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Trust and confidence

Cultural policy in Saxony 2024–2029 in the Kretschmer III cabinet

Written version of the speech given on 24 May 2024 in Görlitz

at the ceremonial event marking thirty years of cultural areas in Saxony

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fides ac fiducia — Trust and confidence

Abb. 1 Malta coin 1566: “non [est] aes, sed fides
– [this coin is] not metal, but [tangibly
represents] trust”..

1. Cultural policy as a means of strengthening the resilience of its citizens and communities

The cultural policy of the Free State of Saxony views Saxony as an open ecosystem whose resilience must be strengthened at all levels. Resilience is the ability to buffer disturbances in the flow of equilibrium, which are currently not in short supply. The three levels are (1) the Land (state), (2) the municipalities with their Gemeinden (communities) and Landkreise (administrative or rural counties),¹

¹ On request of the Editors, the difficult question how to translate the bottom-up model of the German “Landkreis” into British English, has been intensively studied by Luigi Ferrara in this volume (see footnote 1 in his *The Saxon Cultural Areas Act as a model for Italian legislation*). He writes: “Even if both the legal history the actual legal framework of German *Landkreise* and English Local Government are different, we will use the term *counties* to translate the German *Kreise* into English («metropolitan counties» for *Stadtkreise* and «shire counties» for *Landkreise*). – The lowest local administrative level in Germany is represented by the *Gemeinden* (municipal communities), belonging either to a *Landkreis* (*kreisangehörige Gemeinde*), or being an independent city (*Stadtkreis*). The *Landkreise*, in turn, according to each *Länder* Constitutions, taking on

and (3) civil society, including religious communities.² The constitution mandates the Free State to promote all levels with comparable intensity (and by no means only its own palaces, castles and gardens or state art collections). The cultural policy of the Free State of Saxony is aimed at citizens in their diverse social and economic contexts; the promotion of institutions is secondary to this goal.

The particular success of Saxony's cultural policy under Kurt Biedenkopf (1990 to 2002) was due to his strengthening of the pride of Saxony's citizens in their state. The latter had been banished to anonymity by the SED since 1952. Biedenkopf successfully appealed to the pride of citizens in themselves and in their historical and present achievements. In doing so, he laid the foundation for their extraordinary achievements in overcoming the transformation. The more technocratic governments that followed Biedenkopf (in which civic pride was no longer a goal) achieved the opposite and allowed populist groups to turn subjective feelings of inferiority as third-class citizens into a decisive factor in elections. The objective data on income and health care, etc., have faded into the background in this process. As a result, the populists almost exceeded the 50 % quorum of valid votes in the state elections on 1 September 2024 and relegated the parties supporting the state to a minority.

A key part of the success of Saxony's cultural policy under Kurt Biedenkopf was the invention of Kulturräume (cultural areas), a burden-sharing arrangement between municipalities

all inter-municipal tasks, are financed above all by the municipalities via county levies (*Kreisumlage*), and constitute «municipal associations». The remarked distinction between «metropolitan» and «non-metropolitan» (or *shire*) counties is present in English local-government legal framework.— German and foreign public law scholars commonly translate in English the term «*Landkreis*» using both «district» and «county» legal definitions. Often “urban”, “rural”, “metropolitan” and “non-metropolitan” districts/counties are distinguished. *Ex multis*, see: Schefold, Dian (2012). *Local government in Germany*. In: Angel-Manuel Moreno (editor). *Local government in the Member States of the European Union: a comparative legal perspective*. Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública, Madrid. 233-256; Frenzel, Eike Michael (2013). Germany: *Local government in Germany: An indispensable level of EU governance*. In: Panara, Carlo. Varney, Michael (Editors). *Local Government in Europe*. Routledge, 97-127. Wollmann, Hellmut (2024). *Local Government and Governance in Germany*. Springer, Wiesbaden; Mannewitz, Tom. Rudzio, Wolfgang (2023). *The Municipalities: Between Administration and Politics*. In: *The Political System of Germany*. Springer, Wiesbaden; Schrapper, Ludger (2021). *The administration of the Länder*. In: Kuhlmann, Sabine et al. (Editors). *Public Administration in Germany*, IIAS Series, Palgrave Macmillan, 105-121.”

- 2 It is important to understand that in the northern and eastern parts of Germany, which converted to Protestantism in the early 16th century, there was an identity between secular and religious ‘community’ for many centuries. This automatically led to the exclusion of non-Lutheran (and later, in Prussia, non-united) residents from the rights of community citizens, especially Reformed Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

In Prussia, it was not until 1850 that the new constitution of 31 January 1850 abolished this situation. Article 12 stipulated: “Freedom of religious confession, of association in religious societies (Articles 30 and 31) and of common domestic and public religious practice is guaranteed. The enjoyment of civil and civic rights is independent of religious confession. Civil and civic duties may not be impaired by the exercise of religious freedom.” In Goßner’s commentary: *Preußisches evangelisches Kirchenrecht. Führer durch das Recht der Landeskirche der neun älteren Provinzen* (Prussian Protestant Church Law. Guide to the Law of the Regional Church of the Nine Older Provinces), Berlin ²1914, page 15, this is commented on as follows: “All restrictions on civil and civic rights that still exist and are derived from differences in religious beliefs are hereby repealed. In particular, the ability to participate in municipal and state representation and to hold public office should be independent of religious denomination.” (I would like to thank Bishop emeritus Wilhem Pietz, Görlitz, for the reference).

The legal situation in the Kingdom of Saxony had already been different since the constitution of 4 September 1831. At the municipal level, other Christians than Lutherans (e.g. Catholics) were allowed to participate in elections, hold public office in the community, found associations and were legally equal – at least as long as they belonged to recognised denominations. Restrictions only applied to non-Christian denominations (e.g. Jews), for whom special laws defined the scope of civil rights. Although access to certain public offices or the teaching profession could be made more difficult for Catholics due to denominational reservations on the part of the respective municipality, no general discrimination was permitted by law. (§ 32 Every resident of the country is granted complete freedom of conscience and protection in the worship of his faith to the extent previously or subsequently determined by law. § 33 Members of Christian denominations accepted in the kingdom enjoy equal civil and political rights. All other co-religionists share in civil rights only to the extent that they are granted by special laws. § 56 (1) Only Christian denominations accepted in the Kingdom or to be accepted in future by special law shall be entitled to the free public practice of religion. (2) No new monasteries may be established, nor may Jesuits or any other religious order ever be accepted in the country. § 57 (1) The King exercises state authority over the churches (*jus circa sacra*), supervising and protecting them in accordance with the relevant legal provisions, and therefore the ecclesiastical authorities of all denominations are also subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Worship.

The Saxon Local Government Ordinance of 1838 makes no mention of denomination. It granted active and passive voting rights regardless of religious affiliation, as long as the general criteria for membership of the local community were met.

that is unique in Europe for significant municipal cultural projects and cultural institutions with very little funding from the state. **In 2025, it must be noted that the excessive demands placed on shire counties' budgets by federal legislation, and the resulting excessive demands on local municipal budgets, have destroyed the foundations of the Cultural Area Act.** Due to the increase in municipal contributions to the shire counties from around 25% of municipal finances at the time to around 36% today, there is a lack of funds for local associations (even though these are mandatory tasks under Section 2 (1) of the Cultural Area Act). At the county and cultural area level, the institutions are successfully lobbying against projects and for an ever-smaller share of the budget by these. At the state level, the Cultural Foundation's small projects fund serves little more than as a token gesture, with its extremely small budget being oversubscribed many times over.

Seventy percent of Saxons still live and work outside the three metropolitan areas of Chemnitz, Dresden and Leipzig, i.e. in medium-sized or small towns or rural communities with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. These areas have significantly lower economies of scale than the metropolitan areas, for example in the service sector. The centres of medium-sized towns and villages in particular are becoming deserted, with no funds or support being provided for locally initiated projects. The ability of communities to provide an agora is significantly limited. This correlates with increasing agoraphobia, especially among younger people. Selective cultural policy reinforces the differences that have become apparent in the state elections.

Strengthening civic agora competence should be the first step in a renewed cultural policy, and the current situation should be critically evaluated from this perspective.

Some populists convey the impression that the term "civil society" in current state policy and many media outlets refers to a tiny, normatively defined segment of civic diversity. This impression is objectively incorrect. This impression is objectively wrong. However, it is understandable that such an impression (fuelled by Telegram & Co.) triggers defensive reactions from those who do not want to be alienated or labelled as intolerant. These defensive reactions lead to, for example, perceiving and demonising the Christian commandment to protect creation as a left-wing, green, metropolitan urban invention. Instead of placing it where the fathers (and few mothers) of the Saxon Constitution placed it, namely in Article 1, sentence 2, together with the cultural obligation: "1The Free State of Saxony is a state of the Federal Republic of Germany. 2It is a democratic, social constitutional state *committed to the protection of natural resources and culture* [emphasis mine]."

On a global scale, Germany's leading position in the world market (with just 1 % of the world's population) is due to the innovative strength of its people. This is particularly true of Saxony. Over the last thousand years, the territory of today's Free State has repeatedly succeeded in nurturing, attracting and retaining particularly creative personalities. The number of inventions made here is legion, from the brassiere (1899) to the portable typewriter (1910), the coffee filter (1908), the beer mat (1892), milk chocolate (1839), European hard porcelain (1708) and the first daily newspaper of the modern era (1650). It is with good reason that the Saxons are considered "fischelant" (vigilant). The Technical University of Dresden lists numerous inventions, the most recent of which is the CFC-free refrigerator (1993, Foron GmbH, Scharfenstein);³ Similarly, the state government in its campaign "so-geht-saechsisch.de."⁴ The Greifswald-based Katapult publishing house has published a special anti-AfD magazine, Katapult Sachsen, issue zero, for the state elections, referring to the results of Saxony's traditional openness.⁵

3 https://mmt.inf.tu-dresden.de/Lehre/Sommersemester_05/Praktikum_MG/ergebnisse/16a/erfindungen.html

4 <https://www.so-geht-saechsisch.de/reisen-entdecken/guggemada-lifehacks>

5 Katapult-Verlag, Greifswald (15 July 2024): *Katapult Sachsen, Number Zero*. <https://katapult-magazin.de/de/artikel/wir-gruenden-katapult-sachsen>

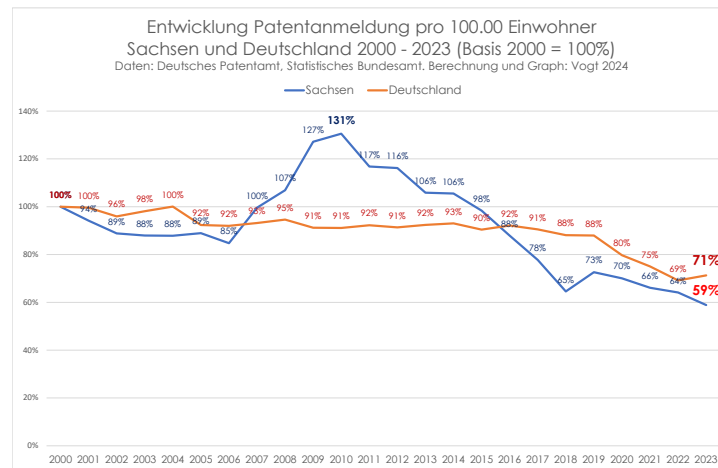


Fig. 2: Development of patent applications per 100,000 inhabitants in Saxony and Germany 2000–2023 (base 2000 = 100%). Data: German Patent Office, Federal Statistical Office. Calculation and graph: Vogt 2024

One of the decisive steps taken after reunification was to reward West German companies that plundered creative departments in the East and then maintained only production branches there without any research. The figures for patent applications reflect the dominance of Baden-Württemberg's global market leaders, with 130 patent applications per 100,000 inhabitants (2023). Here in Saxony, the number of patent applications is the same as in Berlin or Schleswig-Holstein, a very low 13 (one tenth of Baden-Württemberg). The science policy under Kurt Biedenkopf and Hans-Joachim Meyer therefore focused on the innovative strengths of the universities. Rightly so, as we can see today: Saxony's universities account for 17.1% of patent applications in the Free State, compared with only 0.27% in Baden-Württemberg (one-sixtieth of Saxony). However, the trend has become significantly skewed: across Germany, patent applications fell continuously to 71% of the 2000 figures. In Saxony, a singular increase to 131% of the German reference value was achieved in 2010; since 2015, the figures have fallen sharply, reaching only 59% of the Saxon reference value (2000) in 2023. In summary: While Germany's innovative strength is seriously endangered, Saxony's innovative strength is most seriously endangered.

The selective graphics from the European election results in June 2024, which suggested the re erection of the Berlin Wall, together with the even more selective global English-language social media comments about Saxony, represent a very serious obstacle to attracting international skilled workers.⁶ In the medium term, this calls into question the economic foundations of the very cultural policy whose essential task is to provide an open space for creative personalities.

Saxony and the rest of Germany had become comfortably accustomed to raising standards ever higher. As long as inflation remained at the target rate of 2%, an annual increase in efficiency of 1% could be achieved, and as long as the additional costs of raising standards remained manageable or could be factored into the medium-term planning of budgets and companies, the overall stability of the system was not at risk. This has changed since the migration crisis of 2015, with its additional burdens on local authorities, the coronavirus crisis of 2020 and beyond, with its public debt that can only be reduced in the long term, and above all since Russia's energy campaign

6 When Cameroonian mayor Roger Tafam promoted Görlitz in June 2023, he discovered that the city had been so heavily disparaged as xenophobic on English-language social media that the parents of the young people he wanted to send to Görlitz for training vetoed the idea and none of them wanted to go. The objective data tells a completely different story. No city in Saxony has a higher proportion of foreigners than Görlitz, not even Leipzig, and certainly not the state capital Dresden. Data from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the criminal investigation departments indicate that people live together peacefully (see Vogt 2023). If entrepreneurs want to attract excellent workers in times of skilled labour shortages, they urgently need to counteract the media smear campaign with facts and make proactive use of social media. As an example, the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony has produced a YouTube film called "Goerlitz Rhythms" (premiere 24 May 2024, Benigna Görlitz, concept: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz; camera and editing: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz; music Janáček: https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y-Janacek.2024-05-24_HD_neu_2.mp4, Brass: https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Brass_2024-05-24_HD_neu_1.mp4?_=1).

of 2022 and beyond. The Kretschmer III cabinet's policies will have to contend with numerous sources of volatility, most of which originate outside Saxony and do not fall within the state's political remit. The success of the populists is largely due to voters' lack of awareness of what the state is responsible for and what can realistically be achieved.

Special efforts are now required to buffer disturbances in the flow equilibrium. **Can cultural policy make a significant contribution here?** Is the motto *ARS VIGILANS SAXONIAE* – if, and only if, culture watches over Saxony, then the state coffers will always be full (cf. Fig. 20) – merely a normative assertion by interested circles? Or can empirically valid points of view be identified? How does the future state government intend to present the newly elected state parliament with serious (and not purely procedural, formalistic and administrative) documents for a cultural policy that is creative and no longer merely administrative?

2. The contract between citizens and their local and state governments

A functioning community is based on trust and confidence. On *fides ac fiducia*. Trust is believing in the present and its fairness, while confidence looks to the *future* in the expectation of better or at least stable conditions. The Roman word for confidence, *fiducia*, is also a legal term; **a contract based on trust and good faith. There is no shorter way to summarise the contract between citizens and their local authority and their state.**

Jan Sokol, the Czech presidential candidate of the middle class, once remarked that of all his speeches, those he had developed for Görlitz-Klingewalde had met with the most approval and emphasis. Among them was his speech “What is money?”. He answered this question with the words of the Maltese mint master of 1566: *non est aes, sed fides* – [this coin here is] not metal, but [tangibly represents] trust (see Fig. 1.).

If we take as a yardstick the trust and confidence of the Saxons in 1991–1994 during conception, enforcement and implementation of the Saxon Cultural Area Act, and if we compare this with the trust and confidence of the Saxons in 2025, then the creation of the Cultural Area Act proves to be a relatively easy exercise. The cultural policy challenge for local authorities and the Free State in 2025 is significantly more demanding than it was in 1994. (The same applies to Japan; see the thoughtful and thought-provoking contribution by Kazuo Fujino, Kobe, in this volume).⁷

One of the best indicators of a population's confidence in itself and its future is the birth rate. After the last high level of reproduction in 1990, with 50,000 births, women in Saxony faced an extremely uncertain future. This led to a low point in births in the year of the *Kulturraumgesetz* 1994, with less than half that number, only 23,000. But then there was a steep and steady rise – parallel to the Cultural Area Act – to a new high in 2016 with 38,000 births. However, immediately after the migration wave of 2015, the birth rate began to decline, reflecting a loss of confidence among significant sections of the Saxon population. Since 2017, the curve has been pointing ever more steeply downwards; by ten per cent between 2021 and 2022 alone, by eleven per cent between 2022 and 2023, and by an estimated nine per cent between 2023 and 2024. In just three years, Saxony has lost no less than thirty per cent of its birth rate and has reached exactly the same low level as in 1994. School and kindergarten planning is a waste of time.

This makes it all the more important that the few children we have can grow up in an atmosphere of trust and confidence, and become responsible citizens. Their active engagement with art has the potential to play a central role in this, and is therefore a fundamental part of a properly understood cultural policy.

⁷ Fujino, Kazuo (2025): *The group pressure of the “world” in Japan during the coronavirus pandemic and the role of art and culture*. In this volume.

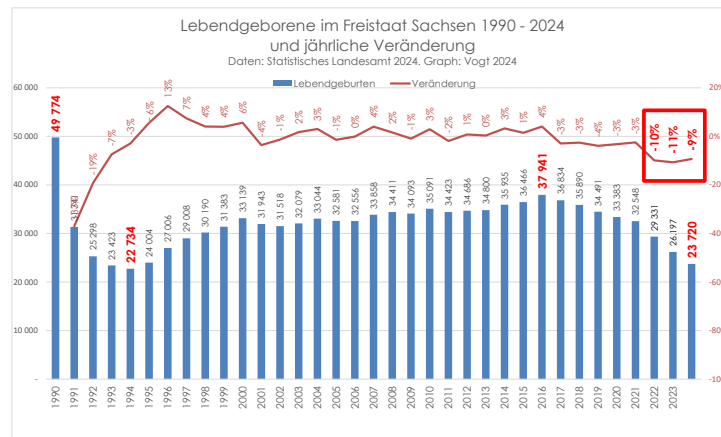


Fig. 3: Confidence parameter: Live births in the Free State of Saxony 1990–2024 and annual change
Data: State Statistical Office 2024. Graph: Vogt 2024

There are multiple causes for this development. One external factor that applies worldwide is the widespread use of social media since around 2015. In Japan, approximately 1.4 million young people (1.2% of the population) have already become *hikikomori*. This is the term used by the Japanese to describe people who reduce their contact with society to a minimum, and voluntarily shut themselves away in their rooms or apartments. They declare solitude to be a cult, a positive way of life. The figures outside Japan are even more alarming in some cases, as Takefuji (2023) notes.⁸ In South Korea, the figure is twice as high, at 2.3%. The Chinese equivalent is *Tangping*, at 6.6%.⁹ In the USA and Taiwan, the figure is 9%. In Germany, long before Corona, one in eight people (13%) was affected by social phobia.¹⁰ The post-Corona dimension of “cave syndrome” seems to be even more serious; reliable figures are not yet available.

To quote Adam Chmielewski from Wrocław: the keyword is **agoraphobia**, the flight from public life. Public life is made possible in particular by artistic performances. After the end of the reign of terror under Metternich and Co. and the failure of the Paulskirche in 1849, theatres and museums spread throughout Central Europe as places of civic communication. The key year at that time was the centenary of Friedrich Schiller in 1859. The second key year was 1919, when numerous previously purely civic activities were municipalised. The third key year for Saxony was 1945, when cultural control was taken over by Soviet officers who, in order to educate people to become New Socialist Man, re-established and newly established numerous cultural institutions. The fourth key year was 1990, with the reintroduction of democratic municipal self-government in June and the reintroduction of democratic state self-government in October. 2024 has become the year of agoraphobia and the fifth key year, with half the population fleeing the desire for democratic state self-government.

The loss of trust has undermined the foundations of democracy. The trend lines for “decline in trust and birth rate” (reaching 47.7% of the 2016 figures in 2024) and “decline in trust and voter migration” coincide. If you add up the votes for the NPD / Freie Sachsen, AfD and BSW in the voter polls from 2015 onwards (it is no longer possible to speak of left and right, but rather of populist,

8 Takefuji, Yoshiyasu Y. (2023): *Review of hikikomori: A global health issue, identification and treatment*. *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*, Volume 84, 103596, ISSN 1876-2018, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aip.2023.103596>

9 Hu X, Fan D, Shao Y. *Social Withdrawal (Hikikomori) Conditions in China: A Cross-Sectional Online Survey*. *Front Psychol*. 2022 Mar 14;13:826945. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2022.826945. PMID: 35360625; PMCID: PMC8963962. Results: “Of the 1,066 youths, 980 (91.9%) were identified as belonging to group A (not socially isolated or withdrawn), 46 (4.3%) to group B (marked social isolation in one’s home or withdrawn with a duration of at least 3 months), and 40 (3.8%) to group C (marked both social isolation in one’s home and withdrawn with a duration of at least 3 months). The hikikomori group (combined group B and group C) accounted for 8.1%. The present data suggest that residence and loneliness are related to the occurrence of hikikomori. The HQ-25 score of the hikikomori group was significantly higher than that of the comparison group. The UCLA score showed that those in the hikikomori group felt lonelier than those in the comparison group. The regression model predicted hikikomori risk ($\chi^2=38.658$, $P=0.000$), the Hosmer-Lemeshow test value is 7.114 and $P=0.524 > 0.05$.

10 Steil, Regina et al. (2011): *Social Phobia in Adolescents: Treatment Manual for Cognitive Therapy*. Beltz

simplistic courting of voters), you see a sharp upward trend. If you then subtract the votes for parties below 5%, you get the votes valid for seats in the state parliament. Half of these votes constitute the quorum for a majority in the state parliament. Shortly before the state election on 1 September 2024, populist votes exceeded the quorum. Only the second direct mandate for the Left Party in Leipzig 1, which was decided late on election night in favour of Nam Duy Nguyen, slightly increased the quorum again; however, it is no longer possible to form a majority government without one of the populist parties. This is problematic for both sides: the BSW's executive co-responsibility solely within the scope of state competences would inevitably have disappointed the immensely heightened expectations of voters and was therefore withdrawn (to the surprise of its own state parliament members). The BSW's strategic goal was to enter the Bundestag in 2025 with enough seats to form a parliamentary group, not to participate in Thuringian and Saxon realpolitik. The internal party balancing act is no less challenging for the bourgeois parties. Forming a government capable of acting in the long term has been another masterstroke. One such feat was the stabilisation of the quorum around the decisive 1.5% threshold between the last poll (31 August) and the election itself (1 September 2024). Another one was accepting several budget proposals of Green and Left parties during the discussions of the 2025/2026 budget.

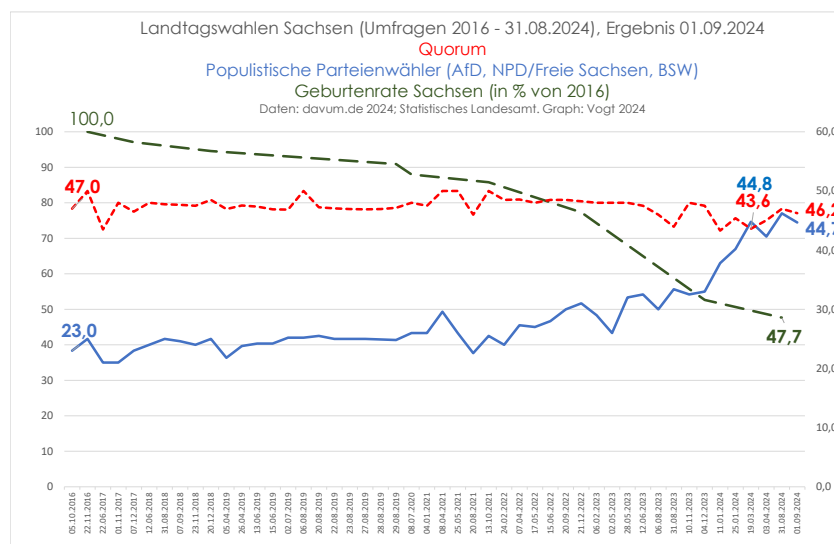


Fig. 4: Saxony state elections (polls 2016 - 31 August 2024 and results 1 September 2024)

(1) Quorum, (2) Populist party voters (AfD, NPD/Freie Sachsen, BSW), (3) Birth rate in Saxony (as a percentage of 2016).

Data: davum.de 2024; State Statistical Office. Graph: Vogt 2024

According to Luhmann, writes Anton Sterbling,¹¹ trust is a “risky advance payment.” Today’s problems are primarily the causes and consequences of abuse of trust and disappointment in trust. **The task of all political levels in the coming years is to restore citizens’ trust in state justice and their confidence in their personal future. This task is one for a properly understood cultural policy.** Technocracy is no longer adequate for the tasks of our time. We need to restore fiducia, the contract between citizens and their local and national governments based on trust and good faith, at least to the extent that this is possible at the state and local levels.

3. The three pillars of the German social system

Who are the “all political levels” mentioned above? The social system in Germany is built on three pillars:

(1) The first pillar is the state, which does not exist physically but is a purely narrative construct (Benedict Anderson: “imagined community”, 1983). In Germany, it consists of the core state at the level of the 16 federal states plus the federation of these states, which is responsible for a few tasks (essentially the legal framework, currency, foreign affairs, defence) and is jointly responsible for “establishing equivalent living conditions”.

11 See the German National Library: <https://portal.dnb.de/opac.htm?method=simpleSearch&query=118192140>

The work of the federal level is characterised by constant attempts to go *ultra vires*, i.e. beyond the limits set by the Grundgesetz constitution (Basic Law), by bribing the federal states, for example in police, education, motorway and cultural policy, in order to become a similarly centralised “national” state like the surrounding states. The lever of federal policy is the federal financial constitution, which initially transfers the taxes levied by the 16 Länder to the federal government.

(2) The second pillar of our social system is the **local authorities**. In Germany, they can look back on around eight hundred years of local government with their own statutory authority “within the framework of state laws.” They consist of two levels: 10,994 *Gemeinden* (municipalities, including 107 independent cities called *Stadtkreise*, urban counties) and 4,603 municipal associations, in particular the 294 *Landkreise*, shire counties or rural counties.

(3) The third pillar of our social system is civil society. Local communities and civil society together form the core of both social cohesion and democracy. As a recent study by the ifo Institute in Dresden on local identity – specific to the local community – has shown, a strong civil society makes people less susceptible to nationalist fantasies (Thum et al. 2024). Civil society is therefore a thorn in the side of autocratic regimes such as those in the Russian Federation, Belarus, the People’s Republic of China and, currently, Georgia, which successfully defame it with ‘agent laws.’

The classic definition of civil society is “doing good for the community,” explicitly beyond the circle of family members. According to the 5th German Volunteer Survey 2019, 28.8 million people, or 39.7% of those aged 14 and over, were involved in voluntary work in Germany. The trend is clearly on the rise; in 1999, the figure was only 30.9%. There are striking differences depending on education and migration background. Most people are involved in sports and exercise. This is followed by culture and music, social activities, and schools and kindergartens.

Freiwilligenbereiche	100,0%
Sport	35,0%
Kultur und Musik	22,3%
Soziales	21,5%
Schule und Kindergarten	21,2%

Fig. 5: Volunteering in German civil society: 28.8 million people or 39.7 % of people aged 14 and over.
Data: 5th German Volunteer Survey 2019.

Thum et al. (2024) argue: “Local identity is a decisive factor for personal initiative and engagement, as well as for political stability at the local level. **If citizens lose this emotional connection, it creates a breeding ground for populist parties** [emphasis mine] and threatens a decline in urgently needed social engagement. [...] In the provision of public services [...] targeted measures must be taken to open up options for the future.” What does such an approach mean for Saxony’s cultural policy?

4. Broke & broken: the overburdening of local authorities

Proposal for a new Article 77 (5) of the Basic Law

In Germany, political language has become increasingly infantilised. It should always be borne in mind that, according to a study by the University of Hamburg,¹² 87.9 per cent of the total population is underchallenged by overly simplistic language (“Gutes-Kita-Gesetz” [Good Nursery Act]), i.e. they are bored and are structurally losing their trust in politicians’ ability to deal with complex political issues.

Significant is the description of amounts of 100 and 200 billion euros as “*Wumms!*” (Thud!) and “*Doppelwumms!*” (DoubleThud!). When she took office on 28 July 2024, British Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer Rachel Reeves described the state of the country’s finances and the country itself as “broke and broken”. This was only about £20 billion (half of which was attributable to Labour’s

¹² Grotlischen et al. (2022): LEO 2018 – *Living with low literacy*. <https://leo.blogs.uni-hamburg.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/LEO2018-Presseheft.pdf>

own spending wishes), or a “fifth thud!” in German terms. In his letter of 15 July 2024 to the rest of the cabinet, Federal Finance Minister Lindner bases his medium-term financial planning on an annual increase in the federal budget of 1.72%. If we compare this with the revenue shortfall of a good 1% per annum estimated by the German Pension Insurance Fund, also in its medium-term financial planning until 2028, this results in an overload of the federal budget due to pension entitlements. This leads from the EUR 103.1 billion federal pension subsidy in 2023 (“a single thud!”) to a “double thud!!” around 2032 and a “quadruple thud!!!!” around 2041. Emblemavåg (2024) calculates the cost of phasing out nuclear power over 20 years at 604 billion; that would be a “Hexa-Thud!!!!!!”.¹³ Draghi (2024) is calling for confident new borrowing amounting to 50 % of all public budgets of the members of the European Union, which would be an “Okto-Thud!!!!!!”.

The citizen pays the price. As Raffelhüschen calculated,¹⁴ the German state earned €239.8 billion from inflation in 2022 by devaluing its citizens’ assets; this corresponds – in a single year, mind you – to a 10.1% reduction in the national debt (€2.368 trillion at the end of 2022). Added to this is the 4.1% loss in real wages in the same year (nominal wage increases averaged 2.7% with inflation at 6.9%). How are citizens, who are already struggling to cope with the effects of spiralling inflation, supposed to build trust in this kind of policy when even the Federal Minister of Defence is distancing himself from the belief in the (promised) ‘Einfach-Wumms’ (simple thud!)?

Long-term model calculations have no realistic informational value (any more than the astonishingly incomplete data in the cabinet draft of the Pension Level Stabilisation and Generational Capital Act of 30 May 2024, Menzel, Maja-LS2, BMAS), but merely a heuristic and demonstrative value. However, they do lend plausibility to the concerns of the younger, increasingly AfD-affiliated population in particular that Germany is heading for a situation of “broke and broken” in a few years’ time, in which the wishes of older voters will be given priority.¹⁵ **Even today, “broke and broken” describes the situation of local government finances and their perennial investment shifts, i.e. the level of government closest to the citizen.**

The Basic Law and its financial constitution contains a crucial loophole. It would be desirable for Article 77 to be supplemented by a paragraph 5 with the following content: “Services resulting from legislative decisions of the Bundestag shall be financed from the federal budget.”

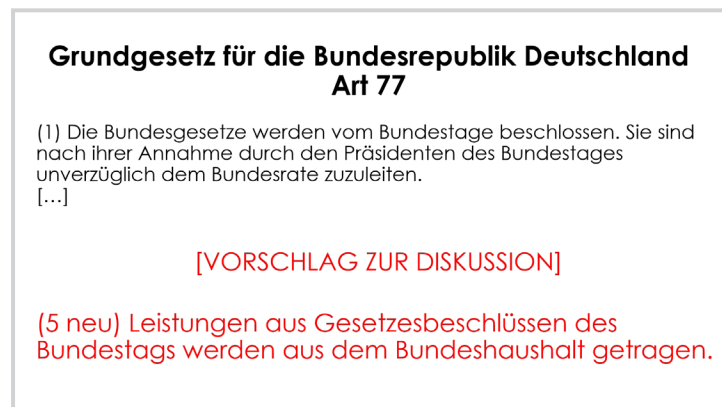


Fig. 6: Proposal for a new Article 77(5) of the German constitution Grundgesetz (Basic Law).

There is currently no such paragraph 5. As a result, the Landkreis (shire county) of Görlitz, for example, has a social budget of 70%, which has pushed all other sub-budgets down into single digits. The

13 Emblemavåg, Jan (2024) *What if Germany had invested in nuclear power? A comparison between the German energy policy of the last 20 years and an alternative policy of investing in nuclear power*, International Journal of Sustainable Energy, 43:1, 2355642, DOI: 10.1080/14786451.2024.2355642

14 IHK Chemnitz, 30 January 2025.

15 Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2022a): *The Corona Juventicide. Political immunosenescence due to distorted census weight at the expense of young age cohorts*. ISSN 2036-7821, Year 14, Volume 1/2022, pp. 33-94 amministrativamente. Journal of Administrative Law (Class A), Università degli Studi di Roma “Foro Italico” <http://www.amministrativamente.com/index.php/formez/issue/view/836>. Reprint in this volume.

county lacks the necessary flexibility and is unable to adequately perform its range of tasks in providing comprehensive public services. This in turn has direct consequences for the municipalities that finance the county through their county levy.

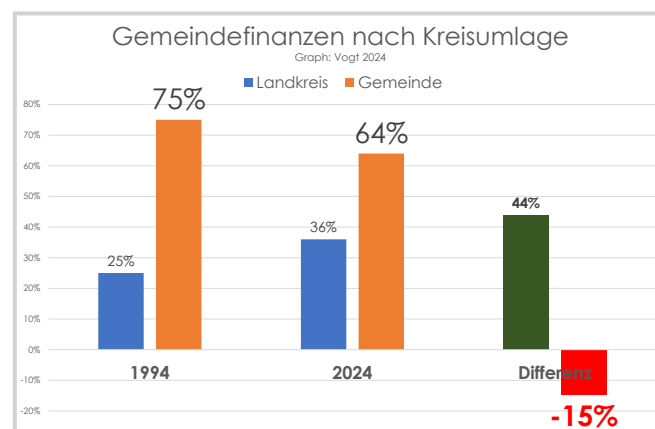


Fig. 7: Reduced scope for action in 2024 versus 1994 for municipalities and Landkreise (shire counties) due to unfunded federal legislation, using the example of the shire county of Görlitz and its supporting municipalities.
Data: Vogt 2024.

It cannot be emphasised enough that the implicit basic assumption of the Saxon Cultural Area Act was a **three-way division**: (1) The Free State finances culture of international significance through its state cultural institutions.; (2) the *Landkreise* (counties) and their cultural areas finance regionally significant culture; (3) the municipalities finance locally significant culture. To do this, they need adequate financial resources. In 1994, the *Kreisumlage* (county levy) was 25%, leaving the mayors with 75% of tax revenues and allocations for their own budgets and local needs. In 2024, however, the county levy will be 44% higher than in 1994, namely 3%. The mayors are left with only 64%, which is effectively exactly the 15% of their own budget that they had used to finance local culture in 1994.

Seen in this light, the Cultural Area Act today lacks its central *raison d'être*, namely its complementary function to locally significant culture.

This basic prerequisite must be restored as a matter of urgency. I fully agree with the Association of German Cities and the Association of German Counties, which are calling for a fundamental overhaul of local government finances. This can only succeed with a serious discussion of the above-mentioned paragraph 5 of Article 77 of the Basic Law, i.e. with a discussion of the federal financial constitution. There is probably no municipality that would not sign the new Article 77 (5); we must wait and see what the composition of the Bundesrat will be in autumn 2025.

5. Without cultural statistics, there can be no solid demands for cultural funding

A brief look back. In 1992, Federal Finance Minister Waigel announced that federal cultural funding – amounting to DEM 150 million for Saxony – would soon be discontinued without replacement. We responded with the *Kulturraumgesetz* (Cultural Area Act), so that art could continue to watch over Saxony's citizens (*ars vigilans Saxoniae*). In other parts of the world, art and culture may be *amenities*, *nice-to-have* extras listed under “other” in real estate ads. In Saxony, art is a *res severa*, a serious matter, as they say at the Leipzig Gewandhaus. When the *Kulturraumgesetz* was passed on 17 December 1994, committee chairwoman Leonore Ackermann spoke of “culture as the water of life”.

But with the enactment of the Cultural Areas Act in the Law Gazette on 20 January 1994 and its entry into force thirty years ago on 1 August, a completely different kind of insidiousness began. While I was setting up the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure and devoting myself entirely to science, I suddenly received news in April 1995 that the *Landkreis* of Zwickau and others were preparing a constitutional complaint against the Free State for inaction. Who had issued the administrative regulation on cultural areas in all those months? *No one*. Who had issued the funding guidelines? *No one*. Who had compiled the cultural statistics? *No one*. Who had issued the grant notices? *No one*. The civil servants in the ministry's legal department had gone on strike, because they obviously did not like what the state parliament had

decided in cooperation with the Minister of Culture, the Minister of Finance, the counties' council and the cities' council. I reported to Minister of State Meyer and his arts' department head Reiner Zimmermann, who sent me on a tour of all the *Landräte* (county presidents), and reinstated me as coordinator. I was given two assistants (Andreas Bracher and Angelica Burkhardt, whom I would like to thank very much here). And on 30 June 2024, a mere ten weeks later, the administrative regulations, funding guidelines and cultural statistics were ready.

In response to the insidiousness of the legal ministers, I had written a computer programme into which I only had to enter the figures from the cultural statistics and then press a button to obtain the grant amounts.

$$Z_k = [Z * [(\frac{g_k}{G} + \frac{e_k}{E} - \frac{u_k}{U}) * G - 1/2 * nk] * \frac{1}{B}] + [Q * \frac{b_k}{B}]$$

Kulturräume 01 - 11 (ganz Sachsen):

k	= der betr. Kulturraum	
Z	= Summe Zuwendungen	01-11
G	= Summe Gesamtausgaben	01-11
E	= Summe Einwohner von	01-11
U	= Summe Umlagegrundlagen	01-11
N	= Summe Nutz. z. Angeb.	01-11
B	= abs. Summe KRBedarfsmeßz.	01-11
Q	= Summe nicht abgerufene Mittel	01-11
zk	= Zuwendung	
gk	= Gesamtausgaben	
ek	= Einwohner	
uk	= Umlagegrundlagen	
nk	= Ges. Ausg. d. nutz. z. zentr. Angebote	
b _k	= absol. Kulturraumbedarfsmeßzahl	
q _k	= Nicht abgerufen, verteilt auf k	

Fig. 8: Grant formula (1995) for the distribution of funds from the Saxon Cultural Area Act

But no one, not even the then State Secretary Noack, wanted to sign the grant notices, so I signed them myself, which was completely illegal, as I was neither a civil servant nor an employee of the state government. But the funds arrived and the cultural areas were able to start their work.

Are these just anecdotes from the distant past? In her capacity as cultural policy spokesperson for the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen parliamentary group, Claudia Maicher, chair of the Culture Committee in the Saxon State Parliament, has been pushing for several years for statistical bases for the state parliament's spending decisions. But to no avail. The cultural statistics I initiated were discontinued in 2015, as I was informed by the Kamenz Statistic Office, the Association of Cities and the Association of Counties. In preparation for my speech on 24 May 2024 on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the cultural regions, I contacted the ministry SMWK. Ministerial Director Markus Franke wrote to me on 20 March: "Such statistics are not available in the desired form and *are not part of the information that the state government is required to provide* (emphasis mine)." However, it is precisely this provision that is the genuine task of the ministry; the statement does not correlate with the democratic division of tasks between the legislative and executive branches, the latter of which prepares and executes the decisions of the former (at least in the federal constitutional order since 1990; this may have been different in this country before 1990).

The issue is so complex because (1), at the municipal level, among other things, a number of cultural centres are not included in the cultural function code; (2) the switch to double-entry accounting does not allow for continuity; (3) the enormous significance of Saxon church culture is not taken into account; (4) the activities of civil society are left out; and much more. Fortunately, the discontinuation of Saxony's cultural statistics falls within the ten-year retention period for all accounting records; it would therefore still have been possible to compile the figures if the new state government would have had issued an order to all cultural institutions and associations, as well as local authorities and state institutions, not to destroy them by the end of 2024. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

In Fig. 9., I have compiled the currently available expenditure on art and science by the Free State on the one hand and the municipalities on the other. The astonishing increase in 2019 and 2020 at the bottom right – presumably due to the transfer of coronavirus aid – shows how challenging the task ahead of us is.

Without comprehensive cultural statistics, however, the efforts of the **Kulturräumvorsitzenden** (Culture Areas' Conventions chairpersons) to secure adequate funding for cultural areas will necessarily come to nothing. The concerns of the other departments, which are all backed up by clear figures, are no less pressing and cannot be ignored.

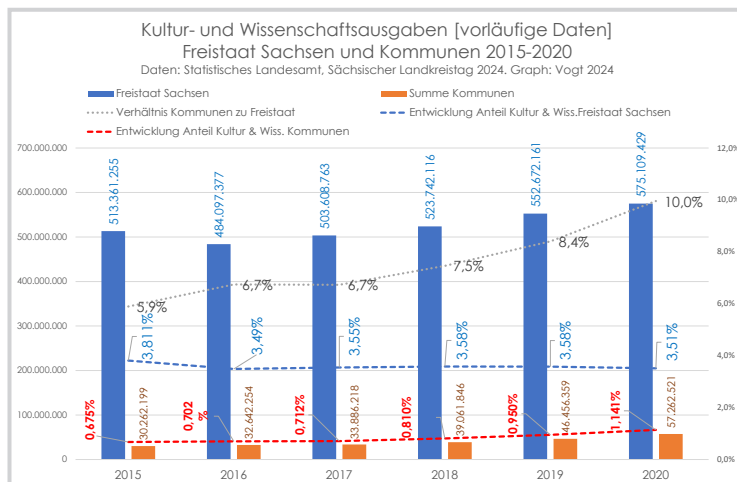


Fig. 9: Expenditure on culture and science [provisional data] Free State of Saxony and municipalities 2015–2020.
Data: State Statistical Office, Saxony County Council 2024. Graph: Vogt 2024

The decisive factor in the genesis of the SächsKRG in 1994 was the distribution of burdens. Since these are genuinely municipal institutions and projects, the municipalities and citizens bear almost the entire burden. Ideally, (1) the Free State contributes 18% from direct state funds, (2) the municipalities contribute a total of 72% from three sources: FAG (community of municipalities) plus county members of the cultural areas plus the municipality where the institution is located; (3) the institution or project contributes 10%. The whole system follows the bottom-up principle: without (a) the institution's own funds, i.e. the citizens' funds, (b) the municipality where it is based cannot provide support; without these, (c) the cultural area cannot provide support; without these, (d) the association of municipalities [FAG] cannot provide support; without these, € the Free State cannot provide support.

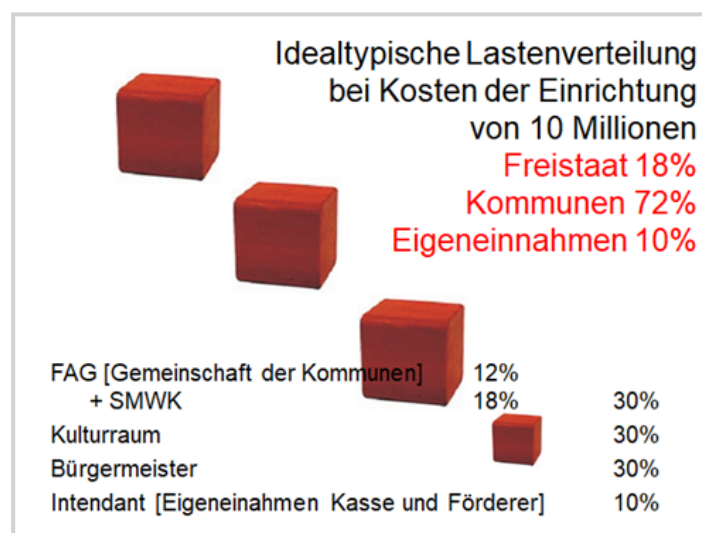


Fig. 10: Ideal distribution of funds from the Cultural Area Act. Municipalities including counties together 72%, Free State 18%, institution 10%. Graphic: Vogt 1995 / 2024.

The ideal distribution of funds from the Cultural Area Act can be illustrated using the example of an institution that requires 10 million euros for its annual operations. Three large cubes (3 x 3 million) plus 1 small cube (1 x 1 million) are required. First, the institution contributes 10% as its own income from cash and sponsors (small cube, director 1 million). Then the municipal authority or the municipality in

which it is based contributes 30% (large cube A, mayor 3 million). Then the member counties of the cultural area contribute a further 30% via the cultural levy (large cube B, district administrators 3 million). Finally, the community of municipalities (FAG) and the Free State (via individual plan 12 SMWK) share the third cube C (also 3 million, of which 40% [1.2 million] derives from the municipalities and 60% [1.8 million] from the state).

How have the ratios changed since 1994? What is the current share of the community of municipalities, legal entities and institutions? How has the Free State proceeded in relation to its budget growth (a) vis-à-vis its own institutions (state theatre, art collections, archaeology, castles and gardens, etc.), (b) vis-à-vis cultural areas, (c) vis-à-vis other projects in the cultural sector? How have the municipalities proceeded in relation to their budget growth? How have third parties acted? How high is the current advance deduction for cultural expenditure from the FAG; is it still 1%?

6. Demand 1: Increase and dynamize cultural policy funding for all sectors

As the first demand in the upcoming legislative period (double budgets 2025/26, 2027/28, 2029/39), when the figures are available, I would like to state the following: a review with the dual aim of appropriately increasing and dynamizing cultural policy funding for all sectors.

This could then absorb the structurally nonsensical “special theatre fund.” The original task of the Naumann Commission, which was explicitly appointed by Minister of State Meyer in spring 1992 as a theatre and orchestra commission, was to draft a theatre law. However, for systematic and fundamental reasons, we ultimately decided on a comprehensive cultural package. Today, local authorities, museums and libraries are equally affected by the spiral of inflation caused by wage increases.

In addition, there are overdue social packages. These must be understood against the backdrop that social security systems are struggling for their existence and are therefore dependent on every single contributor, which in principle goes too far for the specific circumstances in the creative sector (arts and science).

The “Herrenberg ruling” is pushing music schools to the brink of existence. In 2022, the Federal Social Court ruled, based on an extreme special case (a so-called freelance musician had to attend all staff meetings at the music school), that music schools hardly meet the basic conditions for genuine entrepreneurial activity. It ruled that employing music school teachers on a fee basis is unlawful and that all freelance staff must be given employment contracts subject to social security contributions. The “Herrenberg ruling” has set off an avalanche. According to our analysis, a few years ago at a music college in Saxony, 70% of teaching hours were covered by freelancers, with remuneration significantly lower than that of permanent employees. (The remuneration of lecturers at Saxony’s universities is a far cry from the current hourly rate of 76.58 euros for a skilled craftsman¹⁶ (who have spent considerably less time with education than lecturers). A Saxon Chamber of Industry and Commerce had to dismiss all freelance lecturers. Conversely, a significant proportion of teachers at music schools, etc. already have permanent positions elsewhere and are covered by social security; double insurance is structurally nonsensical. Another group prefers self-employment as a matter of principle, for which the artists’ social security fund has long provided a sensible basis. Cultural policy is also social policy; I am thinking, for example, of dancers, who are at the bottom of the ladder when it comes to lifetime earnings in the arts. Overall, the Herrenberg ruling must be responded to with a third way that ensures self-employment and thus needs-based control options – in accordance with the law on both sides – on the basis of appropriate remuneration rates. The Federal Ministry of Labour agreed on a short-term package deal in January 2025; this deadline must now be used.

It must always be borne in mind that the decision to pursue an artistic career is an individual risk for which the community of taxpayers is not responsible per se. The constitutional freedom of art¹⁷ requires the understanding that this decision is not fundamentally linked to state support. The situation

¹⁶ <https://www.deutsche-handwerks-zeitung.de/handwerkerstunde-was-kostet-ein-handwerker-146071/> (13.09.2023).

¹⁷ Reference is made to the term “risk” in the so-called Böckenförde theorem: “This raises the question of the binding forces anew and in their very essence: the liberal, secularised state lives on preconditions that it cannot guarantee itself. This is the great risk [H.v.m.] that it has taken for the sake of freedom.” (Böckenförde [1991]: *Recht, Staat, Freiheit*, p. 112f). For further reading, see, for example, Mangold, Anna Katharina: *Das Böckenförde-Diktum*, VerfBlog, 2019/5/09, <https://verfassungsblog.de/das-boeckenoeforde-diktum/>, DOI: 10.17176/20190517-144003-0

is different in the case of the very substantial public investment in artistic training at Saxony's universities of music, theatre, dance and fine arts. Here, it is in the interest of taxpayers that young graduates achieve self-sustaining marketability within a reasonable period of time, either through permanent employment or through sufficient sales of their services or works. At the same time, there is a considerable need for fresh art forms and young international creativity, especially in smaller communities and medium-sized towns. Financing unemployment after graduation is, in turn, a lost investment *per se*. In this respect, a model project in the form of interdisciplinary master classes supervised by professors outside the major cities could be considered in consultation with graduates, in cooperation with the art colleges, the employment agency and the cultural institutions.

The above-mentioned goal of an appropriate increase and revitalisation of cultural policy funding for all sectors should be seen as a medium-term policy for artists and citizens, not as a short-term policy for institutions and associations

7. Demand 2: Identify and close gaps in investment in cultural buildings

Secondly, I would like to emphasise that the survey of investment gaps in cultural buildings that I began in 1995 has not been continued. The graph shows the imbalance between cultural expenditure in the administrative budget and cultural expenditure in the capital budget as early as 1994: 0.749% here, 0.251% there. While museums were well served in terms of construction measures, theatres and educational facilities were grossly underfunded.

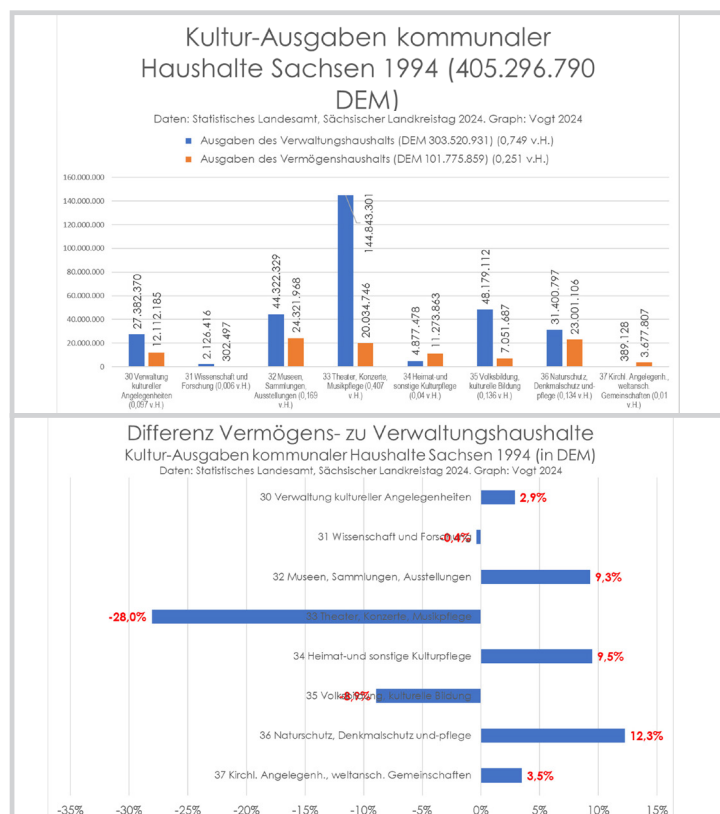


Fig. 11: (1) Cultural expenditure in municipal budgets in Saxony in 1994 (405,296,790 DEM). (2) Difference between capital and administrative budgets. Cultural expenditure in municipal budgets in Saxony in 1994 (in DEM). Data: State Statistical Office, Saxony County Council 2024. Graph: Vogt 2024

The consequences, which were already foreseeable at the time, were unusable cultural buildings. A cultural building investment programme for a period of, say, twenty years would make sense – art needs space, especially sophisticated space. At the national level, the investment backlog for municipal cultural buildings exceeds municipal cultural expenditure by around 50% at 6.2 billion euros (2022). To our knowledge, the investment backlog in municipal cultural buildings in Saxony has not been recorded due to long-standing negligence on the part of those responsible.

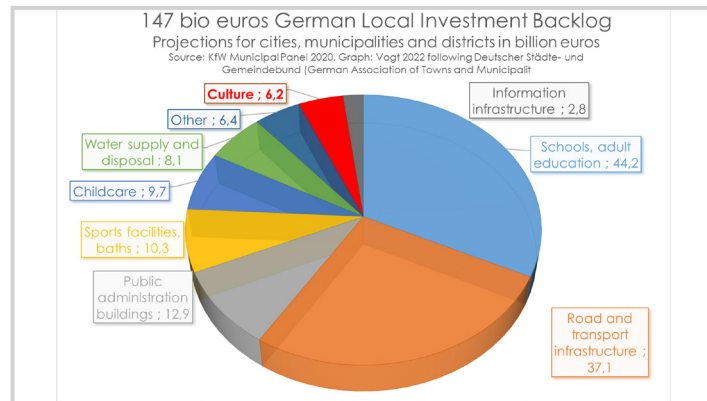


Fig. 12: Investment backlog of German municipalities (2022). Data: Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau. German Association of Towns and Municipalities 2022. Graphic: Vogt, Tokyo 2022.

8. Forderung 3: Vereinfachung der Antragsbürokratie: „Auslegung nach Sinn und Zweck“

ANWENDUNGSHINWEISE ZUM FÖRDEVORGANG IN ZUSAMMENHANG MIT CORONA - VWV ZU §§ 23, 44 SÄHO

In Zusammenhang mit der Corona-Krise werden im Hinblick auf den Fördervorgang vorübergehend andere EU- und bundesrechtliche Vorgaben folgende Regelungen getroffen, soweit die VwV zu § 44 SÄHO für das Förderverfahren einschlägig ist:

Zuwendungsempfänger und Projektinhaber/-teilnehmer sollen grundsätzlich keine schwerwiegenden Nachteile erleiden, soweit diese aufgrund der derzeitigen Ausnahmesituation nicht wie geplant Projektbestandteile durchführen und an Projekten teilnehmen können. Die Bewilligungsfälle werden gegebenenfalls einstufige Entscheidungen zu treffen und die jeweiligen Rahmenbedingungen zu berücksichtigen.

Bei Maßnahmen, die abgelehnt oder verschoben werden müssen, sollte nach Möglichkeit die anderweitige Fortsetzung maßnahmenspezifischer Tätigkeiten oder eine spätere Fortsetzung / kostenneutrale Verlängerung der Maßnahmen geprüft werden, um die gesetzten Ziele der Maßnahmen zu erreichen.

Die zuwendungsrechtlichen Vorgaben wie auch der Grundsatz der Wirtschaftlichkeit und Sparsamkeit sind bei allen Entscheidungen über Bewilligungsfälle, Projektträger und Zuwendungsempfänger weiterhin zu beachten. Eine hinreichende Dokumentation getroffener Entscheidungen zur späteren Nachvollziehbarkeit ist erforderlich.

Auszahlungen beschleunigen / Liquidität verbessern

- Um bei Zuwendungsempfängern Liquiditätsengpässe als Folge der Corona-Krise abzumildern, sollen anstehende Auszahlungen beschleunigt werden. Hierfür sollen vorübergehend andere EU- und bundesrechtliche Regelungen folgende Maßnahmen ergriffen werden:
 - Für Auszahlungen nach Nr. 7.1 der VwV zu § 44 SÄHO (Vorauszahlung) wird abweichend von Nr. 7.1 eine Mittelverwendungsfrist von fünf Monaten zugelassen. Die verlängerte Mittelverwendungsfrist ist auch für alle bereits erfolgten Vorauszahlungen ab dem 1. Januar 2020 zu beachten.
 - Dort, wo kein Auszahlungsverfahren nach Nr. 7.1 VwV zu § 44 SÄHO angewendet wird (Vorauszahlung) und die Auszahlung bisher ganz oder teilweise im Erstattungsverfahren erfolgt, soll geprüft werden, ob vorübergehend eine Umstellung in ein Vorauszahlungsverfahren erfolgen kann und dies für das o. g. Ziel der Vermeidung von Liquiditätsengpässen sinnvoll ist.
 - Sollten die Vorauszahlungsbescheide in der Bewilligungsstelle schon vorliegt und eine anstehende Auszahlung wegen der noch nicht erfolgten Verwendungsbeurteilung zurückgehalten wird, soll vorübergehend einer späteren Prüfung eine Auszahlung von i. d. R. 90 % des beantragten Betrages erfolgen.
- Soweit möglich sollen Förderanträge von Antragstellern, bei denen die angelegte besondere Betroffenheit mit der Förderung voraussichtlich vermindert werden kann, vorrangig bearbeitet werden. Es sind jedoch keine Zuwendungen für Maßnahmen zu bewilligen, die aufgrund der Corona-Krise mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht durchgeführt werden können.
- Von Rückforderungen und Vollstreckungsmaßnahmen soll bei allen rückständigen oder bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt fällig werdenden Beträgen (z. B. Kontopfändungen) bis auf weiteres abgesehen werden, so weit es durch die Verhinderung von einer Erhebung von Säumniszuschlägen soll ebenfalls abgesehen werden.

Fig. 13: Corona application guidelines from the Saxon State Ministry of Finance. SMF 24 March 2020

As my **third recommendation**, I would like to point out a substantial problem that is increasingly paralysing Saxony's civil society and has contributed significantly to the frustration of so many. As a shining exception, I would like to highlight Finance Minister Vorjohann and his Corona Ordinance. The problem is that associations in the social and cultural sectors are increasingly refraining from applying for funding because they are rightly wary of the associated liability issues. As has been widely reported, Saxony's administrations are increasingly moving away from *Auslegung nach Sinn und Zweck* (**interpretation according to meaning and purpose**), as it is called in legal jargon, going to "literal interpretation." This strikes at the heart of civil society, as people here have not necessarily undergone training in administrative law, expenditure law or accounting. The Saxon Abitur (A-level equivalent) is not a sufficient qualification to protect against funding pitfalls that can have existential consequences. I have inquired and found that, at least in the cultural region of Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia, there is not a single case (!) known where a secondary school student has exercised their right to apply, which is their legal entitlement. However, if we **effectively exclude the majority of our fellow citizens from the application process**, the "C" in the name of the party of which I am a member has little meaning.

The application guidelines for the implementation of subsidies in connection with Corona – VwV on Sections 23 and 44 SÄHO of 24 March 2020 issued by the Minister of Finance take a completely different approach.

Upon request, his office informed me: “The aim of the application guidelines was to ensure that grant recipients and project contributors/participants did not suffer any serious disadvantages if they were unable to carry out project components or participate in projects as planned due to the exceptional circumstances caused by the pandemic. In the case of measures that had to be cancelled or postponed, as you have indicated, the possibility of continuing measure-related activities elsewhere or of continuing the measures at a later date/extending them at no additional cost should be examined, taking into account the principles of economy and efficiency, in order to achieve the objectives of the measures. The approving authorities may take appropriate decisions on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the respective framework conditions.” This is a prime example of citizen-friendly policy that cannot be praised highly enough.

I suggest that the Corona application guidelines and the **“interpretation according to meaning and purpose”** be made **the guiding principle of funding policy in Saxony’s cultural sector**. This would be one of those paradigm shifts that restores trust & confidence.

9. Demand 4: More space for self-designed projects by civil society

My **fourth recommendation** is along the same lines. In principle, I consider it sensible to cap institutional funding at 80% of future cultural areas’ budgets so that there is room for funding long-term and short-term initiatives. For institutional funding, I think a planning period of five years makes sense; this facilitates administration and gives institutions planning security. Due to the legal fixation of state funding for cultural affairs, there are fundamental possibilities for this.

A special feature of long-term initiatives is that they are driven by strong personalities and, conversely, depend on them. Here, I consider a planning period of three years and a budget share of 10% to be appropriate, as nothing fundamental changes from year to year at the Neisse Film Festival or the Chemnitz Mozart Days.

However, the focus should be on promoting short-term initiatives for the immediate promotion of civil society. Here, I consider a budget allocation of 10% to be reasonable. It would be equally important to submit applications a year in advance, for example on 24 May 2026 for a workshop week with Iceland’s singing sensation Björk in June 2027 to mark the end of the secondary school year. Only with long-term planning can stakeholders approach small and medium-sized businesses, master butchers and car dealers in their communities, to request third-party funding (millionaires are notoriously few and far between in rural areas of Saxony).¹⁸

But how, in my example, is the secondary school student in Löbau supposed to master the pitfalls of the application and billing process? It is not without reason that I mentioned fiducia at the beginning, the ancient Roman legal term for a contract based on trust and good faith. Let’s assume that there is a dedicated treasurer at Löbau Town Hall who manages the project funds on a fiduciary basis for our high school student. This would incur costs of, say, EUR 100 per hour for the treasurer, which could easily be presented as project expenses and, depending on the amount, charged as the municipality’s share. If our high school student now learns to see the town hall as a “friend and helper” for his favourite idea, to organise a whole workshop week with Björk and a big final concert, then trust has been sown. And precisely where conventional politics falls short.

And it is not only administrative assistance that would be welcome. The aesthetic, intellectual and intercultural skills of professional cultural workers could also be of great help to this small project fund for cultural spaces. And this assistance provided by artists to their local civil society could also be appropriately rewarded. This would, incidentally, be an appropriate response to the Herrenberg ruling – to create genuine entrepreneurial space for artists. How can the Free State’s cultural policy stimulate creative connections between artists and the creative industries, which, depending on the definition, are a significant or even very significant economic factor with astonishingly high ramifications, even in rural areas?

18 The chance of finding a millionaire who is willing to donate to charity is six times higher in Bavaria than in rural cultural areas of Saxony. The latest available figures for 2020 show that 6.17% of the population in Bavaria are income millionaires, compared with 421 in Saxony (corresponding to 1.03%), including 189 or 0.13% in urban cultural areas (Leipzig 84, Dresden 80, Chemnitz 25) and 232 or 0.87% in rural cultural areas. Data SMF June 17, 2024.

10. Saxony is rich in artistic personalities but poor in world-class philosophers

Saxony is rich in artistic personalities but poor in world-class philosophers. Apart from Jakob Böhme from Görlitz, this is mainly Johann Gottlieb Fichte from Rammenau. During the GDR era, an exhibition was dedicated to him in Rammenau Castle, where, in 1772, the ten-year-old son of the poorest parents was able to repeat a sermon so well that he received a scholarship in Meissen and Schulpforta and from there made his way via Jena to Berlin. With his “Addresses to the German Nation” (1807/1808) he established the intellectual defence of the nation after Prussia’s defeat in the battles of Jena and Auerstedt. The GDR claimed German nationalism for itself (similar to Weimar Classicism and the Reformation anniversary), but today, efforts to defend against Fichte and his “German essence”¹⁹ dominate, blind to history. But where in Saxony would be a better place than Rammenau to introduce school classes to a differentiated examination of German idealism (which is very wrongly claimed by the NPD and AfD)? With the world’s leading experts at the Federal Military History Museum in Dresden and historians from TU Dresden, Leipzig University, Chemnitz University of Technology and elsewhere, Saxony has impressive intellectual potential for such a task.

The castle is owned by the Free State, but it is not managed by the SMWK and its SKD, but by the Ministry of Finances SMF and its State Castles, Palaces and Gardens, which, according to its own information, is the “largest cultural institution in the Free State of Saxony,”²⁰ but is profit-oriented and has no major connections to Saxony’s cultural policy. De facto, Rammenau is a million-euro investment in a rural café in a building with no significant architectural value (which could at best be cited as one example among many of the plundering of ordinary people by the aristocracy in the 18th century). The fact that the Pompeian room, which is not particularly noteworthy from an art history perspective, was inspired by the connections between the Saxon and Neapolitan courts is not mentioned in the current exhibition. The latter is currently being revised, and Fichte will no longer play any role in the future. There is therefore no cultural or political reason for the Free State to invest in the luxury café and the gardens, which are extremely modest in comparison to Pillnitz. The same SMF has proven with its multidimensional exhibition on basalt and countess Cosel in Stolpen that there is another way; Stolpen is both sophisticated and appealing to a wide audience.

In future, cultural policy in Saxony must be pursued in a cross-departmental manner. This must also include a critical discussion of the usefulness of overflowing state art collections in relation to the hunger for high-quality pictures in municipal institutions and, indeed, among citizens.

11. Revitalising Saxony’s villages is a complex task

The future that awaits small communities in Saxony’s²¹ hinterland without a strengthening of their resilience can be studied in France. The village of Flavigny-sur-Ozerain (near Alesia, known to Asterix readers as *Aleschia*) served as the backdrop for the 2000 film *Chocolat* and its romance between actors Juliette Binoche and Johnny Depp. Most of the houses have been renovated. It serves as an inexpensive summer residence for wealthy city dwellers from the rest of Europe. There are hardly any year-round residents left.

19 As far as we can see, the term “deutsches Wesen” (German essence) was not used by Fichte himself, but originates from later secondary literature. Only in the subtitle of the *Seventh* of his *Addresses to the German Nation* does he speak of the “German character of a people.” See Fichte: *Sämtliche Werke* (Complete Works), Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Volume 5, *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation) (1808).

20 <https://www.schloesserland-sachsen.de/de/ueber-uns/>

21 Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2013h): *Art and Culture as Resilience Factors*. On the Current State of Research. In: Matthias Theodor Vogt, and Olaf Zimmermann (eds.): *Desolation? Cultural Policy Counterstrategies*. Contributions to the conference on 22–23 November 2013, Haus Klingewalde, Görlitz. Organisers: German Cultural Council and Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony in cooperation with the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Region and the Culture and Management programme at the Zittau/Görlitz University of Applied Sciences. Görlitz and Berlin, pp. 13-62.

[online:www.kulturrat.de/dokumente/veroedung.pdf ; www.kultur.org/Doi101696/eki-2013.pdf]

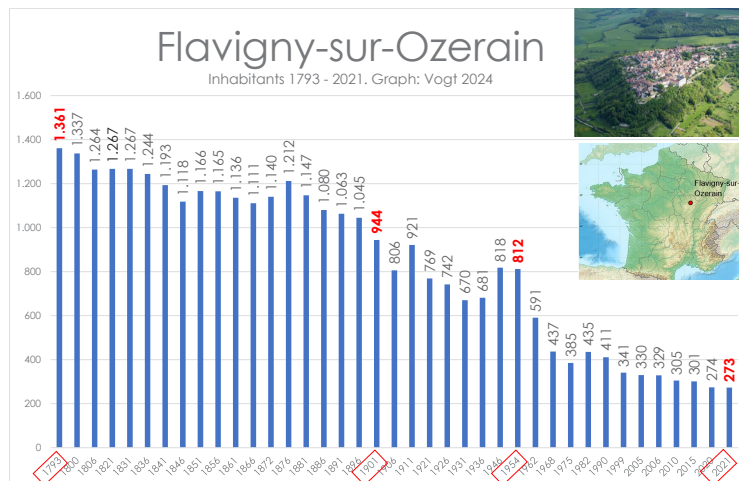


Fig. 14: Population development 1793–2021 of the village of Flavigny-sur-Ozerain near Alesia, which served as the backdrop for the film *Chocolat* starring Juliette Binoche and Johnny Depp in 2000. Data: Ldh, EHESS, Cassini, Insee 2024. Graph: Vogt 2024

In Saxony, on the other hand, it is becoming increasingly difficult to provide smaller communities with teachers, young and dynamic administrative staff and opportunities for social interaction, and the allocation of medical doctors is still not specific to age cohorts.²² The failure to take these factors into account contributes significantly to frustration in smaller communities; objectively speaking, without doctors, it is virtually impossible for older people to move to Saxony outside the major cities. It would be interesting to look at Japan, whose rural areas have a similarly high proportion of elderly people as Saxony. Japan is increasingly focusing on active engagement in the arts to strengthen the individual resilience of older people, which correlates with data on dementia risk reduction from the Mayo Clinic, for example,²³ and could be a challenging task for future cultural policy in Saxony. Rudolf Virchow already warned that social policy, economic policy and cultural policy should go hand in hand: **“Education, prosperity and freedom are the only guarantees for the lasting health of a people.”**²⁴ **Given the current demographic trends, the Free State of Saxony has no choice but to actively implement Virchow’s dictum. Virchow’s dictum would make a good motto for Kretschmer’s third cabinet.**

It would also be interesting to look at South Korea, whose government has started to introduce the *bikikomori* group (see above) to art and culture in order to overcome their isolation. This is another challenging task for future cultural policy in Saxony.

A comparison between the websites of the “most beautiful villages” in France and Saxony shows how much effort is still needed in this country to teach aesthetics in order to meet international standards. How can links be established between the – indeed numerous – aesthetic professionals in Saxony’s art institutions and the local authorities? A comparison of the aesthetics of the “most beautiful villages” in Saxony and France shows how much effort would be needed in some cases to achieve an internationally appealing visual language and overcome the simplistic aesthetics prevalent at some local level in Saxony.

22 Young men aged 25 have an average of 8 doctor’s appointments per year, while elderly people have 40 appointments per year, with a care requirement of one in five [GEK 2008]. With an increase from 3% (1990) to just under 12% (2024) in the proportion of the population aged over 80, as in the district of Görlitz, there will be a very significant increase in the need for care compared to metropolitan areas with a high proportion of young people. (Sächsische Zeitung Görlitz 13 September 2024: A new GP opens a practice – and Görlitz residents queue up for days on end. A situation that almost made a 66-year-old turn his back on Görlitz.” <https://www.saechsische.de/goerlitz/neue-hausaerztin-immer-noch-warteschlangen-und-hoffnung-6044154-plus.html>).

23 Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2017a): Fondis, Kristina; Menzen, Karl-Heinz; Thiele, Giesela: *Art and Dementia, A Guide for Model Projects*, Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony, Görlitz. 231 p. http://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Kunst-und-Demenz_Vogt-et-al_2017_e-book.pdf

24 Virchow, Rudolf (1852): *Die Noth im Spessart* (The Plague in Spessart). *A Medical-Geographical-Historical Sketch*. Presented to the Physical-Medical Society in Würzburg on 6 and 13 March 1852. Würzburg, p. 56.

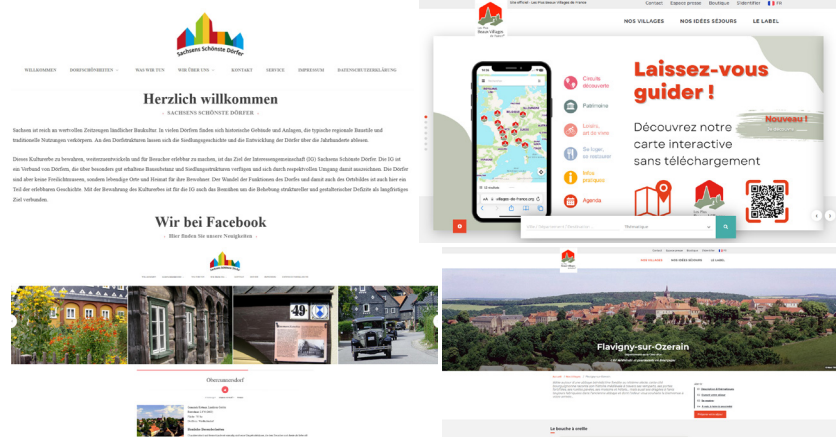


Fig. 15: A comparison of the aesthetics of the “most beautiful villages” in Saxony and France. <http://www.sachsenschoenste-doerfer.de/>, <https://www.les-plus-beaux-villages-de-france.org/fr/de/>

One specific cultural policy task would be to set up an on-call taxi system, especially for minors, after events²⁵ in the medium-sized towns. It should be possible to get to concerts, theatres, readings, etc. in the afternoon; getting back home requires a lift from parents or neighbours, which is not always possible. Interest in a call taxi system that starts with at least three passengers and then safely reaches more remote communities, as well as its costs, could be determined using two model regions over the 2026/27 season. On this empirical basis, a demand plan could be drawn up. It is certainly worth considering that passengers contribute to the costs in non-material ways, for example through reviews, social media posts, etc.

The famous quote “The medium is the message” by Canadian communication theorist Marshall McLuhan can also be turned around: Without a medium, there is no message. Since smaller towns do not offer economies of scale, traditional media cannot flourish there and have long since withdrawn; with a few exceptions, news is produced in the big cities for the preferences of the people who live there, which then provides opportunities for Telegram & Co. With the Big Five digging up the online markets, the major print media are also losing their economic base; the *taz* is currently discontinuing its print edition; Christopher Buschow predicts the end of German print media by 2030. Even today, the Saxon triumvirate of *Freie Presse* (Chemnitz), *Leipziger Volkszeitung* and *Sächsische Zeitung* (Dresden) lacks the space in its arts and culture sections to accompany and disseminate the ideas of civil society and its forums. Although Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk is compulsorily financed by all households, it has hardly any regional presence. What could a bottom-up media landscape look like that offers local citizens a proactive medium? Controlling Saxony’s media policy according to the needs of the political parties is problematic from a cultural policy perspective and a fiasco from a socio-political perspective.

12. State exhibition “Lebensleistungen” (Life Achievements) 2034

Görlitz, then part of Prussia and now part of Saxony again, is the place where, for the first time in German history, a party adopted a cultural policy programme. It was the SPD on 23 September 1921, just over 100 years ago. In terms of cultural policy in today’s sense, only one sentence was relevant: “All members of the national community have a right to cultural assets.” The demand for “separation of church and state” was also part of cultural policy at that time. Many years later, in 1949, during the debate on the West German *Grundgesetz* constitution, the Social Democrats fought for the nationwide federal financial constitution by renouncing this demand (namely by agreeing to denominational schools), which made the federal states the losers and the municipalities the losers of the losers. In terms of cultural policy, the second sentence was ultimately even more consequential.

²⁵ The Youth Protection Act regulates film screenings and public dance events, but not visits to the theatre, concerts and readings. The age restriction (film screenings must end at 10 p.m. for young people aged 14 and over and at midnight for young people aged 16 and over) does not apply here. “In Germany, there is no time at which children and young people are no longer allowed to be in public” (State Capital Munich, Social Welfare Department 2010). This does not alter § 1626 ff. BGB (Parental Care).

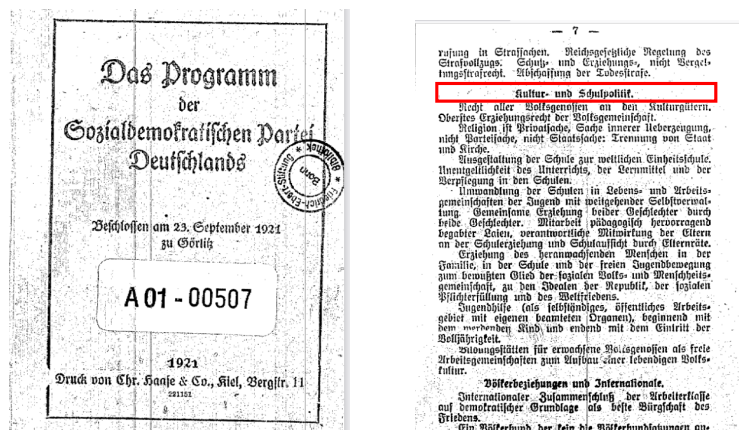


Fig. 16: Görlitz programme of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1921, containing the first cultural policy programme of a German party

The first sentence of the SPD party programme of 1921 was incorporated into the UN Social Covenant in 1966, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In Article 15(a), “the States Parties recognise the right of everyone to take part in the cultural life of the community.” This phrase has no material content.

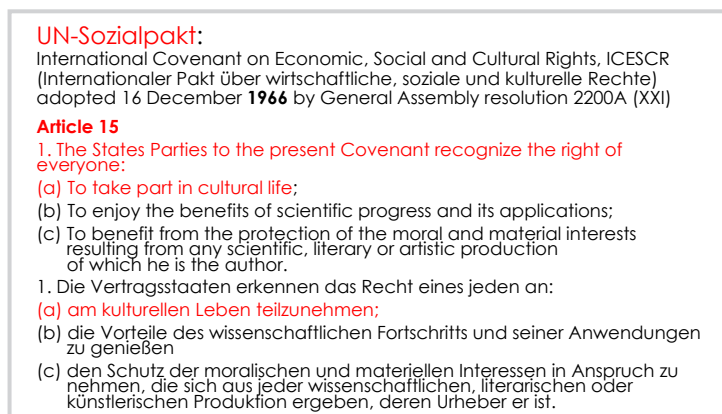


Fig. 17: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, UN Social Covenant, 1966.

The Basic Law is also of no help, as it stipulates a right of defence for the arts, but has not yet included the sentence “The state protects and promotes culture” despite numerous initiatives.

The situation is different in the Free State of Saxony, which defines itself in the very first sentence of its constitution as “[...] a social constitutional state committed to culture (emphasis mine)”. And Section 2 (1) of the Cultural Area Act constitutes something like a separate second law. It states: “In the Free State of Saxony, the preservation of culture is a mandatory task (emphasis mine) of the municipalities and counties.”²⁶ This establishes that local authorities must provide support. However, this is at the discretion of the elected representatives, not in terms of the amount.

26 The ignorance of this fact by the culture editor of the Sächsische Zeitung in his lead story on page 1 of 13 September 2024 (<https://www.saechsische.de/dresden/kultur/dresden-kultur-finanzen-einsparungen-kommentar-6044766.html>) is not surprising, given that there are no initiatives by the state government to publicise the facts.

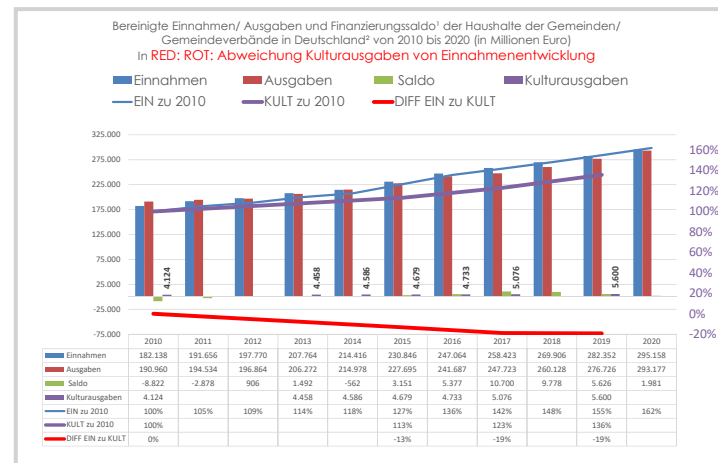


Fig. 18: Overall development of municipal finances in Germany 2010–2019 versus overall development of municipal cultural funding in Germany. Data: German Association of Towns and Municipalities 2022. Graphic: Vogt, Tokyo 2022.

However, if we take a closer look at the overall development of municipal finances in Germany since 2010 and the overall development of municipal cultural funding, the picture that emerges is alarming: in the boom years since 2010, municipalities have been **24% less** willing to allow culture to share in the increase in revenue. Valid cultural statistics are currently unavailable to determine whether this also applies to Saxony.

It is undisputed that we are now heading for lean times, with spiralling inflation, excessive social spending at district level, a lack of long-term thinking about restructuring the economic system, very real threats of war close to our borders, the loss of the peace dividend, and a decline in prosperity that the finance minister has just estimated at at least 10%. **How can Saxony's orchestras, museums and libraries meet the expectations of citizens and their local representatives so well that they will even gain in importance in the lean years ahead?** This is the crucial question. The overly simplistic slogan of the German Stage Association, "Theatre must be!", does not reflect the seriousness of the times.

Freely adapted from a motto of Harvard University (later taken up by John F. Kennedy), cultural institutions must not "ask what your community can do for you." Rather, they must ask what they can do for their community and citizens in times of rampant loss of trust and loss of community identity.

John F. Kennedy's inaugural address continues: "My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the *freedom of man*." Freedom of man is, in particular, the **intellectual freedom** of human beings. What only the arts can achieve, for example, is to contribute to the spiritual freedom of human beings through **ambiguity competence**, which teaches us to understand the complexity of the world in a sober manner, far removed from 140-character abbreviations and populist distortions.

Saxony's Cultural Area Act is a joint municipal achievement. The decisive achievement is the advance deduction of 1% from the financial equalisation fund at the time. The mayors agreed that the funds to which they were actually entitled would be used to maintain the entire system of municipal culture. In effect, every municipality in Saxony, no matter how small, financed the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra with its many musicians. The Free State has provided the same amount in return. To this day, most people have not understood that the so-called state funds that flow into cultural areas are the result of a first pact between the municipalities and a second pact with the Free State. This pact could be revisited today. With a view to the next state elections, which are expected to take place in 2029 and then again in 2034, a ten-year pact could be concluded firstly between the municipalities and, secondly, with the Free State, with exactly one objective: to restore the trust and confidence of the Saxons, which has been lost to such a significant extent, through a multitude of **agoras, public places of cultural communication**. This applies to all social classes, not just the middle-class *Somenheres* (people with ties to their homeland) or the new-fangled *Nonheres* (people without ties to a place).

This requires ideas. Let me conclude by sketching out one such idea. Imagine a state exhibition in which every house where a child is born in the next ten years can participate. At birth, the child is presented with a small book containing the life achievements of all those who have lived in that house over the last hundred years. Names, dates, pictures, stories – some of which can be determined only to a limited extent, others more, and still others much more. The little book is written by the residents themselves, with help from the local archivist and professional historians. The houses of those taking part are marked on a map of the cultural area and can be found online. In 2034, some of the houses will be opened to visitors, like we’ve seen here in Görlitz every year with the Living Advent Calendar.

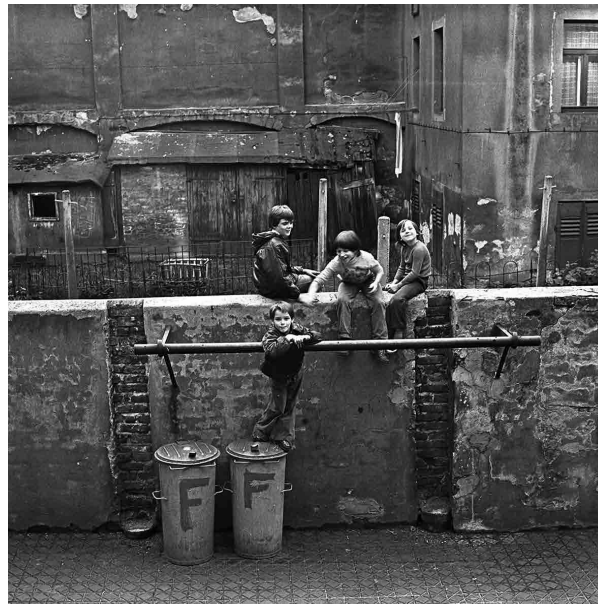


Fig. 19: Starke, Günter (1980): *Mülltonnen in der Dresdner Neustadt* (Rubbish bins in Dresden's Neustadt district). Exhibition Kirschau 2024. Reproduced with the kind permission of the artist.

The state exhibition “Lebensleistungen” (Life’s Achievements) would not be a tourist event, but would be dedicated to the mostly silent resentment of so many people in this state who feel that their biographies have been insufficiently appreciated, if not devalued, by all the demands of transformation. It is a **state exhibition by Saxony for Saxons, which shows everyone how proud they can and should be of their life’s achievements.**

The photo by Günter Starke, *Rubbish bins in Dresden's Neustadt district* (1980), on display in Kirschau in autumn 2024, can be interpreted in very different ways. Some will lament the merciless neglect of the building fabric under the SED regime. Others, on the other hand, will remember their own childhood and rejoice at the children playing together independently, without *helicopter parents* and smartphone isolation. The fact that both interpretations are correct and can coexist is an example of the ambiguity competence that must be used to counter populism.

2034 is a significant date for Saxony. 30 January marks the 100th anniversary of the day on which Adolf Hitler and his henchmen stripped Germans of their citizenship in Saxony, Baden and Prussia and replaced it with Reich citizenship. (Only Article 6 of the Bavarian Constitution still bears witness to the constitutional ties between citizens and their respective states.) With the state exhibition “Lebensleistungen” (Life Achievements), **Saxony’s civil society could work to counteract its own fears of loss.** This also includes the cultural secretariats acting as multipliers in rural cultural areas, as contact points for the initiation and coordination of projects.

Without the local culture of civil society in all its diversity and without a communal identity, regionally significant culture lacks the fertile soil in which it can grow and flourish. And state art institutions stand out from regional ones, in line with the threefold structure of our community.

I would like to refer *en passant* to Emmanuel Macron’s second Sorbonne speech with its key concepts of defence (*puissance*), economy (*prosperité*) and culture (*humanisme*) – with culture as the main

reason why it is worth fighting for Europe at all. Whether, therefore, as part of the state exhibition, an interdisciplinary “internationalisation fund” should also be set up for ten years until 2034, which specifically promotes intellectual openness as a central task of cultural institutions and thus contributes to the mental dimension of the transformation efforts, is also a matter for discussion. In my view, it would make sense (analogous to the funding of additional costs for the renovation of listed buildings) to fund the additional costs associated with internationalisation, and here again exclusively to invite artists from regions whose gross national product is lower than that of Saxony. So not from Budapest and Milan, but from Pécs and Caltanissetta, and of course from the creative regions of other continents.

13. Conclusion

As things stand at present, it will not be possible to simply continue with Saxony’s municipal cultural policy as it stands; we need a fundamental rethink at all three levels. A mere evaluation and patchwork solution was not enough in 1994, and it is not enough today. Once again, it is time to think and act “against the grain.” Once again, it is time to uphold the motto *ARS VIGILANS SAXONIAE* – if, and **only if**, culture watches over Saxony, then the cornucopia of the state budget will always be well filled – with clean data and clean justifications. Culture and civil society should be considered together.



Saxonia umgeben von Fortuna und Staatshaushalt
zu ihrer Rechten die naturbezogenen Ingenieurskünsten Montan- und Forstwissenschaften
zu ihrer Linken das *génie civil* Architektur [SMF] und Infrastruktur [Augustusbrücke].
Anton Dietrich (* 27. Mai 1833 in Meißen; † 4. August 1904 in Leipzig):
Giebelbild am Gebäude des 1894 erbauten Sächsischen Finanzministeriums.

ARS VIGILANS SAXONIAE

Fig. 20: Dietrich, Anton (1896): Frieze of the cornucopia of Saxony on the south gable of the Saxon State Ministry of Finance. See https://www.geschichte-der-fliese.de/dresden_wandbild_finanzzministerium.html

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Cultural Policy against the Grain 流れに逆らう文化政策

liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honour of
his 65th birthday, edited by his colleagues and students

Dieter Bingen, Köln; Stefan Garsztecki, Chemnitz; Goro Christoph Kimura, Tokyo; Luigi Ferrara, Neapel; Peter Lah, Rom; Beat Siebenhaar, Leipzig, in Verbindung mit Günter Beelitz, Düsseldorf; Agnieszka Bormann, Görlitz; Andreas Bracher, Wien; Jelena Budanceva, Riga; Adam Chmielewski, Breslau; Maria Davydchyk, Berlin; Jürgen Erfurt, Berlin; Princesse Esperance Fezeu, Bafoussam; Pierpaolo Forte, Benevent; Annemarie Franke, Görlitz; Erik Fritzsche, Dresden; Kazuo Fujino, Kobe; Miloš Havelka, Prag; Adrien Houguet, Taschkent; Zoltán Huszár, Pécs; Sebastian Lalla, Ulaanbaatar; Stefan Liebing, Hamburg; Luca Lombardi, Rom; Katarina Markovic, Boston; Jean Bertrand Miguoué, Yaoundé; Christoph Pan, Bozen; Oliver Reisner, Tiflis; Róza Zuzanna Różańska, Krakau; Mihály Sári, Pécs; Una Sedleniece, Riga; David Simo, Yaoundé; Anton Sterbling, Fürth; Paul Videsott, Bozen; Susanne Vill, Wien; Eduard Werner, Leipzig; Ivan Zadori, Pécs; Gabriele Zaidyte, Vilnius; Kamil Zágóršek, Liberec; Reiner Zimmermann, Dresden

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herausgegeben von seinen Kollegen und Schülern

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Cover: Haus Klingewalde, Görlitz, seat of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony since 1998. Watercolour by Lynne Beal, Cologne (2024)



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Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Photos von Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Documentation of the conference – 30 Years of IKS on 24 May 2024

Conference *Against the Grain – Cultural policy in history and in present-day Saxony*

30 years of the Saxon Cultural Area Act and its accompaniment in research and teaching by the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony

24 May 2024, 2 – 7 p.m.

Large lecture halls G I 1.01 and 0.01

Zittau/Görlitz University, Brückenstr. 1, D-02826 Görlitz

<https://kultur.org/veranstaltungen/tagung-24-mai-2024/>

Organisers:

Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony, Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area and Zittau/Görlitz University in cooperation with Chemnitz University of Technology and the Institute for Territorial Development of the Lower Silesian Voivodeship

Download Documentation (Photos: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz)

https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Kulturpolitik24Mai2024Goerlitz_PhotosZgraja_2024-06-01k.pdf

Presse

Andreas Hermann: Gepfeffelter Gruß aus Görlitz

(Spicy greetings from Görlitz)

Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten. Dresden, 31. Mai 2024. S.11.

Photo: Andreas Hermann, faktenreich Dresden

<https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hermann-Dresdner-Neueste-Nachrichten-31.05.2024->

[Seite-11.pdf](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hermann-Dresdner-Neueste-Nachrichten-31.05.2024-)



Peter Chemnitz: Wissenschaftler verabschieden Professor Vogt

(Scientists bid farewell to Professor Vogt)

Görlitzer Nachrichten Sächsische Zeitung, 29.Mai 2024, S. 16

https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/SZ-Goerlitz-29Mai2024_Wissenschaftler-verabschieden_Professor-Vogt.pdf

(1) Invitation

by Dr. Stephan Meyer, Landrat des Landkreises Görlitz (shire county president) and Chairman of the Cultural Convention for the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area

Thirty years ago – on 1 August 1994 – the Saxon Cultural Area Act came into force.

In the same month, the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony was founded to support the Cultural Area Act in research and teaching. In order to attract the experts needed for cultural policy, the institute and the Zittau/Görlitz University shortly afterwards established the Görlitz degree programme ‘Culture and Management,’ which now has around 500 graduates who are successfully working all over the world.

We would like to celebrate this with you and Professor Matthias Theodor Vogt, the ‘father’ of the Act, on Friday, 24 May 2024, in Görlitz. After 27 years, he is retiring from his university position with a keynote speech on the future of cultural areas in Saxony. In cooperation with the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony and the Zittau/Görlitz University, we invite you to a symposium with keynote speeches from academia and practice, as well as a panel discussion.

We don’t just want to celebrate and engage in navel-gazing within Saxony, but also to receive external input on the history and present of cultural policy in order to reflect together on the next thirty years of cultural spaces in Saxony. We have invited speakers from the Council of Europe, Tokyo, Riga, Naples, Krakow, Marburg and, of course, Görlitz, who will present core elements of state, municipal and independent cultural policy ‘against the grain’ in keynote speeches and short presentations. Afterwards, we will discuss with the chair of the Culture Committee in the Saxon State Parliament, members of the Culture Senate and Culture Convention, and representatives of the art scene.

(2) Welcome



Rector of Zittau/Görlitz University, Alexander Kratzsch
https://youtu.be/6Imh0TNbyIM?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_je3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



(3) Introduction

Landrat Stephan Meyer, Görlitz: *Outline of current problems and expectations of municipal cultural policy in Saxony by the Chairman of the Cultural Convention of the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area,*
https://youtu.be/cjROQsTqrCY?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_je3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

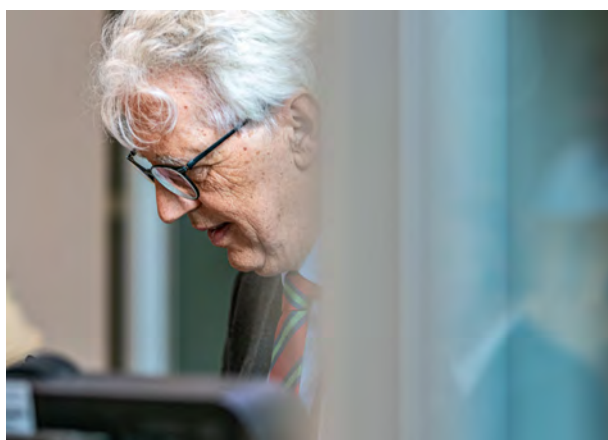
(4) Impulses: External suggestions for Saxony's cultural policy

Una Sedleniece, former State Secretary, Riga: *Memories of her time as a student in Görlitz from 1997 to 2001 in the first cohort of the UNESCO degree programme 'Culture and Management' in Görlitz at the Zittau/Görlitz University and the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony*
https://youtu.be/jKB-0Govtac?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Kimura Goro Christoph (Sophia-University, Tokyo): *Japan learns from Saxony*
https://youtube/3gVq1Btd5sc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

Gregor Vogt-Spira
 (Philipps University of Marburg):
Emperor Augustus and the invention of 'cultural policy'
https://youtube/00iVWcYxYT?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Róża Zuzanna Różańska (Jagiellonian University Krakow): *Royal cultural policy of the Baroque era*
https://youtu.be/o4rVJFW1Yp4?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Stefan Garsztecki (Chemnitz):

Province takes place in the mind

https://youtu.be/_XavYqjEi0?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Beate Sibylle Pfeil
(Council of Europe expert):

Minorities in three classes.

Current language policy in Ukraine

https://youtu.be/ZPjNQLPoiPc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

[OrrW0](https://youtu.be/ZPjNQLPoiPc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0)



Luigi Ferrara (University of Federico II Naples): The Saxon Cultural Areas Act as a model for Italian legislation?

https://youtu.be/yKympfBwEGo?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

[jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0](https://youtu.be/yKympfBwEGo?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0)

(5) Coffee break in the auditorium





(6) Keynote speech

Matthias Theodor Vogt (IKS and HSZG):
On the future of cultural areas in Saxony
https://youtu.be/M5HIZcKotuc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



(7) Discussion: 30 years of cultural areas in Saxony



Moderator: Cultural Secretary Annemarie Franke, Cultural Area Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien
 Theresa Jacobs (Leipzig): Sorbian Institute Bautzen and Leipzig Dance Theatre
 Franz Sodann MdL: Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Science, Higher Education, Media, Culture and Tourism in the Saxon State Parliament
 Thomas Zenker (Zittau): Lord Mayor and member of the convention
 Kirstin Zinke (Dresden): Senator for Culture and Managing Director of the Saxony State Association for Socio-Culture
https://youtu.be/Zev0Hpg3fYk?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0





(8) Closing remarks

Benedikt Hummel, Mayor for Culture of the City of Görlitz
as representative of the graduates of 'Culture and Management'
https://youtu.be/t7EuD-oQ_a4?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Many thanks to all the hard-working helpers who made this conference possible:

Dr. Annemarie Franke and her team from the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area: Sabine Hohlfeld, Manuela Mieth, Maria Förster, Liane Seiffert, Sabine Zimmermann-Törne, Anna Caban
Dipl.-Ing.(FH) Andreas Sommer, IT administrator at the Faculty of Management and Cultural Studies,
Remigiusz Socha, Maximilian Helm, computer science students, Zittau/Görlitz University

Clara Linnemayr [remote coordination from the USA], Zoe Schulmayer, Victoria Hentschel, Antonia Weber (students of „Culture and Management“)

Joanna Bär and Alexandra Grochowski (translators)

Johanna Metzner, student of culture and management, and her family from the ‘Bierblume Görlitz’
<https://www.bierblume-goerlitz.de/>

Financing

of the conference mainly from the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony’s own funds with support from the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area, the Chrysantil Foundation, and the Free State of Saxony, ZR 31-1222/15/181 (funding has been granting from the Free State of Saxony through tax revenue on the basis of the budget approved by the Saxon State Parliament) and technical assistance from the Zittau/Görlitz University.



INSTITUT FÜR
KULTURELLE INFRASTRUKTUR
SACHSEN

*30 Jahre
1994 – 2024*



Hochschule
Zittau/Görlitz



Freistaat
SACHSEN

Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Photos von Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Documentation of the art night celebrating 30 years of IKS and the premiere of the film 'Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures' at Benigna, Görlitz

<https://kultur.org/institut/30-years-iks/>



The Art Night took place at the 'Benigna' on Görlitz's Untermarkt, one of the city's most historically significant buildings. It is named after Benigna Horschel. On Pentecost Sunday 1464, she was impregnated by the mayor's son Georg Emmerich and then callously abandoned. The conflict between the Emmerich and Horschel families was to become a turning point in the city's history, far more exciting than the teenage drama Romeo and Juliet [https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hoch_Benigna_Spannender-als-Romeo-und-Julia_in_Vogt-et-al-Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf].



In the fine tradition of debate among Görlitz students of 'Culture and Management' [https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Vogt_3Gruende-fuer-Goerlitz-als-Studiengangsort_Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf] with complex issues in the city and region (and often far beyond), the institute received an enquiry from Robert Lehleiter and Christian Weise. They wanted a concept for the use of the 'Benigna'. Supervised by Matthias Theodor Vogt and Maik Hosang, 12 female students and 1 male student explored this issue in a research seminar, in collaboration with council archivist Siegfried Hoche and a Bonn theatre group, supervised by René Harder.



The theory [download: https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hoch_Benigna_Spannender-als-Romeo-und-Julia_in_Vogt-et-al-Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf] was put to the test at the art night on 24 May 2024.

Art Night

Photo documentation

[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/IKS30y-Benigna24Mai2024_PhotosZgraja-k.pdf] with photos by Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz mail@andi.film.



Maestro Luca Lombardi and Miriam Meghnagi from Rome performed a work to mark the institute's 30th anniversary (world premiere and first joint performance of the couple).



Former Prime Minister Georg Milbradt from Dresden gave the laudatory speech.



Maria Davydchyk performed a Belarusian folk song.



Steffi Bärmann from Zittau recited in the Upper Lusatian dialect.



Elisabeth Domsgen from Görlitz recited a ballad by Bürger.



Honorary Consul Stefan Liebing from Hamburg commended the research and institute projects on Africa.



Princess Esperance from Bafoussam sang a Cameroonian song.



Joseline Amutuhair performed a Ugandan dance, accompanied on the drums by Tomas Ondrusek from Waldheim.



Hans-Peter Struppe from Görlitz and Cornelia Wosnitza from Dresden sang cheeky modern songs.



The art night ended with a song by 21 former UNESCO students of 'Culture and Management' (class of 1997), who offered their congratulations in Latvian, Polish, Sorbian, Czech and German.

Museum: Thirty Years of IKS

Some of the 30 years of work of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony is documented at <https://kultur.org/>. To mark the institute's anniversary, the archives were opened and an exhibition was put together, supported by our student intern Jakob Bormann as curator.



Film Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures

Premiere 24 May 2024, Benigna Görlitz

on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony

Concept: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz

Camera and editing: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz mail@andi.film

The film can be downloaded free of charge as Creative Commons ShareAlike CC BY-SA (1.0 2.0 2.5 3.0 4.0) and installed on your own website.

‘Without immigration, Görlitz is lost,’ said the then mayor Siegfried Deinege during research for the study ‘Arriving in the German world’ [<https://kultur.org/forschungen/merr/>]. However, immigration is a process in which preconceived assumptions – positive or negative stereotypes – play a decisive role in choosing a destination.

When Cameroonian mayor Roger Tafam promoted Görlitz in June 2023, he found that the city was so heavily disparaged as xenophobic on English-language social media that the parents of the young people he wanted to send to Görlitz for training vetoed the idea and none of them wanted to come.

The objective data tells a completely different story. No city in Saxony has a higher proportion of foreigners than Görlitz, not even Leipzig, and certainly not the state capital Dresden. Data from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the criminal investigation departments indicate peaceful coexistence (see Vogt 2023). If Görlitz entrepreneurs want to attract excellent workers in times of skilled labour shortages, they urgently need to counter the media's denigration with facts. The inglorious first-place finish of the Görlitz district in the European elections on 9 June 2024 has opened the door to further suspicions.

Roger Tafam suggested presenting parents with a film about the real Görlitz in English in YouTube format in order to respond to the allegations of ‘manifest xenophobia’ circulating on the internet. With the film **‘Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures’** and in cooperation with the Municipal Hospital, the Maltese Hospital, the Zittau/Görlitz University and many civil society actors, the Institute implemented this idea together with Andi Zgraja, Görlitz (camera and editing).

The film is short and asks only one question: **What is so special about Görlitz?** The data is impressive and stimulates discussion.

To mark the institute's anniversary, we are making the film available to all Görlitz-based companies in two audio tracks: (a) with Leoš Janáček's 2nd String Quartet ‘Intimate Letters’ and (b) a brass recording. **Which music do you prefer? And which one do you think your contacts will like best?**

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures”**Musik: Leoš Janáček (1854-1928): String**

[\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Janacek.2024-05-24_HD_neu_2.mp4\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Janacek.2024-05-24_HD_neu_2.mp4)

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures” Musik: Leoš Janáček (1854-1928): String Quartet No. 2, „Intimate Letters“, IV. Allegro – Andante – Adagio. With kind permission of Erica Brenner and Jessica Sherwood [6 December 2023) Alexi Kenney, violin 1 (Chamber Fest Cleveland Young Artist), David Bowlin, violin 2, Dimitri Murrath, viola, Julie Albers, cello Performed on June 24, 2016 Mixon Hall, Cleveland Institute of Music Cleveland, Ohio Chamber Fest Season 5 <http://chamberfestcleveland.com> Audio: Ian Dobie – Dobie Digital Productions, Editing: Erica Brenner <http://ericabrennerproductions.com>

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures”**Musik: O Chanucah (Instrumental).****YouTube Audio-Bibliothek**

[\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Brass_2024-05-24_HD_neu_1.mp4?_=1\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Brass_2024-05-24_HD_neu_1.mp4?_=1)

Görlitz Rhythms: A Dance of Cultures

Uraufführung 24. Mai 2024, Benigna Görlitz
aus Anlaß der Dreißigjahrfeier des
Instituts für kulturelle Infrastruktur Sachsen

Konzeption: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Film: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Görlitz Rhythms: A Dance of Cultures

Uraufführung 24. Mai 2024, Benigna Görlitz
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Instituts für kulturelle Infrastruktur Sachsen

Konzeption: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Film: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Wissenschaftliche Vorarbeiten unter anderem

- Vogt, Matthias Theodor; Fritzsche, Erik; Meißelbach, Christoph (2016): *Ankommen in der deutschen Lebenswelt. Migranten-Enkulturation und regionale Resilienz in der Einen Welt*. Geleitwort von Rita Süßmuth und Nachwort von Olaf Zimmermann. Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag 2016, 526 S., ISBN: 978-3-8305-3716-8.
- Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2021d): *On the threshold to visibility and dignity. The long story of Polish migrants at Görlitz/ Zgorzelec*. In: Inocent-Mária V. OP Szaniszló (Ed.), *Invisible migrant workers and visible human rights*. Angelicum Press., Rome (pp. 169-187). [Hier die deutsche Fassung]
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2002年に東京の単一橋大学を卒業し、博士論文「少数言語の保存と再生における人間の介入に関する展望」で学位を取得しました。2004年から東京のソフィア大学に勤務し、2007年から准教授、2012年から教授を務め、現在は外国語学部の学部長です。北海道大学(札幌)のスラヴ・ユーラシア研究センターで客員教授、ソルビアン研究所(バウツェン)、ヨーロッパ大学ヴィアドリーナ、ライプツィヒ大学で客員研究員として勤務。彼は、ポンテス・ゴリツィー・ズゴジェレツ・ゾルジェレツ・カレッジウムの研究員でした。2022年から日本スラヴ語文学研究会の理事兼事務局長を務めている。

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TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT
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SOPHIA UNIVERSITY



To listen, to reflect, to act Cultural Policy against the Grain

What are the premises of today's cultural policy? What insights can the past, present and theory offer for a contemporary cultural policy? How can art counteract agoraphobia, digital isolation and populist temptations? How can local authorities give their citizens ample space to develop civil society solidarity 'for the good of the city. For only when the city is well will you be well.' (It should be noted that Jeremiah 29:7 addresses immigrants who are to become citizens in foreign Babylon. Does our cultural policy also achieve this?) Are the arts not precisely the place where we can first listen to the other before we think together and then act together?

It is the historical achievement of Matthias Theodor Vogt, in the Free State of Saxony, which was re-established in 1990, to not only conceive the Saxon Cultural Area Act between 1991 and 1995 in a unique process of analysis and dialogue with the state, municipal and civil society levels, but also to have it enshrined in law and, last but not least, to have it implemented with little friction. It was therefore only natural that, on the thirtieth anniversary of the law's entry into force, the cultural areas of Saxony invited Matthias Theodor Vogt's colleagues and students to a conference entitled 'Kulturpolitik gegen den Strich' (Cultural Policy Against the Grain). We are hereby presenting the results of this conference in a commemorative publication to mark his 65th birthday.

What can art do better and differently than the digital world? What political, structural, economic, and, last but not least, intellectual conditions are necessary for art to develop its own life for the benefit of humanity? The cover image shows Haus Klingewalde, Görlitz, home of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony since 1998. The watercolour by Lynne Beal, Cologne, relates to a conversation with Matthias Theodor Vogt about the vanishing point in Alberti: *De pictura* | *De pictura* (1435 – 1436). According to Corinna Laude, in the *centricus punctus* of Alberti's intromission theory, 'the orthogonal vanishing lines, the depth lines of the representation, converge "quasi persino in infinito" (as it were out into infinity), it lies in infinity – and thus, according to contemporary understanding, in God'. Which "vanishing points" does today's post-secular society use?

How can political science in Chemnitz interact in a multidisciplinary, cross-continental manner, always with reference to human beings themselves, with cultural studies in Tokyo and linguistics in Leipzig, with legal studies in Naples and social sciences in Rome? This volume shows that cultural policy studies require a fact-based holistic approach and that this may be achieved by working together.

Cultural Policy against the Grain (Volume 2, English version)

liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honor of
his 65th birthday, edited by his colleagues and students

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