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Minorities in three classes

Current language policy in Ukraine

This article provides a brief overview of the key elements of Ukraine's current language policy, which is closely linked to the country's political orientation. The aim is not to provide an exhaustive description of the legal situation, but rather to outline the prevailing legal trend, which is illustrated by particularly vivid examples and is intended to encourage further in-depth examination of the issues raised.

1. Ukraine's language policy: key factors

Ukraine is the second largest country in Europe in terms of area and ranks eighth in terms of population with just under 38 million inhabitants.¹ Its geographical location, between the Russian Federation and the four EU member states of Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary, among others, also testifies to its geopolitical importance.

A total of 17 languages are “traditionally” spoken by Ukrainian citizens on the territory of Ukraine, thus corresponding to the definition of such languages enshrined in Article 1a of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (hereinafter referred to as the Language Charter).² Ukraine has explicitly subjected 13 of these languages³ to the additional, more specifically formulated protection of Part III (Articles 8–14) of the Language Charter.⁴ The remaining four languages, Karaim and Krymchak, which are mainly spoken in Crimea, as well as Romani and Ruthenian, are “only” to be protected in accordance with the more general provisions of Part II (Article 7) of the Charter, in accordance with the Charter's system.⁵ The 17 minority languages of Ukraine can cautiously be assigned to 16 traditional national minorities, provided that their members are also committed to preserving their ethnic, linguistic or cultural specificities.⁶ These traditional national minorities alone account for more than 20% of the total population.⁷ In addition, there are other “nationalities and ethnic groups” living in Ukraine; according to the last census in 2001, there were over 130.⁸ This makes Ukraine one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse countries in Europe.⁹ With over 8 million members (2001) and approximately 18% of

1 The Russian Federation is included among the listing of countries in Europe (see Statista 2025).

2 Art. 1a Language Charter: “For the purposes of this Charter: (a) the term ‘regional or minority languages’ means languages (i) which are traditionally used in a given area of a State by persons belonging to that State who form a group smaller in number than the rest of the population of the State, and (ii) which are different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of immigrants.”

3 Bulgarian, German, Gagauz, Greek, Yiddish, Crimean Tatar, Moldovan, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Slovak, Hungarian, Belarusian

4 For such selected languages, the signatories to the Charter must, in accordance with Art. 3.1 and Art. 2.2 of the Language Charter, select at least 35 of the approximately 100 paragraphs and subparagraphs of Art. 8-14, following certain rules (known as the *à la carte system*). The selection made for each language is recorded in Ukraine's instrument of ratification, which was deposited on 19 September 2005 (*LC Report on Ukraine 2010*, 98).

5 See LC Report on Ukraine 2010, Nos. 50-52, No. 64 (Ruthenian); on Ruthenian, see also LC Report on Ukraine 2014, Nos. 10, 37.

6 For the definition of the term “national minority” used here, which is based, among other things, on soft law under international law, see Pan/Pfeil/Videsott 2016, XXXI-XXXVI. Two of the 17 languages protected by the Language Charter, Krymchak and Yiddish, are spoken by members of the Jewish community, so this could be either two different minorities or one minority with two languages. Here, too, the respective will is decisive. It should also be noted that, in addition to language, ethnic and cultural or even religious characteristics alone can theoretically constitute a minority status.

7 Pfeil 2016, 204. However, based on Z 2001 and updated in 2011, where figures were available. More recent census projects have not yet been implemented.

8 FCNM Opinion on Ukraine 2017, No. 29 (footnote 21).

9 Pan/Pfeil/Videsott 2016, 33–34.

[...] completely different problems were at the forefront than the situation and legal status of minorities in Ukraine. The primary issues were the language question or the Russification of Ukraine, re-Ukrainisation and the role of the numerically very strong “new minority” of Russians, who – when considering the language problem – would be considered part of the linguistic majority [...].¹⁵

In 2005, Ortfried Kotzian stated the following about the fundamental problems of independent Ukraine:

A fault line runs through the country [...]. The line is less ethnically determined and more linguistically defined. “Ukrainian is spoken in the west, where there is a strong sense of national identity; Russian is spoken in the east, and Moscow is still considered the political epicentre.”¹⁶

According to Kotzian, the Russian national minority in the early days of independent Ukraine thus played a special role in that it only became a minority as a result of the new border demarcation, and therefore initially developed little sense of identity and, together with the Russian-speaking Ukrainians, considered itself to be “supporting the state”.¹⁷ In addition, due to the Russification policy of the Soviet era alone, the number of Russian speakers still exceeds that of ethnic Russians today¹⁸ and includes both ethnic Ukrainians and members of national minorities, as well as people with “multiple identities”.¹⁹

In addition to the linguistic “fault line” described above, which is not easy to define, there is the tension that has prevailed in Ukraine since its independence between an ethnic concept of nationhood that emphasises re-Ukrainisation, especially in western Ukraine, and a political concept of nationhood that tends to be more inclusive of minorities.²⁰ Another related area of tension arises from the ideological foreign policy orientation of western Ukraine towards the EU and the US, which contrasts with the discernible orientation of the east and Russian-speaking areas towards Moscow.

It should be noted that Ukraine’s religious map is at least as complex as its linguistic,²¹ and it also forms an important backdrop to all minority issues and their interaction with political developments in the country. The most recent example of this is the 2018 merger of two previously competing Orthodox churches to form the *Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kiev Patriarchate*. The independence of this new church was recognised in 2019 by Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople against the declared will of Patriarch Kirill of Moscow, with the ceremony taking place in the presence of the then Ukrainian President Poroshenko.²² This explains why the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, which has been ongoing since 2022, is also supported by the Russian Orthodox Church and its patriarch.

2. Ukraine’s language legislation: an overview

All these factors have also shaped and influenced Ukraine’s minority and language legislation since 1991 to a greater or lesser extent, leading to different results depending on the focus.

The “older generation” of these laws²³ explicitly or de facto granted the Russian language a privileged status, at least in relation to the other, smaller minority languages. The “Law on the Principles of State Language Policy” passed in 2012 was particularly controversial. At the time, the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe, in its assessment of a preliminary draft of this law, referred to the still unresolved issue of “sufficient guarantees for the consolidation of the Ukrainian language as the

15 Kotzian 2005, 34, emphasis added by the author.

16 Kotzian 2005, 33, Kotzian quotes Andrea Rehmsmeier 2004 here.

17 Kotzian 2005, 35

18 According to Z 2001, 67.5 % of the population identified Ukrainian as their native language and 29.6 % identified Russian as their native language, VC Opinion 2019, No. 17.

19 See FCNM Opinion on Ukraine 2017, Summary and No. 10 (“complex, multi-layered and multiple identities”).

20 See Kotzian 2005, 36. The Ukrainian Constitution of 28 June 1996 (hereinafter: Const.) was, after all, adopted “in the name of the Ukrainian people – citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities” (preamble). According to this, Ukrainian is the official language (Art. 10.1 Const.), while at the same time the free development, use and protection of **Russian** [emphasis added] and other languages of national minorities in Ukraine is guaranteed (Art. 10.3 Const.).

21 For example, special Catholicism, with the possibility of marriage for priests despite their affiliation with Rome and the election of bishops from monasteries, has survived to this day in *Waldukraine* in the south-western corner of present-day Ukraine. For more on this, see Vogt, Markus 2022a.

22 See Vogt, Markus 2022a. English version: Vogt, Markus 2022b.

23 These include the Language Act of 1989 and the Minority Act of 1992. This was followed by the State Language Act of 2012.

sole state language” and called for “an appropriate balance between the protection of minority rights on the one hand and the preservation of the state language as a means of integration into society on the other.”²⁴ The final version of the law also gave minority languages the opportunity to obtain the status of a “regional language” if the proportion of the relevant minority in Ukraine amounted to more than 10 % of the total population – which in practice only applied to Russian. As a result, Russian was recognised as a regional language in nine regions of Ukraine, meaning that it could be used in many areas of public (e.g. authorities, courts), social, economic, cultural and educational life (e.g. schools) on an almost equal footing with the state language.²⁵

A fundamental political turnaround took place at the end of 2013/beginning of 2014 in the wake of the so-called Euromaidan protests, as a result of which the pro-Russian Ukrainian President Yanukovich fled to Russia in February 2014. In May 2014, the pro-Western President Yushchenko took over the leadership. In 2019, passages were added to the Ukrainian constitution stating that Ukraine is committed to the “irreversibility of Ukraine’s European and Euro-Atlantic course” (preamble, para. 5) and to a “strategic course” for the state aimed at “achieving full membership of Ukraine in the European Union and NATO” (Art. 85.5, Art. 102.3 and Art. 106.1 of the Constitution).²⁶ The political change was almost inevitably also reflected in language legislation, and here too, the handling of the 2012 State Language Law provides a clear example. The Ukrainian parliament had already attempted to repeal the law in February 2014, but failed due to the refusal of the then president to sign the relevant repeal law.²⁷ In February 2018, the Ukrainian Constitutional Court declared the law unconstitutional on formal legal grounds.²⁸

The language and minority laws that heralded this new era include, in particular, the **Education Act** of 2017,²⁹ the **State Language Act (SLA)** of 2019,³⁰ the **Secondary Education Act** of 2020,³¹ the **Act on the Indigenous Peoples of Ukraine** of 2021³² (hereinafter referred to as the “**Indigenous Peoples Act**” **IndA**), and, finally, the **Minority Act**³³ and the **Media Act**, both of 2022.³⁴

Compared to the previous generation of laws, the focus of these new regulations has clearly shifted in favour of the official language in terms of language policy: the main aim is to protect Ukrainian, which has been severely suppressed in the past. From the perspective of international and minority law, this has been critically analysed on several occasions by the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe.³⁵ As a result, the Minority Act of 2022, for example, has already been amended twice, on 21 September and 8 December 2023. The other relevant laws were also repeatedly amended between 2021 and 2024.³⁶ This immediate response to the opinions of European expert committees in the sense of further adaptation to European standards can be explained not least by Ukraine’s official application for EU membership in 2022, for which the so-called Copenhagen accession criteria of 1993 also include the “respect and protection of minorities”.³⁷

24 VC Opinion 2011, Nos. 61–69, esp. 66, 62, 64.

25 For the whole, see VC Opinion 2019, Nos. 20–24, especially No. 21.

26 VC Opinion 2023a, No. 40.

27 For more information, see VC Opinion 2019, No. 20–24, in particular No. 22.

28 For more information, see VC Opinion 2019, No. 20–24, in particular No. 22.

29 *Law of Ukraine on Education* of 5 September 2017 (Bulletin of the Verkhovna Rada (BVR), 2017, No. 38–39, Article 380), last amended on 30 March 2021.

30 *Law of Ukraine on Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language* of 25 April 2019 (Bulletin Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy (BVR), 2019, No. 21, Art. 81), last amended on 10 October 2024.

31 *Law of Ukraine on Complete General Secondary Education* of 16 January 2020 (Vedomosti Verkhovna Rada (VVR), 2020, No. 31, p. 226), last amended on 29 October 2024.

32 *Law of Ukraine on Indigenous Peoples of Ukraine* dated 1 July 2021 (Vedomosti Verkhovna Rada (VVR), 2021, No. 38, p. 319), last amended on 13 December 2022.

33 *Law of Ukraine about National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine* of 13 December 2022 (Vedomosti Verkhovna Rada (VVR), 2023, No. 46, p. 114), last amended on 8 December 2023.

34 *Law of Ukraine on Media* of 13 December 2022 (Vedomosti Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VVR), 2023, No. 47–50, p. 120), last amended on 19 November 2024.

35 VC Opinion 2017, VC Opinion 2019, VC Opinion 2023a, VC Opinion 2023b.

36 See VC Note 2024 for comprehensive information on this topic.

37 The Copenhagen accession criteria were established by the European Council on 21 and 22 June 1993, cf. European Council 1993, No. 7.A.iii. See also Art. 49 and Art. 6.1 of the Treaty on European Union.

3. Ukraine's language legislation from an international and, above all, minority rights perspective

The following is a rough overview of Ukraine's language legislation from the perspective of international law:

3.1 Ukrainian language legislation first highlights a particular minority group, the so-called indigenous peoples of Ukraine. These are the subject of a separate law, the aforementioned "Law on the Indigenous Peoples of Ukraine" (hereinafter: Indigenous Peoples Law) of 1 July 2021. The "indigenous peoples" are defined abstractly in Article 1.1 of the Indigenous Peoples Act:

The indigenous peoples of Ukraine are [in each case] an autochthonous ethnic community that has formed on the territory of Ukraine, is the bearer of an original language and culture, has traditional, social, cultural or representative bodies, recognises itself as an autochthonous people of Ukraine, constitutes an ethnic minority within its population and has no state entity of its own outside Ukraine.³⁸

Article 1.2 of the Indigenous Peoples Act specifically names the indigenous peoples who have formed on the Crimean peninsula: the Crimean Tatars, Karaites and Krymchaks, whose numbers, according to the last census in 2001, were 248,000, 1,200 and 400 respectively.³⁹ The Indigenous Peoples Act not only grants the members of these peoples certain individual and positive protection rights (e.g. Article 3 of the Indigenous Peoples Act), but also grants these peoples as such legal personality and a right to self-determination, i.e. a collective legal status with their own organs (Articles 2 and 8 of the Indigenous Peoples Act). As a result, indigenous peoples are granted, for example, certain cultural rights (Art. 4 Indigenous Peoples Act), a right to sustainable development (Art. 7 Indigenous Peoples Act), a right to access financial and other resources, including from other states and international organisations (Art. 9 Indigenous Peoples Act) and, under certain conditions, a right to international representation (Art. 10 Indigenous Peoples Act). In addition, they have a right to establish their own educational institutions and media (Art. 5 and Art. 6 Indigenous Peoples Act). As a result, the peoples concerned have – at least in theory – rights that, in their collective legal dimension, even exceed the standards of international law that have applied to date.⁴⁰

However, it should be noted that all three "indigenous peoples" are largely settled in Crimea, which has been occupied by the Russian Federation since 2014; the law enacted in 2021 therefore targets an imaginary space outside the de facto political jurisdiction of Ukraine. As long as Ukrainian law applied between 1991 and 2013, Kiev did not enact any such special status law.

3.2 In contrast, Article 1.1(1) of the "Law on National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine" (hereinafter: MinL) of 13 December 2022 contains a broader definition of the term "**national minority**" that also serves to clarify the law:

National minority (community) of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as national minority (community)) – a permanent group of citizens of Ukraine who are not ethnic Ukrainians, live on the territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders, are linked by common ethnic, cultural, historical, linguistic and/or religious characteristics, are aware of their affiliati, and express a desire to preserve and develop their linguistic, cultural and religious identity. [...]⁴¹

The definition of a minority in the Ukrainian Minority Act corresponds to the legal practice of many Council of Europe member states and should in principle include "indigenous peoples". However, where a distinction is made between "indigenous peoples" and "national minorities", the relevant laws aim to treat these groups and their members differently.

The Minority Act also contains a number of provisions that clearly comply with the applicable standards of international and minority law, in particular those of the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (hereinafter: Framework Convention) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

38 Unofficial translation of the English version of the legal text (website of the Ukrainian Parliament).

39 Pfeil 2016, 204–205.

40 Minimum approaches to (also) collective minority protection can be found in Art. 15 of the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. For more details, see Pfeil 2006, 469.

41 Unofficial translation of the English version of the text of the law (website of the Ukrainian Parliament). The adjective "traditional" – in the sense of "traditionally living in the territory of Ukraine" – originally contained in the text of the law has been deleted in the current version.

Among the **provisions that should be highlighted** in this regard are the catalogue of rights contained in Article 5.2 of the MinL, which, in addition to general human rights⁴² and the fundamental right under international and human rights law to freely decide on membership of a national minority (Article 5.2 No. 1 MinL),⁴³ also includes language- and culture-specific rights.⁴⁴ Of central importance here is the right to freely use the minority language in various private and public law areas (Art. 5.2 No. 5, Art. 10 MinL). All rights in this catalogue are set out in more detail in Articles 6–12 MinL. Unlike the rights under the Indigenous Act, these rights are not granted to the collective, in this case the “indigenous peoples”, but to each individual “person belonging to a national minority (community)”. However, these rights may be exercised “individually or in community with others” (Art. 5.4 MinL). In addition, there are, among other things, the rights to equality and non-discrimination (Art. 4 MinL) and a prohibition of assiMinLation (Art. 3.2 and Art. 13.2 No. 7 MinL). Recently, the state has also been obliged to work towards the actual equality of opportunity for members of minorities in economic, social, political and cultural life (Art. 3.4 MinL) and to create the conditions for their effective participation in social and economic life and in public affairs (Art. 9.2 MinL), which, according to Art. 4.3 MinL, does not constitute discrimination (so-called positive discrimination).⁴⁵

3.3 It should also be mentioned, however, that Ukraine’s various minority-related laws contain **restrictions on individual human and minority rights in many areas of private life**. The Minority Law in particular only partially mitigates the problematic provisions of the State Language Law in this respect.

The problem can only be outlined in broad terms here, but it concerns, for example, the area of culture, which is also central to national minorities. Article 23.1 of the State Language Act (hereinafter: SSA) stipulates that the state “shall ensure the use of the state language in the field of culture”. Article 10.2 MinL provides for an exception for cultural, artistic and entertainment events as well as “spectacles” organised and held by or for members of minorities. Such events may be held in the respective minority language, but must be translated into the state language at the request of at least 20 visitors, provided that this request is made at least 72 hours before the start of the event. According to the State Language Act, however, the use of “other languages” is generally only possible – at considerable expense – alongside the state language, e.g. through translation or subtitles, as is the case with theatre performances at state or municipal theatres (Art. 23.4 SSA). In some areas, such as film posters and tickets for cinemas and other film screening facilities, the exclusive use of Ukrainian is even mandatory (Art. 23.7 SSA). In other areas, such as tourism (Art. 23.8 SSA) or international sporting events (Art. 34 SSA), foreign languages are permitted in addition to Ukrainian, but minority languages are not explicitly permitted. Another example concerns employment contracts, which must be written in the official language but may be accompanied by a translation into another language (Art. 20.2 SSA). Scientific publications may be published in the official language, in English or in another official language of the European Union, but they must be accompanied by a summary and a list of keywords in Ukrainian (Art. 22.2 SSA). Even though this regulation is not aimed at protecting minority languages, it nevertheless benefits the seven minority languages of Ukraine that also happen to be official languages of the EU.⁴⁶

Among the **individual human and minority rights affected by these and other restrictions** is, above all, the right of members of minorities to freely use their minority language (Art. 10.1 Framework Convention, cf. also Art. 27 of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Art. 7.1.d Language Charter). Some of the restrictions mentioned above and others can be classified as clear violations of these rights, while others at least carry the risk of violating rights insofar as the respective formulations are not clear enough to ensure compliance with the principle of proportionality.

42 General human rights expressly mentioned in Art. 5.2 MiG include, for example, freedom of assembly and association (No. 2) and freedom of expression and belief, freedom of thought, speech, conscience and religion (No. 2).

43 Article 5.2 No. 1 MiG corresponds to Article 3.2 of the Council of Europe Framework Convention.

44 Language and culture-specific rights expressly mentioned in Art. 5.2 MiG include, for example, the right to use the language of a national minority (community) (No. 5), the right to education, in particular in the languages of national minorities (communities) (No. 6) or the right to preserve the cultural identity of the national minority (community) (No. 7).

45 For more on this principle, which is implemented in the Framework Convention (Articles 4.2, 5.1, 5.2, 6.2 and 4.3) and in the Language Charter (Articles 7.1.c and d, 7.2 sentences 1 and 2), see Pan/Pfeil/Videsott 2016, 14–15.

46 Bulgarian, German, Greek, Polish, Romanian, Slovak, Hungarian.

3.4 Another problem arises from the fact that in quite a few areas, the term “national minority” as defined in the Minority Act is further subdivided, specifically into two language categories. **Members of minorities whose mother tongue is also an official language of the EU (hereinafter referred to as “EU minority languages”) are treated differently from those whose mother tongue does not have this status (hereinafter referred to as “non-EU minority languages”).** This is particularly evident in the field of education.⁴⁷ Following the political change in language legislation, initially only members of “indigenous peoples” had the opportunity to receive instruction in their minority language in addition to Ukrainian from pre-school to the end of secondary school (cf. Art. 12.1. SSA). For all other minority languages, this option was limited to pre-school and primary school, while secondary schools were required to teach Ukrainian in accordance with mandatory quotas that increased with each school year. Even under the old legal situation, these quotas were lower for “EU minority languages” and significantly higher for “non-EU minority languages”.⁴⁸ These quotas have now been completely abolished for “EU minority languages”, meaning that, as a rule, only Ukrainian, Ukrainian literature, history and defence must be taught in the official language, while other subjects can be taught in the minority language. For “non-EU minority languages”, however, the requirement that 80% of all subjects must be taught in the official language continues to apply (Art. 5.6 Secondary School Act). The majority of these regulations therefore still do not comply with the obligations of Art. 8 of the Language Charter, which have been ratified for the majority of “non-EU minority languages”. The transitional provision introduced under the Education Act, according to which the old, more minority-friendly regulations are to continue to apply to pupils who started school before 1 September 2018, was also extended only in relation to “EU minority languages” (cf. the transitional provisions in Section XII No. 19 of the Education Act).

It should be noted that Russian, a “non-EU minority language”, is subject to a further significant restriction under Article 10.14 of the Minority Act. Some important provisions on the use of minority languages also apply in the private sphere, e.g. at the above-mentioned cultural (Article 10.3 MinL) or public events (Art. 10.2 MinL), apply to all “EU minority languages” and languages recognised under the Language Charter – with one exception for minority languages “which are the official language of a state recognised by the Ukrainian Parliament (Verkhovna Rada) as an aggressor or occupying state”.⁴⁹ Comparable provisions can be found in Art. 40 of the Media Act.

3.5 The provisions referred to in 3.4 lead to another problem created by the “new generation” laws and still not satisfactorily resolved: that of **discrimination** arising from the sometimes different treatment of the various minority languages of Ukraine.

The special collective rights of the three “indigenous peoples” (Crimean Tatars, Karaites, Crimean Shakans), which go beyond existing international law standards, appear to be welcome in themselves⁵⁰ and can be understood and objectively justified solely on the basis of the historical and sociological defining characteristics addressed in the Indigenous Peoples Act.⁵¹

However, the different treatment of Ukraine’s other minority languages based on the criterion of “official EU language” appears irrelevant. All of these languages – like the “indigenous languages” – correspond to the definition of “minority language” contained in Article 1a of the Language Charter⁵² and are therefore all subject to the protection of the Charter without restriction. This is all the more so given that Ukraine has even subjected five of the ten “non-EU minority languages” – Gagauz, Yiddish, Moldovan, Russian and Belarusian – to the more specific protection of Part III of the Charter.⁵³ The criterion of “official EU language”, which is to be assessed purely politically, has nothing to do with the

47 This distinction is also made in the important area of media, cf. Art. 40 Media Act.

48 Art. 5.6 Secondary Education Act, old version, cf. VC Note 2024, p. 8, left column.

49 See also the provision on martial law contained in Section V (Final and Transitional Provisions) No. 3.

50 On the subject of “political group rights” (political co-determination and self-determination rights) and their democratic justification, see Pan/Pfeil 2016, 13–19.

51 See Article 1.1 of the Indigenous Law, quoted in full above: “The indigenous peoples of Ukraine are an autochthonous ethnic community that [...] has traditional, social, cultural or representative bodies [...]”.

52 For the definition of terms contained in Art. 1a of the Language Charter, see footnote 2 above.

53 With regard to Crimean Tatar, which is also a “Part III language”, there should be no problem of discrimination due to its well-established status as an “indigenous language”.

status of the language itself, e.g. its historical development, number of speakers or settlement structure, and is therefore purely coincidental in nature. Discrimination against “non-EU official languages” therefore appears to be objectively unjustifiable and cannot be legitimised on objective grounds under international law (cf. Art. 4.1 of the Framework Convention, Art. 7.2 of the Language Charter and Art. 1(1) of the 12th Additional Protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights).

Ukraine has thus created a kind of **“three-tier minority and language protection”** system. According to this system, “first-class” minority languages are Crimean Tatar, Karaim and Krymchak, which are “non-EU minority languages” but are specially protected as so-called “indigenous languages”. Those in the “second class” include languages that also happen to be official EU languages, namely Bulgarian, German, Greek, Polish, Romanian, Slovak and Hungarian. The remaining languages, those in the “third class”, include – in addition to Russian, by far the largest minority language – Gagauz, Yiddish, Moldovan,⁵⁴ Romani, Ruthenian and Belarusian. The distinction between the 2nd and 3rd classes in particular is discriminatory and unacceptable under international law, and is unlikely to contribute to social peace, especially in times of war. Equally unacceptable, at least from the perspective of international law, is the above-mentioned exception in Article 10.14 of the Language Law, which denies Russian speakers certain basic language rights, particularly with regard to language use in the private sphere.

4. Conclusion: Ukraine’s language policy

As already indicated at the outset, it would be far too simplistic to consider only legal aspects when it comes to Ukrainian language policy. Rather, it is precisely here that the historical and domestic and foreign policy circumstances, some of which are dramatic, must be taken into account, with the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the Russian attack on Ukraine in February 2022 being regarded as new, tragic highlights. It cannot and must not be forgotten that Ukraine is at war with the Russian Federation.⁵⁵

Ukraine is a country rich in history, languages and cultures, but at the same time it is torn between East and West, between political and ethnic nationhood, between Ukrainian and Russian. At the same time, it is constantly faced with the mammoth task of preserving its own official language as a factor of culture and integration, while also adequately protecting Russian and other smaller minority languages and striking a good balance between the respective interests. In this context, we would like to refer once again to the Venice Commission’s 2011 opinion cited at the beginning:

The Venice Commission can only repeat its appeal [...] to strike a fair balance between protecting the rights of minorities on the one hand and preserving the state language as a means of social integration on the other. Ultimately, it is up to the Ukrainian legislature to decide on this important issue.⁵⁶

This task remains relevant today, in times of war, but above all in future times of peace.

It is to be hoped that Ukraine will be able to overcome the difficult challenges of this period and that, at least in the longer term, it will succeed in integrating the various language groups in the country, including Russian speakers. The minority rights instruments that have long been established in many parts of Europe, which also include successful collective rights concepts of so-called regional democracy or regional self-government, provide ample illustrative material for this.⁵⁷ In this sense, it is to be hoped that the existing challenges will give rise to new opportunities and prospects for this large, rich country, which is currently still torn between East and West.

54 It should be noted, however, that Moldovan differs from the “EU minority language” Romanian essentially only in its use of the Cyrillic script.

55 The status of minority languages in the Russian Federation is also not regulated uniformly, so that here too one can speak of “multi-class language protection”; for details, see Valiullina 2024. The legal basis is provided not only by the Russian Constitution and a number of laws at national level, but above all by legal acts of the 83 federal subjects, in particular the 21 republics.

56 VC Opinion 2011, No. 66.

57 The established autonomies of South Tyrol/Italy, Catalonia/Spain and Åland/Finland continue to be considered particularly successful. For more on this, see Pan/Pfeil 2006 *Minority Rights in Europe*.

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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

Chemnitz · Tokyo · Napoli · Roma · Leipzig
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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](#)



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

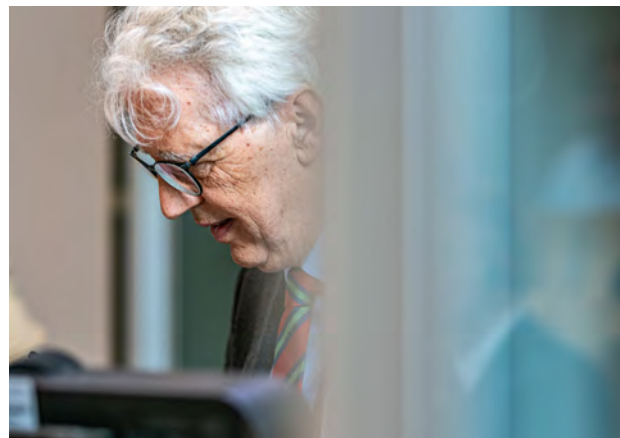
(4) Impulses: External suggestions for Saxony's cultural policy

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

[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/>

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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

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

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- 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]
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Studied political science, constitutional, social and economic history, sociology and education in Bonn. Doctorate in 1979. From 1980 to 1999, Poland expert at the Federal Institute for Eastern European and International Studies in Cologne. From 1999 to 2019, director of the German Poland Institute in Darmstadt. Since 2004, he has been an honorary professor at the Zittau/Görlitz University of Applied Sciences. He was a visiting professor at the Technical University of Darmstadt from 2012 to 2014. He is chairman of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony in Görlitz. Main areas of research: Polish contemporary history, politics and political system, Polish foreign and security policy, German-Polish relations since 1945. Numerous publications since 1978, including: *Die Polenpolitik der Bonner Republik von Adenauer bis Kohl 1949-1991* (The Polish Policy of the Bonn Republic from Adenauer to Kohl 1949-1991), 1998 (Polish edition 1997); with Marek Halub and Matthias Weber: *Mein Polen – meine Polen. Zugänge & Sichtweisen* (My Poland – My Poles: Approaches and Perspectives), 2016 (Polish edition 2016); *Denk mal an Polen. Eine deutsche Debatte* (Think of Poland: A German Debate), 2020 (Polish edition 2021). Numerous awards, including the International Bridge Prize of the European City of Görlitz/Zgorzelec 2023.

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is a historian and has been working in cultural administration since 2023 as cultural secretary for the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area, based in Görlitz. 1990–1996: Studied modern and contemporary history (Eastern Europe), Slavic studies and political science in Bonn and Berlin (Master of Arts from Humboldt University in Berlin). Head of the Kreisau Foundation Memorial for European Understanding and member of the board between 2001 and 2012. 2015 Doctorate at the Historical Institute of the University of Wrocław on a topic related to German-Polish relations; 2013–2018 Cultural Officer for Silesia at the Silesian Museum in Görlitz; 2019–2023 Research project assistant at the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity in Warsaw.

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Professor Emeritus of Performing Arts, Cultural Policy, and Arts Management at the Graduate School of Intercultural Studies, Kobe University, and Professor Emeritus of the Hyogo Professional College of Arts and Tourism, Toooyka. His area of specialization is the relationship between art and society, mainly in the performing arts of Germany and Japan. He has published numerous books and articles on Richard Wagner. He was a researcher at the Collegium PONTES Görlitz-Zgorzelec-Zhořelec. He was a president of the Japan Association for Cultural Policy Research (2022-2025) and has been involved in many cultural policy initiatives on national and local level. Among his recent publications are *Cultural Policy of Basic Municipalities—Why Art is Needed in Cities* (2019) and *Lecture on Cultural Policy for Everyone—Creating Cultural Commons* (2022).

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。

Prof. Dr. Stefan Garsztecki (Chemnitz)

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.

Prof. PhDr Miloš Havelka CSc (Prag)

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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Prof. Dr. Luca Lombardi (Rom)

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

has composed around 180 works, including five operas. A selection of his writings has been published under the title *Construction of Freedom* (Baden-Baden, 2006). He is a member of the Academy of Arts in Berlin and the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts (Munich). He lives alternately on Lake Albano (Rome) and in Tel Aviv. www.lucalombardi.net.

Dr. Stephan Meyer (Görlitz)

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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Lawyer and independent researcher specialising in issues relating to national minorities in Europe. She has made a name for herself in her field through numerous lectures and seminal publications. From 1996 to 1999, she was a research assistant and from 1999 to 2016 deputy scientific director of the South Tyrolean Institute for Ethnic Groups in Bolzano, Italy. From 2017 to 2023, she was a Council of Europe expert responsible for the so-called Language Charter, and from 2017 to 2022, she was vice-chair of the European Centre for Minority Issues in Flensburg. Co-founder and co-editor of the *European Journal for Minority Issues*.

Prof. Dr. Oliver Reisner, (Tbilissi)

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.

Dr.-Ing. Matthias Rößler (Dresden)

President of the Saxon State Parliament from 2009 to 2024. Graduate engineer in mechanical engineering, 1979 to 1985 research assistant at the University of Transport with teaching assignment (doctorate in 1985), 1985 to 1990 development engineer and head of a research team at the Lokomotivbau – Elektronische Werke Hennigsdorf combine. 1989 to 1990 Member of the GDR Executive Committee of the 'Demokratischer Aufbruch' (Democratic Awakening), member of the Dresden District Round Table and the Coordination Committee for the Re-establishment of the Free State of Saxony. 1990–2024 Member of the state parliament. 1994 to 2002 Minister of State for Culture, 2002 to November 2004 Minister of State for Science and the Arts.

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Prof. Dr. phil. Dr. habil. Prof. h.c. Dr. iur. h.c. Matthias Theodor Vogt (Görlitz)

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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