiners discussed the general constitutional framework is that Slovenia's cultural policy is greatly suffering from the unclear division of competences

between the state authorities and the municipalities as well as the lack of any regional structures.

There was a lot of harsh criticism concerning the existing division of responsibilities between the state authorities and the municipalities. Especially the representatives of the municipalities, having lost most of their financial influence in 1994, voiced objections and called the new regulations disastrous. They could not find any logic in the new division, the national and the local responsibilities are unclear, the national priorities remain in darkness. This kind of centralisation was considered to be directly aimed against polycentric traditions, damaging not only culture but also science and education.

The municipalities, which were something like many different para-statal entities within the borders of the former republic, today are largely without influence and without public money to create appropriate cultural policy measures.

The decision to turn around by 180 degrees and totally centralise the political framework may have been an important contribution to keep the economic and financial system alive. At the same time it has severely impaired the self-confidence and the initiative of the municipalities, which are now waiting in an attitude of frustrated defensiveness.

The bitter break between the state authorities and the individual municipalities is evident. In between there are the cultural institutions which take up most of the funds of the Ministry, which is accordingly less and less able to look after all the other cultural initiatives. But at the same time the institutions cannot find proper partners in the Ministry or in the municipalities either - a vicious circle indeed.

But there was a time when forms of co-operation existed. In the 80s the general lack of money necessitated a certain measure of co-operation between the republic and the cultural communities. Both were funding many cultural institutions 50:50. Since the reform of 1994 most of the institutions of so-called "national significance" have been completely funded by the central ministry. But in the case of some municipal institutions the city pays for the building and the Ministry pays the salaries of the employees. Other "co-operation models" can be found for public libraries.

Everybody, it was the general impression, looks upon these regulations as only provisional. But nobody, on the other hand, has a clear idea of a future division of competences. All efforts to find appropriate solutions are of course impeded by some remainders from the old system of extreme decentralisation which account for the continuing fear of all provisions coming from central government.

The problem of course was not made any easier when 62 municipalities became 147. Just the opposite, rather unequal in geographical and demographical size, they are neither able to establish their own cultural infrastructure nor are they prepared to co-operate horizontally in a proper way. And neither do the central state authorities give the impression of functioning as effective co-ordinators to equalise the very different conditions. Nevertheless the representatives of the municipalities are mainly waiting for solutions to come from above.

Even the 11 city municipalities have very different views of the further development, e.g. how to co-operate with the surrounding "hinterland". The main result of the common deliberations of the mayors was the demand for more money. All in all there are about 26 municipalities which have a kind of central character for the territory around them.

The establishment of "regions" is already laid down in detail in the 1993/94 *Law on Local Self-Government*. But the regulations on regions were not formulated in a particularly binding manner: "Municipalities may integrate into regions to regulate and execute local matters of broader interest". Slovenian expert groups have made first proposals to develop seven to twelve regions in two-three years, but the politicians in charge have not agreed. Maybe the politicians fear that enormous costs might result if these regions as separate legal entities, equipped with competences of the state as well as of the municipalities, need their own institutions. This would also mean installing governors and legislative bodies after the required elections.

The further development of the division of competences between the state, some regional structures and the municipalities goes beyond the scope of the examiners' group's brief. It concerns the general constitutional framework, not only the specialised sector of culture. But it has to be said explicitly that the absence of clear regulations in this fundamental area of state organisation has many, mainly negative consequences in the field of culture. As far as the examiners could see, a good horizontal as well as vertical co-operation scheme is much more necessary than the establishment of a new and independent level of administration which would mainly lead to more inflexibility and considerable additional public expenses.

When talking about an appropriate restructuring of the Slovenian political landscape the political representatives should take into account the fact that the whole of Slovenia is smaller than many regions in other European countries.

It should also be stated that taking up this issue has nothing to do with a certain ideologically biased view - which has outlasted the former self-management regime - according to which cultural matters should mainly be treated in small entities and the state authorities should act solely in a subsidiary manner. It only has to do with the wish to determine clearly which public body should be responsible for what.

There is again the hope that the National Cultural Programme will clarify future national priorities. At any rate, a programme of "national" cultural activities is necessary which will have to be organised by the state in future and which should (mainly) represent Slovenian culture while taking internationally comparable quality standards into account.

But a public discussion on how to set in motion the bottom-up process is also needed. Which are the genuine cultural tasks of the municipalities which they should be enabled to fulfil by themselves? And which tasks would overtax individual municipalities and therefore have to be fulfilled jointly, e.g. on a regional level? In solving these kinds of problems, European models like the one in Finland should be studied. There 19 regions have created very "lean" bureaucracies by having the municipalities appoint the representatives in the regional bodies.

Culture needs different funding sources. Almost everywhere in Europe municipalities play an important role in cultural funding. They generally provide a varied cultural infrastructure for

their respective part of the country. Therefore the examiners recommend a new division of powers so as not to concentrate too much power in one hand. Only if it is possible to find a new, more appropriate equilibrium between the state authorities and the municipalities will it be possible for the municipalities to find new co-operation forms.

Cultural institutions are mainly located in urban municipalities; they offer their programmes to the inhabitants of the respective towns but also to the people from the surrounding areas. It is not only for reasons of financial equalisation that a new form of inter-municipal co-operation is indispensable, combined with a clear mandate from the state to maintain and develop this basic infrastructure.

Today most of the participants in this game are mainly waiting. There are surely reasons for their defensive behaviour, but it is not an optimal contribution towards democratic changes. Especially the municipalities, which have gradually lost their control over cultural policy funds, are not interested in exercising their respective founding rights, thus leaving their cultural institutions without any control. The cultural institutions trying to survive under these new circumstances have only one objective: to become national institutions and thus be funded entirely by the Ministry of Culture. The danger of losing their municipal ties seems to be the smaller of the two problems for them.

From the examiners' point of view it is to be assumed that without a more clearly defined division of competences among the different public bodies the construction of a durable and stable framework for an attractive Slovenian cultural infrastructure is not very likely.

Especially all those cultural initiatives which cannot be limited to one municipality but offer their activities to several of them would benefit from such a structure. Not all of these institutions would automatically have to be designated "national" ones; instead, they would find an appropriate partner for dealing with their issues on a regional level. The objection that such a structure would be too expensive for present-day Slovenia can be countered with a concept of "lean" regionalisation.

With such a regional structure in place, it would also be much easier to find a new division of labour for the state and the municipalities. The Ministry of Culture, which is now in charge of most of the funding procedures and thus fully occupied, could concentrate on dealing with issues of mainly national importance, while the municipalities would be better able to take care of individual funding transactions.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Find a new division of competences between the state authorities and the municipalities
- ▶ Find a new equilibrium in the field of cultural funding
- ▶ Initiate a bottom-up regionalisation process e.g. around urban municipalities
- ▶ Improve horizontal and vertical co-operation between the different levels

5.3. Overinstitutionalisation

The third problem area can be identified when dealing with cultural institutions. There is a lot of evidence to suggest that these institutions - which form the basis of the cultural infrastructure - are not really managed at all. As mentioned above, the general lack of cultural policy renders the development of proper relations between the state authorities and the cultural institutions, which play the most important role within Slovenia's cultural infrastructure, very difficult. The result: a lack of direction, of governance, of clear contracts, of monitoring, of evaluation, and of justification.

Without governance but regularly funded with considerable amounts, these institutions are largely left alone; only a few of them are really successful, the average works with modest results, some have become virtually "dead". But all are treated equally by the Ministry. In most of the institutions modern management methods are still unknown, a fact which gives the unions a disproportionate amount of influence. It is therefore their representatives who really make personnel policy.

Up to now no clear objectives have been formulated for cultural institutions. Their future role is unclear. As long as this uncertainty continues, a general attitude of risk avoidance will be stronger than the will to take the initiative. All these impressions lead the examiners to diagnose "overinstitutionalisation", which should be explained in a few words.

5.3.1. Finding proper relations between the state authorities and the cultural institutions

The individual representatives of the cultural institutions mostly said that they feel very restricted by the existing agreements under the prevailing social partnership between the unions as representatives of the employees and the Ministry as the employer; these agreements they cannot influence. On the other hand they said that they receive no clear instructions from the Ministry which are of any relevance in cultural policy terms.

So the examiners got the impression that individual cultural institutions go on acting like in the former self-management-system. Without clear objectives the so-called "trias of state tasks" - decision, implementation and supervision - would continue to be concentrated in the hands of one and the same institution, making any assessment of its work impossible.

Practical reality may tempt to reduce cultural policy to cultural administration. But the call for political leadership also in cultural policy matters was often to be heard from the cultural institutions. The need for clear cultural policy perspectives which are identified with the political leadership of the Ministry is evident.

Only the development of such cultural policy objectives, which must be appropriate in order to be operationalised, can lead to new and fruitful relations with the cultural scene. Today the managerial capacities within most of the cultural institutions are not very high. Their status as state institutions with state employees is characterised mainly by continuity and not by appropriacy.

From a European point of view the arm's-length principle should be considered also in Slovenia. It should be thought over what - in the long term - the central government's tasks in cultural policy have to be. These should also in future be carried out by state authorities and their state employees. But professional organisations, which can be funds, councils, private enterprises or other appropriate entities, could be commissioned with the other tasks.

Must it really be considered an unconditional necessity that one central state authority funds individual artists, that another state institution organises cultural events, and that a third maintains its own workshop for cultural heritage protection? Is the present accumulation of state activities the only guarantee for quality? Or could it be more efficient and at the same time produce better results to develop a clear division of competences which enables the state authorities to concentrate on the provision of cultural policy objectives and to commission professional organisations to implement these objectives. These organisations should be quite independent in their management and not narrowly bound to official procedures.

Like in other countries, the relations between the state authorities and the professionals should be clearly defined in contracts. These contracts should not only include the extent and the result of the business but also the mutual responsibilities, the resources, the timetable and the modalities of the accompanying monitoring procedures. This kind of mutual contracting, as far as the examiners' group could ascertain, is still at the very beginning in Slovenia. Existing contracts with cultural institutions which receive considerable Ministry funding are very short, unprecise and have partly remained unchanged for many years.

Only in two cultural areas have individual funds been established to date: the Slovenian Film Fund, founded only in 1995, and the Fund for Amateur Culture, which is just being set up. In both cases it is obvious that the implementation of such new cultural policy instruments represents a considerable challenge which will hopefully lead to mutual learning processes.

A clear division of labour under which politicians stand for clear perspectives and objectives of cultural policy, where officials administrate the cultural policy decision-making process on the basis of the valid legal framework, and where cultural managers are commissioned to realise the respective cultural activities is a considerable and permanent challenge. But the effort could be rewarded by an increase in self-initiative and, as a result, by the establishment of a modern cultural policy framework of European standard.

Excursion I: the possible contributions of cultural institutions to a growing European awareness

It was the director of the Slovenian National Opera who mentioned that at a distance of about 200 km there are seven other medium-sized European opera-houses with which his house has to compete. If it is not to be kept alive only "artificially" by total state funding, the main managerial task here would be to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of the individual houses, to try to co-ordinate and to co-operate with them, to find an appropriate division of labour for maximum efficiency, or to work on the specialisation of the artistic staff to reach the highest possible level of quality. In any case it would mean competition for the benefit of an interested and curious audience who can choose.

Many of the Slovenian cultural institutions have to take at least two steps. One step is defined by the fact that Slovenian culture is no longer a regional issue but a national one. And the other step is given by Slovenia's intention to become a member of the European Union. While certain institutions are still occupied with finding their place in the new national context they are already called upon to take the European dimension into consideration.

In other member states of the EU many of the cultural representatives also believe that it is enough to serve exclusively national interests. But the national dimension e.g. in economic, technological or even social terms is becoming weaker and weaker as a result of internationalisation on at least the European level. Culture then is in danger of becoming a (last) national bastion, a glorious but powerless symbol of belonging together. But a notion of culture mainly used for political legitimisation to ensure a unity which cannot be achieved by other political measures has to be regarded as old-fashioned. Culture, always subject to a productive tension between tradition and social avant-garde, is not exclusively suited to strengthening the national identity.

Considerable tension may thus occur between, on the one hand, the cultural traditionalists, acting today just like before but with the only difference that in former times it was in honour of the Slovenian republic as part of Yugoslavia and now it is in honour of the Slovenian national state; and on the other hand the innovators, curious about new developments and prepared to accept new challenges as new chances.

There is no doubt that these new challenges, combined with chances for further development, will mainly come from the international level. It is no wonder that the most interesting places in Slovenia offering cultural activities are at the same time highly interested in the intensification of international exchanges of experiences and performances, co-operation and partnerships. Their representatives, in cultural centres as well as in the off-scene, agree that the profile of Slovenian culture gains more from being confronted with the plurality of international artistic performances than by stewing in its own juice.

Up to now the official national cultural policy has not yet taken into account the enormous chances which lie in the internationalisation of the national cultural scene. The international departments of the various ministries continue to act mainly on the diplomatic level. They have not yet discovered the chances associated with being an attractive international co-operation partner.

5.3.2. Staff policy

There are about 1,700 people working as state employees in cultural institutions funded by the state; another 900 people are working in cultural institutions which are mainly funded by the municipalities. These groups of "cultural workers" could play quite an important role in the further development of the outward appearance of Slovenian culture.

But up to now they give too much of an impression of a closed shop. There is no future-oriented staff policy to be found which would allow staff development and comprehensive staff training programmes.

Up to now, the unions in which these employees are mainly organised to a large extent restrict their tasks to the unconditional protection of the existing state-guaranteed jobs. The advantages, lying mainly in life-long security for a limited number of people, necessarily lead to an increasing number of disadvantages such as growing inefficiency and therefore traditionalisation of the institutions in which the protected workers are employed.

It has already been mentioned that the management of the institutions at present has almost no influence on labour relations. At best they have to execute the results of negotiations between the Ministry of Culture acting as the main employer and the unions acting as the representative of all cultural workers.

The results: the salaries of the employees are fixed by the state, leaving insufficient leeway for motivation or the recognition of individual achievement. There is no chance of giving notice to staff members who are evidently in the wrong place; even natural fluctuation, which would bring new initiatives into the organisation, is excluded.

Given the financial constraints regarding remuneration for staff, notice should be taken of non-financial rewards. A comprehensive system of non-financial incentives which also places a premium on initiative should be devised as part of the reorganisation of institutions.

For those staff members who are employed the opportunities to work at least temporarily in other cultural institutions in and outside Slovenia have to be extended. At the same time the possibilities of engaging artists from abroad under international market conditions are also still limited. Because institutions' annual funds are rigidly linked to the number of employees, staff numbers do not relate to roles and tasks. There is no motivation for the managers to save personnel costs. On the contrary, they are encouraged to work with as many people as possible - qualified or not - because this is what mainly determines their annual budgets.

The fact that the present system continually denies access to young artists and other cultural professionals must be regarded as extremely unsocial. Their chances of becoming staff members of the cultural institutions have become worse in the last few years. By far the largest share of all state funds go to cultural institutions with fixed numbers of employees. Cultural policy - confronted with further annual increases - will be in more and more danger of having nothing but a minor social policy function, overprotecting one group of highly privileged employees and largely neglecting the growing rest, left to their fate without any kind of official protection. But to be sure, this problem is not specific to Slovenia.

As this kind of cultural policy provides no perspective, cautious adjustments have already been negotiated. In certain spheres like drama different categories of contracts have been introduced (the conditions are still determined by the unions):

- ▶ permanent employees as before,
- ▶ limited contracts especially for certain artists, and
- ▶ contracts for artists on a project basis.

These adapted agreements also make it easier to engage guest artists. Nevertheless the salaries are kept at a fixed level; sometimes the director is empowered to pay bonuses to his artistic employees up to a maximum extent of 20% of the fixed salaries.

Many of the directors complained about being unable even to maintain professional standards - not to mention achieving international recognition. Highly qualified people are less prepared to join cultural institutions, which represent a low-salary-sector; they either turn to the private sector, where they are able to earn more money, or they try to find appropriate positions abroad. On the other hand, people from other countries - maybe with the exception of poorer eastern European countries - are normally not prepared to join Slovenian cultural institutions for longer periods of time under the present conditions.

Therefore the unions as well as the other contracting parties should consider not only the positive effects which this unequal protection of employment has had in the past but also the negative ones which are already becoming visible in the present. Both sides should have a massive interest not to lead cultural institutions further backward but to develop a decisive modernisation programme and to implement appropriate management methods, including motivating personnel management. In this way these important institutions should not become self-referential but fit for the changing circumstances in the present and in future.

For the examiners the question still remains whether it is really appropriate, especially for performing arts institutions, to treat their artists like civil servants.

Excursion II: a small country with many "national" institutions

What makes a cultural institution in Slovenia a national one or at least an institution of "national significance"? Is it the excellence of their programmes which makes these institutions "visiting-cards" of the nation? Is it the internationality in the composition of their artistic staffs and in their programmes, or is it the fact that they offer their cultural activities not only to local or "regional" audiences but nationwide?

The examiners could not really get answers to these questions. Rather, when touring the country, they were confronted with national institutions, or with institutions which are at least nationally funded, at almost every turn; large ones as well as small ones, some with an ambitious range of programmes, some mainly occupied with searching for things to present, some understandable only in a "regional" context, some without any appreciable activities at all.

But wherever the examiners visited the small rest of as yet non-national institutions their representatives complained about having denied this desired predicate, "national".

The reason why all these institutions want to become national ones is quite pragmatic: all of the so-called "national" institutes are funded by the state, today by far the most important funding source.

The political fear of antagonising certain "national" institutions has to be seen as a factor which tends to preserve the present multitude of such "national" institutions even though the lack of quality standards leads to a continuous loss of excellence.

Many much bigger countries have no national theatre at all. Slovenia affords two of them. It might be assumed that the examiners from abroad are only envious, but when asked about the justification for having two national theatres, the Minister answered: if the Ministry tried to remove the "national" designation there would be a revolt of the staff.

Again cultural policy is challenged. As far as the examiners were informed it is the intention of the National Cultural Programme to develop a priority list. But probably that will not be enough; It takes a clear declaration of the state with which cultural institutions it wants to be associated by name, and it takes a clear specification of the tasks these institutions should fulfil.

If the Slovenian state wants to be identified, among other things, by a cultural "calling card", it has to concentrate on certain core activities. And these activities have to meet certain cultural policy standards, not only concerning the aesthetic quality of the individual programme elements, but possibly also their international significance, the protection of European heritage, or their innovative character. The pros and contras of these standards can and should be discussed by cultural policy experts, but first of all a political decision is needed as to the general direction of these standards. Only if this decision is made can the further work on a National Cultural Programme be successful.

The distinction of some institutions as institutions of national importance in this sense has nothing to do with a devaluation of many of the other cultural institutions, which are in principle equally important. But their activities need not be embedded in a national context. Instead, a delegation system should be worked out that allows to charge future regional or other public bodies with maintaining and developing all the other cultural activities of public but not of national interest.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Implement modern management methods
- ▶ Provide comprehensive staff training programmes
- ▶ Foster risk taking
- ▶ Step-by-step renewal of the existing employment contracts
- ▶ Clarify the role and the objective of the individual cultural institutions
- ▶ Strengthen the arm's-length principle
- ▶ Increase the personnel competences of the individual managers
- ▶ Reconsider the suitability of employing artists as civil servants in the cultural institutions
- ▶ Increase the leeway for financially relevant management decisions
- ▶ Step-by-step change from institutional funding to programme funding
- ▶ Reduce "cameralism" (the principle under which the funds which are received in one year have to be spent entirely, otherwise they have to be given back - as a result there is no real incentive for operating economically)
- ▶ Introduce budget periods of at least 3 years

5.4. From funding to financing: culture and market economy

The last complex of problems revolves around a general defensive attitude of many cultural representatives towards market economy. The continuing prevalence of funding without development incentives has led to a lack of the self-initiative required for the conditions of market economy. Especially in the young generation cultural policy runs a great risk of losing a lot of initiative potential.

5.4.1. The need to implement new management methods

With very few exceptions the examiners' group came to the conclusion that dealing with culture in Slovenia is still mainly seen as an administrative task and not as a managerial one.

Not only within the Ministry of Culture, where administrative approaches are self-evident, but also in the cultural institutions the directors normally behave like administrators in order to fit into the system. Their operational freedom is limited by manifold restrictions which make the institutions unwieldy and inflexible.

The prevalent state funding system - as already mentioned - leaves very little elbow-room to the directors, making it impossible to change the number of (state) employees or to set new

financial priorities according to changing circumstances. The only chance to attain a better profile is to apply for extra public money from the Ministry for special projects.

In this system it is not the quality of the artistic programme that counts. A director is a good director if "nothing happens", if the annually renewed financial plan is properly implemented without causing any problems. Self-initiative, on the other hand, is not in demand.

To improve this situation the members of the examiners' group propose to negotiate new forms of division of labour between the funding authorities and the individual managements. New relations should enable the responsible directors to establish a management model which allows them to take decisions. That means also establishing their own priorities in spending the state funds according to the current requirements of their institutions. On the other hand the director should have clear tasks to carry out which serve for the implementation of the state authorities' respective cultural policy objectives. For this purpose a comprehensive monitoring system combined with the evaluation of the results must be introduced.

Looking at the consequences of the present lack of clear tasks, it becomes easier to understand that the self-initiative of the managerial staff is limited by so many restrictive regulations. The fear of some of the responsible officials that the managers might do "whatever they want" is obviously very strong. At the same time they are not able to give clear directions. Anyway the present relations are more hindering than helpful for a flexible further development.

The only solution would be to provide the institutions with clear tasks and to increase the importance of the present supervisory boards. Then the managers acting more freely would have a competent vis-à-vis to negotiate appropriate measures to make the institutions thrive.

Enterprise-like management of cultural institutions is still a hotly debated issue in the cultural policy debate. It has to be seen mainly as a comprehensive professional approach, successively changing the conditions for all participants in the field of culture. Of course, its successes say something about the benefits of accepting a market economy framework also for cultural activities. That does not necessarily mean that the state has to give up its engagement in culture altogether, but to make it clear and transparent what this engagement looks like and what its results are. Contrary to a lot of fears its professional implementation has nothing to do with new limitations of the creative sovereignty of the individual artists but everything with running the respective cultural institutions with the highest possible quality standards and as effectively as possible.

In this connection it has to be mentioned that especially some cultural centres have already developed tailor-made business strategies to become more independent from public funding. Cankarje Dom, for example, one of the biggest centres not only in Slovenia but all over Europe, in 1986 was still about 90% state-funded; in 1996 it was only 55%. The rest is now raised by ticket sales, by the organisation of additional congress activities and through sponsoring by private enterprises.

Also Narodni Dom, the main cultural centre in Maribor, tries to fully utilise the managerial freedom which the existing state administration system allows. In 1996 as much as 65% of its total income will be privately earned. According to the motto: the volume of business must

be big enough to attract sponsors, the centre offers an impressive range of cultural services for everyone to reach the largest possible audience, which makes it attractive also for advertising purposes.

Cultural development needs self-initiative, which can best express itself in a challenging environment. In this context it also has to be mentioned that the knowledge of what cultural management is about is still modest in Slovenia, and the training facilities where possible prejudices as well as benefits can be discussed comprehensively are still very limited. Three different aspects of training needs which should be addressed are skills development for governance, cultural management training, and training for public service staff who deal primarily with cultural affairs. There are a number of international initiatives and networks involving varying aspects of cultural management training which could be linked into.

5.4.2. Towards new cultural partnerships

It is not easy for an observer from abroad to gain an overview of the manifold activities and operations of the present Ministry of Culture run by a comparatively small staff. What is interesting in this context is mainly the quality of work, which could be improved. The existing uncertainties concerning who does what and why contribute to the currently very poor image of the Ministry, which sometimes appears to be driven mainly by the demands of the unions and the traditional cultural institutions.

Any proposal for a new, more modern and therefore appropriate division of labour should consider whether all operations have or should have the same character. As a politically guided authority the Ministry is at the same time the main executive instrument of the legislative. In this capacity this authority in principle covers on the one hand the exercise of sovereign powers and on the other hand competences which are exercised under private law. Most of the Ministry's activities, especially the cultural funding, are based on private law and therefore require no special administrative rules.

The consequences: outside the domain of sovereign powers the Ministry could present itself as an important but basically equal partner in the cultural market, equipped with certain abilities and resources but also with certain needs. This new approach would allow to terminate the traditional and paternalistic relations between beneficiaries who apply and benefactors who grant.

A new equilibrium has to be found and it should have a clear and transparent contractual basis. As has already been done in other European countries in the form of "appraisals", the Ministry itself or the respective arm's-length organisation in charge should commission appropriate cultural institutions and initiatives to fulfil certain tasks in the field of culture.

Therefore negotiations should take place in advance to define character, size, quality, time and expected effects of the common project. The contract containing all necessary details should be seen as mutually binding. It should be supplemented by a monitoring system to accompany the process of realisation. Any changes should be negotiated in time to allow potential corrections of the contract.

The results of regular scientific evaluations should support the quality of the decision-making process and help to find new fields of action.

This new form of co-operation, which is of course not appropriate to all cultural activities in the same way, would help to produce a new quality of transparency and to encourage managerial competence on both sides, as well as personal commitment and self-initiative. Public money would be used much more efficiently, and the establishment of mutually binding quality standards would be facilitated.

At the same time the responsible politicians should consider cancelling some by now rather inappropriate regulations and simplifying the confining legal framework to create the necessary space for artistic freedom.

Additionally it would be much easier for civil servants to concentrate on monitoring and the corresponding planning work and thus provide the necessary clear directions for further cultural development.

Partnerships should not only be considered between the Ministry and the institutions. In the future increasing co-operation with the private sector will also be needed. This form of co-operation allows not only to take in some extra money through sponsoring but also to take advantage of the considerable managerial know-how in this sector.

5.4.3. Culture between self-presentation and self-initiative

In Slovenian culture much is done for self-presentation. The examiners obtained a lot of high-quality published materials: art catalogues, government brochures, "serious" periodicals of very high quality (and probably also expensive). Even "Metelkova", for the time being the last remainder of the alternative culture of the 80s, can be proud of a fascinating booklets describing its development plans.

This articulation of self-confidence is in peculiar contrast to a widespread mood within the cultural scene. Many interview partners talked about their inability to improve their concrete working conditions: their hands, they said, were tied by tight regulations and therefore they could only wait for decisions "from above". They do not believe that their proposals are taken into account by the authorities which after all should deliver the necessary new directions. A kind of fruitless grumbling has replaced the will to take their own affairs in hand.

It has already been established that the authorities have spent a lot of energy in the last few years to guarantee continuity. These efforts have been successful in preserving a cultural infrastructure of the 80s through all political changes. But they have also produced an increasing number of disadvantages which are now waiting to be dealt with.

The cultural scene will not be able to survive if its main representatives continue to believe that they are the last barrier against the arrival of a republican liberal spirit combined with market forces in Slovenian cultural operations.

To counter this form of traditionalism a broad public discussion of the new challenges for culture within the new socio-economic framework is needed.

Culture, no longer reduced to being a method of preservation, can indeed be seen as an important place where new social perspectives are discussed and where the fear as well as the courage to overcome old thinking find their adequate aesthetic expression. Thus culture is a laboratory for training republican attitudes within the new democratic structures.

For this purpose Slovenian culture needs new and attractive places of articulation. The tight regulations which have until now severely limited many kinds of cultural activities and which originate in the old system have to be loosened. New managerial thinking and acting has to replace old and inflexible administration forms within the cultural institutions. The profile of the state authorities has to be modernised accordingly.

Today institutional thinking still predominates over the necessary development of a new notion of culture. But this false security more and more suppresses all forms of self-initiative within the field of cultural creativity.

The main issue of cultural policy has to be "how to nurture the cultural creativity of two million Slovenians". This means firstly a re-validation of all non-institutional efforts which now remain in the dark shade of the institutions. Therefore it will be an important issue to redefine non-institutional art production, to design and to implement appropriate support. The young artists who today have no chance to realise their artistic potential need enough space to articulate themselves.

It is not just one change that has to be made. A whole package of different measures concerning the different problems has to be put together. But first of all the political will has to be signalled to meet the challenges of today's Slovenia also in the field of culture.

Public debate, direction, management, co-ordination, co-operation - and also competition: these are only the headlines of a transition which will have to take place also in cultural policy matters. It will not least be up to the creativity of the public authorities to find appropriate ways to initiate such a process successfully in the Slovenian cultural landscape.

Special recommendations

- ▶ Intensify co-operation with the corporate sector
- ▶ Stimulate self-initiative
- ▶ Provide business training
- ▶ Stimulate sponsoring initiatives
- ▶ Provide state-guaranteed loans
- ▶ Modify the existing taxation rules
- ▶ Implement new marketing methods
- ▶ Implement new mediation methods
- ▶ Develop a comprehensive visitors' policy
- ▶ Address special training needs concerning skills development for governance, cultural management training, and training for public service staff who deal primarily with cultural affairs

5.5. What makes Slovenia's cultural policy open to change? - Some concluding remarks

In conclusion of the examiners' recommendations an outlook should be given which tries to outline some future perspectives. "To unfreeze the situation", this seems to be the most important challenge to mobilise learning potential within the whole cultural policy system. Only by trying to liquefy the structures will a new quality of linking be possible. As a general lack of horizontal as well as of vertical co-operation and co-ordination was highly evident, appropriate forms of linking could lead to a lot of synergy effects such as the improvement of both artistic quality and efficiency.

Linking is a general attitude, it requires openness on the basis of self-confidence. Merely avoiding all risks will not produce perspectives. One of the main questions the examiners discussed therefore was how to overcome some remaining defensive attitudes which do not allow to take up future challenges. For this purpose, new incentives for new learning coalitions are urgently needed.

The main challenges surely will come from the further integration of Slovenia into the community of European states. In the last few years Slovenia has often expressed its readiness to co-operate in the European context. Now it is time to weigh the chances and the risks which result from a new quality of European cultural co-operation.

5.5.1. Defence: towards a new balance between preserving cultural heritage and promoting new forms of artistic creativity

Slovenia can be proud of its cultural heritage. But it can also be proud of its innovative and creative artistic forces which not only drew the attention of the European cultural community to Slovenia when it was still a republic of the Yugoslavian Federation but also contributed essentially to the political changes.

Soon after independence the Slovenian government issued a policy paper for discussion in parliament which among other things advocated "the principle of balance between tradition and innovation". But it was not the paper's intention to finally improve the conditions for the cultural avant-garde; it was first of all an official lament stating that "in the last few decades the proportion between tradition and innovation had leaned too far towards modernist and experimental arts directions".

Although this paper was not discussed and adopted by parliament it expresses the prevailing mood at the very beginning of this young state mainly trying to save its traditions.

The result has been discussed several times within this report. Trying to find something like a Slovenian cultural identity by looking mainly in the past and at least ensuring continuity will not produce the desired results. Rather, from a European point of view this approach has to be seen as working against the development of a modern state within the community of European states, giving as many inhabitants as possible the chance to participate actively in art and culture. There is a danger that a cultural policy which is not prepared to find a new equilibrium between the preservation of the cultural tradition and a plurality of contemporary approaches might establish Slovenia as a cultural regional museum.

The examiners have heard many proposals to improve the situation especially for non-institutional artists. One of the most important is surely to change the present funding system. The inflexible dominance of the cultural institutions makes the non-institutionals appear as a residual category. While their representatives are demanding a separate fund for experimental, avant-garde and maybe even mass culture, the examiners recommend to equip every artistic discipline with a certain, in any case increasing share of freely disposable funds dedicated to non-institutional activities.

This should be reflected in the National Cultural Programme. The same holds true for provisions for non-institutional artists.

Funding will not be enough. It will also take political support. The political representatives should find a clear and credible position not only towards Slovenian cultural heritage but also towards all new, experimental and innovative forms of culture so as to enable the full range of forms of cultural expression combined with artistic freedom; both are essential pillars of democratic development.

Finally: for "Metelkova", being a permanent public provocation, a proper solution which is appropriate to the cultural needs of all concerned should be found soon by resuming result-oriented negotiations.

5.5.2. Linking: where are the strategic alliances for systematic change?

One of the attempts to mobilise new learning potential might consist in the search for alliances. This is all the more important as many responsible persons in the field of culture still do not seem to have "co-operation" in their vocabularies.

On the official level the Ministry of Culture is largely left alone in its efforts to improve and further develop the present cultural policy system. The inter-ministerial committees which have been set up for the co-ordination of certain culturally relevant issues do not work efficiently. The co-operation with the Ministry of Education and with the Cultural Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs needs improvement.

Concerning co-operation with the individual municipalities, which are at the moment obviously unable to work together horizontally, the Ministry of Culture is largely overtaxed. It is not possible to establish 147 different co-ordination and co-operation channels without losing sight of the general direction. Therefore appropriate and lean regional structures are needed with which the introduction of vertical co-operation forms would be possible.

The establishment of a special task force within the Ministry has already been recommended. Such a working group, which could at least temporarily be supported also by some external experts, would be able to overcome patterns of thinking in narrow categories to stimulate more comprehensive conceptual ideas. These should be taken as the basis of the further cultural policy decision-making process.

Concerning the cultural institutions: although they demand better co-operation with the Ministry they are not able to build functioning and effective networks to represent their common professional interests. As a rule the existing associations - maybe with the exception of the unions - are not strong enough to articulate their common perspectives, let alone succeed in realising them. Therefore a new attitude towards networking is urgently needed so that the individual institutions will be prepared to co-operate.

The responsible persons in the field of culture, driven by the wish to ensure both continuity and individual survival, are not used to co-operating yet. But the need for changes together with limited resources will make the search for synergy effects unavoidable.

Trying to modernise Slovenian cultural policy means looking for strategic alliances. Such new co-operation forms have to be stimulated not only by appeals but by appropriate measures.

5.5.3. Cultural identity: how to deal with the international implications of Slovenian culture?

At the end of the examiners' considerations the question of what are the conditions for the further development of Slovenia's culture should be raised once more.

On gaining independence, this country changed from a regional context to a European one. This has to be seen as an enormous challenge not only in political, economic and social, but also in cultural terms.

Slovenia has decided to stand for itself, to be independent - and at the same time it has also decided to open itself to the new European challenge.

These two tasks are going to be a positive challenge to the societies of all member states which are called upon to find their individual answers.

In this respect culture always plays a double role. On the one hand it promises stability, enduring social values and therefore continuity. On the other hand culture also has to provide the indispensable space for innovation and social experiments, though certainly limited by aesthetic terms. Culture is always both, something to hold on to and to ensure stable values - and something to open up new perspectives and opportunities.

What makes up Slovenia's specific cultural character? Is it mainly its cultural past? Is it its language? Is it its artists experimenting with future perspectives? Or is it a complex combination of all traditional and modern, past, present and future-oriented elements which make Slovenia's culture equally unique, internationally comparable and competitive?

Cultural identity is not a stable value. As a normative rather than a descriptive term, stable and unchanging cultural identity does not, or even should not, exist. Its concrete realisation requires permanent occupation. There is no relying on it if it is not daily developed further.

This further development derives new chances from international comparison, exchange of experiences and working together. To cut off Slovenian culture from international developments would not ensure the country's cultural identity. More likely the opposite is true.

Two million Slovenians are not so many people for a state, but they can be a huge creative potential waiting to be motivated also by international recognition, by co-operation and competition.

Therefore new, also internationally proven solutions should be considered when formulating a contemporary cultural policy programme for Slovenia as a young, modern and democratic European state.

5.5.4. Openness: how to improve international co-operation in the field of culture?

How can people be convinced, having fought for national independence for such a long time, that exclusively national concepts of culture are no longer appropriate for the new European framework? This could be the subtitle of the examiners' group's debates when they were discussing the growing number of international interchanges in which Slovenian cultural policy could and also should take part. In this context it is remarkable that also the National Report states that "the mutual influence between national and international cultural policies is getting stronger and stronger".

Up to now international cultural policy seems to be mainly a diplomatic issue. Of course the independent Slovenia is a member of all the culturally relevant international organisations like

UNESCO and the Council of Europe. It has already concluded a lot of multi- and bilateral cultural agreements which surely enhance the diplomatic importance of this young state.

The implementation of these agreements is mainly the task of the Cultural Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which has evidently been quite successful in these very few years in running an increasing number of international programmes under these agreements. Also the problem of posting Cultural attachés in the Slovenian diplomatic missions will hopefully be solved in the near future.

But this department is not the only authority to deal with international issues concerning cultural policy. Every second month a culture co-ordinating group with representatives of the Ministries of Culture, Education, Science and, of course, Foreign Affairs comes together for inter-ministerial co-ordination and co-operation.

But nevertheless a lot of problems, e.g. regarding a fruitful division of labour between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, still remain.

While the Cultural Department of the Foreign Ministry concludes mainly framework agreements, the details are to be developed by the Ministry of Culture. But, as the Foreign Ministry complains, the Ministry of Culture is not sufficiently prepared to realise the respective proposals, e.g. in the area of film (EURIMAGES) or media policy. As the Foreign Ministry cannot spend its own money on cultural activities it depends on according developments within the Ministry of Culture.

The lack of co-ordination and co-operation of the individual competent authorities is only one, maybe even the smaller part of the problem. The main problem must be seen in the fact that up to now almost no area of culture finds itself embedded in a distinct international cultural policy. For the greatest part of them, there is no internationally oriented cultural policy. For the examiners it was not really understandable why Slovenia is concluding cultural agreements, but has no clear plan how to improve its international cultural co-operation.

For visual artists, there is no access to the international markets; the problems of publishing Slovenian literature internationally and foreign literature in Slovenia, as well as the associated translation problems, are still waiting for a cultural policy answer; the main cultural institutions are not prepared to face international competition; internationally comparable quality standards have not yet been developed.

This is all the more regrettable as certain non-language-bound art forms, like the different visual arts, music, dance or other forms of interdisciplinary performance, could be very attractive for a contemporary cultural image of Slovenia abroad.

The National Report refers to a lot of targets and orientations without defining who will be responsible for their implementation and realisation.

At this point it should be also mentioned that Slovenians abroad and their cultural needs play an important role in the considerations concerning the priorities of an internationally oriented cultural policy.

One issue does not occur in this priority list. It is Slovenia's ability to function as a cultural transmitter towards the other republics of the former Yugoslavia which are still waiting to be explained to the rest of Europe. The more Slovenia finds its national and cultural self-confidence the more it will also be prepared to make this important contribution to a peaceful Europe.

Appendix 1. LIST OF CONTACTS AND INTERVIEW PARTNERS

Dario Apollonio	Italian National Minority, Koper-Piran
Zdenka Badovinac	Director of the Modern Gallery, Ljubljana
Aleksander Bassin	Director City Gallery of Ljubljana
Bratko Bibic	Alternative Culture
Toni Biloslav	Director of Obalne Galerije, Piran
Darko Birsa	Union of Slovenian Painters
Sandra Borsic	Municipal Union of Cult.Org., Novo Mesto
Darijan Bozic	Director of SNG Opera in balet Ljubljana
Ursula Cetinsky	Dramaturg and Expert on Cultural Policy
Zeljko Cigler	Culture, City of Celje
Vesna Čopič	Ministry of Culture
Alenka Domijan	Director of the Institute for Cultural Events, Celje
Janez Dular	Minister of Culture, Ljubljana
Tone Frelj	Director of the Slovenian Film Fund
Silvester Gaberscek	Ministry of Culture, Ljubljana; State Secretary
Marina Grzinic	Alternative Culture
Marjutka Hafner	Ministry of Culture, Ljubljana; Secretary General
Damijana Hainz	Director City Library, Ljubljana
Dasa Hribar	Head of Cultural Department, Ljubljana

Doro Hvalica	Union of Employees in Culture
Vilenska Jakac	Director of National and Univ. Library
Robert Judez	Vice-Mayor of Novo Mesto
Stane Jurgec	Director of the Slovene National Theatre, Drama and Opera SNG
Aurelio Juri	Mayor of the City of Koper
Helena Kamnar	Ministry of Finance, Ljubljana
Peter Pavel Klasinc	Deputy Mayor of Maribor
Matjaz Kmecl	Former Minister of Culture, now President of the National Council for Culture
Franc Koncilja	Mayor of Novo Mesto
Josip Korosec	Director of the Restoration Center of Slovenia
Peter Kos	Director of the National Museum
Boris Krizan	Director of the Intermunicipal Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, Piran
Janez Lah	President of the Ass. of Public Libraries, Ljubljana
Jernej Lampret	Mayor of Ivancna Gorica
Marko Letonja	Artistic Director Slovenska Filharmonija
Andrej Medved	Director of Obalne Galerije, Piran
Jaro Mihelac	Owner and Director of Mihelac Publishing House
Gregor Moder	Director of the City Museum of Ljubljana
Ksenija Murari	Alternative Culture, Metelkova, Retina
Rudi Moge	National Assembly, President of Board of Culture, Education and Sport,
Stane Mrvic	Director Cultural Heritage Office
Tanja Orel-Sturm	Head of the Cultural Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ljubljana; State Undersecretary

Sergij Pelhan	Former Minister of Culture
Zarko Petan	RTV Slovenia
Janez Pipan	Director of the SNG Drama, Ljubljana
Franci Pivec	Director of the Institute for Information Science in Maribor IZUM
Mitja Rotovnik	Director General Cankarjev dom
Andreja Rihter	Director of the Museum of Recent History
Vladimir Rukavina	Director of Cultural Centre, Maribor
Dimitrij Rupel	Mayor of the City of Ljubljana
Andrej Sebal	Restoration workshop of Maribor Diocese
Vlado Senica	RTV Slovenia
Boris Sinigoj	Director Slovenska Filharmonija
Jaroslav Skrusny	RTV Slovenia
Andrej Smrekar	Director of the National Gallery
Ivan Stuhec	Expert on Cultural Policy
Rajko Stupar	Union of Employees in Culture
Gregor Tomc	Ministry of Culture
Mr. Vlaj	Ministry of Local Selfgovernment
Tomo Vran	Union of Slovenian Painters
Vili Vuk	Director of the Regional Museum of Maribor
Marusa Zagradnik	Regional Archive of Koper
Joze Zimsek	Mayor of the City of Celje
Martin Znidersic	Expert on Publishing
Oton Zupancic	City Library of Ljubljana

Meeting with the Councillors within the Ministry of Culture:

Ivan Pal
Zoran Pistotnik
Bozo Premrl
Ivo Svetina
Ana Zeleznik
Jelka Zimsek

Meeting with Representatives of National Minorities:

Laszlo Goncz	Hungaria
Jozek Horvat	Roma

Visit of the Golden Altar in Straza