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Think about Poland! On hold, on hold, on hold - A chronicle 2017-2025

Preliminary remark

‘A desolate square in the center of Berlin – tall grass, overgrown bushes, overflowing rubbish bins, abandoned clothes, empty pizza boxes, crumpled plastic bags, junk.’ This was the first sentence of the essay *Think about Poland. A German Debate*, published in 2020 by Berlin-based publisher edition.foto TAPETA. It continues:

Askanischer Platz – an empty place

Emptiness – no fixed point anywhere – this is the view that greets those who step out of one of the three doorless frames in the portico that once led into the huge main hall of the Anhalter Bahnhof, ruined in the Second World War, onto Askanischer Platz. The station’s driveway has been preserved, but no one drives here; it serves as a car park. Looking around, there is nothing to hold on to, except perhaps the mighty old maple trees scattered across the square. It is not a place that invites you to linger, divided as it is by a thoroughfare and surrounded by boring post-war façades, apart from the ‘Deutschlandhaus’ opposite, a modernist building from the 1920s that has been saved and now houses the Foundation for Flight, Expulsion and Reconciliation.

An empty place can – quod erat demonstrandum – be filled with stuff, with trees, objects of various materials and sizes, even with associations and free play of ideas... and a comparison may be flawed, but it can also be inspiring. To stay with the image of Askanischer Platz. According to urban planner and former president of the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning, Florian Mausbach, this inhospitable but central square in Berlin was found as an answer to a void, to a blank spot that many Germans discover within themselves when asked what Germans did between 1939 and 1945 in Poland, less than 100 km away, and what German occupation policy looked like in occupied Poland.’

Five years have passed since the essay was published. However, much of what was described remained virtually unchanged until the beginning of 2025. Some things, possibly even decisive ones, are certainly undergoing an acceleration – at least it cannot be ruled out – that could fill the ‘void’ with content in the foreseeable future, albeit at a different location in Berlin.

For this reason, I am expanding the essay’s line of thought in abbreviated form and supplementing it with a documentation of the progress of the public discussion and political manoeuvring since 2020 – with the realistic hope of a happy ending to an incredible story.

The Nazi history of violence in Poland from 1939 to 1945 is not the only blank spot in Germany’s memory and remembrance; even 1 September 1939, the day ‘when it all began,’ is a blank spot. This is aside from the fact that the reorganisation of Germany, Europe and the world according to German delusions had in reality already begun in February 1933. With the bombing of the small Polish town of Wielun by German fighter planes and the shelling of the Polish garrison on Westerplatte near Danzig by the cadet training ship ‘Schleswig-Holstein’ at dawn on 1 September 1939, the Second World War began, a total war aimed at the mass murder of civilians through the barbarism perpetrated by National Socialism in Poland and many other European countries.

The 1st of September 1939 and Stalin’s carte blanche for Hitler’s war of aggression against Poland, the 23rd of August 1939, with the signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and the secret additional protocol on the mutual destruction and division of Poland, remain pale in the collective memory of Germans to this day.

The empty space for Poland in the German landscape of remembrance is undoubtedly an expression of widespread indifference and historical amnesia in the face of what happened to the

citizens of Poland as a result of German occupation policy from September 1939 until the last months of the war. After all, Poland had been a neighbour for a thousand years, with only a few wars and battles until the 18th century, which did occur sporadically, but rather with the most stable border in Central Europe since the 14th century and intensive mutual exchange and interdependence. Whenever weighing up empathy and its absence, remembrance and its place in history, we must remember this German-Polish exceptionalism.

Poland as a ‘second-class’ victim or forgotten

Almost 60 years ago (in 1967), Margarete and Alexander Mitscherlich published their study on the foundations of the collective German ‘inability to mourn,’ which has since become a standard work. They analysed how difficult it was for the German population to come to terms with the Nazi past. Can this judgement now be consigned to history – after all, two generations have grown up since then? Isn’t it true that in Germany, especially among the more educated classes, people like to pat themselves on the back? We are world champions in coming to terms with the past and in commemorative culture, supposedly entitled to give advice to other nations, not least ‘the Poles,’ on how they can successfully emulate the Germans?

To get to the bottom of these questions, I will start with a provocative thesis: that the neighbouring Republic of Poland and its citizens are *second-class victims* in the German perception of Nazi victims in the Second World War. The inevitable rejection of this thesis and the assertions that enough is enough, that it is time to draw a line under the past, obviously imply that ‘the Poles’ have already received enough – enough admissions of guilt, enough money and enough land. Yet hardly any (if any) German police officers, SS or Wehrmacht members, from generals to the lowest ranks, have ever been convicted by a German court for war crimes in Poland that were not related to the extermination of the Jews. Heinz Reinefarth, who was responsible for the massacre in the Wola district of Warsaw in August 1944, pursued a professional and political career after 1945 as an unmolested lawyer, member of the parliament of Schleswig-Holstein and then mayor of Westerland on Sylt. During the massacre that took place during the uprising in August 1944, approximately 50,000 civilians, from babies to the elderly, were brutally murdered within a week.

The aim was the ‘annihilation’ and ‘elimination of the living forces’ of Poland.

The sentiment expressed in Germany that ‘enough is enough’ is therefore associated with a great deal of ignorance; a lack of basic knowledge or interest, and a lack of empathy and appreciation for the victims.

When the ‘break with civilisation’ in the countries conquered by the Wehrmacht is discussed, it is described using terms such as ‘Holocaust’ or ‘Shoah.’ The murder of the Jews of Europe is Germany’s mark of Cain. Part of this was the systematic murder of millions of Polish Jews. Ninety percent of the Jewish citizens of pre-war Poland perished in German concentration and extermination camps in occupied Poland. Of the approximately six million European Jews murdered, half were citizens of the Second Polish Republic (1918–1939). Today, the German public is at least vaguely aware of these events, but with each new generation, this knowledge becomes even more patchy than it already was. Even more rudimentary or non-existent in Germany is knowledge of the persecution and murder of millions of non-Jewish citizens of Poland.

The German occupation policy in Poland was not only about the persecution, enslavement and murder of millions of people, it was about the destruction of the Polish state, its elites and its infrastructure, right down to the dissolution of the Polish nation into the void of memory. As Hitler had already explained to his generals a few days before the invasion, on 22 August 1939, and was quite explicit about it, his goal was the ‘annihilation’ and ‘elimination of the living forces’ of Poland.

It is remarkable that, almost 80 years after the events, five members of the German Bundestag from the CDU, Greens, SPD, FDP and Left Party drew the same conclusion about Germany’s occupation policy in Poland in an article (3 May 2019) for the Berlin Tagesspiegel newspaper, in their struggle for a lasting remembrance (keyword: Poland memorial): ‘From 1 September 1939 onwards, multi-ethnic Poland was the territory on which the National Socialists first implemented to the full extent all components of their racially ideological war of extermination, their cruel occupation policy, their

racist ideology of living space, their eminent anti-Semitism and also anti-Slavism. The territory of the Second Polish Republic was also misused as a testing ground for Nazi Germany's warfare in the East. The physical removal of Polish people from the soon-to-be-annexed territories on the one hand, and the subjugation, exploitation, deportation and enslavement of Poles in the territories of the later General Government on the other, were from the outset the goal and central component of the idea of the war against Poland.'

Why do many Germans find it so difficult to accept this Polish suffering?

Two outstanding reasons for disinterest, repression and forgetting can undoubtedly be identified. First, there is a perception of civilisational and cultural asymmetry between Germans and Poles that dates back to the 18th century. German feelings of superiority towards Poles led to anti-Polish policies. This arrogant colonial view intensified in the course of Prussian policy towards Poland until the outbreak of the First World War. To this day, German cultural memory is most deeply marked by the anti-Polish stereotypes of the last three generations. This means that stereotypes about Poles have survived in the collective memory of Germans right up to the present day in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Secondly, there are repeated attempts in German social discourse to exonerate the German crimes against humanity in Poland from 1939 to 1945: on the one hand, against Polish policy before 1939 towards the German minority in the Second Republic and, on the other hand, against the flight, expulsion and revenge against Germans and the loss of the German eastern provinces. This intertwines Poland with other narrative strands in the German narrative of remembrance and distorts it: Poland – itself a victim of communist occupation and extensive territorial concessions to the Soviet Union – is perceived in the German narrative of remembrance as the country that took the land, not the Stalinist Soviet Union.

In Germany, Poland is primarily regarded as the 'expelling state,' much less so the Soviet Union, which had actually decided with the Western Allies on the territorial concessions in 1945 and the mass expulsion of Germans. The eastern provinces beyond the Oder and Neisse rivers, which had belonged to Germany in 1937, were placed under Polish administration, while the northern half of East Prussia was ceded to the Soviet Union (Kaliningrad Oblast). To this day, the cession of territory to the Soviet Union is largely acknowledged with mild emotion, far less than the so-called 'western shift' of Poland dictated by Stalin.

The strange, even disconcerting tendency towards emotionally rooted generosity towards Russia at the expense of Poland (and also at the expense of Ukraine – my addition from 2025) remains valid to this day.

Despite all the gaps in our knowledge and empathy, the 'miracle of reconciliation' does exist.

Regardless of the historical burdens and the long period of domestic political instrumentalisation of the Polish issue, one thing should not be overlooked. Burdened by the anti-Polish cultural coding of the traditional German elites, no other bilateral relationship required such a high degree of self-criticism, overcoming of outdated stereotypes and concrete concessions as the relationship with Poland. The relationship with Poland has been so thoroughly reappraised over the decades that positive relations with Poland are now as uncontroversial in mainstream German society as never before in the modern history of bilateral relations.

Finally, the time seemed ripe for a lasting and visible gesture of empathy and appreciation in Berlin, the place where the devastating policy against our closest neighbour had begun.

The call for the erection of a Polish memorial in the centre of Berlin

It took more than 70 years after the end of the Second World War for the German side to make a public call for the first time to face up to the rupture of civilisation in Poland without lowering their visors and to dedicate a memorial site to the victims of German occupation policy in Poland. The appeal was presented on 15 November 2017 at the Federal Press Conference by a civil society initiative led by the former President of the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning, Florian Mausbach, the former Presidents of the Bundestag, Rita Süssmuth and Wolfgang Thierse, and the then Directors of the

Topography of Terror, Andreas Nachama, and the German Poland Institute, Dieter Bingen. It called for the erection of a memorial to the victims of German occupation policy in Poland from 1939 to 1945. Numerous personalities from academia, culture, religious communities and politics lent additional weight to the appeal with their signatures.

The appeal sparked a broad debate in Germany, accompanied by media and political commentary in Poland. At the same time, the impression could arise that there was a last-ditch effort to resist a strong signal that was to be addressed to Poland. For suddenly, when confronted with the demand to make this commitment permanently visible and express it in a solemn manner, with cathartic intent, attitudes of indifference, ignorance, disinterest and even simple ignorance became increasingly apparent. And the more clearly the call for a memorial and the debate surrounding it pointed out that there is a void in our memory and in our remembrance, the more vehement the resistance and attempts to divert attention from this finding became.

Thus, the hope associated with the call for a memorial was disappointed that the German Bundestag would send a signal to German society and to Poland on the 80th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland and the beginning of the Second World War on 1 September 2019, at a commemorative event in the Reichstag building, and that it would take a fundamental decision in favour of erecting a Polish memorial.

Essence and addressee of the memorial

The appeal made it clear who the addressee of a Polish memorial should be. The initiative stated: 'We Germans, the German civil society, are building the memorial to commemorate the victims of the German occupation of 1939-1945. But we are also looking outward. Survivors and their descendants, Polish Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Christians, agnostics, atheists, citizens of the Polish Rzeczpospolita should know that we Germans, regardless of personal guilt and age, have understood what was done to Poland in the name of Germany by Germans – an unmistakable sign of empathy, a towering stumbling block. This explicit expression is lacking in Poland, regardless of generation, political and ideological positions, and despite the high degree of understanding and normality with Germans. One might dismiss it as melodramatic, but the cathartic effect of such a gesture in the heart of the German capital cannot be overestimated.'

Why a memorial?

As mentioned above, the appeal of 15 November 2017 was a civil society initiative, implicitly the result of decades of scholarly and demanding public debate between Germans and Poles, conducted in a spirit of mutual respect.

Miloš Rezník, long-time director of the German Historical Institute in Warsaw, succinctly and convincingly expressed fundamental and summarising thoughts on the meaning of a memorial in an article on the construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of memorials: 'Monuments always appear to be suitable media for emphasising or drawing attention to issues or problems that have not been given adequate attention or are not sufficiently present in the social consciousness. What is more, the supposedly problematic features of the current approach to monuments and memorial sites – their commercialisation for tourism – may in many cases appear to be profanation for good reasons, but they can also provide new impetus for monument culture and contribute to its productive development.'

For reasons of historical truth and morality, it is unacceptable to construct a community of victims in the East in a memorial, given the German-Soviet complicity in the destruction of the Polish state and the murderous terrorisation of the Polish civilian population between 1939 and 1941, but also in view of the Sovietisation of Poland after 1945. Such a gesture would be meaningless.

The deputy director of the Warsaw Uprising Museum, Paweł Ukiński, expressed this unambiguously and on behalf of most of his compatriots in an article for the FAZ: 'In fact, the Slavic peoples were treated very differently. The occupation regime in Poland differed from that in the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia," and some of the Slavic peoples were allies of the Third Reich – Slovaks, Croats, Bulgarians, not to mention the Soviet Union in the years 1939 to 1941. There is no common denominator for the fates of the Slavs in the Second World War, and all attempts to communalise them must seem

artificial. [...] To deprive the victims of the characteristic that caused them to lose their lives can be perceived as yet another attempt to rob them of their identity. This portrayal could also be perceived as condescending towards those peoples whose victims are to be remembered: they are not taken seriously as subjects, but thrown into a sack labelled ‘everything that happened in the East back then.’

Taking up the claim that monuments and symbolic gestures are outdated, especially among history teachers, Martin Schulze Wessel, professor of Eastern and South-Eastern European history at the University of Munich, wrote in an article in the FAZ in June 2020: ‘No other form of communication has such a powerful symbolic force as the monument. It refers to the past and at the same time has significance for the future. Politicians seem to understand this better than some cultural scientists.’

The fact that we Germans are obviously extremely difficult to move when it comes to meaningful gestures, or simply do not want to understand them, was proven in an embarrassingly shameful way in the handling of the 80th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland in 2019. Despite a public debate about a memorial to Poland that had been going on for almost two years and a certain degree of awareness in political circles in Berlin, indifference proved overwhelming and historical amnesia hardly broken. No official public commemoration was planned by the federal authorities. Parliament was still in its summer recess. The Federal President travelled to Wielun and Warsaw at the invitation of his Polish counterpart. Emptiness in Berlin. [...] Back in spring 2019, Christoph von Marschall, diplomatic correspondent for the *Tagesspiegel* newspaper, lamented: ‘[...] Germany is stumbling into anniversaries such as the 80th anniversary of the invasion of Poland in September and the 75th anniversary of the surrender next May ill-prepared. Discussions about what gesture the Germans want to make to the Poles on 1 September 2019 have begun far too late and too timidly.’

Wolfgang Schäuble, President of the Bundestag and keenly aware of historical politics, saved the day for the time being by inviting his Polish counterpart to join him in the commemoration planned by the German Poland Institute (DPI) at noon on 1 September in front of the ruins of the Anhalter Bahnhof on Askanischer Platz. The Marshal of the Sejm agreed to come to Berlin. Thus, what had been spontaneously decided in May 2019 at a regular meeting of the DPI in Darmstadt as a grassroots initiative became a public commemoration with political significance. It was a symbolic and impressive event under the summer sky.

The importance of eyewitness testimony in transforming the communicative memory of survivors into the cultural memory of their descendants, a manifestation of what a memorial is meant to be, became palpable when 91-year-old Zbigniew Anthony Kruszewski, an active participant in the Warsaw Uprising, gave a short, stirring speech to those attending the memorial event in front of the station ruins, recounting his experiences in August and September 1944.

Political blockade continues

Although the President of the Bundestag expressed optimism on 1 September 2019 that an absolute majority of Bundestag members would soon be won over to the idea of a Polish memorial, resistance proved unusually stubborn in the face of the ‘impending’ success of the memorial initiative.

The doggedness and outright aversion to individual recognition of the murdered citizens of Poland were disturbing, while the supporters of a Polish memorial had no objections to documentation and education about German violence in the East or to individual recognition of other victim nations. On the contrary, they even called for individual gestures of empathy, including memorial sites or monuments for the victims in Belarus, Ukraine, Russia and elsewhere, to be considered once the historical reappraisal and in-depth dialogue and discourse with other nations had progressed as far as between Germans and Poles. The feared inflation of memorials would therefore not occur because the chronological processes and debates with other societies would have to develop their own dynamics.

A historic decision

After tough negotiations and with the intention of achieving a cross-party consensus, a good year later, on 30 October 2020, the Bundestag voted in favour of the motion entitled: ‘Doing justice to the

character of German-Polish history with a place of remembrance and encounter and contributing to the deepening of the special bilateral relations,' The Bundestag called on the Federal Government

'to create a place in a prominent location in Berlin that, in the context of the special German-Polish relationship, is dedicated to the Polish victims of the Second World War and the Nazi occupation of Poland and is a place of encounter and engagement with history. It should bring Germans and Poles together and thus contribute to deepening our relations, to understanding and friendship, and to breaking down prejudices; – to develop a suitable concept in cooperation with Polish and German experts from academia and civil society, including the German Poland Institute, and to include space for civil society activities such as youth work, political education, encounters, etc. in the site to be created.'

The Bundestag resolution outlined a rather vague and open to interpretation, even misleading, framework for filling the gap in German historical knowledge about Poland and for showing respect and appreciation for the victims of Poland in the Second World War. From the few guidelines provided by the German parliament, it would have been possible, if politically desired, to develop a concept within a reasonable period of time that would have met the basic concerns of the civil society initiative for a Polish memorial and the corresponding expectations in Poland.

... if that was really what the politicians in the German capital wanted! That was in the year 2020.

What happened next?

Let's fast forward the film – four more years!

1 September 2024 – 85 years ago, the German Wehrmacht invaded Poland, triggering the Second World War. This marked the beginning of almost six years of tyranny in the occupied country, the aim of which was the destruction of the Polish nation and culture, the lives of millions of Polish people and the Holocaust of Polish and European Jews in German concentration and extermination camps on occupied Polish soil.

On this anniversary, no temporary memorial to the victims of German occupation in Poland was erected on the site of the former Kroll Opera House during an open-air 'commemorative gathering.' Instead, an information board about the Kroll Opera House was unveiled, accompanied by the laying of flowers without dedication.

The *Tygodnik Powszechny*, the respected Catholic weekly newspaper from Krakow, had used the image of the 'Polish phantom in Berlin' in its edition a year earlier (2 September 2023), focusing on the state of plans for a memorial to the victims of German occupation in Poland, commonly known as the 'Polish Memorial.'

The weekly newspaper had been prompted to use the phantom image by two events in 2023: the presentation of a 'key issues paper' by Culture Minister Claudia Roth on 29 August and a memorial event on 1 September 2023 at the site of the former Kroll Opera House in Berlin's Tiergarten, where the aforementioned event was also held a year later. It was here that Adolf Hitler announced the invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939. Neither at the press conference nor at the open-air gathering in 2023 was the word 'monument' mentioned.

A look back

Seven years had now passed since the civil society initiative led by the former president of the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning, Florian Mausbach, the former presidents of the Bundestag, Rita Süßmuth and Wolfgang Thierse, and the then directors of the Topography of Terror, Andreas Nachama, and the German Poland Institute, Dieter Bingen, had addressed an appeal to the German Bundestag and the German public at the Federal Press Conference on 15 November 2017 to erect a memorial in the centre of Berlin to the victims of the German occupation of Poland from 1939 to 1945.

It was indeed encouraging that, following the Bundestag resolution of 30 October 2020, a group of German and Polish experts, appointed by Foreign Minister Heiko Maas and moderated by the former ambassador to Warsaw, Rolf Nikel, quickly agreed on a concept for a 'place of remembrance and encounter with Poland' based on two core elements: *a memorial as a "central element"* and a place of enlightenment, education and encounter. The significance of the project was underlined by the fact that it was personally presented by Foreign Minister Maas on 15 September 2021 in the Weltsaal of the Foreign Office.

Signs of delaying tactics

After the federal elections in autumn 2021 and the takeover of the project by the State Minister of Culture and Media, the process of implementing the German Bundestag's mandate came to a standstill. Just before another anniversary of the German invasion of Poland, a 'key issues paper' was presented at the end of August 2023, which the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe had been commissioned to draft together with the German Poland Institute. The key issues paper now officially referred to a 'German-Polish House,' within the conceptual framework of which a 'memorial sign' (in the literal sense) was also to find a place.

Disappointed by the course of the discussion, the initial signatories of the November 2017 appeal stated that the German-Polish House in Berlin should include, as a priority, the creation of a place of remembrance, commemoration and symbolic tribute to the victims, as part of the uncontroversial bundling of two essential provisions. It should be an artistically valuable monument that evokes emotion, which should say nothing about its sheer volume, but a memorial and not an installation or a 'memorial sign.' The second concern of the initiative was to take into account the relentless **factor of time**.

To maintain credibility: recommendation of a temporary visible sign (memorial stone) on 1 September 2024

For this reason, the so-called 'Memorial Initiative' (Rita Süßmuth, Wolfgang Thierse, Florian Mausbach, Andreas Nachama, Dieter Bingen) proposed in an open letter dated 27 September 2023 to Foreign Minister Baerbock and State Minister of Culture Claudia Roth that, on 1 September 2024, the 85th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland and the start of the Second World War, 'to erect a temporary visible sign of remembrance, commemoration and appreciation that points to the future memorial in the centre of Berlin.' And further: 'Let us give the last witnesses of German occupation the opportunity to at least experience the symbolic laying of the foundation stone for a place of remembrance and encounter with Poland in Berlin. It is a matter of preserving the *credibility* and *reliability* of German policy towards Poland with regard to dealing with the past, with regard to the present state of bilateral relations and with regard to a shared future worth living in a free Europe.'

It was about seizing a last opportunity to bring together the generation of surviving victims and the generation for whom the Second World War lies in the distant past in a shared space of remembrance and dialogue, and to address the gesture of symbolic tribute **to survivors**.

However, in view of the approaching 85th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland, the German Bundestag did not feel able to hold a ceremony. On the occasion of the 75th anniversary, the then Polish President Bronisław Komorowski had addressed the Bundestag. On the 80th anniversary, a moving memorial service took place against the impressive backdrop of the Anhalter Bahnhof, at which, as mentioned above, a 92-year-old survivor of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, the American political scientist of Polish origin Zbigniew Anthony Kruszewski, spoke. Five years later, the Bundestag administration remembered: the Bundestag – what a surprise – was still on summer break on 1 September 2024, and state elections were scheduled to be held in three federal states on that very day. Such thoughtlessness was hard to believe, but it was obviously not addressed by politicians, society or the media. Two months before the originally planned Bundestag event, the 96-year-old professor who was to be the guest speaker had to be disinvited because it was deemed unreasonable to expect him to speak on a green meadow under unpredictable weather conditions.

The circumstances, which were rather unworthy of the day of remembrance, prompted the five initial signatories of the appeal for the erection of a memorial to the victims of the German occupation of Poland in 1939–1945 to take what is provisionally their last initiative, approaching the Senate Chancellery (Berlin is the owner of the site of the former Kroll Opera House) with the following request: In autumn 2024, in the context of the 85th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland, a memorial stone with a dedication should be erected on the site of the former Kroll Opera House. The letter to the Senate Chancellery stated: 'The Polish memorial within the conceptual framework of the German-Polish House will be a long time coming. Time is recognised as a major factor. The

last eyewitnesses to the horrors of that time are passing away. Therefore, a dignified symbolic sign of empathy and remembrance is the least that can be expected of us Germans. (...) We are now envisaging a 1.80-metre-high, four-sided stele on a square base measuring 40 x 40 cm, with marble or granite as the suggested material. Proposed inscription: **'To the victims of German tyranny in Poland 1939–1945'** – **'Ofiarom niemieckiej okupacji w Polsce w latach 1939–1945.'**

The 'Memorial Stone' project was financially secured in mid-September 2024 by the commitment of a large German trade association to cover the costs and by the willingness of a renowned Berlin stonemasonry company to create the memorial.

Immediately after the Senate Chancellery gave its welcome approval of the initiative and its financial backing was secured through a donation, the initial signatories approached the Federal Government (AA, BKM) with a request for support for the citizens' initiative. Six weeks later, on 7 November 2024, the day the traffic light (red-yellow-green) coalition collapsed, the initiators received a letter from the State Minister Claudia Roth announcing that the Bundestag would be dealing with the Federal Government's draft resolution on the German-Polish House (DPH) / Polish Memorial, which the BKM did not intend to pre-empt. However, the announcement was already obsolete on the day the letter was sent, because the DPH issue had been removed from the Bundestag's agenda at short notice, as the Polish chargé d'affaires *ad interim* in Berlin, Ambassador Jan Tombiński, was informed by telephone. The issue had been postponed due to new circumstances. A disgrace.

It should be noted that, to name but a few, the Federal Government's Representative for Poland, Dietmar Nietan, and the German Consuls General in Gdańsk (Cornelia Pieper) and Wrocław (Martin Kremer) had always been sympathetic to the idea of a temporary Polish memorial stone.

It can be assumed that Ambassador Jan Tombiński, in view of the shortening of the legislative period and the de facto paralysis of the Bundestag and the Federal Government's ability to act on Polish policy, would very much welcome the initiative to erect a temporary Polish memorial stone as a reminder of what has been neglected so far and in view of the increasingly important time factor.

The Berlin Senate, owner of the site of the former Kroll Opera House, should have felt encouraged to act and send a long overdue signal by giving the green light for a Polish memorial stone. It is certainly not presumptuous to assume that the Polish representative in Berlin would be present at the inauguration.

The initiative to erect a temporary memorial stone in September 2024 was initially blocked in November 2024. At the turn of the year 2024/25, there was new movement on the issue. The Berlin Senate is once again taking up the initiative to erect a temporary Polish memorial.

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TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT
IN DER KULTURHAUPTSTADT EUROPAS
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UNIVERSITÄT
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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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Kulturpolitik gegen den Strich (Volume I, German version)

Festschrift für Matthias Theodor Vogt zum 65. Geburtstag

herausgegeben von seinen Kollegen und Schülern

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Table of Contents

Bingen, Dieter (Köln), Stefan Garsztecki (Chemnitz), Goro Christoph Kimura (Tokyo), Luigi Ferrara (Neapel), Peter Lah (Rom), Beat Siebenhaar (Leipzig) and the other editors: <i>Listening, Considering, Acting, Introduction by the editors</i>	1
Gemkow, Sebastian (Dresden): <i>Letter of congratulations from the Minister of State for Science and the Arts to Matthias Theodor Vogt</i>	7
Sedleniece, Una (Riga): <i>Greetings from the former students of "Culture and Management Görlitz"</i>	9
Rößler, Matthias (Dresden): <i>Greeting message from State Parliament President Dr Matthias Rößler on the occasion of the conference 'Against the grain – cultural policy in history and present-day Saxony' on 24 May 2024 in Görlitz</i>	11
Kimura, Goro Christoph (Tokyo) 木村 護郎クリストフ: <i>Greeting from Tokyo for the conference 'Against the Grain', Görlitz, 24 May 2024</i>	13
30 years of Saxony's Cultural Area Act and Saxony 2025 ff.	
Zimmermann, Reiner (Dresden): <i>Cultural policy crossing thread and stitch</i> <i>Matthias Theodor Vogt's contribution to the Saxon Cultural Area Act</i>	15
Meyer, Stephan (Görlitz): <i>Outline of current problems and expectations of municipal cultural policy in Saxony</i>	19
Vogt, Matthias Theodor (Görlitz): <i>Trust and confidence - Cultural policy in Saxony 2024–2029 in the Kretschmer III cabinet</i>	23
Ferrara, Luigi (Neapel): <i>The Saxon Cultural Areas Act as a model for Italian legislation?</i>	47
Franke, Annemarie (Görlitz): <i>Contemporary witnesses in dialogue: 30 years of the Saxon Cultural Areas Act in Upper Lusatia</i>	89
Inspirations from history, present and theory	
Vogt-Spira, Gregor (Marburg): <i>Augustus and the 'invention' of cultural policy</i>	99
Róžańska, Róża Zuzanna (Krakau): <i>Royal Cultural Policy of the Baroque Era: Artistic Patronage and Governance</i>	105
Bracher, Andreas (Wien): <i>The Golden Age of German Literature and Philosophy—from a cultural policy perspective. An outline</i>	139
Lombardi, Luca (Rom): <i>Construction of joy</i>	153
Garsztecki, Stefan (Chemnitz): <i>Province Occurs in the Minds of Men</i>	161
Fujino, Kazuo (Kobe): <i>The peer pressure of the "world" in Japan during the coronavirus pandemic and the role of art and culture</i>	173
Sterbling, Anton (Fürth): <i>How much politics can art tolerate? Ideology-critical reflections on cultural policy</i>	185
Havelka, Miloš (Prag): <i>How does order exist? On an antinomy in the foundations of our modern consciousness</i>	197
Forte, Pierpaolo (Benevento): <i>Cultural Production - Considerations on Cultural Enterprise Qualities</i>	205
Vill, Susanne (Wien): <i>Cultural Work Against Poverty in Old Age</i>	211
Bingen, Dieter (Köln): <i>Think about Poland! On hold, on hold, on hold - A chronicle 2017-2025</i>	229
Simo, David (Yaounde) in conjunction with Nana Komey Daniel and Salamatou: <i>Royal and ritual objects in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Strategies and models for dealing with cultural discontinuities.</i> <i>Outline of a postcolonial and decolonial culture of remembrance and cultural policy.</i>	239
Pfeil, Beate Sibylle (Freiburg): <i>Minorities in three classes - Current language policy in Ukraine</i>	249
Fujino, Kazuo (Kobe): <i>Politics and Aporia Surrounding Cultural Diversity: A Japanese Analysis of Minority Cultural Rights and of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions</i>	259
Reisner, Oliver (Tiflis): <i>Georgian students in Germany 1874–1945</i>	269
Contributions by Matthias Theodor Vogt, the jubilarian	
Vogt, Matthias Theodor (Görlitz): <i>How Japan could play the 'Ryūkyū card' from a cultural policy perspective in response to Xi Jinping's imperialism. Report from the Ryūkyū Archipelago</i>	283
Vogt, Matthias Theodor (Görlitz) マティアス・テオドア・フォークト: 日本は習近平の帝国主義に対して文化政策の観点から「琉球カード」をどう使うか—琉球列島からの報告	315
Vogt, Matthias Theodor (Görlitz): <i>The Corona Juventicide. Political immunosenescence due to distorted census weight at the expense of young age cohorts</i>	347
Fujino, Kazuo (Kobe): フォークト教授の論文「コロナ対策が引き起こした未成年者の『過失致死』について—若年層を犠牲にした国勢調査の歪んだ比重による政治的免疫老化—」に対するビアレビュー	395
Vogt, Matthias Theodor (Görlitz) マティアス・テオドア・フォークト: コロナ対策が引き起こした未成年者の「過失致死」について—若年層を犠牲にした国勢調査の歪んだ比重による政治的免疫老化—	397
Vogt, Matthias Theodor (Görlitz): <i>List of publications 1979-2025</i>	445
Documentation of the conference and art night 24 May 2024 Görlitz	
Documentation of the conference 30 Years of IKS on 24 May 2024	477
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	485
About the authors	491

Dieter Bingen et al. (Editor): *Cultural Policy against the Grain* - liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honour of his 65th birthday, edited by his colleagues and students (Volume 2, English version), ISBN 978-3-96100-250-4 (online), Universitätsverlag Chemnitz. Chemnitz, Tokyo, Napoli, Roma, Leipzig 2025

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

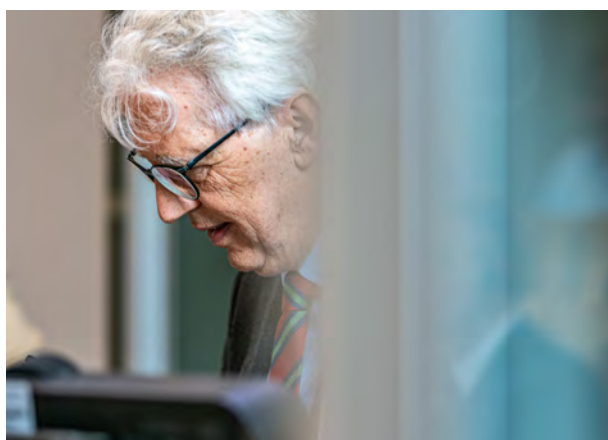
(4) Impulses: External suggestions for Saxony's cultural policy

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/_XavYiqjEi0?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



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

(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/>

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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 Bärman 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

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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]
- Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2021f): *Elemente einer Sozioökonomie der Frauen in Kamerun. Text und fünfzig kommentierte Graphiken*. In: Vogt et al: *Katalog Kamerun mit den Augen von tausend Frauen, Görlitz 2021*, S. 127-244. | *Elements of a socio-economy of women in Cameroon. Text and fifty annotated graphs*. In: Vogt et al: *Katalog Kamerun mit den Augen von tausend Frauen, Görlitz 2021*, S. 245-356.
- Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2022a): *The Corona Juventocide. 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 (Classe A)*, Università degli Studi di Roma “Foro Italico” <http://www.amministrativamente.com/index.php/formez/issue/view/836>. [The German version in this volume]
- Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2023): *Umgang mit Unterschieden. In Vorbereitung von Forschung zu einer enkulturativen Pflegestrategie in der dreifachen Peripherie von Ostsachsen, Niederschlesien und Nordost-Böhmen*. [Deutsche Fassung von: Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2023): *Managing Difference. Preliminary Research to an Enculturational Care Strategy in the Triple Periphery of Eastern Saxony, Lower Silesia and North-Eastern Bohemia*. In: Koltai, Zsuzsa; Vogt, Matthias Theodor (editors): *Cross-cultural resilience building / Interkulturelle Resilienz stärken*. Tudásmenedzsment 2023/ special issue #3, Pécs University].
- Miguoué, Jean-Bertrand (2023): *Einführung*. In: Vogt, Matthias Theodor, Schreiter, Nathalie; Mandakh, Namuundari; Miguoué, Jean-Bertrand (2023): *Interkulturelles Erwartungsmanagement von Ankommenden, Stadtbevölkerung und Pflegeteams. Bericht über das Forschungsseminar zum Projekt Interkulturelles Jahr Pflege im Master Studiengang Kultur und Management*. Sommersemester 2023, Hochschule Zittau/Görlitz. [\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Vogt-Miguoue-Schreiter-Namundaari-Interkulturelles-Erwartungsmanagement-2023-10-30.pdf\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Vogt-Miguoue-Schreiter-Namundaari-Interkulturelles-Erwartungsmanagement-2023-10-30.pdf)

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藤野一夫(神戸):神戸大学大学院国際文化学研究科名誉教授、兵庫県立芸術文化観光専門職大学副学長を経て名誉教授。専門は文化政策/アートマネジメント/音楽文化論/ドイツ思想史。特にリヒャルト・ワーグナーに関する数多くの著作を発表。コレギウム・ポンテスのシニアフェローも務めた。日本文化政策学会会長(2022-2025)を歴任し、国と地方自治体の数多くの文化審議会の座長、文化振興財団等の理事を務める。最近の著書に『基礎自治体の文化政策～まちにアートが必要なわけ』(2019)、『市民がつくる社会文化～ドイツの理念・運動・政策』(2021)、『みんなの文化政策講義～文化的コモンズをつくるために』(2022)などがある。

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Political scientist. From 1983 to 1989 he studied political science (major subject), modern and contemporary history and cultural geography (minor subjects) at the University of Bonn (Magister Artium in political science). From 1989 to 1994 he held a doctoral scholarship from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. After completing his doctorate in political science in 1995 with Klaus Ziemer and Kurt Düwell at the University of Trier, he holds the Chair of Cultural and Area Studies at Chemnitz University of Technology since 2010.

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Minister of State for Science, Culture and Tourism of the Free State of Saxony since 2019. Studied law at the universities of Leipzig, Hamburg and Berlin, completed his legal training in Leipzig with the first and second state examinations. In 2007, he established himself as a lawyer in Leipzig, has been a member of the Saxon State Parliament since 2009 and President of the Parliamentary Forum for Central and Eastern Europe since 2010. In 2014, he became Honorary Consul of the Republic of Estonia for Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. From 2014 to 2019, he was Saxon State Minister of Justice.

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Professor at the Faculty of Humanities at Charles University. His main areas of interest are questions of historical sociology of knowledge, theories of historiography and sociology, and the history of modern Czech thought. In 2002 and 2004/05, he was a visiting professor at the Institute for European Studies at Chemnitz University of Technology. In addition to numerous studies in domestic and foreign journals, he has published, among other things, the annotated two-volume anthology *Der Streit um die Bedeutung der tschechischen Geschichte* (The Dispute over the Meaning of Czech History), a collection of studies on historical sociology of knowledge *Ideen – Geschichte – Gesellschaft* (Ideas – History – Society), a collection of his polemical and critical texts *Geschichte und Kritik* (History and Criticism), and the anthology *Glaube, Kultur und Gesellschaft* (Faith, Culture, and Society). He is co-editor of the monograph series *Religious Cultures in Modern Europe*, published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Prof. Dr. Goro Christoph Kimura (Tokyo) 木村 護郎 クリストフ (東京)

graduated from Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo in 2002 with a dissertation entitled *Perspectives on human intervention for the preservation and revitalisation of minority languages*. He has been employed at Sophia University in Tokyo since 2004. He has been an associate professor since 2007 and a full professor at Sophia University since 2012 and is currently Dean of the Faculty of Foreign Studies. He has worked as a visiting professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Centre of Hokkaido University in Sapporo and as a visiting scholar at the Sorbian Institute (Bautzen), the European University Viadrina, the University of Leipzig and the Collegium PONTES Görlitz-Zgorzelec-Zhořelec. Kimura has been a board member and managing director of the Japan Society for the Study of Slavic Languages and Literatures since 2022.

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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Luca Lombardi is one of his country's most internationally renowned composers. After graduating from the German School in Rome with Dr. Joseph Vogt, he studied in Rome, Vienna, Cologne, Utrecht and Berlin (with B.A. Zimmermann, K. Stockhausen and P. Dessau, among others). He received his doctorate in German studies from the University of Rome. From 1973 to 1994, he was professor of composition at the conservatories in Pesaro and Milan, and has been a freelance composer ever since. He

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Studied industrial engineering and economics. In 2006, he completed his studies with a thesis on *Energy efficiency comparison in the manufacturing industry for Germany, Poland, and the Czech Republic*. In 2007, he obtained the qualification of European Energy Manager (IHK Bildungszentrum). He received his doctorate in 2011 with a thesis on *Decision-making model for value chain-oriented emission reduction in transition countries*. He worked at SEC Energie-Contracting, at Nokia in Espoo, Finland, and was a guest lecturer at the German-Kazakh University in Almaty. He joined the Junge Union in 1998 and has been politically active ever since, currently as deputy CDU district chairman in the district of Görlitz. From 2009 to 2022, he was a member of the Saxon State Parliament, chairman of the Committee for Science and Higher Education, and parliamentary secretary of the CDU parliamentary group. Since September 2022 he is *Landrat* of the shire county Görlitz.

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Since 2016, Oliver Reisner has been Jean Monnet Professor of European and Caucasian Studies at Ilia State University, teaching bachelor's, master's and doctoral students with a focus on European Studies and Caucasian Studies. In 2000, he received his doctorate from Georg August University in Göttingen, Germany, in Eastern European History, Slavic Studies, and Medieval and Modern History. From 2000 to 2003, he developed and coordinated a master's programme in Central Asia/Caucasus at the Institute for Central Asian Studies at Humboldt University in Berlin. From 2003 to 2005, he worked as a programme manager for human rights at World Vision Georgia, implementing a project on civil integration in the Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions of Georgia. From 2005 to 2015, he was a project manager at the EU Delegation to Georgia, responsible for democratisation, minorities, education, youth, labour and social affairs. Main research topics: 1) Nation building and identity in the Caucasus in the 19th and 20th centuries; 2) Memory studies on dealing with the Soviet past in Georgia and the Caucasus; 3) History of Caucasian studies as a regional science; and 4) The role of religion in Georgia.

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Beat Siebenhaar is a linguist and dialectologist specialising in the study of linguistic varieties, language in the new media, prosody and dialectology. He studied German, philosophy and literary criticism at the University of Zurich from 1983 to 1991 and received his doctorate in German linguistics in 1999 with a dissertation entitled *Sprachvariation, Sprachwandel und Einstellung. Der Dialekt der Stadt Aarau in der Labilitätszone zwischen Zürcher und Berner Mundartraum*. He holds the Chair of German Linguistics (specialising in linguistics of varieties) at the University of Leipzig since 2008. Before that, he worked at the University of Zurich, the University of Bern and the University of Lausanne, among others. Siebenhaar has been Dean of the Faculty of Philology at the University of Leipzig since October 2016 till October 2025.

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Managing director of the Saxonian Institute for Cultural Infrastructures (<https://kultur.org/>), professor emeritus at the Zittau/Görlitz University, honorary professor at the University of Pécs and Doctor iuris honoris causa of Ilia University, Tbilisi. Master of Arts in Theatre Studies with a focus on modern German literature and philosophy in Munich, Paris and Aix-en-Provence. Doctorate in musicology. Habilitation in urban studies. Visiting professor at universities and music academies in Vienna, Prague, Wrocław, Krakow, Dresden, Boston, Yaounde, Cairo, Ulaanbaatar, Shanghai, Kobe and Toyooka, as well as at the Pontifical Gregorian University and the Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas, both in Rome. Theatre experience at Moscow, Russe, Vienna, Salzburg, Venice, Milan, Rome, among others. Research interests: cultural policy and art policy, cultural history including medical history, minorities. Has taught at 60 universities in Europe, Africa, Asia and North America.

マティアス=テオドル・フォークト (ゲルリッツ)

は、ザクセン州文化インフラ研究所(<https://kultur.org/>)の所長兼経営責任者、ツィッタウ/ゲルリッツ高等専門学校名誉教授、ペッチ大学名誉教授、ティビリシのイリア大学名誉法学博士です。ミュンヘン、パリ、Aix-en-Provenceで演劇学、現代ドイツ文学、哲学の修士号を取得。音楽学の博士号を取得。都市計画学のハビリタツィオンを取得。ウィーン、プラハ、ヴロツワフ、クラクフ、ドレスデン、ボストン、ヤウンデ、カイロ、ウランバートル、上海、神戸、豊岡の大学および音楽大学、ならびにローマのグレゴリアナ大学とアンジェリカム大学で客員教授を歴任。演劇経験：モスクワ、ルッセ、ウィーン、ザルツブルク、ベネチア、ミラノ、ローマなど。研究分野：文化政策と芸術政策、文化史(医学史を含む)、少数民族。ヨーロッパ、アフリカ、アジア、北米の60の大学で教鞭を執る。

Dr. phil. Reiner Zimmermann (Dresden)

Former head of department, born in Neustadt/Orla, Thuringia. 1960–1965 Studied musicology, art history, and theater studies in Leipzig, editor at the music publishing house Editions Peters Leipzig/Dresden 1966–1985, music theater dramaturge at the Dresden Music Festival 1986–1991, 1991 to 2003 Head of the Art Department at the Saxon State Ministry of Science and the Arts. Publications include *Mehr Sein als Scheinen. Kulturpolitik in Sachsen nach 1990* (Donatus-Verlag, Niederjahna/Käbschütztal, 2022). Editor of musical works by Mendelssohn, Fauré, Debussy, Meyerbeer, and others; editor of the musical

writings of Camille Saint-Saens and the autobiography of Jules Massenet. Author of *Giacomo Meyerbeer - Biografie nach Dokumenten* (Giacomo Meyerbeer - Biography Based on Documents), 1991. Since 2009, editor-in-chief of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Dresden* (Monuments of Music in Dresden). See also *Viele Stimmen. Festschrift für Reiner Zimmermann zum 75. Geburtstag am 27. November 2016*, published by his friends.



TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT
IN DER KULTURHAUPTSTADT EUROPAS
CHEMNITZ



UNIVERSITÄT
LEIPZIG



上智大学
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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