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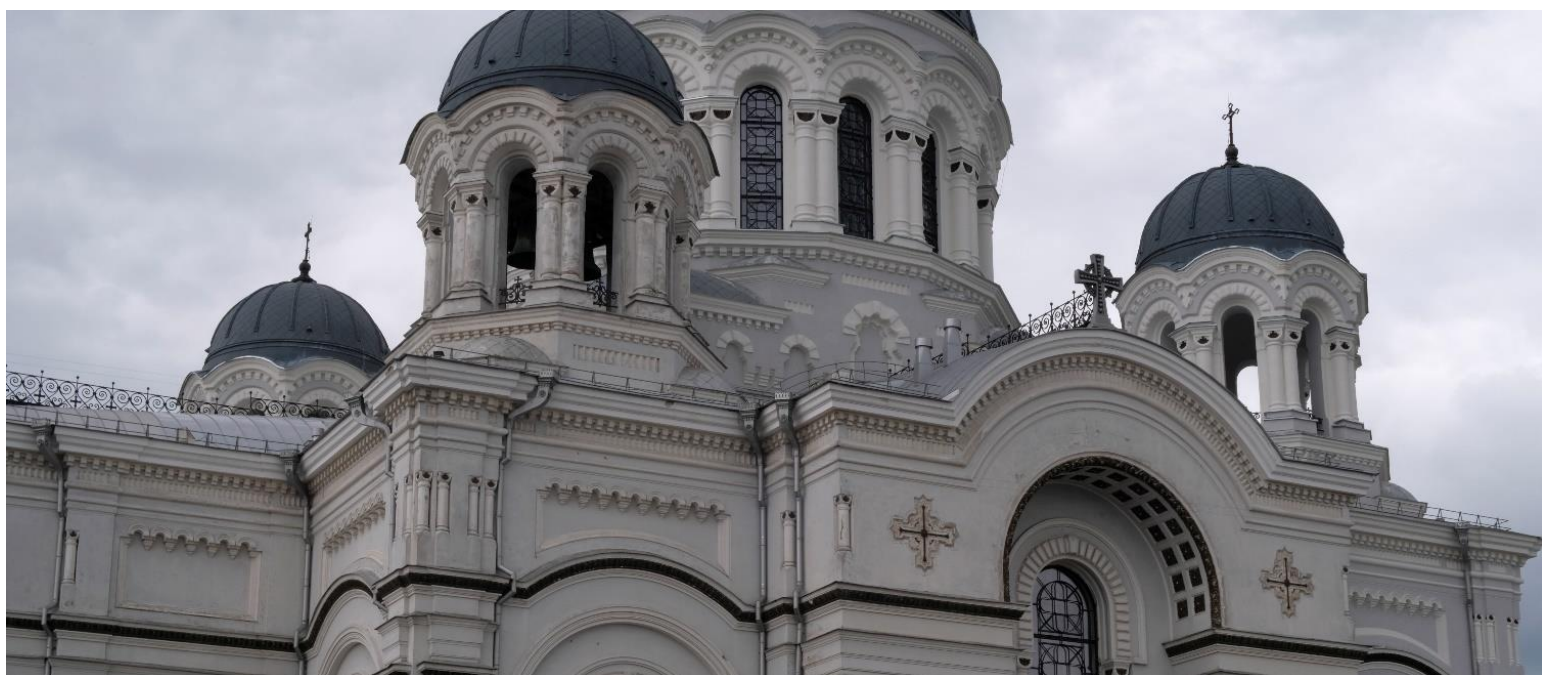
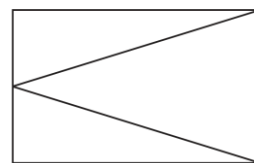


European
Cultural
Parliament



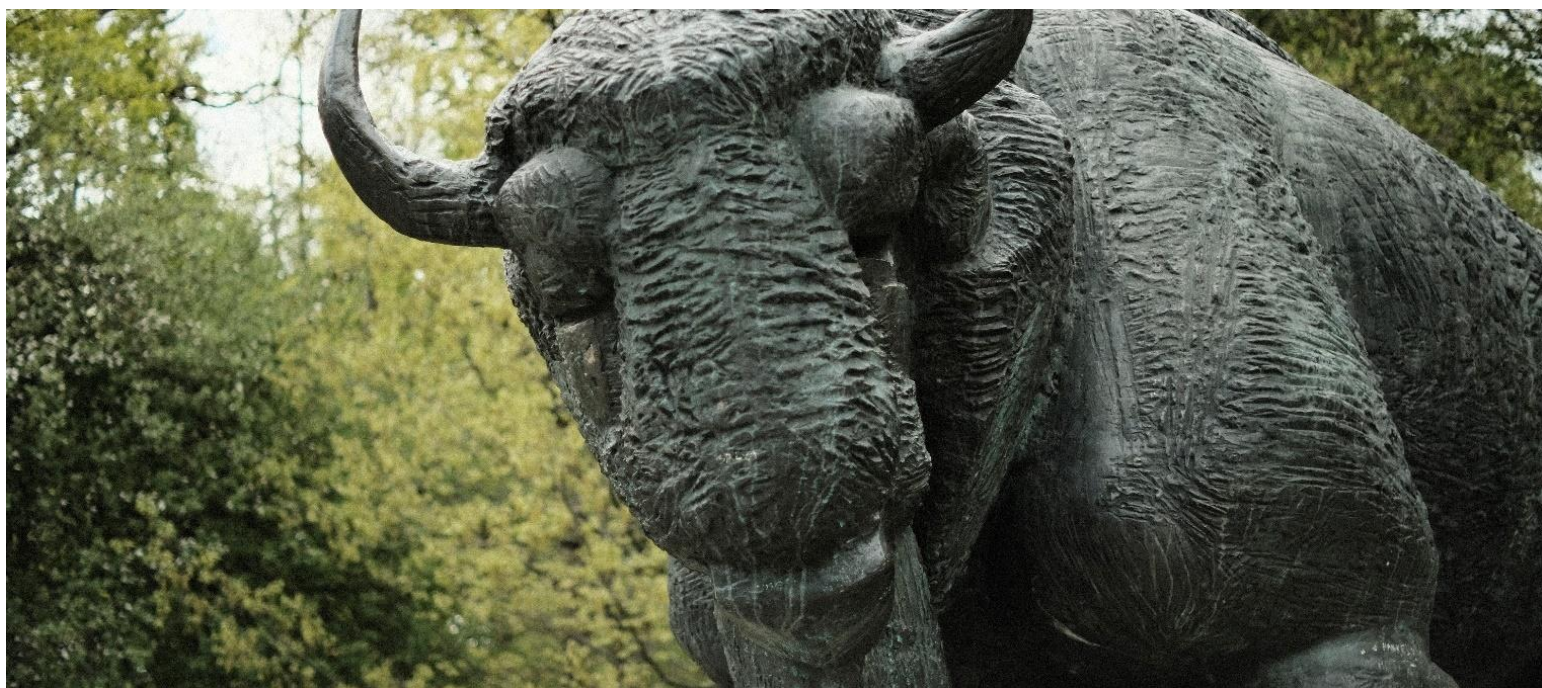
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Introduction

Karl-Erik Norrman, ECP Secretary General

Upon the invitation of the Vytautas Magnus University (VMU), and the European Capital of Europe, Kaunas 2022, the European Cultural Parliament (ECP) held its 20th Session at VMU, Kaunas, on 9 – 11 September 2022. About 50 artists and other cultural personalities from about 25 European countries participated. After two years of pandemic lockdown this session was a welcome opportunity for ECP members to meet again, eye to eye.

The Rector of the VMU, Professor Juozas Augutis, Lithuania's Minister of Culture, Simonas Kairys, the Chairman of the Committee of Culture of the Lithuanian Parliament, Vytautas Juozapaitis and the ECP Senate President, Minister Pär Stenbäck opened the session with strong statements.

This time ECP could present 8 new members. The Secretary General of ECP, Dr. H.C. Karl-Erik Norrman presented them. One of the new members, the CEO of Kaunas 2022, Virginija Vitkiene, presented the impressive program of the

European Cultural Capital year. Two of them, concert pianist Rimantas Vingras and opera singer Vytautas Juozapaitis, are well-known musicians and offered an acclaimed musical program at the opening ceremony. A third new member, Ukrainian photographer Oleksandr Zakletskyi, presented an impressive and emotionally shocking photo exhibition on destruction in the Ukrainian war. Other new ECP-members who presented themselves were Nicolae Burcea, Romania/USA, Marin Ivanovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Viktor Rubin, Ukraine and Jurgita Staniškytė, Kaunas.

The consequences of the Russian invasion in Ukraine dominated the session, particularly the general debate. Karl-Erik Norrman opened the debate referring to the challenges for Cultural Diplomacy and European values in war time. Professor Gintautas Mažeikis presented an important aspect in his introduction on “Collective guilt and responsibility or accusations and responses – the European experience”. The presentation of Dr. Gabriele Žaidytė, advisor to the Lithuanian Prime Minister, and Prof. Dr. Levan Khetaguri, Director of Arts Research Institute, Georgia, discussed the possibilities to support Ukraine under the following

headline: “Promoting Democracy and Cultural Diplomacy through the EU Eastern Partnership program”.

In separate statements MP Eliza Hoxha talked about the “Parallell City”, Pristina, Nils Erik Forsgård, Helsinki, presented “Nordic Scenarios. Thinking about the future of the Baltic Sea area” and Arlon Luijten, Rotterdam presented his project “Re-imagining Tomorrow through Arts & Sciences”.

François Carbon, Luxemburg, together with four American University professors, talked about The Transatlantic Dialogue beyond 2021... a project on the significance of culture for fostering global, compassionate and mindful citizenship”. A workshop on the Creative Process of Arts and its impact on the creative process in other sectors of society was led by Prof. Timothy Emlyn-Jones, Ireland, and had a strong participation of Kaunas artists. Another workshop, led by Claire Fox, House of Lords, London, and Prof. Stelios Virvidakis, Athens, discussed “Challenges for European universities” in times of war. Ove Joanson, former President of Swedish Radio, led a debate on the complicity of Russian artists and other parts of Russian society in the war, on propaganda and history falsification.

On September 11 the ECP members adopted a Kaunas Declaration.

Opening speeches

Juozas Augutis

I am deeply honoured to welcome you all to the twentieth session of the European Cultural Parliament, which is being held in Lithuania for the first time. This event is taking place in the European Capital of Culture 2022, the city of Kaunas. The venue chosen for this session is Vytautas Magnus University, an academic space which is filled with the spirit of liberal arts. It is a university which pursues the goal raised by the European Cultural Parliament: to maintain respectful mutual understanding in the multifaceted cultural sphere. It is also a university which is an official partner of Kaunas the European Capital of Culture 2022.

Yesterday, the Secretary-General of the ECP Karl-Erik Norrman was awarded the regalia of VMU Honorary Doctor. The Vytautas Magnus

University community has been enriched by a personality who has done a wide range of scientific and practical work and contributed considerably to European culture and the development of cultural diplomacy. We are delighted and proud to welcome him!



VMU has supported and will continue to support the Mission of the European Cultural Parliament: to aim for independent artists to be heard, to intensify the dialogue between artists and other creative individuals. The new ECP members will also contribute towards this goal: this year, the team of the European Cultural Parliament has been joined by the Dean of VMU Faculty of Arts, Professor Jurgita Staniškytė, lecturer of VMU Music Academy, pianist Rimantas Vingras, and the head of Kaunas the European Capital of Culture 2022 Virginija Vitkienė. I believe that these creative people will help solve important issues in the field of culture.

I am happy to welcome you in Vytautas Magnus University, which is marking its centennial this year. It all began in 1922, when the University of Lithuania was founded. A bit later, in 1930, that university was granted the name of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas Magnus.

What can we be proud of today? VMU is entering the third decade of the 21st century as the university of the broadest range in the Baltic region. The liberal arts principles followed at the university open up various paths of studies and self-discovery and inspire the community to create the future of Lithuania and Europe. Here, deep traditions of a classical university are combined with innovative studies and science.

VMU provides wide opportunities for its community: it has more than 800 bilateral agreements (Erasmus+ and Memorandums of Understanding) with higher education institutions from 81 countries. Also, it offers 18 double-degree programmes with more than 30 higher education institutions. Students can learn 30 foreign languages. Importantly, VMU is also a member of the Transform4Europe alliance, also known as the European University.

Today, we are taking another important step: we are opening the 20th session of the ECP. On this meaningful occasion, I would like to thank the participants of the session and wish you luck, patience and imagination as you continue doing important work on issues related to cultural diplomacy and the role of culture in the context of war.

Simonas Kairys

It is my pleasure to greet you all in Kaunas, the European capital of culture. Right now, very close to here, another cultural event is taking place. Kaunas art gallery is opening an exhibition by Yoko Ono *The Learning Garden of Freedom*.



I haven't had a chance to see it yet, as I've come to this session straight from Biržai, where we commemorated Jonas Mekas – a Lithuanian filmmaker and poet. But all these three events today give me some thoughts.

When we talk about Jonas Meka's biography, we also inevitably talk about war and occupation, we talk about our history and our past. Jonas Mekas emigrated because he wanted to

protect his life, his mind, and his values. To protect his freedom as a human and as an artist.

When we talk about artists who are active today, we also must talk about the war. Because the war in Ukraine changed everything. This is the context you can't ignore, can't pretend not to know. The war affects everyone and everything. The New York Times critic Jason Farago recently wrote: „The War in Ukraine is the True Culture War“. He is right. And the Ukrainian artists show us today not only their strength and resistance but also the power of cultural diplomacy. They keep protecting not only their garden of Freedom. They keep protecting the gardens of all European values.

Kaunas as a European Capital of Culture is not only the venue for big cultural events, performances, exhibitions, etc. Today it also takes a role as a hub of European cultural diplomacy. It is the first time that the session of the European Cultural Parliament takes place in the Baltics. This is a huge occasion for our city, for our country, for all our culture and arts community. Dear guests, I hope this session will help our gardens of freedom prosper. Because, as the saying goes, “in danger there grows also what saves”.

Vytautas Juozapaitis

I remember my meeting with the Ambassador, Secretary General of the ECP Karl-Erik Norrman, back on the seventh of March this year. We did indeed talk about cultural life and cultural policy. However, it was only two weeks since Russia had started the war against Ukraine and we, although being the people of culture and the people of music, could not help talking about the war then. Today, we are meeting in our lovely city of Kaunas, which is this year's European Capital of Culture. And despite the fact that it has been exactly six months since our last meeting with Secretary General Norrman, we cannot escape the subject of the war again in this session, for the heroic people of Ukraine are still fighting for their freedom and independence.

And it is not only by force of arms that they are fighting. Ukrainian artists of the highest artistic excellence perform both here in Lithuania and in the most prestigious venues across Europe. Ukrainian people's creativity, optimism, perseverance and

belief in their victory leave us with no doubt that good will triumph over evil. They are demonstrating the freedom of speech, European values, and the role of culture in promoting European cohesion, which are the topics that the ECP addressed in its session a few years ago.



In the technocratic world of this era, the ECP has chosen the existential goal of strengthening the role of cultural and artistic ideas and initiatives in Europe, and of promoting ethical and aesthetic values in the space, we call Europe. Let me support this statement with a thought by French historian and philosopher, Pierre Chaunu. By the way, next year, we should mark his 100th birthday anniversary. The idea Pierre Chaunu expressed in his analysis of the civilisation of the Enlightenment is again relevant in the face of the aggression of Russia in Ukraine, that is, in our Europe. He said, 'There have been too many rocks and cliffs in the history of European civilisation for us to go backwards'.

The ECP represents an important and significant organisation, as it brings together a much

larger number of countries than the European Union. The topics it has discussed have proved to be relevant to the times we live in. They include *Tolerance and Understanding*, *Democracy as a Challenge for Culture and Media*, and *the Relevance of Europe in a Globalised World*.

Last summer, Lithuania faced a particularly acute problem, which the old democracies are already familiar with and which the ECP had previously addressed. It is migration. On the 24th of February this year, with the outbreak of Russia's war against Ukraine, the issue of migration acquired a different dimension in Lithuania. Nevertheless, it is an issue that we are discussing in the context of European values. European values are the common points that we understand in the same way, and that we strive for in the same cultural language. That is why we highly appreciate the reports produced by the Research group of the ECP on the *Lisbon Strategy* (2006), *Intercultural Dialogue* (2007), and *Democracy* (2008); the initiatives such as 'Soul for Europe' (Berlin), 'Transatlantic Dialogue' (Luxembourg); as well as the close and simply natural cooperation with the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy in Berlin and the Academy for Cultural Diplomacy in Tbilisi. I very much hope that our discussions here in Kaunas, the European Capital of Culture 2022, will lead to new solutions and help generate new initiatives and new projects that will further develop the European cultural narrative.



Pär Stenbäck

To meet in Kaunas and Lithuania at this crossroad in European history is a symbolic event for the ECP

on its path for twenty years. As most citizens of this continent, we were hit and restricted by the pandemic and our regular activities came to a standstill. The brutal invasion of Ukraine by Russia upset our minds and shook our perception and trust in a peaceful, creative, and prosperous future for our common European home.

But today we have come together again, convinced that culture, philosophy, and moderation must continue to raise its voice against the barbarous aggression and in support of its victims, among them our friends and colleagues in Ukraine. We will continue to stand for cross-border humanism, and we are ready to condemn those who falsify history and deny other nations their right to choose their future and allow citizens to maintain and develop their identity. It is indeed a major crime against humanity to suppress and conquer another nation, but such endeavours also unsettle the existing rules, however weak, for managing a complex world order.



You may claim that a small and idealistic organisation like ECP has little influence on European affairs. But let me state that we are a part of a bigger web and an ever-growing network of voluntary citizens' organisations that slowly but

single-mindedly bind the European nations together. There was a time when influential statesmen and analysts claimed that commerce, energy dependence, tourism and technology - *wandel durch handel* - will tear down borders and secure peace, this being in the interest of all global actors. But today we, no doubt, realise that this has not been the case. The time has come to take another look at what really counts in the long run. Culture has certainly a role to play, culture based on national heritage but performed without chauvinistic overtones, culture bringing performers together, culture policies based on democratic and progressive values. The kind of cultural policies based on democratic and progressive values. The kind of cultural cooperation that ECP stands for.

In this hall of Kaunas University, it is important to speak about culture in alliance with education and science, with professional research in all fields which form a part of national and European culture- philosophy, architecture, history of ideas and many other fields. ECP is happy to celebrate the Cultural Capital of Kaunas through its presence and we congratulate the Republic of Lithuania for its achievements inside the European family. Our special thanks go to the University of Kaunas.



Plenary session:

Collective guilt and responsibility or accusations and responses – the

European experience

Professor Gintautas Mažeikis, VMU

Today in Europe, there are widespread cases of cancelling Russian citizens and attempts to ban Russian culture. Both cases are associated with the collective guilt of Russians for the ongoing war in Ukraine, for the representing of the will of “collective Putin”. One of the already existing examples of cancellation is the call by the Baltic and some other European Union countries not to issue tourist visas to Russian citizens or to limit their movement. The second, the banning of Russian culture, is a more complex phenomenon which we can separate into (a) information warfare and propaganda, (b) restriction for artists for openly supporting Putin’s war, and all the other phenomena of Russian culture including (c) contemporary performers and (d) historical heritage, such as writers Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky or composers Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich, Stravinsky. All these a, b, c, d, cases are different.



Let’s start discussing the question from a short philosophical analysis of presuppositions on collective guilt and responsibility. Many of the discussions were elaborated on the experience of Nazi trials in the post War period. The philosophical question of collective guilt has been explored or criticized by philosophers Karl Jaspers, Hannah Arendt, Theodor Adorno, Emanuel Levinas, and many others. They separated the issues of guilt, human dignity, responsibility, and reproduction of guilt in the media.



Jaspers was one of the first to formulate the problem of German collective guilt for the Nazi crime after World War II and closely linked the issue with the need to uphold the principle of dignity. He understood dignity as the personification of transcendent moral values and emphasized the absence of the possibility of a complete formalization of the meaning of dignity. Dignity is deeply individual and includes informal feelings of transcendence: God, history, culture, and uncertain hope for the future. It is difficult to formalise the idea of dignity because every religion and ideology presents different consent on the problem.

Arendt singled out the problems of collective guilt, responsibility, and the impartiality of the judicial process: the investigation and the judges must be impartial, the dignity of the accused must be respected, and conscious responsibility for the committed crimes must be sought without persuading that the criminals are psychopaths or madmen. Arendt insisted that the trial of Nazi Adolf Eichmann, who was directly responsible for many of the crimes in the concentration camps, should be impartial, and he must be considered a completely

rational man. However, this was difficult to do in post-war Israel when the trial was watched by thousands of relatives of Holocaust victims who believed that Eichmann was a psychopathic murderer. However, only an impartial court and a rational person can create relations of dignity and responsibility and realize the will for the truth and justice. She separated dignified personal rationality from instrumental reasoning or banal reason.

Accusations of supporting military aggression in the context of ongoing information warfare and incitement to hatred make our statements highly subjective and may violate the principle of impartiality. Information warfare reduces the level of collective trust and critical thinking to the level of an effect. The principle of impartiality is important to the philosophy of law and requires that the effects of hate speech and conspiracy theories targeting nationality, race, gender, religion, and language be minimised before discussing collective guilt and responsibility.

I separate two similarly negative processes: mass guilty and mass victimisation. Both processes can destroy our sense of responsibility and ability to have an equal dialogue. I mean total accusations of Russians and total victimisation of Ukrainians, both processes are rather the result of propaganda than rational conclusions. The visible rampage of TV channels and internet portals presents blood sacrifices and requires more ritualistic scapegoating than objective research. The mass accusation of the guilty and contempt leads to the feeling of frustration and resentment. Leonidas Donskis and Pascal Bruckner show that victimisation of society and mass production of pity lead to the loss of pride and responsibility also. Leonidas Donskis and Pascal Bruckner supported the conclusion and added that reproducing the Golgotha images and mass victimisation destroy the sense of dignity and responsibility.

Will the complete abolition of Russian citizens stop Putin's Russia from a hybrid war in Ukraine or the Baltic states? There is no evidence that such a solution will really help. The only reason, which is moral from my point of view, is the sense of shame that Ukrainian Displaced Persons (DP), whose

households have been destroyed, and whose families have been separated, have to watch the happiness of Russian tourists who probably voted for Putin's government. And especially the need to limit the rights of Russian tourists becomes apparent when we are faced with insults or hate speech by Russian tourists or even physical attacks against Ukrainian refugees abroad. So Russian tourists and Ukrainian refugees cannot be together because of the humiliation of war victims. But the restriction must not limit those Russians who are against the war and are persecuted by the totalitarian government of the Kremlin. Abuse of the right of exception, prohibition and cancellation do not reduce but increase the risks. Here I want to clarify the term of abuse, which promotes totalization, which I speak against. The problem is not a rational prohibition but abusing of it. There is a thin and fragile difference between rational limitation and irrational hate.

Culture

Another problem is the cancellation of Russian culture. Theodor Adorno and Jean-François Lyotard dealt with a similar problem of limiting German culture in different ways. Adorno considered the problem of Auschwitz's genealogy, and Lyotard interpreted it in the context of grand narratives.



Adorno observed that the accusations against living Nazis are not sufficient and effective, that some of the cultural discourses and attitudes of artists and public intellectuals can be reconsidered due to their influence on the emergence of Nazi consciousness. The accusation and punishment of many Nazi

philosophers, lawyers, producers, writers, composers, and architects were proportional in every separate case. Nazi collaborators were philosopher Martin Heidegger, lawyer and philosopher Karl Schmitt, producer Leni Riefenstahl, writer Ernst Junger, composer and conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, architect Alfred Speer. Some of them were abandoned from teaching in universities for some time, and some of them, like Speer, spent in jail, not because of his Nazi architecture projects, but because he became the minister of military industry at the end of the war and ordered to exploit the labour power of concentration camp prisoners. Case law suggests a similar decision for us regarding the Putinists: philosopher Aleksandr Dugin, producer Nikita Mikhalkov, conductor Valery Gergiev, writer Zakhar Prilepin, singer Polina Gagarina, etc. Some of the cases are analogous, the others are different, but we must analyse them separately if we follow the case law and don't abuse the state of exception. Much more absurd is the accusation of former Russian writers of committing contemporary crimes. It will be the same as blaming Fichte, Hegel, and Nietzsche for Nazi crimes. However, such attempts happen but don't play a significant role and are not recognized by international cultural societies.

Speaking about Russian pop culture involved in propaganda it is fruitful to remember the historical cases. Arendt, Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse criticised the propaganda role of popular culture in WWII. The problem is that propaganda pop culture manufactures a banal reason and one-dimensional man on all sides of the conflict: in America and Nazi Germany, or our case in Russia and Ukraine. For example, criminal chansons (*blatnye pesni*) take a big part in contemporary Russian pop music market and romanticise life by breaking the law and public consent; or popular Russian film series propagate criminal life, military service, and the obedience to the only Imperator.

There is a difference between imperial or colonial hegemonic pop industries and anti-colonial, liberating culture. Russian aggression is imperial and colonial war and therefore we can use the instruments of critics of postcolonial studies. The

argument against hegemonic culture and colonial superiority can be used for the analysis of cultural policy as well. Classical Russian culture has all the features of colonial hegemony compared with occupied provinces. The same question touches on German, Spain, France, Britain, Netherlands, and Portugal cultures and there are similar solutions. The question is not about the banning of Shakespeare in contemporary India or Miguel de Cervantes in Latin America. There is another form of solution: limited positive cultural discrimination. This means limiting the role of hegemonic colonial culture and, conversely, supporting national and local cultures. However, there is a fragile line between positive cultural discrimination that implements local creativity and when the abuse of sanctions destroys cultural growth. The fragile principle of positive discrimination can be applied to some Russian works of art, paying special attention to the culture of Ukraine or Belarus. For example, the restriction of Russian culture in Lithuania opens more doors for Ukrainian and Belarusian writers, poets, and musical groups.

General Debate on “Culture, Universities and War”.

Stelios Virvidakis: Regarding the distinction between refugees and DPs. Wouldn't it be wrong to use refugees only for problematic people?



I don't think this concept should be fixed for irresponsible people. Isn't it difficult to remind

others that not all Russian people are evil? What would you recommend us to do? To talk carefully and make no generalisations? Any practical suggestions?

Gintautas Mažeikis: The question about refugees is semantic. I draw conclusions from Lithuanian DPs. Why don't they like being called refugees? Hannah Arendt distinguishes refugees and DPs through the prism of dignity. DPs are an organised political power. Refugees are like atomised power. From a legal point of view, DPs and refugees are the same. The refugees who come from Belarus and those who come from Ukraine have completely different rights in the eyes of local law. Ukrainians in Lithuania demand not to be mixed with refugees and say that they are DPs.

I used this concept of 'absolute evil' from the novel written by brothers Strugatsky. There is one novel called *Evil Between Us*. I say that there is 'absolute evil' in Prilepin's novels because he glorifies Gulags. I blame him that he has 'absolute evil' in his books. The concept of absolute? The Russian nation has lost any possibility of discussion, they have lost all rationality. In this sense, we need to differentiate.

In the case of Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers organised a committee to discuss how to punish Heidegger. They decided to restrict the right of his teaching for some time. I think, e.g., Aleksandr Dugin, if he didn't do any actual crime, but he only philosophised, then we compare him to Heidegger. If he committed a crime, we should compare him to the architect Speer.



Karl-Erik Norrman: I worked in refugee organisations. It escalated lately. We have so many types of refugees: political, climate, economic refugees.

Pär Stenbäck: For the sake of debate, I'll introduce another, practical approach, how to react to Russian culture. The reaction is emotional all over Europe because people feel powerless. How can I promote values that I believe in? They feel like cutting all connections to Russia, because it's an easier way than actually joining the military conflict. Another question is how effective this is. Approximately 70-80% of the Russian population still support Putin.

Russian history as the history of ideas is very problematic. The real problem is that most Russians still believe in the idea of greatness, and the right to the empire. Colonial history is just as long and brutal as in other colonial states. We should build our understanding that Russian ideas have gone wrong, and they think they have the right over other territories. We compare to boycotting Nazi ideas, but now we should live with Russian ideas, but not accept them.

Gintautas Mažeikis: Emotionally, it is hard to have impartiality in an emotional environment. Baltic countries see that when Russian tourists come here they have conflicts with Ukrainians. Their situation is not equal. Ukrainian mothers with their children are struggling to survive while Russian tourists come with a cynical imperialistic approach. Due to the moral question of shame Baltic states proposed to limit Russian tourists' visas even though it's good income to the entire tourism industry.

Pär Stenbäck: I agree, but I didn't speak about visas.

Viktor Ruban: There is an administrative dimension in the difference between DPs and refugees. We must have a choice. It's something about consideration. Refugees need full support; DPs need it only temporarily.

We discussed with other creators that when we speak about totalitarianism and democracy, there

are the colonial and Soviet dimensions. There is a dehumanisation aspect, which was the standpoint of the Soviet ideology. I agree with positive discrimination. When the flight is falling, there is no time for discussions. It's good to be radical for a short period when the ideas are clear. A huge part of Russian culture is cultural appropriation, so it is, first of all, important to identify what a Russian is so that we can pay tribute to the original creators in the smaller nations.



What kind of narratives do we give by building plays written by creators like Tchaikovsky - imperial ones? But what kind of narratives do we impose on contemporary theatres? It's a field of reflection and discussion. Time to get back to cultural appropriation, imperial narrative and humanisation.

Bengt Kristensson Uggla: We have to make very important distinctions. Firstly, the complications of evil and associations with that. We need a new philosophy on evil today. Focused on symbols and narratives on evil. Art and culture are more important than philosophy. Focus more on artistic resources rather than philosophical ones.



Secondly, the philosophers you mentioned are also my favourite when we talk about an ongoing war. Everything else collapses. This war is a narrative war. Finally, I want you to elaborate on a nation and state. What obligations do citizens have? We are coping with these questions in unrealistic terms. What does it mean to be a citizen of the state and the citizen of the world? What does it mean to be European then?

Gintautas Mažeikis: I agree about the limits of philosophical discourse because ordinary philosophy works with analysis and descriptions. So what you propose with art is very important.

The door to the transcendental should always be open, says Adorno. So we should not limit our emotional side, otherwise, we face traumas. Culture is the way to civilize our emotions. Philosophers don't need to face this side, but we need to accept this emotional dimension. Adorno discusses when it is easier to be rational and impartial. But what to do during the war? The answer is to pay more attention to art. The only way to civilize our emotions. Adorno said it was too difficult to see Auschwitz directly. It is also too hard to see Bucha and Irpen directly. You need an angle, so the angle is artistic and cultural.

The last point is about the citizens preparing for war. A different and personal question for everyone because our dignity is always personal, it feels like we must participate in the war to take down Putin. We need to consider what we can do. It's not just I am.

Bengt Kristensson Uggla: What we learned during the pandemic is that dignity is collective.

Gintautas Mažeikis: It's personal and collective.

Karl-Erik Norrman: Explosional globalisation, suddenly we have 20 new nations that all need to get on the map. These processes become even more important during the war.

Levan Khetaguri: During the war, it is immoral to talk about Russian culture, it is similar to discussing

German literature during the Nazi rule. Talking about classical Russian culture we should go to the influence of the Soviet Empire which created the phenomenon of Russian culture. It's not ethical, but imperial. Russia created a wonderful tool - propaganda. It's a message from Putin. Russia is an aggressive country, which doesn't respect values. We don't need to go the second time into the Nazi experience. But the EU countries make the same mistake as before WWII. We see the same hate speech and aggression, but we try to be polite, we try to be friendly. Georgia has been at war with Russia for 30 years. It's not polite for the people who died in Ukraine to talk about which Russian culture is good and which is bad. If we continue this performance that we don't talk straight, soon others will talk about our guilt that we did not talk directly. And Baltic countries understand this problem because they have the experience of living with Russia. It is time that the rest of the world understands what it means to live with Russia.



Gintautas Mažeikis: I support completely that the international community needs to defeat Putinism, it's not enough to stop him. The case is the same as with Hitler. The last Rammstein meeting officially declared the purpose of defeating Putin, surely, the threat of nuclear war grew. But there is no solution. Even there I invite you to be smart. The international community proposes to be smart and fight differently from the tactics of the Soviet Army in WWII. Also, there are many imperial composers, and they should be criticised, but there are real Putinists who are the problem.

Alex Zakletsky: Russian culture is very expensive and loud because there is no concept of personal

boundaries. It is in the spotlight, suppressing all other cultures as if you don't need to be interested in any cultures if you know the culture and language of Russia. It tries to displace minor cultures. Any human being has a unique, non-renewable resource that they can spend for culture in their lifetime. Ukrainians need more attention to other cultures, not only Russian. It is an instrument of an informational war, the means to recruit new minions.



We have to silence it to hear ourselves and others. Some instruments help to support Ukrainian artists in the EU: programs in EU institutions, which are supporting dancers, actors, etc. We ask for Europe's attention toward artists who survived this awful war. We want you to think about this opportunity to make such instruments for such support.

Gintautas Mažeikis: Karl-Erik can comment as well, as he recently said that the EU does not have common cultural policies or responsible institutions. Education and culture are the obligations of the national governments. We should probably work it through each government separately. We would like to see more responsible policies because it only considers the administrative level, as in discussing ideas, but not financing. What Alex is asking of us is that we propose to the cultural directorate to develop more responsible cultural policies in response to war and imperial aggression.

Miran Mohar: Thank you for your topic, it's important both for the understanding of the past and the future. We know about imperial war aggression against Ukraine, they are not afraid. There's a quote by Walter Benjamin "There is no document of civilization that is not at the same time a document of barbarism." After discussing culture as positive, we've started talking about evil culture. We've never talked about evil culture in ECP before. How will we judge who is on the side of evil culture?



Every generalisation will kill the baby that we want to wash. So don't throw out the baby. How do we do it in the West? How about Milošević and his aggression against Bosnia? Will we use different standards for different artists in Europe and Russia? Leonidas Donskis used ethical fantasy because he doesn't have solutions. I liked that you opened this question. We are facing the collapse of civilizations, but we cannot be totally blind. We have to be sensitive to the past and the future.

Gintautas Mažeikis: We admire everything about culture, but there's much evil, even absolute evil, in a culture which should be analysed. We have a possibility of moral imagination, it's our ethical responsibility. I support that every case should be considered separately.

Claire Fox: It was a thought-provoking introduction. In the immediacy of war, we are aware of propaganda and misinformation, but it's tricky when we have attacks on free speeches. How do we deal with these questions? I believe in academic freedom. The reason I'm nervous about is discussions on Russian culture. Every piece of art can be used as propaganda by the regime. Art is art, and the point is universal. In the UK they can't question Shakespeare because he is a perfect

dramatist who belongs to the world. Attempting to explain what happened in Russia and trying to see evil in Russian culture is a way of destroying art.



There's also a danger of flattening history this way as well. Russian history is complicated. I worry that we will make mistakes. The point of collective victimization was excellent. At the moment, postcolonialism and anticolonialism and anti-racist movement have changed from black and white. You have to accept collective guilt. It's leading to censorship in museums. A mechanism of censorship.

Gintautas Mažeikis: I support your discussion about mass guilt and victimisation, they are equally destructive. But concerning freedom of speech and limitations, it's a long story whether we need to limit these things. But you're right that we need to separate peaceful and very destructive times. The UK banned Nazi jazz and Nazi radio in WWII like Baltic countries are doing with Russian TV channels now because they are attacking the mass consciousness. We need to simply protect the masses from brainwashing and aggression. Imagine, that somebody from somewhere will start to broadcast racist topics in the USA: the person will be censored. These are moral values. You may fight against consent, but generally, there is an agreement.

World literature: I agree. For example, Joseph Brodsky, I like him, but he wrote an imperial verse on the independence of Ukraine where he negates it completely, even humiliates it. Milan Kundera and Czesław Miłosz openly criticised what he did. Russian propaganda uses Brodsky's verses now. Thomas Mann wrote many wrong texts against the UK, although he is world famous. We don't need to

excuse him because someone will use his texts against someone.

Claire Fox: You could ban anything, you noted a writer that humiliated Ukraine, but we can all find writers that humiliate something. We should stop doing that because then we can't read anything at all.

Peter Hanke: I have some reflections about what's going on: the symbolism of evil, the speed of propaganda, and the duties of the citizens. First of all, we are a few hundred kilometres away from the epicentre of the war, so we can all look at it in a reasonable way. One of our members, a Russian dissident, did not attend today because he thinks that we won't be hard enough on Russia.



Who is the next symbol of evil? Or is that just Russia? It's very problematic to reduce it to something that simple. We should reflect on what Claire said. We need to think about these things carefully. We need to think about a medium that we need to use right now when it's so heated. Politics are too pragmatic. German energy is more important than refugees. I suggest we up the artistic side and find quick relevant ways of connecting. We can help this place. It is more relevant to talk about the refugees. We want to help a specific orchestra in Kharkiv. Overall, we need to give space, money and attention to all the artists that need it. The third point is the citizen's duty. What can you do as a EU citizen? When it's so heated, pick someone to trust, who can support you and your ideas. Support each other. Your influence matters.

Yara Moualla: My work is related to the Syrian diaspora and connecting them with European academia. As a Syrian, I know that the sanctions may put the government in the corner, but they put the people even further away into the corner. So, the discussions of sanctions on culture should be more careful.



We are looking at Russian culture like it's a problem, but this problem appeared long ago. Why are we talking about it only now?

I get offended watching movies where Syrians are only represented as refugees. I have experience coming to Berlin as a DP. Even though I was ready to contribute to the world as a PhD, in Germany I was not accepted into academia even with this experience.

Gintautas Mažeikis: It is a complex problem. There is a necessity in the distinction between refugees and DPs. All this complexity exists in a flux movement. The problem of Putin and war. He proposes the only choice by saying "Be either a man or woman or all Ukrainians are Russians". There is no freedom of choice. You are prescribed what to do and cannot choose. Therefore, I agree with you in peaceful times, but in a radical situation, during the war period, we cannot use the same dimensions.

Promoting Democracy and Cultural Diplomacy through the EU Eastern Partnership program

Moderators: Dr. Gabrielė Žaidytė, Advisor to the Lithuanian Prime Minister, and Prof. Dr. Levan Khetaguri, Director of Arts Research Institute of Georgia and UNESCO Chair of Georgian Technical University



Levan Khetaguri: We had a theoretical discussion, and now it is time for more practical solutions. We will discuss the processes in 1999-2000, and the partnership with East - Georgia, and Azerbaijan was already established, and we were looking for a partnership with the South.

After EU enlargement in 2004, it was decided that the EU will look into ex-soviet countries, Moldova, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. with the project of Eastern Partnership. From 2004, first, it was focused on the economy, regulations, everything except culture and other humanitarian fields. I underline this because it was an important issue, why it's still not in the centre. 2012 a new special program for cultural development, chair of advisor in the board, now it's another program focusing on another thing. EP was focused more on political things, there is no common border with these countries. Two years ago the concept was updated again, where the Trio of Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova was created. The situation was related to the war in Ukraine, when these three countries were invited to the EU.

Soft power was touched on today, but not discussed extensively. After Eastern Partnership was announced, Russia started a new conflict with these countries. It's impossible to have one to respect values and another completely reckless. It's impossible to count how many people died from the Soviet aggression. Who will advocate for these people?

How many of you have visited Auschwitz? How many have seen Bucha's pictures? Who will advocate for these people who died?

There is a danger that some artists will be used as soft power. I see in Georgia that a lot of Russian tourists feel no guilt for the war in Ukraine, they attack Ukrainian flags. To build a democratic society, this behaviour has to be punished.



Russia invested a lot of money to use soft power to destroy democratic values in Post-Soviet countries. They employed all kinds of media to destroy European values. If Russia goes on, everybody in Europe will pay. There will be neither expression nor freedom if Russia is not stopped. We don't know how Russians don't feel guilty for what they did to their neighbouring countries. The question is how to rethink the culture and bring back values to society. If Russia creates tools to destroy European values, we need tools to defend them. We need an analytic group to work on the investigation. For example, the film industry in Russia has prepared to have a war against the entire world, not only Ukraine. We don't talk about individuals; it's about how the state works against the world. Historically, when neighbours have a better situation, we want to have it as good. But Russia wants its neighbours to have a situation as bad as in Russia when it sees that their neighbours live better. We have strong

networks for festivals and other performative arts, which can be very useful.

There aren't many colonial experts who understand what's going on today, they copy-paste from the old models to today. We need more updated consulting work. This is our observation, no concrete steps because it's for each of us to decide. How can soft power be opposed through practical culture, the young generation? We have a diplomacy academy in Tbilisi for teenagers. For adults, it's sometimes too late. We need to focus on the new generation. Academies like this are effective.

Viktor Ruban: There is a big difference between liberty and freedom. The libertarian way of life is very tricky. Culture is something that we must cultivate, with energy, attention, and precision. In the time of hybrid war, we speak of cultural and informational wars, which is not really implied in our cultural environments. If we speak about Russia, we have to make a huge difference between constructing and clarifying. One of the cases of authoritarian regimes. We shouldn't treat them like you do things. We should think about how they think differently. Perhaps, the Russian people need to channel it otherwise, but we tried and it hasn't worked. You can't implement that they will treat things the same way. What is a Russian dissident? From which period? Chechnya, Abkhazia? There's a new book *From Red Terror to Mafia State: Russia's State Security in the Struggle for World Domination*. It is not only about the culture as propaganda, but also about the mindset behind it.



The whole history of the Russian empire started with constructing. There was no Russian empire,

but Moskovia. They melted and blended down the territories they occupied. The construction of the culture has been used for at least three centuries now. Coming back to Claire's statement. Banning Russian culture is really giving a voice to other people, like giving Letushynky a try who did not agree with Soviet terms and did not want to give his work to the Soviet name. He published 60 or more books that are only now being discovered. It's a matter of time not only how we take the past but also how we move forward. I'm not only an artist but also a producer. I need to state what I support. When we talk about censorship, we push it too far. I am responsible for the choices of what culture we spread. So, it's a matter of choice and responsibility. Coming back to the latter, it is what I'm trying to address. Coping with WWII crimes was only possible because there was guilt on the Nazi regime. Maybe crime without punishment creates more crimes.

Gabrielė Žaidytė: Levan already mentioned that he would like to join a group to find out how we can work and what we should do with the tools of culture to respond to Russian culture and to be safe. It should start with small things, and then research, but we want to be more active on this topic. It'd be great if a session next year would take place in Kyiv, that's the dream at least.

Viktor Ruban: It is possible to organise the next session in Kyiv, dangerous but possible. It's part of the existential moment. The situation in Ukraine is not somewhere there, it's present here. With all the traumatic experiences we are looking for solutions together with refugees. There are mechanisms and regulations to secure the participants. But it's a matter of choice. It's very easy to get to the abstract level of discussions, which is the opposite of reality. There was an event where the idea was to place Russians and Belarusians and Ukrainians together in one space. In imagination, putting them together would solve something, but the reality is different, it would only create tension. These people need time in separate spaces.

Stelios Virvidakis: To what extent dissident art can be used against the regime? I like the fact that Levan

mentioned cinema. I think that there can be no better indictment of contemporary Russia than cinema. Viktor says that these things don't really work, but I think that, for example, Akhmatova's works can be used to battle the regime. I come from a country where there was a great clash between Greece and Turkey, we still get threats from Turkey. On a small scale, it sounds like Putin and Ukraine. Erdogan's dissidents use their works against the regime.

Viktor Ruban: Hard to make a comparison. Ukraine is a different situation, it's not an ethical construct. It's the physical identity. Russian as well, they are very different. It doesn't work because it's related to the mindset. If you are projecting the situation to show things to people that are used to being exposed to propaganda, maybe it could work but it won't interfere with their political action.

Who is a dissident in Russia? Really, a lot of dissidents left Russia after the Crimea annexation, and they tried to change something in Russia from abroad. I want to ask them: what their position was then and now. There is a learned behaviour of obeying and saying that we cannot do anything: only writing messages that "we are with you". Why aren't you doing anything? Anyone can do something. It's a matter of choice, of course. You can always find a way to write a book and share knowledge that is censored or repressed.

Laura Kristina Kolbe: We need to deconstruct nationalism. Nationalists are created and used as political propaganda and an emotional tool. Not all that is national is nationalist, the same goes for artists and intellectuals. This forum is good enough to deconstruct nationalism today and the past, hopefully, and the future. The debate about cancelling culture is a paradox. Cancelling culture doesn't stop culture. We have to face the complexity of not cancelling or discriminating against culture. Cancelling just creates double morality and arrogance. We deserve more. What can be done? Not to point out who is to blame or who is guilty. Our task as Europeans is to create the positive power of what we can do as individuals.



Transnational platforms of influence - universities. Other: civic, companies, business. They are more difficult to reach, as they are not nationalised. ECP as an intellectual think-tank is a great idea. In the Netherlands, they say that we are lacking a voice, and politics in the European Union, so ECP is very important, it is the voice for a better future. For example, the civil institutions, how can we persuade them? We have to reshape the notion of Europe, which means a lot of work for us. This doesn't mean cancelling or discriminating something. We have to trust in a better future instead of judging each other on a moral basis. Cooperation: a combination of arts and science. We should underline the role of history. Russia is wrong in reshaping the historical past.

Tomas Čepaitis: I'm a translator, poetry therapist, theatre-maker from Užupis (an artistic neighbourhood in Vilnius). As a translator I can say we lost work because of the sanctions, as Lithuania banned some books from Russia. We need people from Russia we call "раскаявшиеся бандиты", criminals who have repented. For example, there is an ex-KGB officer Yuri Shvets. I'm teaching Lithuanian to famous people from Russia. If you ask them, they are against Russia. They are still citizens of Russia. I was born in Moscow. I understand that being born in a bigger country lets you walk with bigger steps; you have a bigger spatial imagination; in Lithuania you don't feel that way. Also, we need the academia to show how propaganda is constructed. Propaganda works much better now than in my youth, nowadays I cannot distinguish it sometimes, even though I know the mechanics behind it. It's a delicate and professional evil. Paradoxically we need those propaganda makers to repent and then they could explain how it's done.

But now, they speak in other languages, and we need translators.



Nicolae Burcea/ Butler: Seven points from the American perspective. The situation in the EU is an ideological war. NATO (American-European) exceptionalism against Russian-Chinese exceptionalism. We didn't react this way to Hong Kong's situation. Taiwan is experiencing a similar situation. Ukraine has zero interest in US politics, but it's everything for Europe. Europe is cautious in their reaction. Reacting to the previous speaker, we need to be careful, because exactly the questions in Nuremberg are asked today.

In 2017 I was in the battle of Mosul, ISIS was bombing, and 53 countries were trying to stop it. Kurdish were disappointed by US talking that it's not enough.



I understand Levan's point of view as an Eastern European. I know how it feels to know when a country has exactly described its view toward Russia. For me, it appears close-minded. As Europeans we have values. Some Ukrainians also have done atrocities in the war. Will they be held

accountable? Questions like this were asked at Nuremberg. Realistically, war has no rules. Who has to impose them? Politicians each have their own views. Artists are the ones to conceptualise the rules.

Gintautas Mažeikis: Law and absence of war rules accepted by the UN. Russia breaks a lot of these rules and Ukraine would like to follow the rules. There were clear rules of war that were signed by the USSR. Second, the US was presented as the only one, but actually 53 countries support Ukraine. The second one is Poland, Great Britain is third. It's amazing, how Poland accepted millions of DPs, and they sent military help and so much more. It's unbelievable. If not for Poland, it would be very difficult for Ukraine. Speaking of Levan's comments on the film industry, there are endless films with historical context. Through these films, they build strong verticals of power. They are doing this through the popularisation of the trope of empires, emperors and similar heroes. And now we should talk not about complete cancelling, but about moratorium. For some films, like in WWII, Nazi films got this moratorium. In 50 or so years we could watch them again. We could think about some critical thinking of the content of Russian films and consider the moratorium for some of them for some period.

Nikola Maticic: My work right now is to implement regulations for the laws that the governments give us. They are often quite abstract. They are law texts but they are just not practical. I am perhaps not competent enough to deal with philosophical issues. But I think it would be very difficult to implement when talking about censorship. I empathise with both viewpoints. I will find it difficult to define that which you feel. What – pictures, words, or symbols – exactly will be forbidden? What is provocative? I have been protesting against, perhaps even critiqued for the past 25 years quite ineffectively that we do not understand aggression. It's a problem that we don't understand aggression until it's very obvious. We react to the words and images instead. We should find some practical way, and not an emotional reaction. Let us look at the intention. For

me, it is very impractical what you've been saying. But I can sympathise.



Karl-Erik Norrman: Thinking about a debate in Germany concerning an Indonesian art group. The debate is so harsh that the whole future of Documenta is questioned. We can't see the hidden aggression coming.

Marie-Louise Gräfin von Plessen: Louis Vuitton Foundation in Paris held an exhibition which was set to close right before Russia's invasion into Ukraine. It was the biggest cultural event in France. More than 3.5 million people visited. Later, Mikhail Piotrovsky, the Director of the Hermitage Museum gave an interview where he said that the success of this exhibition was calculated, because it ought to show that the superior Russian collection is incomparable with any other collection and that this is a cultural offensive that should not be stopped.



So, this exhibition was a tool of propaganda in a subtle way, but with a very loud voice. Propaganda is stretched over the years and over the countries. We should be careful.

Peter Hanke: If you see the world wars as a complex, the humiliation of the Germans was not the main reason for WWII. Before that, we had 30 years of war that concluded in Westphalian Peace and the system of nations in Europe. Will this end in the same way? Is this another 30-year war? Why not aim with a bit more hope and courage? Can we be bold enough to head for a new Westphalian Peace?

Alex Zakletsky: 80 years ago, European civilization also faced war. But they had the position that all Germans, not only Hitler, were guilty. The culture was rebuilt on the postulate of collective guilt. At the same time, German politics were shifted into capitalist and imperialist directions. I think that Russian culture has to be deconstructed and has to be rebuilt on the fundamental collective guilt. A few examples: Pushkin and Tolstoy are imperialists, one of the most popular Pushkin's poems is about the invasion of Georgia. It's the same with Tolstoy. So, we don't have to cancel the culture, we need to rebuild it.



Karl-Erik Norrman: There were efforts to make a look into the guilt stories in the 90's.

Plenary session

Is it possible and meaningful to help Russians? How are European values determined and manifested?

Moderator: Ove Joanson



Ove Joanson: The topic of the Russian war on Ukraine has been touched many times today, now we return to the topic again. How do the Russian people know what's going on in Ukraine? A friend of mine, who is an expert on Russians says don't forget that 36 percent of them don't have a seated toilet and 65 percent have never seen a personal computer.

Vivek Arunachalam: I come from India, work in Berlin. I see the EU perspective; I see the Russian perspective. To begin, hate breeds hate. We talk about what Russia's done. There have been painful stories we hear about Ukraine every day. Insecurity is on both sides, Russia doesn't know what Europe is doing, Europe doesn't know what Russia does. It creates the wall. Until the solution does not happen, we discuss, we look for solutions.

Ove Joanson: Are you saying there is no right and wrong in this situation?

Vivek Arunachalam: One truth in Russia, another in Europe. The truth was created by one person's ego in Russia.

Ove Joanson: I'm sure there's more than one ego at play. One version here, one there, which is right?



Vivek Arunachalam: The one who attacks innocent people is never right. But there is insecurity on both sides.

Viktor Ruban: I think discussions like this should be taken in Kharkiv. Ukraine has been like the buffer for Europe for a long time. We don't have the comfort to discuss things like this. I don't think we can equally discuss these sides.

Claire Fox: I do not think that they are equal and that we can make a judgement. I fully support Ukraine's fight for their sovereignty. The problem is we are essentializing Russians as evil and that all of them are the same. They must take responsibility over what they did, so we shouldn't present them as a powerless brainwashed mass.

Gintautas Mažeikis: We start a new topic about values and facts, which facts are criminal, and which are not. I don't agree with Trump's idea that there are alternative facts. The EU cannot be compared to Russia, because there are many countries and newspapers that compete with each other. In Russia, there's like one newspaper. We cannot take their opinion equally to the multiple opinions of the EU. The majority of the journalists prove the same fact. And the second thing, you mentioned that so many Russians don't know what

the internet or what a computer is, but that is not important. Education doesn't mean that educated people are better than non-educated. We are against putinism, although Moscow and St. Petersburg are very educated, they are putinist. Even very educated people support Russian aggression. It's a problem of values. There cannot be a discussion here, because we support one set of values, they support the other. That's why we see the battles. These two countries couldn't agree on values. How to find those Russians who would like to support the democratic process, how to help them? How to build a better world? If we don't help them, it will be an apocalypse. We are looking at the final point, which will be more or less peaceful, an agreement will be achieved someday. Defeating Putin? Something I'll talk about in the next conference. But it's not related to access to the internet.

Alex Zakletsky: What I have to highlight is that the idea of awful Putin and good Russians existed in society for a long time. It seems like it's enough to eliminate Putin to make the bad magic disappear, it's a fine fairy tale, but it doesn't work. Let's start with the fact that Putin is the incarnate of Russian culture, he was born in St Petersburg, a product of Russian aesthetics and classical culture, which helped him become the president in 2002 in fully democratic elections. I must stress that Putin is not bombing Ukrainians, robbing civilians, raping women. Russian culture as it is leads to dehumanisation and absence of empathy. Bucha, Mariupol and others are not something new. Before this, the intrusion in Syria, Aleppo, where they used a gas bomb, and then in Georgia and others. The only difference in the situation now is that the use of the internet and phones allows us to document everything. The problem is in the fundamental cultural entities. The only way to cope with it is that we change these fundamental entities, we must understand why dehumanisation and absence of empathy is going up every 10 years. It's not about lack of information, the elite has information and the internet, and they have opportunities to go to other countries, but here they stand against European values.

Ove Joanson: The problem is that if it's not Putin, it's the mindset, the values. It's even harder.

Stelios Virvidakis: I agree with what people said, especially Gintautas. To add, there have been so many witnesses to what has been happening. There might be right wing people in Ukraine and there might have been some crimes, but that doesn't mean that there can be a war. Russia wants to retake Ukraine and change things. There are rules of war, and they have violated *all* rules of war, these are war crimes. Open any textbook on any just war doctrine, you can see there is no justification for this war. Where I disagree with my colleagues is that the war is essentially in the Russian identity.

Ove Joanson: Just a reminder, everyone is entitled to their own opinions, but not their own facts.



Pär Stenbäck: Vivek, can you rephrase some things that you said? Would you speak about two truths or two versions? Understandably, it might upset some people. You think that insecurity is a reason to invade, but so many countries are insecure and none of them invade.

Vivek Arunachalam: They justify their actions, and they say it's a military operation. This is how they see it. There's always an insecurity, like the case of Taiwan, where the people fear that China will take over.

Ove Joanson: The truth can be determined.

Melle Daamen: There is no justification for one-sided invasion of Ukraine, but we discuss principles, how and where this happens. There is more going on than Russia and Ukraine, all kinds of extreme nationalisms (in plural), also in Finland, Denmark, and others. As cultural parliamentarians,

we should say more than the most obvious. I saw the declaration and it's all Ukraine, I think we should talk about more than that.

Bartłomiej Struzik: I would like to go back to the international support for Ukraine, specifically from Poland. What surprised us is the support not only from the institutions, but the spontaneous support from the ordinary people. We know what European values are as long as nobody asks us this question.



So, I want to emphasize to you about the naturally risen support from the Polish. Maybe the European value is the human spirit. I can imagine Ukraine as a part of the European Union, so I invite our Ukrainian colleagues to discuss the values of the EU.

Viktor Ruban: Values are not abstract, it's something you practice every day. I wanted to say that we really talk a lot about Russians, how they feel, how they live, and we should think more about Europe. It's going to be a long process to define what are the right measures to deal with Russia, but for now, it's right to set boundaries and let them decide within their country. We should give responsibility, but without blaming. How can we help Russia from the outside, when their own citizens are fleeing?

Claire Fox: Even if some of the issues raised have been uncomfortable, we should welcome that. I fear that we settle good vs evil and then we avoid deeper discussions. I don't support Ukrainians because they're lovely and oppose Russians because they're evil, but we all agree that Russia's invasion is wrong. We must recognise how globalisation has battered this topic – now we see how those borders matter, how important is sovereignty. The whole of

Europe is not equally supportive of Ukraine, we should be honest about that. That's why we need to debate without avoiding uncomfortable topics, the lack of free speech is exactly what's stopping Russians from solving their problems.

Ove Joanson: The real freedom of speech has its dangers. Speaking of banning *Russia Today*, of course, there is the urge to silence the enemy, but it might have been a mistake, because it gives the image of Europe being not transparent.

Bengt Kristensson Ugglä: I want to make things even more problematic. When we speak of the EU values, we must be careful, because we can't be moral fundamentalists. Democracy is dynamic, it's a competition system, a conflict. The challenge with this co

Competition is to have opponents, not enemies. When in politics you recognise competition as enemies, that's war. But now we have an actual war, so how do we cope with that?



Workshops

Workshop 1

The Creative Process

How can the cultural creativity contribute to a creative process in other sectors of society?

Moderator: Timothy Emlyn Jones, Burren College of Art, Ireland

Timothy Emlyn Jones: I've been a member of the ECP since 2011, and we always think about how we can contribute to the host city. This is the first time that we've done this. I want this session to be a discourse, a debate. I want to facilitate a discussion, so I ask you to discuss the following: All human beings have the artistic potential to turn any social activity into art. Why is it that so many of us are artists as children? And why does it suddenly stop? In general, art produces many different things, particularly products: theatre performances, sculptures, paintings etc., and for some artists that process is clear; although, for some it's very intuitive. Intuition also involves some kind of process. For example, pottery. When you are making a, say, pot, the clay always falls off if you force it. The harder you try the more it resists. It should be centred.



What about research in the field of art? What are the research methods in art? They cannot be really defined, which is fascinating.

[Timothy's musings inspired ECP members Peter Hanke and Eliza Hoxha to share their experiences as artists. Peter Hanke is a choir conductor at Oxford University, while Eliza Hoxha, architect by profession, isn't afraid to dabble in art and work on meaningful projects].



Peter Hanke: Art is very universal. For example, there is a leadership class in Oxford several times a week, and I ask the students to conduct my choir - it's completely out of the box for them. It's a free space, of course, but they must conduct, and it trains their leadership skills.

Eliza Hoxha: Art is a tool for mobilising people. I had a project for sexually abused women during the war. After the war, it was a taboo topic - women couldn't talk about it, their husbands left them. The burden was psychological, economical, and physical. First, I did a song, but the deputy of the festival said that "we cannot do this, these women bring us shame". I wanted to hear their stories, and I did. Turns out, a song was just not enough. These women asked me to end the song on a positive note, which I did, and it was a success.



Later, I created an exhibition: there were stories and photos, which people had to match. I knew these girls, but the people didn't. Eventually, I swapped the pictures for a mirror, because it's not fair for the victims.

[Timothy sheds light on an important topic: how the children that lost interest in art can later become artists again: the answer is very simple, it's the will to make a difference].



Timothy: The best creative process is when you're absentminded. When you face a problem, you think you don't know the answer, but you do. [...] Coming back to the topic of children and arts: children stop drawing because, well, they don't. They make drawings as adults, and you have 2-3 examples of it - you can tell it's theirs. It's called handwriting.

Plenary Session

Timothy: When it was announced that the cultural capital will be in Ireland, different cities gave different reasons for why they want to be the European capital of culture. Galway was chosen, as they saw it as an opportunity to connect with Europe rather than have a one-time festivity. The benefit of ECP for the capital – engagement and involvement. The group we had in the workshop included half ECP members, half local Kaunas citizens. The benefit was the variety, which resulted in a wide-ranged discussion. What is the potential of the involvement of the local artists in the ECP?

This room could be full instead of half-full. We were talking about connecting emerging young artists with galleries, and we came up with speed-curation. It always results in a constructive discourse which allows them to be exposed. Working with professionals from ECP provides them with unique experiences. There are already examples of great success. There is the need for the ECP members to be active participants rather than observers, but the question is, is there the will for this? Is this an idea that can run or is this just an idea that me and Karl-Erik have?



Peter Hanke: I believe in this idea; it's been tried in recent years and it worked. Some of the ECP members have more connections with the locals and some less, but we all can get involved.

Gintautas Mažeikis: You started with the ECP mission and building bridges. However, bridges can be very boring. Ireland could be interesting because

of building cultural bridges, but when you are asking for a deeper participation, we must be less comfortable, to solve more and raise ambivalent questions which we could propose in hot discussions. This will be the position, I prefer not to limit this metaphor of cultural bridges. It's very boring for me.

Timothy Emlyn Jones: You used the adjective hot, very interesting.

Karl-Erik Norrman: Tim, we should add that the wonderful idea was killed by the pandemic, although we were in agreement to have an ECP session in Galway. To some extent the idea was fulfilled yesterday.

Timothy Emlyn Jones: Let me rephrase the questions, is it a good idea? In this short discussion that we just had, let's see if you can think of an idea of being involved in some way, can you raise your hand? $\frac{2}{3}$ of people responded. In that case, can I invite those people, who did and did not raise a hand to send a short email to me and Karl-Erik to say what thoughts you have? Not a firm proposal, but ideas.

Nik Dee-Dahlström: I strongly supported your point over the years, we have interacted and engaged with students and artists of where we are. I really feel that should be a part of the process. We create and leave feedback, but we should also leave feedback to the locals. I was at the Fluxus festival, it was a sweet experience. It was something that made me understand a bit more about what Kaunas and Lithuania is. I think we should really interact with our local experience and talk about it.

Laura Kristina Kolbe: ECP is a lovely brand, positive, which creates trust and will for cooperation. But as you discussed, in the future, it could be a bit more - bridging up - or maybe a kind of tool for the local organisers. How can we contribute and help? We have scholars, artists and writers, people with university backgrounds.

Viktor Ruban: It's about sharing expertise and having practical steps.

Timothy Emlyn Jones: This has the potential of changing the whole of ECP and what it has to contribute. We had a meeting with Karl at the university and the president of the university and all these scholars who were present. We tried to establish this connection of what the ECP was. Everyone understood that it was not another bureaucratic organisation, but something that actually contributes.

Yara Moualla: It is definitely a game-changer by having it as a think tank event. The opportunity here is also to listen and understand the dynamics happening within the grassroots and the locals. With time, there will be a sense of diversity and unity. Diversity will add a lot of know-how and knowledge to the EU. There's the knowledge you provide to the local scene, but also you provide the scene for them to express themselves.

Arlon Luijten: I like the word that the ECP is a provocation tool. But can you give me any specific examples? How did ECP provoke anything here in Kaunas?



Timothy Emlyn Jones: I understood that the ECP itself is the provocation, as an organisation. My personal feeling is that there is full potential for such activity. But provocation has been on a level of a discussion in a closed room. But we have participants here, in diverse projects.

Karl-Erik: There are two reasons, or were. ECP is a provocation, it's very simple. We are an NGO, calling itself a parliament, which can provoke some people. Another aspect is the strong defence of the

traditional idea that art must have the right to be provocative. If art is not allowed to be provocative, then we really have a problem - lean towards totalitarianism.

Claire Fox: ECP brings an eclectic group of people. Coming back here feels like home. A safe space to have a row and not get cancelled, which is a blessing in this day and age. Arriving at a place you have more connections with local artists and people. It shouldn't be a whole of it, this body has to be constitutive. It would've been great to have local students in the workshop on universities yesterday. It's not a good idea for us to follow the pattern of a traditional parliament.

Pär Stenbäck: It's right to call it a meeting place, a platform for discussions. It's important to understand that the 'parliament' is a small provocation. From time to time we return to this initiative that we should come back to this idea that we should become more structured. But, luckily or unluckily, we never got to this, basically because of the lack of funding. We never had any paid staff, for example. There were efforts to make connections with the EU, but the EU is not compatible with our style, because of the lack of bureaucracy on our side.

Marin Ivanović: I really like this idea of provocation and this question that provoked the discussion. What Pär was saying, on one hand the lack of administration on our side, and the EU parliament being too bureaucratic. Because of that, we have fluidity, a free exchange of ideas. How can we save this fluidity from this big group into a small group of 10 people working on a specific project?

Karl-Erik: Through 20 years there were occasions that these groups were successfully formed. These groups had a real effect, the EU even reported on the results, considering them important. These groups simply happen. It's just one of the many chances for initiatives like this.

Gintautas Mažeikis: ECP is unique, because it's an organisation without the organisation. ECP could compete or share the experience with other organisations without organisation, such as

Alternative Europe. Nobody knows who we are, which is a big privilege. We can cross any borders, because we are not bound to any country.

Luis Fernando Tavares Santos Pereira: As you mentioned, the advantage of the ECP is the diversity. There are members who didn't manage to come here to Kaunas due to different reasons. Let's consider covering the travel expenses for those in need, so that we actually have diverse discussions.

Workshop 2

2022 - Challenges for European universities

Moderators: Claire Fox, Academy of Ideas, London, and Stelios Virvidakis, Professor of Philosophy, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Claire Fox: In some US universities, the foundational works of western civilization, the works of Homer, are removed from the curriculum, because Odyssey and Iliad are considered inappropriate. There's an ideological assault on ideas and virtues. It has practical consequences. In Cambridge, they send the tutors to race-sensitivity training. If you are like me and you disagree with going there, you would be accused of unconscious bias and be sent to unconscious bias training camps. By the time you end the training, you will have lost your job. So, the tutors remain quiet.



Most students support censorship of certain topics on campuses. That's one of the reasons why academics are afraid the students will cancel them. There is also the misuse of therapeutic language, the students say they will be harmed by some of the content and get traumatised. In this situation, the PTSD you'd get in the war in Ukraine is likened to the trauma from reading the Iliad, so the notion of harm has been expanded enormously. Curriculum is edited according to the opinion of students. It is campaigned to remove works including slavery, although previously it was considered valuable that these works expose these problematic topics.

Marketization is a part of instrumentalizing knowledge, it's utilitarian, and it's being sold to students. We can't fail students. This compromises academic standards. The authority of experience and knowledge is challenged. Subjective students use lived experience to counter knowledge based on research. "I find this offensive" means "I want you to shut up". You cannot talk of the university without free speech and freedom of thought, but this is where we are heading. You cannot speak out against cancellation. This will affect art, as art requires free thinking more than anything.

Stelios Virvidakis: I was thinking about less political issues, more like the digital revolution through the pandemic and the advantages and problems that arise. I come from Greece, where academics use the same self-censorship. You cannot do something in the environment with these left-wing unions. Freedom of speech becomes selective; right-wing and conservatives are silenced. Sometimes we are frightened to go out in the dark because the police don't dare to enter the campus. Nevertheless, we have old-fashioned problems to deal with compared to England and the US. It's not in Greece yet, we are more conservative, but we have this leftist traditional activism. No one would dare to say we should remove Iliad and Odyssey from the curriculum. But if you want to invite someone controversial, the students will protest. In Greece, we don't have private universities. If you want to change something, you have to go through tedious bureaucratic processes. All programs must be approved, and it takes months.



Universities have always been a place for tensions and paradoxes. These institutions have always combined traditional values and avant-garde. So, on one hand, there's an elite group, but at the same time, it has a democratic mission – reproduction and innovation. There were challenges of digitalisation due to Covid, which at the beginning were terrible, but now appear rather fruitful. At the same time, we would like to come back to classes. On the other hand, new technology gave us more opportunities which need to be explored. There's the same tendency between the artists' interaction with society and the one of the university. Maybe philosophers here would like to contribute.

Claire Fox: What we have in common is that there is a collapse of the authorities in the universities. The demand is to decolonise the curriculum. We heard about positive discrimination, but then there is the extreme, where we get the wokeism.

Gintautas Mažeikis: I would like to argue on quite the opposite position. I studied classical literature. I remember the Plato and Aristotle crisis, rejection of Thomas Aquinas. I remember the new fashion of Hegelian studies, then rejection of it. Same with Marxism. It is related to the changes and transformation within the department. I understand feminists maybe don't want to see this kind of literature, or there are leftists that have their own demands. This is their life. Where I could support you is that we should discuss this fragile line. Innovative interruptions are a sense of progress. There is some demolishing and destabilisation of

processes, which are related to some authoritarian power, which wants to present its ideology. Like the Chinese revolution, at first it was very nice, some ideas were wonderful, but they broke that fragile line and they started the destabilisation of those processes. It's not about supporting classical literature, but the level of support.

Robert Pyrah: We talked about culture wars. Politics in universities is a huge topic. We didn't reach a firm conclusion. The issue with the culture war puts people into a political position. In other words, in the UK if you resist the cancel culture, you are coded as right-wing. I personally resist that, because we can't take political positions. Universities are apolitical. It doesn't mean that the professors can't have opinions, but we can't have a set opinion in the university. We should have the freedom to take a position not coded into a party or ideology.

The second point is the notion of academic standards. It's a tricky one, but with the marketization of academia, universities are under pressure to invite people. We must maintain the standard of expertise. We can't have certain debates in universities with people that don't have the expertise.

Jacob Dahl Rendtorff: There is criticism of the woke, of the gender research and the cancel culture in Denmark. Especially a lot of criticism in the Copenhagen university. In my experience I never encountered the suppression of speech.



Some right-wing speakers say that the problem is migration, gender, climate researchers and brought this to politicians. The parliament said we trust in university self-regulation. In what you say, there is

a difference between activist researchers and objective researchers.

Claire Fox: I think it's the opposite. Leading voices in academia would say universities have no problem and that it's the right wingers that are causing the problem.

Nikola Matišić: Within the arts, before you had university for music, arts, dancers, the core purpose was to create artists, now the focus is to produce texts about art, so they also have to invite students into subjects that do not improve the arts, but analyse in introspection. This direction has become the focus of these academies because of the competition. The side effect is that when you invite leaders for these institutions, involuntarily the priority is given for those that are willing to drive the institution to the more profitable directions, which happens to be these woke ideas. We're experiencing institutional crises and university is losing its soul. We have to reconstruct the vertical dimension of the university without the authoritarian trap. A shift is moving away from content to practices. If we hold on to content (themes of democracy led to colonisation). I think it's progress compared to what it was some twenty years ago. The question: what is the expert at the uni today? You don't understand the living experience of students.

Michael Bamberg: What came apparent from what happened in the progressive European countries is that we are moving away from content to practices.



We are enduring the ideas that led to the modern world, but it also led to imperialism, to slavery. There are alternatives, for example, in the indigenous cultures.

Emil Starodubov (VMU student): Universities are run like businesses. At present the collegial diploma in Lithuania is comparable to a BA degree at university which results in the further shift of focus from science towards practical skills in the universities.

Robert Pyrah: Irrespective of the woke debate, universities are absolutely terrified of not getting enough students because of this constant pressure to raise money. With that come the consumer students and the feedback they give.

Massimo Dell'Utri: To defend the vertical dimension is the traditional mission of the university. To counter the assault on the values in the university, we should teach the students to read the texts critically.



Claire Fox: Often students are tranquilised. Academia is dominated by the theory of relativism, academic objectivity is unfathomable.

Nicolae Viorel Butler: In the USA we have a social guilt for the crimes against the smaller nations. This cancel culture for the youth is the offset of the guilt.

Luis Fernando Tavares Santos Pereira: There is a great inertia in the academy. If you get appointed, it's basically a position for life. You need to fill goals which translate to points, which gets to the ranking. This is how we attract students. There is also a great pressure on the academia from the

media.



Mary Miller: There is a culture of bullying in schools, the students rebel, but maybe this lack of respect for experience comes from schools. We have this problem at different levels.

Nikola Matišić: We have an ongoing discussion that teachers are not taught how to teach, only what to teach. Parents treat teachers as their employees. Kids are smart, they know what they have to do to get somewhere. They foresee what's expected of them.

Laura Kristina Kolbe: I'm not pessimistic about the future of universities since universities survived numerous ideological periods. I think universities are resilient and flexible institutions. Pandemic showed that university buildings don't play an important role. Who is the university? We need a student who is eager to learn and a teacher. The structure, the government, these parts are marginal.



Just recently some administration person said that resilience has to be included into the teaching. The clever academics adapted to this silly requirement without changing the basis. Fifty years ago it was the requirement of socialism. Without attracting the best students and the best scholars we will lose university.

Vivek Arunachalam: I am hyper-pessimistic. In private schools, profit maximisation is a basic problem. The school heads do not actually have the right experience, they work for the profit. The schoolers that come there are paying the money, but they do not get the quality. The quality is compromised. Profit maximisation diminishes the value of the private sector.

Claire Fox: To sum up, the university lost confidence in its missions and now there is a discourse that knowledge is a problem.

Stelios Virvidakis: There is a major fear that marketization will destroy values of research. Will new technology help us not to lose our presence, the life of campus?

Jacob Dahl Rendtorff: Speaking of the lack of authority, there is the increasing pressure on truth. There is a different attitude towards questioning natural sciences. In humanities, it is hard for professors to keep their authority, when students think they have something more important to say.

Bengt Kristensson Ugglä: Contradicting to Laura, in the modern university, it's not enough to have a teacher and a student, there should be at least two teachers. Research is something we share. The collegial practices in the community have to be restored.

Emil Starodubov (VMU student): There is an example in Kaunas Vytautas Magnus University of the clash of interests between the administration and the community. Four years ago, students demanded the opening of a cafeteria in the central faculty. The administration resisted. After the pandemic the cafeteria would have helped gather the community. It should finally open next year, but it will only have around 20 seats.

General Debate

Timothy Emlyn Jones: I would like to pick up on one point, under the banner of free speech. Marketization and its effects on the university. Institutions should be clear about what they are offering. If you are offering a master's program in

art, you are offering a private market, it is not state-funded. I prefer when you are explicit in what you are offering: e.g. new opportunities and perceptions. Students say that doesn't suit me. Well good, that's not what you're here for. If you advertise all things for all students, you are inexplicitly inviting the consumers, it's a contract. If the students then break that contract, it is put into question. Marketization has changed that beyond recognition, and I know this as an educator.

Claire Fox: Firstly, marketization. It's part of instrumentalizing knowledge, it's utilitarian, and it's being sold to students. We can't fail students. Students at Oxford University in courses on philosophy do not want to read Locke, because it's not in the exam. We want ethical minorities in the curriculum. Thomas Hardy erased from literature courses. His novels deal with suicide, and you have to save the students from uncomfortable ideas or topics. Claire admits to being a free speech absolutist in the UK and receiving questions about the agenda of the course.

Stelios Virvidakis: Trumpism is an example of what happens when the right-wing figure exploits the situation.

Viktor Ruban: It's fashionable to politicise instead of being political. It's important to look from the historical perspective.

Michael Bamberg: University is not and has never been about free speech because it has always been ruled by standards. The implicit idea that we have different degrees means that we do not discuss on the same level. University is a collegial model. The seminars are only the model for how we argue.

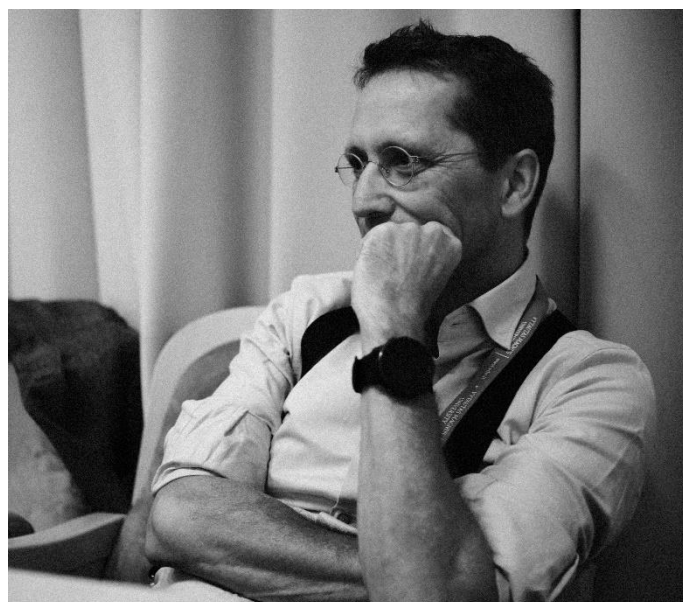
Peter Hanke: Universities are elitist institutions. We should understand the difference between professors, associate professors and others. Also, you need to study no matter where you stand. 50 years ago, you could never get into universities without declaring yourself a Marxist, so this situation with wokeism is similar.



Robert Pyrah: At university, there're always people with different opinions. There should be everybody, no matter whether you are right or left.



Emil Starodubov (VMU student): The culture of research, which is the core of the university, is not considered by young people, because they only come to get a set of skills for a job. Nobody comes to become scientists.

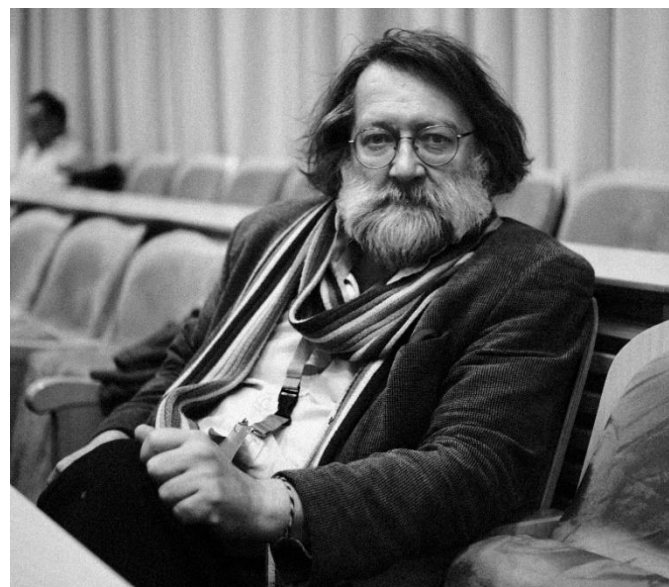


Andres Pardey: You talk about universities as the main battleground for the cancelling of culture. In Switzerland we have this cancellation of culture, for example, white reggae players are considered offensive.

Claire Fox: Read Espinosa, he's a misogynist. Who cares if he is dead or alive? Or Marxism? It's a content issue, if you know what happened when people applied it, then it is not dangerous. I think it's

a deeper and more profound problem. Cancel culture condemns you, humiliates you, you have to publicly apologise, peers hate you – this is the Chinese Cultural Revolution. It's like saying denounce classical music and get down to the fields. This is exactly what is happening in the UK and the US, and if it's not happening in your country, you just wait. Universities are not settled around free speech. I'm not advocating that. I'm saying that if you are attacked for exercising free speech, then it's a disaster, in the context of academic freedom. The vibrancy of academic life cannot happen if you cannot say what you think. Ironically, the universities are now associated with wokeism.

Nicolae Viorel Butler: 3 points. Part of the woke movement stems from the United States. So, my second country is partly to blame for such a situation that has arisen in Europe. This is partly due to the fact that in the US, we allow people who aren't experts to share their opinions and for us to determine them as valuable input. In Europe, you need to be an expert. I value both the US and European perspective. Secondly, we must be weary about American-European exceptionalism vs Russo-Chinese exceptionalism; this is the real war we're fighting. Thirdly, we must learn from the Nuremberg Trials and not make the same mistake again.



Tomas Čepaitis: I read everything, so I read Marxist theory, I read 100 pages and didn't understand much. There are many truths in all the books that the reader doesn't know how to answer, but my professor should help me beat Marx, but if

they try, then they would lose their work. Good professors and universities should know what fragility is and I know that we all feel the same. We can't fight with these ideas; we aren't as strong. Universities are there to teach us how to argue.



ECP Kaunas Declaration 2022

The European Cultural Parliament, ECP, meeting for its 20th session in Kaunas, is concerned by the advancing totalitarian forces in Europe. The unprovoked and brutal aggression of Russia against Ukraine and its people has had disastrous consequences. In addition, this war also has adverse effects on common European values, cultural diplomacy and soft power. Every friend of freedom and democracy must take a stand and be engaged against these crimes against humanity. ECP urges its members and their constituencies to mobilize resources for all independent Ukrainian cultural communities.

The ECP members expressed a range of concerns regarding the complicity of Russian cultural actors supporting the war. They condemned all imperialistic historical claims and the abuse of history for propaganda purposes.

The ECP supports the rebuilding structures and development of new policies in order to secure the role of Ukraine as a functioning partner and cultural actor in the European house.

The ECP encourages an enhanced dialogue in Europe and its institutions to define future common European cultural policies relating to Ukraine, including practical measures to assist Ukrainian artists and institutions. Destroyed theatres, concert halls, museums, libraries, etc. must be rebuilt. The ECP wishes to offer its advice in this process.

The ECP acknowledges the strong, values-based position of Lithuania and other countries in standing up against the Russian aggression.

The ECP finally expresses its gratitude to Kaunas 2022, European Capital of Culture and to Vytautas Magnus University for hosting this session.

Members initiatives and presentations

Nordic scenarios. Thinking about the future in the Baltic state Area

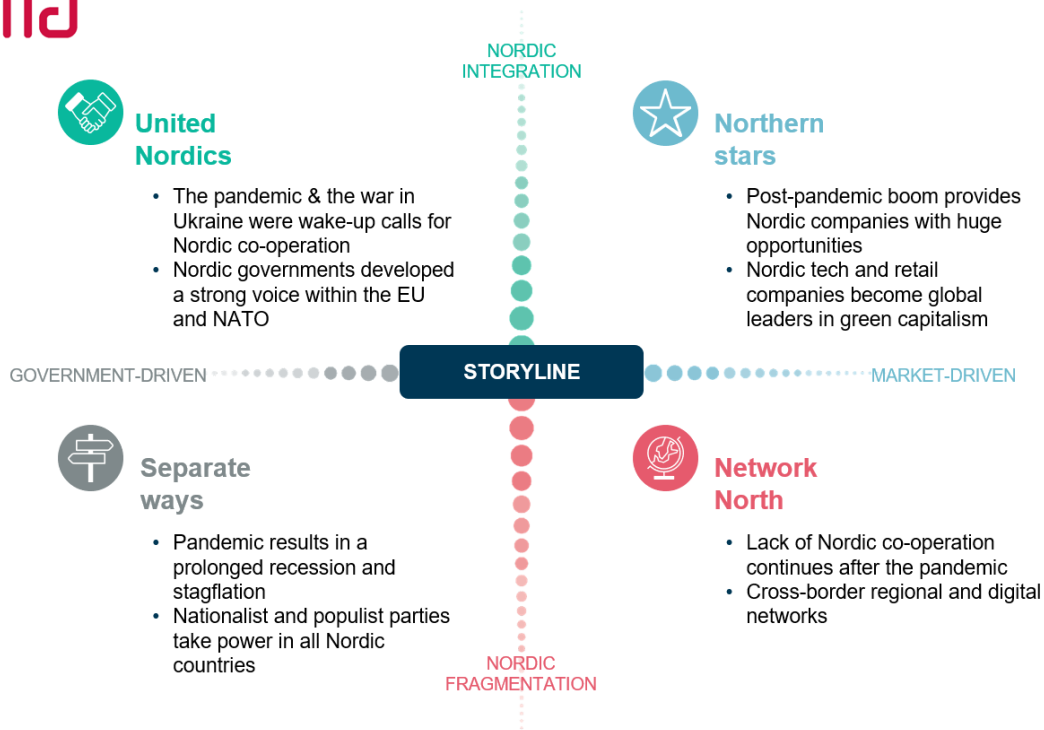


Nils-Erik Forsgård, Helsinki

Starting in 2020, six think tanks in Nordic countries were involved in this project. The first question was about what the Nordic countries will look like after the pandemic. The second question was about what will happen in the world after the election in November 2020. The assumption was that the pandemic will end soon. We never thought that we would still think about it partly in 2022, so our thoughts were premature. In January 2022, we prepared everything to be printed, but then Russia attacked Ukraine. We had to quickly include it into our scenarios. We had some starting points for

these scenarios. First, we recognised that inflation and interest rates will rise. We are facing it today.

magma



Anti-globalisation forces are growing. Nationalists and anti-globalists lead for national self-sufficiency when it comes to goods, technology and medicine. The third starting point is witnessing an ending point for Pax Americana. Contracts, stipulated orders, agreements that started after 1954. We see China rising, we see that the US and China are in rivalry now. Russia, like Turkey and Brazil, is now a middle country. The transition from fossil to other fuels. More information: magma.fi/in-english/

The Transatlantic Dialogue beyond 2021 ... a project on the significance of culture for fostering global, compassionate and mindful citizenship

François Carbon, Compassionate Pedagogue & member of the European Cultural Parliament, Luxembourg



The Transatlantic Dialogue conference series on global citizens, held in Luxembourg since 2008, explores the significance of culture and liberal education for fostering global citizenship from both US and European perspectives in an ongoing process of construction.

The focus of the TAD project is to examine the critical role of culture and liberal education for developing educators, artists, students and representatives of other relevant organizations: who think broadly; who recognize and respect cultural diversity and heritage; and whose engagement in the arts serves as a conduit to personal authenticity, innovation and inclusion.

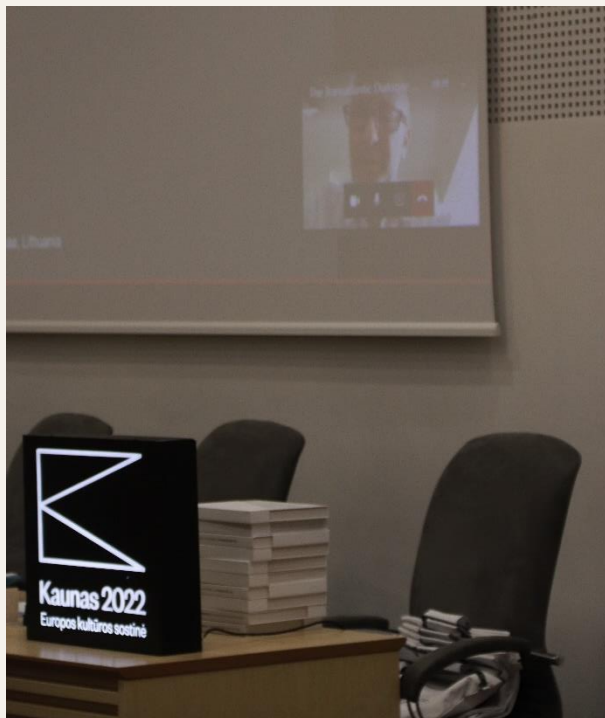
The TAD philosophy understands that in an increasingly globalized world, in which human beings are able to communicate and exchange information faster than ever before, the globe is becoming more integrated and there is a growing interdependency between nations, communities and individuals. Compassionate and inclusive intercultural interaction will undoubtedly become a major challenge for international relations in the 21st century.

Possible activities:

- **Element 1:** Creation of a EU-US Core team elaborating a ,new‘ strategy
- **Element 2:** international dissemination conferences & strategy papers based on previous TAD programmes including interdisciplinary keynote speeches, plenary sessions, roundtable discussions, panels, creative ateliers, and social encounters including a cultural and leisure programme will provide the venue spaces to share and discuss possibilities and strategies for translating notions of languages and cultures, cultural diplomacy, mindful / compassionate leadership and peace into action.
- **Element 3:** summer schools
- **Element 4:** multidisciplinary training programmes
- **Element 5:** creation of a network of academic, creative, cultural, diplomatic, social, political, ... actors
- **Element 6:** cultural events (concert, exhibition, literary lectures, ...)
- **Element 7:** Mentorship programme
- **Element 8:** Creation of a EU/US database of Speakers related to specific subjects

The ECP offers a 'new' platform for regular debate and intercultural dialogue on crucial issues (environment, economic and social inequality, diversity and inclusion, world peace) between independent artists, writers, musicians, historians, philosophers, educators, designers, architects, politicians, diplomats and other creative thinkers from all countries, a transpacific meeting place, where relevant ideas and initiatives are born.

It is critical that within the context of this new platform, students, and young people, in general, be targeted as a principal constituency. Their involvement in the planning and implementation of activities is necessary because, in the end, they are the inheritors of the world that this project aims to create. The EU list of members is still empty. We are looking for young members. At least one should be taken by the members of the ECP. The list of institutions for potential collaboration has been demonstrated.



The list of US members:

Cheryl D. Young, PhD, Dean, Associate Vice President, Global Initiatives, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Dr Harvey Charles, Professor of International Education, Dept. of Educational Policy and Leadership School of Education, University at Albany, State University New York

James Ketterer, Dean, School of Continuing Education, The American University in Cairo, Egypt

Dr Michael Bamberg, Professor & Director, Henry J. & Erna D. Leir Luxembourg Program Clark University, Massachusetts

Dr Witold Wolny, Director of Study Abroad and International Student and Scholar Services

Belmont University, Nashville, Tennessee

Re-imagining tomorrow through the Arts and Sciences

Arlon Luijten, RASL, Rotterdam Art Science Lab



I'm also here to collect and connect. In the Netherlands, there is an exciting group of educators and creators who are reimagining sciences. We want to connect disciplines outside of the art too. We make city operas, games, installations and future labs. We have Codarts, the University of the Arts or rather the School of Arts. A place to learn how to explore as an artist, to take risks, make mistakes and create interdisciplinary within the art - so I created the incubator. During projects in the incubator, students fall in love with each other, the art, and other disciplines.

We created RASL (Re-imagining tomorrow through the Arts and Sciences). There is a unique alliance with the University of Rotterdam Kooning, Codarts - together we are creating a transdisciplinary art. Everyone collaborates for positive societal transformation. One of the challenges is that we want to create a third space. Art School is binary and divided. One of the things that we are doing right now is changing our language as well as our space. We don't work with clients; we work with societal partners because they work together with us.



We mainly focus on three themes: health, equality and climate. We live in the delta so we are living in the air, water, earth, animals, and things. We always invite students to challenge themselves. And we approach the challenges that we face. Equality of knowledge (academic, artistic, embodied, situated (societal)) - everything that we are doing is playing with tensions and we try to enjoy that, we encourage students to enjoy it. Academic and artistic knowledge have different rhythms and thinking and that is a tension. So we try to erase that tension. We do not only ask 'what is', but we ask 'what if'. We don't solve the problem. We try to map the concerns. Taking care of something and learning something. We want our students not to feel responsible, but to be response-able, which is inspiring. We are really playing around with language. We are now building floating cities, the only problem is that we don't know how to include people there. Is it okay to steal the sea for us to live on? It's a fictional problem that we try to deal with.

What we have by now is a RASL Dual Degree, which is a lot, system-wise. We have PhD focusing on research, we have a Master's (starting 2022 September 24), and a Bachelor's for transdisciplinary studies.

Parallel City

Eliza Hoxha, Prishtina, Kosovo

I graduated as an architect, more known for visual arts and activism. Expelled, institutionalised, emigrated, then returned and witnessed the independence of Kosovo.

The picture being demonstrated is a house where nobody lived, though it was built for the family and later given to the school. The owner did a big shelter against weather conditions. What is a parallel city? In Yugoslavia, in 1989 there was the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy including Kosovo's education, health, culture, information, economy and the city as it is. A network of parallel education systems was built.

The idea was a public space. Everything that was public was inside a box. Everything we did was in a house. It became a hospital, a book shop and a coffee shop. The main public space is the centre, a place for transit and protests. How were the new spaces created? The core area of the city is where the core elements were - education and the new public space were areas for the people to create their own businesses. This changed the pattern of the city.

Performances and different art shows happened in coffee shops, and we had secret galleries. The cafe culture became important for us because it became a meeting point. We told each other our stories, but also well-known public figures and publications of many books were connected to the cafe culture. Whoever came to Kosovo, got a piece of something to bring back home. Dodona gallery was very important. Alternative arts and conceptual arts came from necessity.



Albanian people were banned from the information. The only Albanian newspaper was shut down, so all families bought satellite dishes. You knew where the Albanian family lived since you could see the satellite on the building.



Do we see the 90s in Kosovo as a collective memory? There are some written articles about the 90s but there is a lack of narrative and information. We collected some and interviewed people. We thought about how we could show Kosovo in such a laconic way. We decided on a house with a dish and a mirror. There was also a carpet, so the house was the city. There is a map showing where different schools were located - private-public institutions at that time. After collections of information and memories, the municipality of Pristina in 2018 proclaimed the house a museum. There was a biennale and also a book was published about the schools in Pristina.



Presentation of new ECP members

One of the new members, the CEO of Kaunas 2022, Virginija Vitkienė, presented the impressive program of the European Cultural Capital year. Two of them, concert pianist Rimantas Vingras and opera singer Vytautas Juozapaitis, are well-known musicians and offered an acclaimed musical program at the opening ceremony. A fourth new member, Ukrainian photographer Oliaksandr Zakletskyi, presented an impressive and emotionally shocking photo exhibition on destruction in the Ukrainian war. Other new ECP-members who presented themselves were Nicolae Burcea, Romania/USA, Marin Ivanovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Viktor Rubin, Ukraine and Jurgita Staniškytė, Kaunas.

Nicolae Viorel Burcea-Butler: I graduated with a bachelor's in Political Science and went to Berlin to obtain my Master's in International Relations and Cultural Diplomacy at the ICD, where I met Karl-Erik, who became my professor. Via his initiative, several female ICD students and I renewed the younger version of the ECP and reformatted it into the ECP-FG; I often attended the ECP conferences as their focal representative.



I found while on my travels that I had fallen in an existential crisis that isn't dissimilar to much of how young people perceive life nowadays and I decided to write. One of my goals as a writer is to find

philosophical and social answers that could lead us to the future. My life has been exciting and vividly introspective, and it is my hope that my addition to the ECP enables a more youthful integration of issues and resolutions that might expand and define the European soul in a more modern and realistic way.



Marin Ivanović: Historian and museum manager by education and vocation, director, and teacher in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Several hundred essays and articles, books, chapters, etc. We are all professors in our fields, our resumes are online. Being a member of elite ECP doesn't let us be an elitist, but gives us more responsibility. The biggest treasure of the ECP is diversity, brought from the backyard. Witnessed war in Dubrovnik, lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The more extensive need is that we engage in culture in a contemporary way, in a form of healing.

Vytautas Juozapaitis: ECP does not accept politicians, so I was surprised. I taught in musical schools. My profession was as an opera singer. As a singer, I will present myself with a couple of songs.

Rimantas Vingras: I am a pianist. I teach at VMU and in London as well. I do cultural projects, some of which are related to presenting Lithuanian culture abroad. I feel at home when I'm surrounded by you. I would like to play Mazurkas by Chopin, Debussy, Čiurlionis and Szymanowski.



Viktor Ruban: I'm from Kyiv, Ukraine. It's a privilege to be here. Just because the others are fighting and dying. I will start with a minute of silence. Work in theatre, movement-based artist, producer, culture activist, educator, and art therapist. I have to be, not forced. Part of my choice is because of the dynamic situation in Ukraine.



It's related to the Soviet Union period when intellectuals were forced out. Every decade there was a massive extinction of people who could create Ukraine and build up the identity, and institutions that could create it. Still in the process of De-Sovietization. It's challenging but informative. Being here, talking about myself and info that might not be known. There are a lot of things that can be open for discussion. I'm here to answer any questions about Ukraine. I brought a gift with me. I came from Riga, a festival, which involved kids and parents, temporarily displaced people from Ukraine, who participated in creating postcards. I've brought the postcards as a sign of solidarity. I propose

looking at what these people are prepared to share. The future is not somewhere, it's forming now.

Jurgita Staniškytė: I come from Kaunas, VMU. I am the dean of the Faculty of Arts. My main fields of research are theatre and performance studies. Lithuania used to be a country of basketball and theatre. The situation with basketball has changed and is not so good anymore, but theatre - yes. My research focuses on a comparative analysis of all three Baltic states, with special attention to audience participation. I am now interested in performative aspects of social and political phenomena. You cannot understand contemporary politics without knowing something about theatre. We must know how we are manipulated, for example, Putinism and Trumpism. I am involved in *Kaunas 2022*. We convince those who still think that culture doesn't matter.



Virginija Vitkienė: I graduated from university with a degree in Art History and Criticism. My doctoral thesis was on contemporary art. I am one of the board members of the Kaunas biennale. I want to share my experiences working in it. The biennale gathered artists from all around the world, but it is also running a program called Magic Carpet, this platform is dedicated to community involvement and engagement. We include Displaced Persons (DP) in workshops, which is related to Viktor's work in Riga.

I was used to international partnerships: it's the DNA of culture. Only by sharing culture, you can gain many eye-openers. It's not enough if we think only about ourselves. We must be empathetic people. When I heard that Kaunas will gain the title of the European Capital of Culture, we had many discussions about whether Kaunas was ready and able to provide the means for this opportunity. I recently was in hospital, and after the narcosis, doctors asked me what was happening in the

Kaunas 2022. Apparently, I told them a lot during my sleep.



It took a lot of tears, but we are celebrating this event. It was hard to tackle difficult topics that relate to Kaunas history, for example, the Holocaust topic, which needed to be discussed more than before. When the war started, it became even more important. Concrete change is the goal of this program, but also to co-create and create change. It was created by 300 organisations, producers and artists. After this year we will count many more.

This year we will celebrate a festival that locals attend regularly. I am very proud of community involvement and volunteering.

We established initiatives that could change something for the better as, for example, *the City Telling Festival*, which celebrates the various nationalities and cultures of Kaunas, especially the Jewish population. This event is taking place now in installations like, for example, *Out of Darkness*. We tell history through exhibitions and theatre plays. These performances are based on personal stories. It is very important to touch peoples' souls. *Out of Darkness* is based on a true story of one family; their tragedy unfolds in the exhibition.

World Litvak Forum: Change through Responsibility. Community is the main engine of culture to be sustainable and needed. We try to use the resources given to us to prolong the cultural involvement of people.

Fluxus Festival is an intellectual carnival. Everybody needs to climb the hill in the craziest way. We are doing this because J. Mačiūnas was born in Kaunas, and so we gather from two to five thousand people in the summertime to celebrate *the Fluxus* movement. Guests from Estonia, Slovenia

and other European countries come to join the festival. It is strange but unforgettable.

We are regional, including 25 territories around the city, helping to develop activities, and festivities related to the location and adapted to its needs. Now we have 25 festivals, every weekend, all year. Professional artists work with locals, e.g. making public sculptures.

Before applying to be part of the European Capital of Culture, we had problems with engaging young people to stay in Kaunas because they are leaving for Vilnius. We wanted to change it, so we made the young people stay in Kaunas, as a result, Vilnius youth comes to Kaunas to study. We did a training for young people starting at the age of 17 who later organised the youth festival *Audra* by themselves, which was a real success.



When the refugees started arriving, we opened a Ukrainian Culture Centre with various spaces. We will accomplish a plan to have a Ukrainian triennial *Ukraine! Unmuted*, in the building with several stores. We didn't plan this exhibition, but now it will be the crown of the year. Irish creators included 500 people to create a house-made movie. The ship that used to deepen the river is converted into a floating garden. A few years ago William Kentridge, a South African artist, told the organisers of the event that he would never go to the land where his ancestors were murdered, but he came and created a few new pieces of art. In another event, Abramovic's lecture, 6000 people participated.

140 performances during the entire *ConTempo Festival*. *The Contemporary Myth of Kaunas Trilogy: Confusion* was held on January 20-22, 2022. The second part *Confluence* was organized on May 20-22, 2022 while the last part *Contract* will be held on November 25-27, 2022.

You can hear in all of our voices here in Lithuania that we are together with Ukraine because we share the same destiny.



Alex Zakletsky: Culture is a civilization experience of a society in concentrated form, saved on some kind of medium. This saved experience may serve to further develop this society, upgrade its structure, and motivate its people to evolve from a state of savagery to humanity. Here, at this moment, Russian culture shows its main defect - it fails to prevent the atrocities and dehumanization but, conversely, reproduces the model of wild, barbaric behavior and vandalism.



All the photo you see here is a witness of how really "great Russian culture works". Lev Tolstoy averred that Russia has its own special way, Russian folk are God-chosen and God-bearers. In that concept, Russian culture does not require rational explanations, it is as incomprehensible as God's plan. The only possibility for the adept of Russian culture is just to believe in Russia and forgive it any sins and crimes because Russia exists for withholding the absolute evil. As a matter of fact, Russia is this absolute evil.

Russian culture is a terrorism on a state level. It produces murders, ruins, tortures, and hunger. And,

moreover, it is trying to delete another cultures and culture figures.



When I prepared this exhibition, I was trying to take photos which will not shock deeply the viewers, I understand that it will be exposed in public place. That is why there are no people on the photos - I understand that it will be very empathic. I try to tell the story about war and crimes through the stories of things and landscapes. But I hope you will see the face of total evil in these photos.

That is why I am asking all of you to support Ukraine. Support it every day, because we carry a peaceful sky on your houses. Please support us and help our culture figures and institutions. They are in very dangerous situation. Saving of culture is very important for us because culture keep the identity of nation. Let all of us think how we can help Ukrainian artists, because now they are one of the most dangerous social groups in Ukraine. Thank you for attention and Slava Ukraïni!



Honorary Regalia Award Ceremony and Lecture by Doctor Honoris Causa Karl-Erik Norrman

Before the session started a ceremony was held to grant Doctor Honoris Causa of Vytautas Magnus University to the General Secretary of ECP Karl Erik Norrman.



Link to article about the event including many pictures (in Lithuanian)

<https://www.vdu.lt/lt/vdu-garbes-daktaro-regalijos-iteiktos-ekp-ikurejui-karl-erik-norrman/>

Interview with Karl Erik Norrman at VMU

<https://kaunas2022.eu/en/2022/08/30/karl-erik-norrman-its-very-important-to-defend-european-values-today/>

...

Cultural program

- Jenny Kagan interactive exhibition *Out of Darkness*

Artist Jenny Kagan, daughter of Joseph Kagan and Margaret Strom grew up in the UK surrounded by stories of pre-war and wartime Lithuania. In the exhibition "Out of Darkness" she shares the stories they told her about their survival in Kaunas during the Holocaust.



The setting of this exhibition, created through images, music, projections, and other elements, draws viewers into a very personal and at the same time universal story, inviting them to explore their emotions and experiences in the presence of memory, light, and darkness. You are invited to navigate your own journey through an atmosphere-laden landscape, where faces float in the darkness, suitcases open to reveal magical interiors, hidden corners invite you in and stories unfold.”

The story told by Jenny Kagan seems even closer and more relevant to us in the face of today's war. It raises the question of our choices – unfortunately, not in the abstract sense, but in the present tense. What do I do when war comes? Do I choose left or right? If I must, which side do I send the other to? Do I open the door to the one who is being persecuted? Do I close my eyes and remain a passive observer? We hope that everyone will find their own answer in this exhibition.



William Kentridge exhibition *That Which We Do Not Remember*

Curator: Virginija Vitkienė



The exhibition will compel you to forget stereotypes. In this exhibition, Kentridge addresses humanity's selective memory. The rejection of facts, history, and memories as a means of self-preservation or a tool of propaganda is just as common a characteristic among people in Johannesburg and Rome as it is in Kaunas and mankind in general. We all choose what we wish to remember and what to expel from our memories. Kentridge hopes to fill these gaps in our memory and speak with us about what we deliberately, or unconsciously, no longer remember. The artist invites us to combine the strings of the events of a broken history into meaningful mosaics, like a mirror reflecting on those who look at it.



- **Yoko Ono** retrospective exhibition *The Learning Garden of Freedom & EX IT*

- *100 coffins*

An installation by the world-renowned artist Yoko Ono, *Ex It*, will be on display in the main operations room of the Kaunas branch of the Bank of Lithuania. The installation consists of 100 wooden coffins of different sizes with fruit trees growing out of them and a sound recording of living nature. It is a powerful image of the aftermath of war or natural disaster, a metaphor for the resilience of life and the vitality of nature. As the artist herself says, “*Ex It* is life as a continuation”. This installation is the precursor to Yoko Ono’s major retrospective exhibition, titled “The Learning Garden of Freedom”.



This show will feature conceptual artworks, installations, objects, experimental films, performances, sound and text works. In addition to her innovative paintings and performances, the artist later began to create objects, films, and spatial installations, to bring other artists together in collaborative actions, and to invite the audience to actively engage in artistic processes. In her performances and other works, Yoko Ono raises issues closely related to the feminist movement, such as the female body and women’s empowerment in society. The artist’s name is also often associated with the pacifist movement, which remains more than relevant to this day.





-Fluxus Festival 2022 themed *INSTRUCTION MANUALS*

This festival is a climax of community work all year long. It is a stage for citizens to celebrate themselves and their city. Dress up in Fluxus fashion - Climb the Parodos Hill.

Once every year, ever since 2018, the Fluxus Festival has reclaimed Parodos Hill from the rushing traffic, handing it over to merry-makers climbing the Parodos Hill in the most outlandish costumes. They ascend the hill in whatever way their imagination takes them, whether it be backwards, in somersaults, with their eyes closed, or having hitched a friend to a wheelbarrow to pull it along.

And at the top of the hill, a dessert awaits - an (un)expected and (extra)ordinary creative happening consisting of music, performances, and artistic installations.

Buckle up - in the year of the European Capital of Culture 2022, the fifth edition of the Fluxus Festival on 10 September will be bigger and more fantastic than ever before. Fluxus instruction manuals, which will be scattered throughout the festival space, will invite you to break out of the everyday and experience your daily routine upside down.

- Concert at VMU Music Academy

An evening of Classical Masterpieces was held and performed on the brand-new grand piano at the Academy and played by the highly skilled members of the faculty.

Cuisine and social interaction





Participants

(not a final list)

Abelardo Gonzalez

Agnė Poderytė

Alex Zakletsky

Alexis Kouros

Andres Pardey

Arlon Luijten

Bartłomiej Struzik

Bengt Kristensson Ugglå

Brigita Stroda

Claire Fox

David Lordkipanidze

Eliza Hoxha

François Carbon

Gabrielė Žaidytė

Gintautas Mažeikis

Helle Juul

Yara Moualla

Ilona Kazlauskaitė

Jaanus Rohumaa

Jacob Dahl Rendtorff

Jason Edward Hale

Juozas Augutis

Jurgita Staniškytė

Karl-Erik Norrman

Laura Kristina Kolbe

Levan Khetaguri

Luis Fernando Tavares Santos Pereira

Mary Miller

Marie-Louise Gräfin von Plessen

Marin Ivanović

Massimo Dell'Utri

Melle Daamen

Michael Bamberg

Miran Mohar

Nevena Škrbić Alempijević

Nicolae Viorel Butler

Nik Dee Dahlstrom

Nikola Maticic

Nils Erik Forsgård

Oskar Norrman

Ove Joanson

Pär Stenbäck

Peter Hanke

Rimantas Vingras

Robert Pyrah

Stelios Virvidakis

Timothy Emlyn Jones

Verena Huber

Viktor Ruban

Vilma Bijekienė

Virginija Vitkienė

Vytautas Juozapaitis

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(Group photo)

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Kaunas 2022 – European Capital of Culture, with CEO Virginija Vitkienė
The City of Kaunas

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*Linkėjimai
iš Kauno
-Editorial team*

VMU - Kaunas - European Capital of Culture 2022