

Common



European
Cultural
Foundation

Ground

Europe Day
2022

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WHAT CAN CULTURE DO IN TIMES OF WAR?

Only a few months ago this question would have sounded totally out of place in the editorial of *Common Ground*, the Annual Magazine of the European Cultural Foundation. But since 24 February 2022 we have war in Europe and this question has occupied our minds and determined our work and the work of our partners and friends.

In recent years, it became fashionable for politicians and public intellectuals to wonder about the purpose and the future of the European project. Apparently, we had lost it, the sense of purpose. Monnet and Schuman's narrative of European peace and solidarity, they argued, was no longer relevant and was no longer understood by young people. Reflection groups on the new narrative for Europe were set up, conferences on the future of Europe were organised. And while we took peace in Europe for granted others prepared for war.

Now war is no longer a distant memory. Putin has brutally reminded us that the founding narrative of the European Union is as relevant today as it was 75 years ago. We no longer have the luxury to ponder what Europe is about. We must concentrate on the essential and pursue a European peace narrative as seriously and creatively as the founding fathers of the European project did.

The European Cultural Foundation was created in 1954 to grow a European sentiment, a European sense of belonging, a European culture of solidarity, by supporting cultural initiatives that let people share, experience and imagine Europe. Our founders envisioned a united Europe where citizens feel proudly European, a place where they can live, express themselves, work and dream freely, in diversity and harmony. This mission is as urgent now as it was in 1954.

As you will read in the chapter on the European sentiment compass, we currently seem to be on a European sentiment high. The war in Ukraine unites us. We should be happy that our mission currently has a good run. But of course, we cannot be happy if it takes a war to make Europeans feel European. There must be and there are other ways to feel European. What can culture do?

Artists and cultural figures are drivers of change. They give hope in times of war and anxiety. They provide resistance against dictators and lies, they keep the connection across polarised lines, they imagine a better Europe beyond war, spheres of influence, polarisation and simplistic talk of growth rates. They can help save Europe from nostalgia for 20th-century nationalism. Investing in arts and culture in times like these is an investment in our common futures.

Culture creates European experiences. Shared experiences create a sense of belonging, a European sense of purpose, separate from big EU declarations, reflection groups and fancy conferences.

Common experiences build peace and solidarity, and they should be open to all people of Europe.

Artists, cultural workers and heritage professionals not only in Ukraine, but elsewhere in Europe and even in Russia itself, were among the most forceful voices to warn against the Russian aggression, condemn it, call for defiance and resistance, often at the risk of their own lives.

There has been much support for Ukraine, economic, military, humanitarian. But this is not enough. Throughout times of crises, culture has been inspirational and vital to our everyday lives. It has provided hope, strength and resilience. We need to build on the capacity of culture to heal, bring communities together and imagine a way forward. Two days after the start of the war, the European Cultural Foundation launched the Culture of Solidarity Fund – Ukraine edition as a rapid response to support cross-border cultural initiatives of solidarity with Ukraine and all those who oppose the Putin war.

In this year's *Common Ground* you will read about European solidarity, then and now, in and with Ukraine. You will find reflections on Europe's histories and European futures. There are policy suggestions on how to make culture pivotal in European strategic thinking, policymaking and budgeting. Clubbers write about night culture as a place of European belonging and there are one, two, three, four photo essays. And more. In this magazine you will find stories of an imperfect Europe, a Europe in development, a Europe driven by arts and culture in more ways than we often appreciate.

André Wilkens
9 May 2022

PUTIN'S WORLD WAR Z

Vasyl Cherepanyn

The West's core values have long struck fear into the heart of the Russian president, driving him to fashion an entire worldview and self-identity based on the rejection of all things Western. The ultimate reactionary, Putin represents repression of the revolution that would have occurred if not for his wars and propaganda machine.

Since the start of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February, the Western world has watched with admiration how the brave Ukrainian people have resisted Vladimir Putin's despotic evil. This admiration has translated into unprecedented levels of humanitarian and military aid, without which Ukraine would not have survived, let alone begun to repel the invaders.



Yet for all their acclaim, Western leaders also have reiterated the same mantra of what they will *not* do: put boots on the ground, send fighter jets, enforce a no-fly zone, and so forth. The rationale, political theorist **Francis Fukuyama** explains, is that "It is much better to have the Ukrainians defeat

the Russians on their own, depriving Moscow of the excuse that NATO attacked them."

Hiding behind the fear of possible escalation and intimidated by Russia's nuclear blackmail, the West has assumed a humanitarian stance to mask its unpreparedness for a military counteroffensive. But a pressing question looms: Is NATO really ready to defend 'every inch' of its territory?

In the past, the West has proven ready to use force to further a humanitarian cause. The best-known case of such '**humanitarian militarism**' was NATO's 1999 intervention in the Kosovo War, which was followed by the US-led wars in Afghanistan in 2001 and then in Iraq in 2003. All were framed as humanitarian interventions legitimised by ethical universalism.

But the messy US withdrawal from Afghanistan last summer, followed immediately by the Taliban's return to power, seemed to show that humanitarian militarism had failed. Humanitarianism became divorced from militarism, and the West thus found itself

conceptually disarmed. Or, as French President **Emmanuel Macron** had put it two years earlier, NATO was experiencing '**brain death**'.

This absence of any principled position or sense of purpose doubtless factored into Putin's calculations before the invasion. After all, Russia's annexation of Crimea and occupation of eastern Donbas in 2014 had already **exposed the hollowness of the West's strategic commitments**.

The main feature of this Western condition is constant belatedness. The West has always been too late, incapable of acting ahead and instead just reacting to what has already happened. As a Ukrainian joke went at the time, "While the European Union was taking a decision, Russia took Crimea." Then as now, Ukrainians wondered, "What is the West's red line? What will compel the West to act instead of waiting and discussing when to intervene?"

As we have seen, the line hasn't been drawn at Ukrainian lives, and now the price of such foot-dragging has been tallied in the hundreds massacred in Bucha, Irpin and Hostomel. Eight years ago, the West excused Russia's international crimes and went along with a war. But now that Ukrainians are reassembling the West by themselves on the front lines in Mariupol, Chernihiv and Kharkiv, the implication is that the fall of Ukraine would also represent the political death of the West.

The West's idea of a world order based on universal human rights is now confronted with Putin's concept of *Russkiy mir* (Russian world) based on the rights of 'compatriots' (*sootechestvenniki*). This Kremlin ideology is of a secondary origin, functioning as a funhouse mirror image of the West; Russia is presented as an anti-globalist force that is still willing and able to preserve traditional values – or 'braces' (*skrepy*) – that have evaporated in the 'decadent' West.

This framework allowed the Kremlin to equate its annexation of Crimea with NATO's liberation of Kosovo from Serbia. Equally, the Russian incursions into Georgia (in 2008) and Donbas were justified with whataboutism with respect to America's own wars. The Kremlin-run Collective Security Treaty Organization, which deployed forces to suppress social unrest in Kazakhstan earlier this year, is clearly modeled on NATO.

In these and other ways, Putin's regime has long been mocking the West while fabricating an idealised version of Russia's past grandeur to cover up its peripheral position in the present. With his historicism and thanatological attempts to reappropriate Russian 'greatness', Putin has built a regime based on a caricature of the past. The Great Patriotic War (Stalin's name for World War II) is the only



myth that survived the Soviet Union's collapse intact. It has therefore played a central role in Russia's political present. By eliding the history of Soviet repression and concentration camps, the Kremlin has established a new ideological basis for legitimising its rule.

The terminology that the Kremlin has used to justify its war against Ukraine – 'denazification', 'demilitarisation', preventing 'genocide', etc. – is taken directly from that myth. It is the only lexicon that Putin's regime possesses; it speaks to the regime's true essence. Paradoxically, terminology that was once used to refer to Nazism's defeat has been repurposed to legitimise Russia's own **fascist** military dictatorship. It is no accident that Putin's war (which has become Ukraine's own 'Great Patriotic War') has been stylised and conducted in the spirit of World War II, with methods and means unseen for decades.

Putin's obsession with Ukraine is precisely of a fascist nature, since Ukraine represents the Maidan Revolution, which toppled Ukraine's previous Russia-aligned president. That scenario is the Putin regime's worst nightmare. The specter of Maidan has been haunting Putin for most of his reign, and helps to explain his domestic crackdown on dissent and military interventions to prevent regime change in Belarus, Syria and Kazakhstan. Putin constantly describes Ukraine as 'anti-Russia', though he himself has made Russia 'anti-Ukraine' or 'anti-Maidan'. His primary aim is to destroy the political alternative to his own regime that is epitomised by Ukraine, which in his mind should not exist.

Putin is the standard-bearer for counter-revolution. The degraded Kremlin regime that he commands represents repression of the revolution that would have occurred already in Russia if not for his wars, political annihilation of any opposition and propaganda machine. But today's Russian authorities have a fundamental problem, because they have not yet devised a mechanism for the transfer of power.

Putin is working against time as he faces an impossible task: how to rule forever. He is like Kai, the little boy from Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tale *The Snow Queen*, who cannot figure out how to spell the word 'eternity' from the pieces of ice he has been given. All Putin can fashion from the pieces left after the Soviet collapse are the letters 'W', 'A', 'R', and now 'Z'.

Signs of escalation to full-fledged world war are not yet evident. But what has already become crystal clear is that this war is the war of the worlds, and now is the moment of truth for our whole world. 'Z' is the end of the alphabet, a hollow symbol, followed by nothing – no eternity, just emptiness.

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- 1 PHOTO Mikhail Palinchak
- 2 PHOTO Alina Smutko
- 3 Zhytomyr. PHOTO Viacheslav Ratynski

Awakening a ‘common sentiment of the European’ – the main goal of the European Cultural Foundation, as set by one of its founders, Denis de Rougemont, 68 years ago – probably requires grassroots work spread across many decades. Perhaps, however, it can also happen suddenly: at moments of crisis.

EUROPEAN SENTIMENT IN THE CRUCIBLE OF WAR

Paweł Zerka

From this perspective, Russia's war on Ukraine has the potential to cement the refoundation of Europe that began in 2019. The past two months have demonstrated that, after the Covid-19 pandemic, Europeans expect more from regional

cooperation (and, most importantly, from the European Union) than they once did. “If we have agreed on a recovery fund in 2020, we can surely stop buying Russian energy now!,” one can overhear today on the streets of Paris and probably

in other European cities too. People would not expect that much from EU cooperation if they didn't feel they could trust the Union. The past two years, apparently, have convinced many that they can.

Still, there is no guarantee that this transformation will last. The higher the expectations, the greater the risk they could be disappointed. And the EU's performance will be evaluated not just on its reaction to the war in Ukraine but also on many other political challenges that Europeans face in the near future. Choices that national and EU leaders make on climate and energy, migration, financial solidarity and the rule of law will determine Europeans' expectations of the EU and their satisfaction with European cooperation.

To understand European sentiment in early 2022 and its possible evolution in the years to come, the European Council on Foreign Relations and the European Cultural Foundation chose to conduct a study in all EU Member States. The European Council on Foreign Relations' network of 27 associate researchers analysed the political situation in their countries, studied opinion polls and other research, and interviewed relevant policymakers and policy experts. In March 2022, they responded to a standardised survey, allowing us to compare the 27 Member States on three major issues. The first of these was the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on their country's attitudes towards Europe. The second was the interplay between these attitudes and various areas of policy. The third was the role of cultural, media and other actors in translating real-world events into a shared political meaning.

The results of this exercise are published in a separate report. This article sketches out the general political dynamics that seems to be emerging in Europe from the fog of Covid-19 and the war in Ukraine.

As our modest contribution to the conceptual debate on the ‘common sentiment of the European’, we distinguish between ‘sentiment’ and ‘Sentiment’. The former can be read from polls that track changes in people's trust in the EU, positive feelings about the Union or Europe, and support for their country's membership of the EU. But polling results alone do not provide the full picture if, in the meantime, there has been a qualitative shift in people's expectations of the EU. To see it all, one also needs to look for evidence of a changing sense of belonging among Europeans, and watch if they treat Europe as an expression of that belonging – a public good. This is what we call the European Sentiment, with a capital letter.

CONSOLIDATION IN THE PANDEMIC

Covid-19 has been a mixed experience for people's attitudes to the EU in most Member States. This is understandable, given the ups and downs in the Union's reaction to the pandemic. European solidarity did not come quickly or easily; the start of the pandemic will be remembered for the closure of borders, export controls on medical products, and the *déjà vu* of sensitive debates about money. The early challenges the EU faced in purchasing vaccines at sufficient scale and speed bruised its image in the eyes of citizens.

On the positive side, Member States have reached a historic deal on the NextGenerationEU funds for the Member States most affected by the pandemic, paving the way for some mutualisation of debt in the bloc. The EU has also coordinated the purchasing of Covid-19 vaccines, preventing Member States from competing with one another for privileged access. And it has succeeded in rolling out the European Covid-19 passport, which is spurring the recovery of pan-European travel.

Overall, the EU performed well in the pandemic. It matters that the Union made its biggest mistakes early on but ended on a much stronger note rather than the other way round. As a consequence, after a two-year storm, public trust in the EU has returned to a level last seen before the pandemic. For example, in Italy and Malta, perceptions of the EU reached a low point in mid-2020 (leading many Italians to say they wanted to leave the Eurozone and the EU) but have more than recovered since then. Overall, according to Eurobarometer, 49 per cent of citizens of the EU27 declared that they trusted in the EU in June 2021, compared to 46 per cent in November 2019.

It is much harder to prove that public expectations of European cooperation have also increased. But there is some circumstantial evidence for this. Today, there are frequent calls for the EU to stand up to Russia, even though security, defence and foreign policy are not part of its exclusive competencies. ECFR polling shows that Europeans see EU cooperation as necessary, and national action as insufficient, in preparing for the next pandemic and providing border security. In late January 2022, they usually wanted both NATO and the EU to come to Ukraine's defence in the event of a Russian invasion.

Shifts in EU27 governments' Europe policies provide more circumstantial evidence. According to our research, none of these governments has become more negative about



1 Europe in the past two years – while almost half have grown more or much more positive about it. The EU27 is currently dominated by countries whose governments have very positive attitudes towards Europe – including the EU's major economies of Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands. The German and the Dutch prime ministers talk of European sovereignty and strategic autonomy – issues that, five years ago, only seemed to matter to the newly elected French president.

All in all, the EU seems to have been consolidated in the pandemic. While it did not avoid major mistakes, the Union has proven to be capable of both cooperation and bold decisions – which could not have been taken for granted before the crisis began.

OPEN FUTURE

This shared traumatic experience and memory of recent successes formed part of an invaluable capital with which Europeans began 2022. It may prove crucial in how they handle the accumulating challenges ahead. There are at least five such challenges.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The most immediate one concerns international security. If Europe needed a final justification to become a strong geopolitical actor, Russia's aggression against Ukraine has provided it. Many Europeans across the continent expect this to improve their country's attitude towards the EU – based on the assumption that the Union

will stand up to an urgent security threat. In Poland, the geopolitical storm seems to have made the ruling Law and Justice party more open to softening its approach to, and thereby rebuilding its relationship with, the EU.

But Poland and the other EU Member States nearest to Russia and Ukraine (Lithuania, Estonia and Romania) also tend to demand the most from the Union in response to the conflict. They are among the fiercest supporters of Ukraine's EU membership bid. They are often wary of French President Emmanuel Macron's regular phone calls with his Russian counterpart, Vladimir Putin. They fear that the EU could betray Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky by failing to provide him with sufficient support, pushing him to accept a damaging peace agreement, or moving too quickly towards a de-escalation with Russia. If that were to happen, it would risk reinforcing the stereotype of a deep East-West divide within the bloc.

CLIMATE AND ENERGY

War on the EU's border has temporarily overshadowed climate change as one of the two biggest threats to Europe in recent years (the other being Covid-19). However, given Europe's dependence on Russian fossil fuels, the security situation makes it all the more necessary for the EU27 to diversify their sources of energy. Last month's third IPCC report underlines the extent to which the window for capping global warming at 1.5 degrees has all but past.

Some Europeans fear that reducing the bloc's dependence on Russia might require delays to the process of decarbonisation, a short-term increase in the use of coal, and investment in the nuclear sector. But others say that this is exactly the moment when Europe can finally put its money where its mouth is – by betting on green transition and no longer taking Russian fossil fuels for granted.

This debate is highly controversial, particularly because energy prices are already high and could skyrocket if Europe suddenly halts imports of Russian gas, coal and oil. This is one of the reasons why, before the war, opposition to the EU's climate policy was emerging as the favourite topic for far-right parties in several Member States.

The risk that climate discussions will sour public attitudes towards Europe and provide anti-European forces with a political advantage is particularly apparent in Eastern EU Member States – where there is a relatively high dependency on Russian energy imports and electricity costs constitute a relatively large share of domestic expenses.

Therefore, the EU will need to tread very carefully on these issues. However, it should not give up on its climate ambitions. In many Member States, climate is widely considered to be the area in which the EU can make the greatest difference in comparison to national governments. In countries where there is little public trust in the national government, Europe is often seen as the only actor capable of engaging in the green transition.

FINANCIAL SOLIDARITY

The costs of the EU's strategic decisions – such as those to reduce energy dependence on Russia or to punish the Putin regime with economic sanctions – are spread unevenly across Member States. Therefore, to sustain public support for these decisions across the EU27, the Union might require some form of financial solidarity beyond that already agreed under NextGenerationEU.

Paradoxically, Covid-19 has made efforts to replicate that solution more and less possible in different areas. The pandemic has shown that Member States are ready to stand up for each other in the most difficult of times. They have broken the taboo of issuing a joint debt on a massive scale – something that was unthinkable a decade earlier during the Eurozone crisis. Yet Covid-19 has stretched public finances to their limits in many countries – including the EU's wealthiest Member States. This might discourage them from agreeing to another emergency fund.

RULE OF LAW

The most powerful way to convince the sceptics to support greater financial solidarity for struggling Member States is to ensure that these funds will be spent in a transparent and efficient way. This is where the rule of law is particularly vital – even if it is also an area in which the EU's direction of travel is most uncertain.

Poland is at the centre of this potential tension between a geopolitical Europe and a union of values. As discussed, the war in Ukraine has created openings for a compromise between Warsaw and Brussels – although it remains unclear which of them would need to make the greater concessions to achieve this. Some European leaders seem to be sympathetic with the argument of the Polish government that geopolitics should currently take precedence over disagreements on the rule of law. Poland's leading role in supporting Ukraine and hosting Ukrainian refugees has surely strengthened its European credentials.



The shape of the looming compromise will likely shape public attitudes towards Europe in other Member States – and other countries. If the EU was to concede too much, this could make many Europeans more reluctant to consider further enlargement of the Union – exactly at the time when Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia have announced their accession ambitions. One could even make the case that a geopolitical Europe and a union of values cannot exist without each other: if Russia is trying to remake the European order and the EU's application of its values and standards internationally, now is not the time to lower the bar.

MIGRATION

Finally, one cannot forget about the issue that divided Europe seven years ago – but that, for now at least, is not one of Europeans' main concerns. It would be premature to conclude that migration could not dominate the public debate in some Member States once again. This could easily happen if there was a large increase in the number of Middle Eastern and African migrants crossing to Italy, Greece or Malta.

Until that happens, all the eyes will be on Poland, Romania, Hungary and Slovakia – which have opened their doors to Ukrainian refugees. So far, almost four million Ukrainians have fled the war to other countries, almost 60 per cent of them to Poland. Most importantly, EU governments and citizens have demonstrated admirable levels of solidarity with these refugees.

This poses at least three important questions. One concerns the possibility of using the current moment to engage in the long-delayed reform of the EU's asylum system – which could further strengthen the sense of belonging among Europeans.

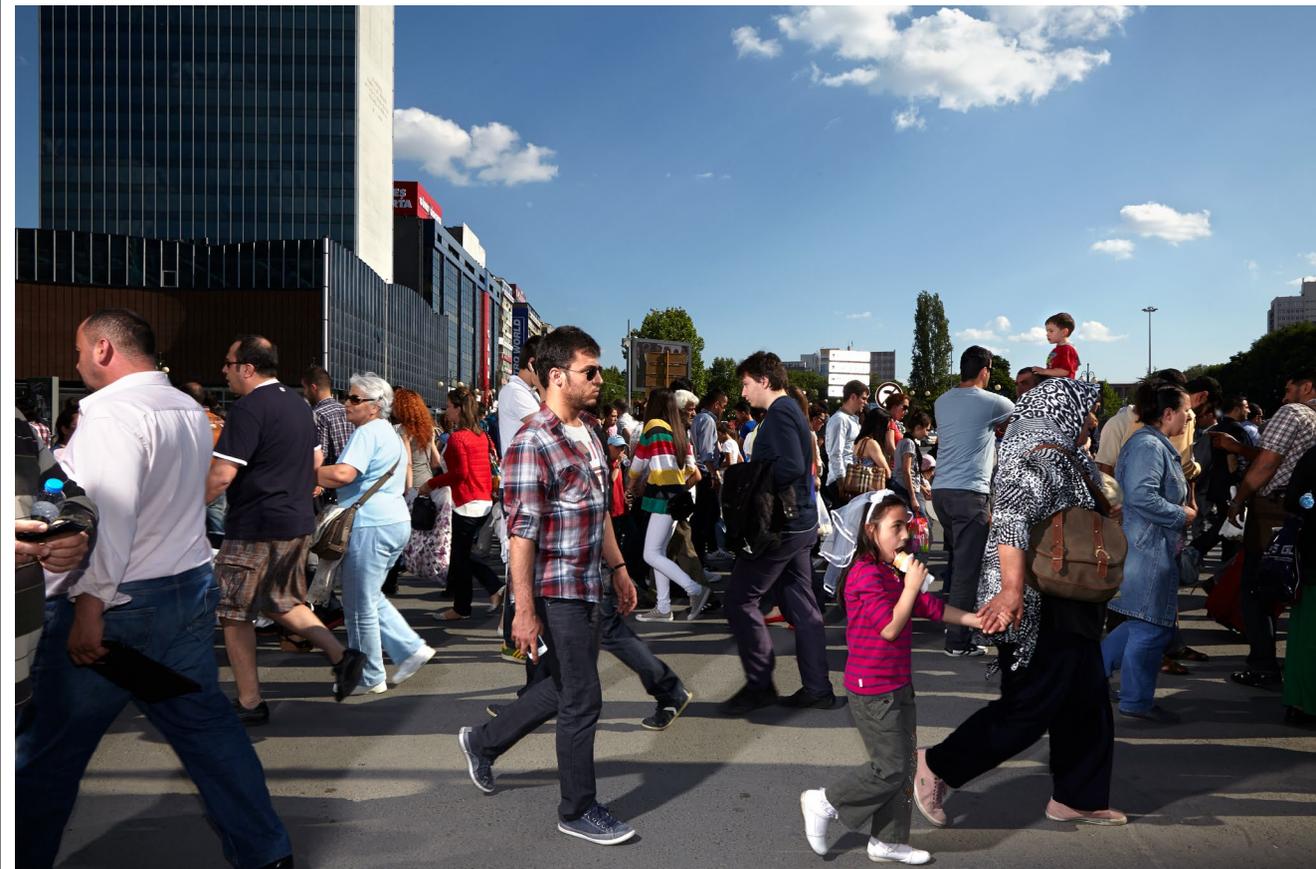
The second question pertains to the risk of a sharp rise in anti-migrant sentiment in Poland and other Member States that host large numbers of Ukrainian refugees. This, in contrast, could destroy the sense of community spirit.

The third question concerns whether the warm reception of Ukrainian refugees – which stands in stark contrast to that of Syrian refugees in 2015 – reveals an uncomfortable truth about Europe. To some extent, 2015 and 2022 are incomparable. This time, we are reacting to a war in Europe, not just close to Europe – which makes a big difference, given that many in the EU fear that the conflict could spread further West. At the same time, however, it is hard to avoid the impression that – with this war, the arrival of Ukrainian refugees, and the EU membership bids by Ukraine, Moldova and

Georgia – EU citizens might be currently confronting uneasy questions about the limits of European culture. Mainstream politicians have traditionally treated such issues as an identarian taboo, but they may be forced to deal with them before too long.

In this, awakening 'a common sentiment of the European' – regardless of how quickly it happens – will require us to answer difficult questions about ourselves too.

1, 2 Place de la Republique, 19 March 2022, Paris. PHOTOS Paweł Zerka



CROSSING EUROPE

Poike Stomps

TEXT Friso Wiersum



This series is made in the decade before 2015, and if I were to do it again I would visit the capitals of European countries as I did then. Capital cities host the biggest diversity of people, they attract their inhabitants by them being the capital. If you want to capture something national, the capital is where you need to be.

Of course, much has changed since the years I took these photos. Back then we never imagined a pandemic forcing us to experience public space as a hostile space. Even though terrorist attacks as the one at Bataclan in 2015 already temporarily changed that notion. Many inner cities will have turned into car free zones, preventing

me from capturing crowds crossing one of the main streets all at the same moment. A lot more people will be walking around using mobile phones and I fear many more people will wear clothes one can see in any country. And perhaps I as a photographer will be treated different too; it seems being caught on photo in public has become something people are offended by. Now that everybody has a camera I can no longer hide behind mine.

But things will be the same too. A series like this is not about the European Union, nor about where that Union should find its outer limits. There is no one who can tell you why the Baltics should be in,



and the Balkans shouldn't, if those countries were judged on geography alone. We don't know where Europe ends.

Yet we all feel something is different in the places we visit. We might not know why but I walk the streets differently in Warsaw as I do in Amsterdam. My photo series however is not about showing those differences explicitly – finding those is something the viewer can indulge in. I wanted to show the many similarities of our continent, the patchworks of our cities, by moving around and meeting others. For that is when you learn most.

If I were commissioned to make another series about Europe? I would love

to photograph European school classes. For that is where our first knowledge about Europe comes from. I would dive into what it actually is we are being told in classrooms, how they look like, how they are the same yet different.

Now that I think of it, maybe someone should start The Europe Book series. Imagine you'd be able to look into The Europe Book of Schools, The Europe Book of Supermarkets, The Europe Book of whatever. Wouldn't that be great?







DOSSIER

THE EUROPE CHALLENGE

HOW LOCAL CHANGES CAN HELP SOLVE EUROPE'S GREATEST CHALLENGES

Andrew Brightwell, Nicola Mullenger, Olga Alexeeva
and the participating libraries

What happens when libraries across Europe work with communities to solve their own problems? As we open the call for new libraries and communities to take part in The Europe Challenge 2022, we look at how last year's Challenge Teams proved that local changes can lead to solutions for all of Europe.

Universally welcoming and open to all, libraries have a special place in European life. But as Europe faces great crises the question of how we find common space to solve our problems, democratically, has never been more important.

That is why, in early 2021, the European Cultural Foundation, in consultation with Public Libraries 2030, and with our partner Demsoc – which supports people across Europe to participate in their democracies – invited seven libraries and their communities to embark on a year-long challenge to solve a local problem their communities had identified. With funding and expert support, the participating libraries and communities established Challenge Teams to work together to prototype solutions.

The libraries who took part were: Central and Regional Library Berlin (DE); De Krook Ghent (BE); Dokk1 Aarhus Public Library (DK); Kranj City Library (SI); Jordi Rubió i Balaguer Library, Catalunya (ES); Openbare Bibliotheek Amsterdam (NL); and Valmiera Public Library (LV).

From Europe Day, 9 May until 27 May 2022, we are welcoming new libraries and their communities to apply to take part in the Europe Challenge 2022. Visit theuropechallenge.eu to find out more.

Central and Regional
Library Berlin and
community

COUNTRY:
Germany

POPULATION OF BERLIN:
3,769,495

QUEERING THE LIBRARY

Three Challenge Teams are exploring how Berlin's libraries can transform their spaces, literature and perspectives so the city's queer communities feel genuinely safe, welcome and represented in their libraries.

Central and Regional Libraries Berlin hosted three separate Challenge Teams. Challenge Team one, run by the Oyoun cultural centre, combed through the archives of various venues and institutions looking for material documenting events by and for queer and trans migrant communities, and used this to create an installation at the library. Challenge Team two, run by the queer literature magazine *Transcodiert* (Eng: Transcoded), tested how it could map queer perspectives and narratives in the library space and explored how to develop a safer space for queer communities at the library. Challenge Team three, mehr_blick, which holds workshops on the perspectives of children's books, worked on 'reading glasses' – a tool for children to wear so they could critically examine the perspectives and assumptions of the books they were reading.

Each of the Challenge Teams' prototypes proved successful – and led to some profound learning for the library involved. In particular, the work challenged assumptions of how libraries can partner with organisations without falling into colonial practices, that seek to understand but end up appropriating learning, insight and practices from communities. All three Challenge Teams plan to continue their work in alternative ways of archival and documentation, questioning visibility of queer communities through its work and the content supplied via the library.



PHOTO Transcodiert #7 ©Transcodiert

UNDERSTANDABLE HEALTH CARE

De Krook Library
Ghent, Comon and
community

COUNTRY:
Belgium

POPULATION OF GHENT:
260,341

“How can we make healthcare more understandable for everyone in a super diverse city?” was the challenge that Comon tried to tackle this year. Among the prototypes that patients, doctors and citizens have helped to create in Ghent are digital tools and physical devices to help people rate pain and prepare for medical appointments.

Comon, a collective of scientists and technologists run by the City of Ghent, Ghent University and De Krook Library asked Ghent residents for their ideas on improving health care. They found that people, from a diverse range of backgrounds and languages, wanted to make healthcare more understandable for everyone in the city. Patients, health experts, policymakers and doctors all took part in a wide-ranging co-creation process to come up with ideas to address the challenge.

In a five-day, innovative process – a ‘Make-a-thon’ – students pushed forward with the ideas, turning them into prototypes. The nine prototypes competed for prizes: Dolox, the first-placed device allows patients to track their pain levels, so it’s easy to report on when they speak to doctors and nurses. Other prototypes included Ringli, a phone bot that calls patients to prepare for their consultation, in their own language, and Medi Memo, a smart Memo that recaps and enriches your consultations.

The next steps will be to test the prototypes with more people in their own languages and an open call for consortia – to include hospitals, doctors, patients and businesses – to develop and test the prototypes. Comon will coach the consortia in the development of the prototype and offer them a budget for further prototyping.



PHOTO DE KROOK

VR4EVERYBODY AND THE LIBRARY OF THE FUTURE

Openbare Bibliotheek
Amsterdam and
community

COUNTRY:
The Netherlands

POPULATION OF
AMSTERDAM:
905,234

The community wants to emancipate VR technology for all citizens of Amsterdam. Their thought is that this technology can be a significant tool for education, to prevent loneliness etc. So the challenge was to offer VR to Amsterdam citizens and ask them what they would use it for in daily life.

A community of VR enthusiasts is working with Amsterdam’s Public Library (OBA) to understand how virtual reality can become part of a library experience and tackle problems regarding digital inclusion.

OBA, which includes the large Amsterdam Central library and 26 branch libraries, started working with a small group of people interested in virtual reality that quickly grew. The community now includes a wide range of people leading work they want to do with the library. The community discussed using VR technology for diversity, for feminism, LGBTIQ+ rights, and the inclusion of elderly people. They built a LGBTIQ+ museum with students from the Amsterdam higher education (HvA), some of whom incorporated it into their studies.

Learning from the project will partly inform the development of OBA NEXT, a library of the future to be developed in the area of Amsterdam Zuid Kenniskwartier. And while virtual reality was the focus for the initial work, it is a model for how to work with other communities that want to become involved with the library. As a result, one of OBA’s branch libraries is now hosting a VR community-driven evening every month, where people can share their ideas, connect and work together. And there is interest in continuing to explore how VR can help with digital exclusion and give communities a way to conquer their fears and experience sharing and learning in a totally new way.



PHOTO OBA Website

TALES FROM THE STREET

Dokk1 Aarhus Library
and community

COUNTRY:
Denmark

POPULATION OF AARHUS:
282,910

A community of people without homes are reimagining how libraries can cater for everyone in the city of Aarhus, Denmark.

The Værestedet drop-in centre supports people without homes and is just around the corner from the Dokk1 library. The library staff wanted to make their lovely designed library building in Aarhus more accessible to their neighbours. So they asked what it would take to be more of a public space for them and they came up with several ideas together. These ideas have included employing an active member of the Værestedet community to work together with an experienced librarian at Dokk1. Together, they plan and deliver activities with the community at Værestedet on an on-going basis. Planting a reading corner at Værestedet, with a bookshelf and sofas, has made reading more accessible to community members there. It has also become a setting for group readings and helped to advertise events at Dokk1.

Tales from the street emerged with the community writing about their lives through regular free creative writing sessions: sharing stories and developing their voices as writers. These voices have been celebrated through a festive event showcasing their art, poetry and music performed by members of the community.

Their collective work has reimagined the services a library provides and how to reach a wider group of people. The library staff reinforce the importance of listening to what people want to change and practising that by co-decision making and actioning together. The Challenge Team is now considering how to further make this an open-ended process with other groups of people, co-deciding on how the library can function, as a hub for democratic participation.



PHOTO Sara Bindeballe

TECHNOPHOBIA IS NOT FOR WOMEN

Kranj City Library
and community

COUNTRY:
Slovenia

POPULATION OF KRANJ:
37,941

A living library, storytelling and workshops helped women in Slovenia to dismantle the barriers they face in STEM subjects: Science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

Under the banner *Technophobia is not for Women*, Kranj City Library's Challenge Team held events to address the issues that stop women from pursuing careers in STEM. Their events allowed women to share their stories, and start their own stories in STEM. Conscious of the lack of role models available to young women, the team held a 'Living Library' where women working in STEM were invited to become 'living books', for young women visitors – to learn from their experiences.

After seeing that LEGO robotics workshops at the library often involved far more boys than girls, the Challenge Team organised all-girl robotics sessions and similarly, workshops for programming were all-women sessions. In each case, they were a huge success. And to broaden the learning campaign, the team launched a nationwide storytelling competition, and promoted this by sharing the women's STEM video stories – often reflecting on the barriers they faced.

With all the developments deemed a huge success and having had a great response from the community, the business community and educational institutes, the Challenge Team plans to continue in the future. The library received national media coverage with the topic and a member of staff has been put forward for a women's award. In the context of live learning, in a pandemic, Kranj really pushed itself to engage with the community in solution building on female STEM learning, something that can be replicated across Europe.



PHOTO Katja Jakus

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

Jordi Rubió i Balaguer
Library, Sant Boi
de Llobregat and
community

COUNTRY:
Spain

POPULATION OF SANT
BOI DE LLOBREGAT:
82,904

In Sant Boi de Llobregat beekeeping is helping a community create a new vision for their city, by championing the environment and biodiversity.

Located less than 15 kilometres from Barcelona's busy international airport, the library wanted to improve the quality of life in the town. The Challenge Team started at the library Jordi Rubió i Balaguer by installing beehives as part of an exploration of different elements of the urban environment. The hives, installed in a courtyard at the library, were planned and developed by the community through a series of workshops, and in turn inspired a series of innovations. They include a feminist urban planning prototype to explore the city, by foot, to analyse its problems from a different perspective. A honey market is being established, too, in partnership with local organisations including the local Food Bank. And even the sound of the bees has inspired an arts collaboration with the Art Centre. A project to renaturate public parks will help to support pollination – with the plan of constructing bee service areas.

Furthermore into 2022, the community – consisting of the librarians, experts and the general public – will consider next steps for the programme to improve the library and by extension, the city and biodiversity. Plans are for an expansion into other public spaces, to replicate the idea in other towns in the region, and to encourage and inspire other local municipalities to be flexible in their eco-urban town planning.



PHOTO Jordi Rubió i Balaguer
orchard meeting

NEW BOUNDARIES NEW CONNECTIONS

Valmiera Library
and community

COUNTRY:
Latvia

POPULATION
OF VALMIERA:
51,370

Using practices such as storytelling, digital innovation, volunteering and restoring public heritage helps people in a newly established municipality in Latvia, and to decide their future together.

For residents in Valmiera, their new municipality meant incorporating a city and rural communities and presented an obvious challenge: How could they come together and equally decide what they wanted for their region? By using branch libraries across the municipality, Challenge Teams concentrated on developing different ideas that give communities more opportunity to explore their shared public spaces. Challenge Teams each worked on prototypes. One team restored the local historic house and gardens and, as such, also the local pride, another team created an interactive game using video stories of locals that promoted local history. Another idea reversed the power-dynamics of event creation, by empowering those who are often seen as the 'beneficiaries' of charitable events – in this case a community with special needs. Another prototype headed up by the Valmiera Zonta Club, in a series of events, brought to light an important, local artist encouraging the local community to volunteer and discussed community participation.

Volunteering is not a common practice in Latvia but it is seen to benefit the community in general. There is also a bigger goal, to work towards making Valmiera a European Capital of Culture in 2027, where the library and the surrounding communities would play an important role. The solution building process has given the library staff a lot of knowledge, courage and experience of European exchange that strengthened the team and their service through 2021. They will go on and build more.



PHOTO Valmiera Library

DOSSIER

**CULTURE
OF
SOLIDARITY
FUND
UKRAINE
EDITION**



THE CULTURE OF SOLIDARITY FUND 2022

War in Ukraine

Philipp Dietachmair, Szilvia Kochanowski, Monica Tranchych

Since its beginnings in the post-war 1950s, the European Cultural Foundation has been working on Europe as a project of cultural collaboration and peace. For our founders, Denis de Rougemont, Robert Schuman and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, like for all Europeans of their generation, the horrors of two world wars were defining life experiences that led them to developing a cultural vision of a future Europe: a Europe united, where wars would never happen again, and where everyone can live, work and dream freely, in diversity and harmony.

This vision of Europe has often been put under pressure. Right from the beginning, when millions of Central- and Eastern Europeans lived in unfreedom for decades, and peace on the continent was dependent on a fragile Cold War balance between military blocs. For many Europeans and their immediate neighbours, civil wars, frozen conflicts, the consequences of authoritarian rule and brutally crushed uprisings have always remained a reality. Yet, after 1989 the lived experience and ruling cultural narrative of a united Europe of peace and prosperity became so normalised for a growing number of European citizens that it seemed to start losing its worth and attraction. Up until 24 February 2022, when the vicious invasion of Ukraine brusquely woke us up to the recognition that safeguarding and developing Europe as an open, safe and democratic public space cannot persist without sustainable pan-European engagement and civic vigilance in our societies.

Our founders believed that cultural collaboration and educational exchange across borders was a vital ingredient for democratic integration processes among Europeans. Cultural experiences and relations can preserve and nurture feelings of mutual comprehension and solidarity between the peoples of Europe. This European Sentiment, as de Rougemont called it, is an essential precondition for growing, reinforcing and safeguarding a culture of solidarity among Europeans. If Europeans stop caring about the struggles and challenges of their fellow human beings and neighbours, if they don't understand and share feelings of compassion and sympathy with individuals and communities other than their own, Europe's cherished but precarious culture of solidarity will gradually erode, and resentments and fragmentation will grow and prevail in our societies. These convictions of the European Cultural Foundation were at the heart of developing the Culture of Solidarity Fund in 2020, when the global pandemic put cultural collaboration across borders and the notion of openness and solidarity in and among our European societies (and beyond) to an inconceivable stress test.

A EUROPEAN COALITION OF PHILANTHROPIC AND PUBLIC FUNDERS IN THE WAKE OF THE PANDEMIC

The lockdowns and closed borders during the pandemic swiftly resulted in closed cultural venues and empty public spaces. They annihilated creative livelihoods, while millions were struggling with their physical and mental health in hospitals and home confinement. This situation also caused massive shockwaves throughout the arts and cultural sector and our European societies as a whole. It also put the accomplishments of decades of the European Cultural Foundation's work on developing Europe as an open, public and cultural space into serious question.

The Foundation's response to this unprecedented human and cultural crisis was the establishment of the largest single emergency funding instrument for cross-border cultural collaboration in its history. The Culture of Solidarity Fund was not only a much-demanded rapid response mechanism for European cultural initiatives. Equally important, it also communicated a widely heard message of joint efforts and solidarity among philanthropic and public funders from all over Europe. Built as a partnership fund of eight individual donors, it supported almost 100 small- and medium sized cultural cross-border projects in 2020 and 2021.

Soon, the overall theme and focus of the Fund was challenged by new cultural crisis moments that swiftly demanded many more European actions of cultural solidarity beyond the pandemic. The Fund's response, among others to the destructive explosion in downtown Beirut in summer 2020 and the mass protests against the Lukashenko regime in Belarus, further consolidated it as a nimble cultural crisis response tool with a wider thematic outreach. It developed an even stronger pan-European purpose under its original call for safeguarding a European culture of solidarity.

In 2021, the Fund started to support initiatives that extended the theme of safeguarding European solidarity towards the much-contested sphere of independent media work and the creation of digital European spaces with a public, non-commercial purpose. Another special edition designed with the German Federal Agency for Civic Education co-financed actions of cultural solidarity with Europeans who have been living and struggling in geographically or socially peripheral transformation regions for a much longer period already, when the pandemic made life in their communities even more challenging.

These highly valuable experiences of philanthropic and public funders joining forces for a broader European purpose facilitated the prompt re-launch of the Culture of Solidarity Fund as a multi-donor group initiative in the first days of the war in Ukraine. Spearheaded by the European Cultural Foundation, the Allianz Kulturstiftung, a group of Italian savings bank foundations, media and company foundations from Germany and the UK as well as the Philea Foundations Arts & Culture Network, a still growing coalition of over ten European foundations, has

swiftly reinvigorated the original mission of the Fund with new and visceral relevance. And with a clear future perspective to establish it as an autonomous and significant cultural crisis fund that builds on strong philanthropic and public co-financing partnerships with a sincere European public purpose.

A CULTURAL WAR ON UKRAINE – AND ON EUROPE

The European Cultural Foundation has been working with cultural institutions, public administrations, civil society networks and art groups in Ukraine for more than fifteen years. The Foundation's long-standing work in Eastern Europe and its efforts to connect new cultural initiatives across different regions inside Ukraine as well as with the neighbouring EU countries, Belarus, Turkey, the Western Balkans and Russia have persistently promoted the richness, diversity and creative uniqueness of Ukrainian productions and the country's various cultural discourses on the European map. Together with many local partners in Ukraine and European partners from the EU Member States and institutions, the European Cultural Foundation has vigorously supported the cultural integration of Ukraine into pan-European networks and has contributed to position Ukrainians and Ukrainian cultural life as a distinct and vital component of the European public and media space.

Today, safeguarding, showcasing and highlighting cultural initiatives in and from Ukraine is more urgent and pertinent than ever, as putting Ukraine's cultural autonomy and freedom under question, if not completely erasing it, serves Putin as a central argument for justifying his invasion. The gruesome attack on Ukraine has violently disrupted and destroyed the lives of millions of people, their cultural places, their imaginations and hopes as humans and Europeans. It also has already had profound direct repercussions on so many more citizens, communities and cultural actors in its immediate and wider Eastern European neighbourhood. In Moldova, Belarus, the Baltics, Poland, the Balkans and also Russia itself. The invasion of Ukraine is nothing less than a fundamental assault on all our post-1989 dreams and notions of Europe as an open, safe and democratic cultural space for everyone. It has taken many Europeans and the whole world by surprise and has woken us up to inconvenient new realities.

This war will confront us with challenging cultural and European questions for many years to come. But right since the first days of the war, we have also seen the persistent power of cultural civil society. How many different civic, public and individual actors resist the attack and demonstrate solidarity through emergency rescue actions and support, how they debunk myths and public perceptions about Ukraine and engage in quick, pragmatic and efficient crisis collaboration in and with Ukraine, its Eastern European neighbourhood and all over Europe. Since the first days of war, the Culture of Solidarity Fund and its growing

European support coalition for Ukraine has been amplifying many of these extraordinary efforts through providing a growing number of quick action grants and donations ranging from 3.000 to 50.000 EUR.

Until mid-April 2022, the Culture of Solidarity Fund partners have pooled contributions and private donations of more than one million Euros. The Fund's European team, consisting of experienced cultural professionals from Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Hungary and more European countries, so far has made support available to more than 50 cultural solidarity actions and initiatives from inside Ukraine but also from its neighbouring regions and from all over Europe. Right after the beginning of the war, the European Cultural Foundation's programme areas started to repurpose a substantial part of its 2022 work plans and budgets in solidarity and support of Ukraine. This has also thematically inspired and informed the three key areas of support currently provided by the Culture of Solidarity Fund.

The Culture of Solidarity actions presented below along these three thematic key areas provide a first exemplary insight on the encouraging cultural solidarity work of Ukrainians and Europeans supported by the Fund during the first weeks of war:

Addressing disinformation, misinformation, propaganda filter bubbles, fake news, ongoing war 'infodemic' by supporting independent, alternative, and trusted European (digital) media; Initiatives supported in this field include a news channel targeting Gen Z audience, debunking disinformation on the war in Ukraine and a group of Ukrainian artists supporting international media outlets and photographers on the frontlines.

GEN, știri Romania/Moldova

Gen, știri is a news channel created by young professional curators, targeting Romanian-speaking youth. The news channel specialises in communication through social media platforms such as Instagram and TikTok. The team analyses, explains and depicts events in a more informal and engaging manner that is easy to grasp and connect to for young people. With the development of the Russian war against Ukraine, the project

expanded and became a primary platform for youth from Romania and Moldova to find information and check facts during the time of crisis. Coordinated from Romania and working with Moldovan and Ukrainian correspondents, the project will collect and cover the news through real stories from Ukrainian teenagers. Its primary goal is to debunk disinformation and promote fact checking amongst the young generation in Romania and Moldova.

[Instagram.com/genstiri](https://www.instagram.com/genstiri)

KATERYNA RADCHENKO
NGO Art Travel
Odessa and Lviv, Ukraine

from the war zone in order to produce international publications, exhibitions, events and create opportunities for people around the world to experience these visual stories and narratives first hand. Throughout the heated days of war, Kateryna and her team work as an aid for international media outlets in Odessa and Lviv, supporting photographers who are stuck, in danger or go to the frontlines as independent artists.

Kateryna Radchenko, Ukrainian curator and Director of Odessa Photo Days Festival, works directly with photographers at the frontlines. Currently, Kateryna is collecting and curating photos

Providing and nourishing safe cultural spaces for individuals fleeing their homes and looking for shelter in exile or in Ukraine; Initiatives supported in this field include an Ukrainian – Russian – Estonian cross-border support network of artists and a 6-month residency and fellowship programme for BIPOC, female artists and two-time refugees (fleeing from Syria and now again from Ukraine).

MASSIA
Estonia

MASSIA is a place for individuals and groups from any field – artists, practitioners, scientists, activists, researchers, who seek to determine their own conditions of work. Located in the rural area near the coast, in close collaboration with the local community, the residency team decided to welcome refugees fleeing the war and provide a place of rest. With the financial support, engagement and help of local villagers, the residency welcomes artists from Ukraine but also political artists, practitioners, journalists who might need to leave Russia in fear of persecution.

www.massia.ee

OYOUN
Berlin, Germany

As a QTIBIPOC and Muslim femme led cultural organisation in Berlin, Oyouun find themselves not only at the intersection of art and social change but also deeply embedded in the marginalised communities of Berlin. The Oyouun team has had experience in hosting various fellows on short- and mid-term residencies since 2020. To support artists fleeing from Ukraine, but also those, facing structural discrimination in their displacement, the Berlin-based organisation will offer artistic and cultural residency-like formats for creatives forced into exile due to the war. Especially bipoc or QTIBIPOC artists such as Afghans who only recently fled to Ukraine. Up to a half-year fellowship along with stipend, psychosocial support, healthcare, legal support and language courses will be provided for culture workers who need to flee for the second time.

<https://oyoun.de>

Counteracting forces of fragmentation through artistic and cultural expressions that provide hope to withstand the harsh realities of war and to act for a peaceful future of Ukraine and Europe. Initiatives supported in this field include a network of crypto artists from Ukraine who connected through the creation of NFT projects that raise funds for Ukraine, and a community radio show made with and for Ukrainian refugee children arriving in Milan.

ART OPTIMISTS
Mykolaiv, Ukraine

CryptoArt Ukraine is a community of artists that came together to help Ukrainian creatives understand and use the crypto ecosystems and NFTs for the development of their careers as well as to promote Ukrainian cryptoart scene, with representatives from its different genres, globally. Many artists are now using their skills to fundraising with the NFTs for Ukrainian volunteering initiatives currently active and responding to the unfolding war. To strengthen the community further and ensure the sustainability of the cryptoart stage, Art optimists will focus on providing financial, psychological, organisational, technical and marketing support to Ukrainian crypto-artists. They will also create an educational course on the basics of NFTs and their promotion in the international cryptoart scene.

www.artoptimists.com

SHARERADIO
Weekly Ukrainian
Children's Radio Show
Milan, Italy

During the first wave of the pandemic, one of Shareradio's journalists and educators, together with his 10-year-old daughter created a programme for children aiming to help keep their relationships with schoolmates and teachers alive. The broadcast started to collect greetings, wishes, songs, poems sent by children, teachers and parents. The broadcast, which originated from the class group, involved hundreds of children from different schools, helping them to overcome a difficult and unprecedented moment, also by processing and sharing their own experience on the radio together. In a similar way a group of journalists and children intends to support Ukrainian refugees arriving in Milan. It offers a programme that will build together a weekly transmission allowing children distributed in different territories to share the experiences and together elaborate on their own strategies of mutual support



DEAR EUROPA

Lisa Weeda

Think about dancing for a moment. Think about the first cautious moves you make when a rhythm and the beat push against your chest and belly.

It's an infectious feeling, that makes you realise you can't stand still, inviting you to join in, you must move. I am asking you to think about the moment where cautious dancing becomes passionate dancing. Imagine that moment when you come alive completely, when you feel the bass not just tentatively moving towards your body, but pushing you forward.

Okay, did you already stand up from your chair or your bench or the grassy field where you were sitting? Are your legs slightly apart? Great.

Now imagine that all you need to do to stop a war is to dance. Keep moving. Don't stand still.

Imagine that dance represents dignity, that it's a weapon, a cure. Dance to create a safe corridor for old people, children and mothers to leave a hunger-ravaged city that's been razed to the ground. Stamp on the floor, pump your fists in the air. Feel the bass pressing harder and harder against your belly, as though pushing you backwards.

Dance with the courage of the two million people in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia who, in 1989, formed a 430-mile human chain in protest against Soviet occupation, and sang their own banned national anthems. Dance and squeeze your hands together, like they nervously held hands, perhaps with people they'd never met before.

Dance with all the screaming power of the demonstrators demanding revolution in Kyiv's Maidan square in November 2013. Tens of thousands of voices, all chanting in unison. Re-vo-lu-tzi-ja! Do you feel the beat? Do you feel how every syllable hits you harder in the belly and gives you more momentum as you keep moving, improvising, trying to push back against those syllables? Do you feel that by not standing still, it feels like something can change?

Dance to the sound of the waves rolling in against the sides of a little orange dinghy in the Mediterranean. Push your hips to the right and the left and back again, to make sure it doesn't sink, and comes ashore safely somewhere on our European coastline.

Dance for the father who lost his son to bombing in Aleppo and who is already clutching his wife's hand tightly for the entire duration of the sea crossing. Dance and punch with your fists straight out, fight the air around you to stop a soldier anywhere in the world breaking in to a house and violating a girl and her mother.

Punch harder to make sure he doesn't take the clothes off a body or press a gun to her head and say it's this or death, you choose. Punch the air, pump the darkness away, there's a lot of things you can stop if you keep dancing.

Dance. Dance for every bomb that falls on a house, dance for every weeping father waving goodbye to his kids at a station because they have to flee, dance for the woman who hides in a damp sleeping bag on an uncovered mattress in a doorway around your corner, for the girl who thinks she can build her future far from her native land, but is lost in a bureaucratic system that asks who are you and what exactly are you doing here. Dance so she can say I'm a person, just like you.

Step sideways and back, forward and back. Try moonwalking. Feel the sweat, feel the acid building up in your muscles, feel yourself getting tired. Dance. Nod to the rhythm of everything you can't fix, but you can't watch silently either. Dance. Dance, dance, dance.

Make sure you never stand still again.

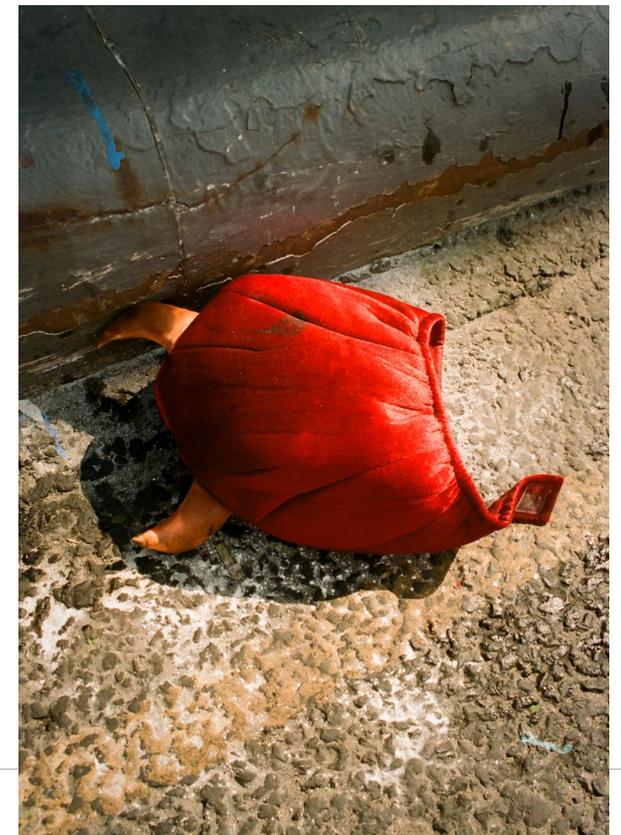
CARNIVAL

Alice Zoo

TEXT Friso Wiersum











CARNIVAL

Generally, in my work and in my life, I find myself concerned with the specific and the immediate. I'm interested in community and ritual and people coming together, finding ways of connecting with one another and with place. That has had very different iterations depending on what I'm doing; it can be capturing swimmers in the ponds in London or photographing people partying at Notting Hill Carnival. They both picture people connecting with the place in which they live, London, which as a city can otherwise feel quite hostile and alienating.

Each year British media cover Notting Hill Carnival extensively. But there's always an emphasis on dizzying crowd shots, aerial photos of streets packed with people. I was more interested in focusing on the people themselves, the individuals that were there, especially in moments of reflection. I did not want to portray units in a crowd, but individuals. I was very conscious to try and avoid – and I think any photographer does – visual clichés. Because photography is so important as a means of creating an archive that accrues value later in time, by only ever seeing the same things, we actually miss out on a huge amount.

I heard from some of the people in the pictures and they were really pleased with them. And I think overall it was a really positive reflection of those two days. There was kind of a crazy heat wave in London that year, and so it was around 35 degrees both days. It was just baking amazing golden light from dawn till dusk, which contributed to making the pictures joyful and celebratory.

My photographic work is in conversation with lots of European artistic traditions, with contemporary photographic portraiture and Renaissance painting. Does that make me a European? I think that term means many different things. In terms of self-definition, I use it in the very broadest possible sense, meaning that I reside in a country that is part of the continent of Europe. I think it's difficult to define it with any more specificity than that, because there's such a range of different kinds of people and countries and traditions and cultures across Europe. I don't think there's a sort of unified European person, and I think that's an exciting thing.

So when I hear politicians speak about a bigger role for our country, or Europe in the world, it isn't something that I can even fully conceive of in practical terms, let alone relate to. Being European also means being implicated in the issues of empire and colonialism that are baked into Europe and Europe's history. I think it would probably be better if those in governing bodies spent that energy trying to work out how to care for other places that are struggling.





DOSSIER

**CULTURE
OF
SOLIDARITY
FUND**

The **Culture of Solidarity Fund** is a public-philanthropic partnership launched in 2020 by the European Cultural Foundation as a rapid response tool to support cross-border cultural initiatives of solidarity to the coronavirus pandemic. Since then, six application rounds were launched, with various partners. On the following pages we introduce a few of the many grantees.

AN INTERVIEW WITH A TRANSVERSAL NETWORK OF FEMINIST SERVERS

Selin Genc

In pursuit of an intersectional, feminist and ecological impetus, **A Transversal Network of Feminist Servers (ATNOFS)** is a collaborative project that aims to explore alternative engagements with digital tools and platforms. ATNOFS seeks to develop new and inventive interactions between communities across our continent, bringing together existing efforts in the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Romania and Greece to create a network of solidarity addressing local contingencies through collective ventures. A travelling 'feminist server' will equip two days of live events that will be taking place at each respective node and will function as a tool and a witness to the activities. The events will culminate in a printed publication.

Rotterdam-based initiative *Varia* will develop the travelling feminist server 'Rosa' and coordinate ATNOFS with the help of partner organisation *Constant*. On behalf of ATNOFS, *Constant*, *HYPHA*, *Feminist Hack Meetings (FHM)*, *esc*, *LURK*, *ooooo*, *Marloes de Valk* and *Varia* have collaboratively shared their answers to our questions regarding the project.

SELIN GENC: What has inspired you to create ATNOFS, and what urgencies are you responding to?

CONSTANT, HYPHA, FEMINIST HACK MEETINGS, ESC, LURK, OOOOO, MARLOES DE VALK AND VARIA ON BEHALF OF ATNOFS: In the past couple of years, many organisations in our network and beyond have been forced to transition their activity entirely online, all the while receiving no external support in this process. This has led to a growing reliance on centralised, proprietary, commercial infrastructure providers which brings to the forefront several issues, such as lack of privacy and agency, monopoly, misinformation. ATNOFS is a project that aims to bring visibility of counter-efforts and provide them with a framework to consolidate their projects, help structure their cooperation, and inspire others to create similar or join such initiatives.

Our priority is to create a public debate around the following questions: How to engage with digital tools that we may not have tried before (file sharing, forums, web hosting, federated social media and collaborative note taking); how to potentially develop new tools that could emerge from the series of exchanges, including community related resources for self-organising, decision making, trust building, knowledge exchange; how to strengthen

existing bonds and create new ones. All while keeping in mind the different local urgencies and needs of each partner: the lack of self-hosted and self-organised infrastructures in certain regions; the lack of physical spaces and the lack of long-term support for administering feminist servers; the need for safe online spaces; the need to configure and maintain a mutually supportive network, from sharing hosted services such as cloud and encrypted file-sharing, online surveys, code distribution and version control systems, to server mirroring as backup mechanisms between the mentioned organisations and beyond.

SG What is a feminist server? What does a community around such a server look like?

ATNOFS By server we mean a computer that can be connected to the Internet, run a website and provide file storage. It will be passed from one partner to another, as both a tool and collective storage to document the traces of our activities. Our feminist travelling server will therefore capture what emerges from a series of events related to the urgencies we described. We believe that such an approach to documentation will enable reflections, as well as making public the diversity of generated material.

The work is especially inspired by the tenets of the *Feminist Server Manifesto*. A feminist

server “is a situated technology” and “is autonomous in the sense that she decides for her own dependencies.” It “treats network technology as part of a social reality” and “radically questions the conditions for serving and service.” Such a server is a safe social space of learning, speculating and exchanging knowledge that questions technology and its dependencies within the systems it is embedded in. The community around it weaves together different practices of system administration, care and maintenance which are shaped in relation to feminist principles.

sg Can you tell us more about the events? Who will be attending them, and what is the nature of activities that will take place?

ATNOFS Each partner will create a series of two days of live events that will be documented in a chapter of the publication.

Feminist Hack Meetings (GR) will focus on free/open-source software development and online privacy. On the first day, they will discuss about alternative social media as a response to the use of Facebook by feminist collectives in the Greek context. On the second day, they will be working on a feminist server, by providing a hands-on system administration essentials workshop based on a manual by the Systerserver, and a discussion on governance and feminist collectives.

HYPHA (RO) aims to coagulate the local community of activists around self-managed technologies and open-source alternatives to

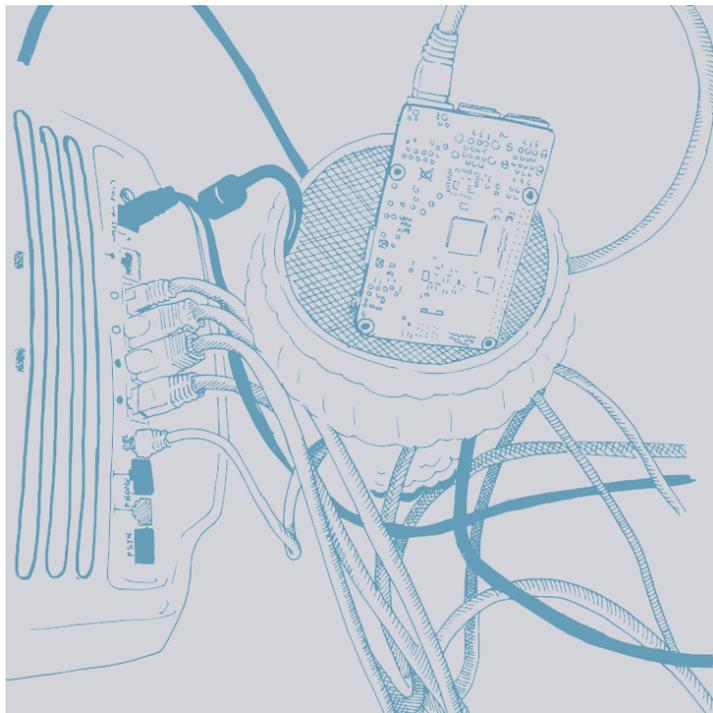
corporate surveillance. The first day will consist of theoretical discussions regarding the needs and issues of the local community and the second day will focus on a series of technical hands-on workshops.

Constant (BE) will research and question how technological tools and initiatives developed as a counter response to the authoritative and capitalist logic widely present in the computer tech sector and which are aligned with colonial and patriarchal frameworks. They will be looking at two main threads of research. The first one is etherbox, a local server, tweaked to specific needs of being able to document locally. For the second, they want to look at the way Yunohost works, an operating system aimed to facilitate administration, and how this structures a system.

LURK (FR/NL/PT) currently provides online services and access to alternative social media. During the event, LURK will offer a two-day workshop/sprint about the Fediverse (Mastodon particularly), a network of interconnected servers used for social media, blogging and other modern web activities. While on the first day the workshop will focus on the installation process, it will be followed by a discussion on customisation and member onboarding on the second day. The workshop will go in depth into this subject, while bootstrapping respective communities to use these instances.

Varia (NL) will contribute to the traveling server by focusing on feminist federated publishing. In the first session hosted in Varia, a new intersectional feminist server – ‘Rosa’ – will be installed that will provide the publishing infrastructure for the rest of the partners. The server will document its own process of installation as well as the session itself. It will then travel to other locations, where it can inform the development of other servers.

Esc (AU) will use their expertise as a media art laboratory which facilitates encounters between artists, scientists, theoreticians and programmers from the most varied disciplines. In a core team of 5 people, they will develop a travelling feminist server swarm, that shall consist of a mixture of real functioning hardware based on raspberry pi and imaginative and speculative parts and ingredients that suggest a fiction of interrelated channels of exchange.



sg What might such a network of solidarity look like in the long-term?

ATNOFS The collaboration of a set of existing cultural, feminist and self-hosted servers located in Europe and ran by the partners will try to extend their allies and participants towards places and countries where open source and decentralised media platforms and services are not yet supported nor accessible. Such platforms and tools are absolutely necessary to establish cultural agency outside of the current media oligopolies. They are needed to enable and democratise cultural and political expression outside of obscure ranking algorithms, incoherent content filters, and advertising monetisation.

Our goal is to achieve a long-term collaboration framework within a growing network of federated self-hosters which follow feminist, intersectional principles. The network can subsequently grow after the completion of the project, supported by the shared resources and infrastructure that will be established throughout it. Through the Culture of Solidarity Fund we also met many initiatives, which show a similar attention to infrastructural politics and with whom we would like to find ways to collaborate.

sg What is the outreach of the project? Who is the audience you wish to engage?

ATNOFS The results of the project will be documented in real time on the server itself and in a publication. Each node will promote the events and the publication using different channels to their desired audience within a local and international reach. The audience from our partners are highly specialised and therefore hold the position of multipliers which will be useful for the circulation of these ideas to a broader audience.

The different partners aim to reach local LGBTQ+ activists and artists (FHM), local and international audiences interested in the intersection of artistic research, media and technology (Constant), self-organised artist/activist collectives (Varia), artists, scientists, theoreticians and programmers who intersect disciplines (esc), EU cultural institutions, artists, scholars, and art and design educators and their students (LURK), local organisations, among which groups of independent artists, housing activists, intersectional feminists, students, queer and Roma people (HYPHA).

The organisations partnering in this project already have practises addressed at increasing inclusivity in technological processes and work to support marginalised and

underrepresented groups in their respective contexts. For example, the Feminist Hack Meetings, which respond to the traditional underrepresentation of people who identify as women/queer/nonbinary in male-dominated hacker spheres.

sg What is the interplay between the local and the Pan-European in your project?

ATNOFS Due to limited access to funding, and no formal structure or organisational network, the question of autonomy and sovereignty in relation to network services, data storage and digital infrastructures is difficult to engage with at a European level. In practice, it rarely goes beyond the scope of local hacker and maker spaces, DIY and self-hosted websites, isolated media and cultural associations, and online communities. However, it is not for a lack of knowledge and willingness. There is an urgent need to develop interrelational connections across Europe, making use of existing small-scale infrastructures, knowledge and skills.

ATNOFS is responding to the need for continuity, interrelation and support for existing efforts in the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria, and to the lack of self-hosted and self-organised infrastructures in Romania and Greece, from lack of physical spaces to the lack of long-term support for administering their existing structures. ATNOFS will connect several partners from these countries around collective practises of developing, hosting and implementing tools and methods that reflect their needs, interests and cultural environment. By collectivising these, the different partners in the network wish to give and receive support within it and subsequently share it further within each partner’s respective community and local cultural network.

A WINE TO MAKE PEOPLE TALK ABOUT WHAT IT MEANS TO BE EUROPEAN

Alice Di Giulio, Friso Wiersum

It might not be your first thought about wine, but the team behind OENOPE is serious about it: “The goal of our wine is to invite people to talk about what it means to be European in this world,” says Jerome Felici, co-founder. “It all started with an inner thought: what will be the wine of tomorrow?”

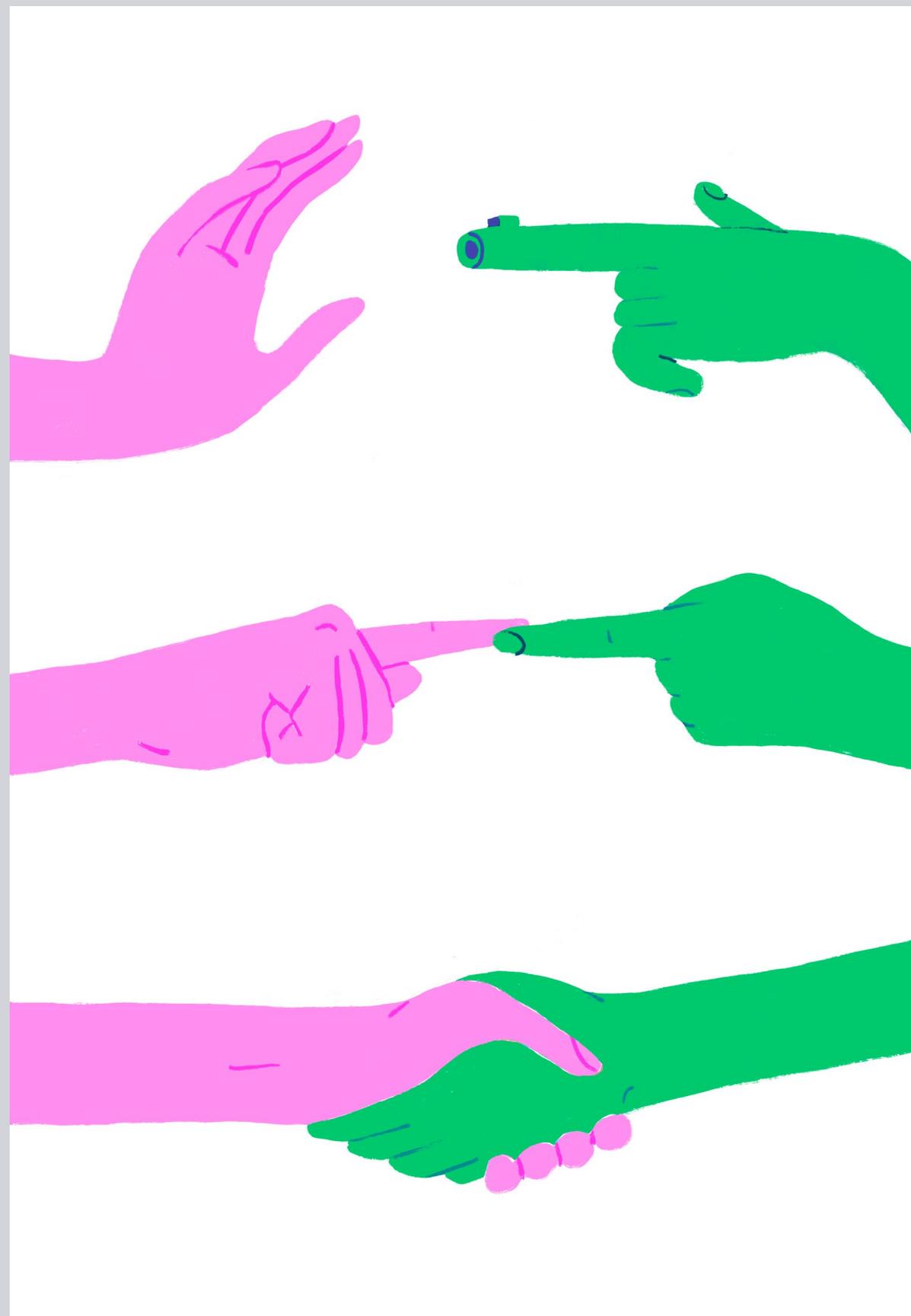
The Borderless European Wine by OENOPE is first of all a solidarity project in front of globalisation, climate changes and health crises. It is about creating a link between European winegrowers, to promote their know-how, their terroirs and their cultures echoing the motto of the European Union: United in Diversity. The team behind OENOPE – Jerome Felici, Françoise Roger and Bruce Roger – describe themselves as “three fellow travellers, three European dreamers, Erasmus first generation European enthusiasts, sharing their passion for wine.” They were born in Rome, Avignon and Jurançon, and thus encountered wine culture at a young age. Later in life, working in the food sector they noticed that all wine growers in Europe were facing the same problems. Difficulties to sell their wine due to pandemic measures and unwanted changes in the smell and taste of wines due to climate change.

Jerome, Françoise and Bruce wanted to support European wine producers by buying their grapes and at the same time help unite Europe by telling the stories of vigneron from different European countries. The start of the project entailed selecting and buying overstocks on wine from representative wine growers and vineyards all around Europe and craft 10.000 bottles of a unique ‘borderless’ blended wine expressing the best of each element of them. “We were looking for indigenous wines, for European ways of producing. We told local wine makers that their modes of production might not be existing anymore in ten years time. Due to climate changes – droughts, or the opposite; floods – and the standardisation of taste due to the globalisation of markets, many local identities, of wines but also of wine producers, are under pressure. In this world of global competition – think of

Australian or Chilean wines – and new climate realities, wine makers can’t keep continuing what they have been doing for generations. We invited wine makers to think about how they want to cooperate and continue making wines. We offered them to blend their typical varieties.”

Blending is not always understood by consumers. It is an agricultural technical term wrongly used as a marketing term. Orchestrated by an oenologist who guaranteed the most demanding criteria for grape varieties selection and vinification, their cuvées faithfully express the characteristics of each vineyard involved. For the white wine these were a Riesling made in Italy at the border with Austria, a Chardonnay from Oltrepò Pavese in Northern Italy and a Chardonnay from France. For their red the oenologist picked Cabernet Sauvignon, Gamay and Barbera grapes from Spain, France and Italy. “What we blend is our stories and when you drink the wine you will understand our story!”

The design on the bottles will reflect their European message. Four words describe the concept that they had in mind in creating their wine: union, discovery, solidarity and pleasure. Union refers to the blending of wines from vineyards all over Europe. For Europe is the original land of viticulture, and wine and the tradition of crafting wine are part of the European identity. Discovery refers to making consumers discover through wine the beauty of Europe, and to have them embrace the ‘Made in Europe’ label. Solidarity in action by buying existing overstocks and promoting European winemakers’ work and culture. Pleasure refers to the essence of wine as part of the European culture. To quote Lord Byron’s words, “Wine cheers the sad, revives the old, inspires the young, makes weariness forget his toil.”



RUINS OF EUROPE

Lars van den Brink

TEXT Friso Wiersum

This photo series came about when I was travelling Europe in a camper with my wife and kids. I prefer travelling slowly. For when you do you actually don't see the borders, but you notice changes. You see and feel how humans behave, what vegetation looks like, how the built environment is present. And then you realise how, in short, cultures are not separated by a hard border, but fluently transform from one to another, just like humans, plants and buildings. It tells you how across borders we can easily recognise ourselves in our neighbours, in their and our traditions. It doesn't mean I will always get along easily with, let's say, a Portuguese I have never met before. But it does mean that when I return to the fun fairs in the region I grew up in, I'll always feel at home right away. When the Portuguese and I recognise that sentiment in each other, then we can start talking.

This Europe will always exist. Who ever claims the EU should enlarge, or should cease to exist, underneath all the institutions there will always be this continent. And on this continent live people who have traditions. Those traditions change. That is a natural phenomenon. Once you start freezing

cultures they are gone. And by visiting these ruins I wanted to capture how we Europeans have changed. For yes, one could argue these ruins are nothing more than a bunch of rocks in a meadow – and isn't all of Europe? – but they are also places where our common founding narratives are being presented to visitors, to us Europeans.

Yes, I know ruins can mean something else to different people, but if you look at the longer history you'll see that our European ruins move from spiritual places of worship via political places to the more recent violent *lieux de mémoire*. But all are visited by people looking for stories to make sense about their societies, to find out about who they are themselves. And how they are connected to other people visiting that specific place. Because this photo series is about Europe being connected.

If I were to write a letter to Europe? I wouldn't know whom to address, but I would surely stress that we should enjoy our continent, as opposed to politics which all seem to be about putting one against the other. During our trip we realised once again how lucky we are to be able to travel our continent so easily.



Acropolis, Greece



Stonehenge, England



Taormina, Italy





Maillezais Cathedral, France



Segovia, Spain



Forum Romanum, Rome, Italy

HERBIVORE EUROPE

Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer TRANSLATION Michele Hutchinson

Migration uproots and uprooting is beneficial insofar as doubts and questions are beneficial. When I moved to Italy from the Netherlands fourteen years ago, I experienced first-hand that this banal displacement, expressed in a change of latitude and longitude, had consequences for my identity. I noticed that I was gradually feeling a little less Dutch, which is only good for a person. Over time, I started to feel somewhat Italian, which is also a positive development. But above all, I discovered that the effect of my relocation was to make me feel more European. This raised the question of what that actually means. What does it mean to feel European? What might a European identity involve? This personal quest lies at the root of my novel *Grand Hotel Europa*.



Anyone wondering about the key elements of a European identity might not have to reflect for very long before coming to the conclusion that it has a lot to do with our relationship to the past. That past is even tangible. In Europe, we are surrounded by historical relics and wondrous monuments. I am typing these sentences for you with a view of Genoa's eleventh-century cathedral in a palazzo that was built in the fifteenth century and shows visible traces of countless renovations over the past five centuries. There are few places in Europe where you are not confronted with traces, relics and monuments from our glorious past.

All of this tangible history around us forms in the first place our wealth and pride. We cherish our past. We have set up an intricate system to preserve and protect our monuments. We place everything that is old with careful reverence in airtight display cases in our museums. This treatment of the past makes Europe unique, firstly because there is much more of it than on other continents and secondly because we value the tangible remains of our past and derive a part of our identity from it. In Asia, where there is also a great deal of history, people tend to deal with monuments differently. Anyone visiting Rome will discover an open palimpsest in which the different layers covering the city from two millennia of history are legible. Anyone visiting Shanghai will find little left of two millennia of history than the dream of a glorious future reaching for the heavens in concrete and steel.

But there may also be a downside to our respect and love for our own past. Our preservation of historical monuments, buildings

and artefacts is not only a source of joy and pride, but also a hindrance in a way. For those who spend their whole lives among the impressive monuments of more glorious centuries, it becomes tempting to conclude that our best days are behind us. And this nostalgia, this longing for a better and more glorious past, is paradoxically enough a constant in European culture. We have always suffered from it. Even in the time which is now part of the glorious age we might long for, we longed for the more glorious times from the past. Even the ancient Greeks, who had yet to found our entire civilisation, were convinced that the Golden Age lay behind them in a time when the gods still roamed the earth.

Nostalgia is a wonderful feeling, it is lovely to revel in it, I can relate to that, but it can also have a paralysing effect. If you turn your face warmly to the past, you turn your back on the future. If there is too much past, there is no place for the future. In my novel *Grand Hotel Europa*, I use the city of Venice as a metaphor for this impasse. In Venice's case, it is literally true that the city is so full of history there is simply no place left for a future. Where in Venice would you want to build a skyscraper, a nuclear power station or a data centre? Even the addition of sewers and running water to all those historic palazzos poses serious problems.

There may also be a number of objective arguments which lead to the same conclusion for Europe – that our best days are behind us. In geopolitical terms, for example, this is clearly the case. The days when the nations of Europe ruled the seven seas and mindlessly subjugated continents to their will are definitely behind us, and that is just as well, don't get me wrong. But this also means that Europe has reached a point in history when it must reinvent itself. Europe must redefine its place among the rising and falling world powers. This is precisely what Europe has been trying to do for more than 70 years, in a wonderfully laborious and touchingly slow manner, with the project of European unification, the most beautiful and courageous project ever undertaken by humankind.

This whole issue has now been brought into sharp focus and made more urgent than ever by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. It is a very European war for many reasons, not only because it is taking place in Europe, but also because it is inextricably linked to our past. The Russian invasion is justified by invoking a particular interpretation of the two countries' thousand-year history. The European reaction to this act of Russian aggression is dictated by our historical view of Ukraine as part of our continent and our culture and, above all, by our experience of war. Given our past, we in Europe know better than anyone what war means.



At the same time, the dynamics of the war in Ukraine make it obvious how urgent it is that we succeed in redefining our old continent as a united one. The most hopeful news amidst all the coverage of the misery of war is that we are finally realising this, and that we seem to be succeeding in facing up to the necessity of united action at long last and to seeing ourselves as Europeans.

I watched on *Corriere della Sera*'s website a short but interesting video clip on the subject by Italian analyst Federico Rampini. He called the European Union a 'herbivorous superpower' surrounded by carnivores. I consider this an apt and expressive metaphor for the ideal that the Union has pursued in recent decades. Instead of might and military display, we have always had a strong belief in our economy, our well-being, our prosperity, our rule of law, our science, our culture and our civilisation. It has been our dream to be a factor of global influence and authority based solely on these soft powers.

According to Rampini, the war in Ukraine is a brutal wake-up call from this dream and it is time to realise that we share the surface of this planet with so-called 'revisionist powers' such as Russia and China, which are not satisfied with the status quo and have an aggressive, expansionist and imperialist world view. Our soft powers have been an illusion, says Rampini, and now we can do little but regret failing to invest heavily in arms.

At first glance there seems to be little to counter this analysis, and yet I believe it to be false. In June 2020, during the darkest moments of the coronavirus pandemic, I was interviewed by Nathalie Huigsloot for *HP/De Tijd* via Zoom, along with the Dutch writers Pieter Waterdrinker and Marjon van Royen. I still vividly recall the moment when Marjon van Royen, who lives in Bolsanaro's Brazil, asked me to convey her frankly emotional plea to Europe to stand firm for God's sake. Trump was still in power and from her living room in a country that was also ruled by a right-wing populist, she saw Europe as the last beacon of hope. It was the only place left in the world where freedom, human rights and democracy were still taken seriously. Europe should never give up, she said. We could not imagine, spoiled as we were, how terribly important it was for the rest of the world that there was such a thing as Europe. Our example, she said, was invaluable.

I am convinced that she is right. It may make us a herbivorous superpower, but so be it. Let us be proud of that. Let us proudly write that peaceful-grazer nickname on our banners. The interpretation that this war will shake us out of our dream of peace and prove us as wrong all along is incorrect. The mere fact that the Russian powers-that-be have for decades been doing everything they can to destabilise and divide our European Union shows beyond doubt that they fear the herbivores we are more than anything else. This war is an act of desperation to prevent our model from winning.

It would be a mistake, in response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, to declare our herbivorous model invalid and start reasoning like carnivores. The appeal of our economy, our well-being, our prosperity, our rule of law, our science, our culture and our civilisation remains our most powerful weapon. What would happen, for example, if the European Union offered a residence permit to all Russian soldiers who laid down their arms? The herbivore would rob the carnivore of its teeth with no other weapon than its allure. *Et in Arcadia ego*.

People may be inclined to think that you cannot win a war with a poem, but that does not mean those people are right. The poetry of our shared European culture, nourished by three millennia of cherished history, the poetry that has taught us what freedom is and what rights mean, is an invincible weapon. Our nostalgia is our hope for the future.



For the past year, communities across 12 European countries working in the social, educational and artistic modes of the cultural sphere have been collaborating on how to include the diversity of ideas, concerns and recommendations in the shaping of the future of Europe. Even throughout the course of the pandemic, over 350 motivated people found ways to gather and debate what the priorities of policymaking should be at both the national and European levels.

THE FUTURE, AMPLIFIED

Maya Weisinger

Participants from across Denmark, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden held community listening sessions to investigate the challenges faced in the cultural sector, reflect on what is often misrepresented about their communities, raise issues from their local communities that need more attention across Europe and question what makes a 'better Europe'?

These conversations represent the basis of the project, 'Amplify: Make the Future of Europe Yours'. The European Parliament-funded project brings marginalised and underrepresented communities in the cultural and creative sectors into the fold of EU-level policymaking. After the community listening sessions were held, the working groups collected their conversations and developed key recommendations to bring to policymakers in the framework of the Conference on the Future of Europe. The main goal of the Conference (which is the first joint collaboration between the European Parliament, the European Council and the European Commission) is to listen to voices in Europe's debate on the challenges and priorities for Europe in order to provide guidance for future policymaking.

The recommendations that came from each country, or 'hubs' as they are called in the Amplify project, range from topics relating to climate, youth, equity, diversity and inclusion, values and rights, to name a few. Their recommendations ranged from wanting to see culture as a contributor to the Green deal to providing access to funds for immigrant creatives waiting for the legalisation of their stay. The hubs also had the opportunity to share why exactly the issues they brought up were specific to their local or national contexts. All of the hubs then submitted their recommendations to the Conference on the Future of Europe platform to be taken up in the plenary debate.

Culture Action Europe then synthesised the contributions of each of the 12 Hubs into a collective recommendation, first by presenting diagnoses of the issues that participants discussed as most affecting underrepresented communities across Europe. The recommendations that followed were developed to address these key focus areas. Also included in the full document are 'Explanatory Notes', which provide background information from the Amplify hubs regarding how each recommendation was developed in order to keep the voices and spirit of the participants within the framework of a traditional policy document.

In addition to contributing to the discussion around representation in policymaking, Amplify has also been the jumping-off point for the visibility of cultural initiatives or agents that are creating an impact in their communities. The Amplify hub in the Netherlands worked with a group of 11 art students. As representatives of the next generation of cultural creators, they have been asked to identify issues and voices they are missing in the conversation about the future of Europe. After investigating these



1, 2 Amplify Hub Poland

issues, both through direct community engagement and academic research, the artists have developed artistic projects around the issues and will launch their digital exhibition on Europe Day 2022 as part of Amplify's closing event. The artists closely engaged issues such as the precarity of gig workers, the disruption of neighbourhood ecosystems due to gentrification and the legal and social struggles LGBTQIA+ parents face when building their families.

Amplify has also become a launch point for the Culture Action Europe podcast, 'Frequencies', which explores arts and cultural initiatives that seek to impact and transform communities, near and far. Each episode features the work, voices and experiences of artists and cultural workers across Europe and beyond. For example, the first episode highlights the artistic intervention that the Amplify hub from Italy engaged in their community listening sessions. They worked with a multimedia artist to engage participants in dialogue about their thoughts on how to improve the future of Europe while leading them up a 15-story tower. The artist captured their responses, along with the sounds of them climbing and breathing, and created a poetic film that gives life to their conversations about their hardships, hopes and disappointments, local politics and Europe.

AMPLIFY IN ACTION

On Europe Day, Amplify will hold its final event, 'Amplify in Action'. On this day, Amplify participants will meet within each of their countries to strategise and execute a live, guerilla-style social media campaign, amplifying their calls to action to policymakers, cultural leaders and EU institutions. Throughout the day, Culture Action Europe will host live sessions, such as artists' talks, moderated dialogue between Amplify participants and EU decision-makers, and host a digital art exhibition featuring artistic interventions resulting from the Amplify process.

Although there are a number of initiatives aimed at involving European citizens in the democratic process, it is still true that voices are being left out across Europe. Amplify purposefully seeks out and fills these communication gaps by creating platforms to bring these voices to the Future of Europe process. Amplify positions itself as part of ongoing public discourse that underscores the importance of creating accessible and inclusive ways for marginalised people to participate in the cultural sector across Europe.

“Working trans-sectorally requires an effort to see that things can be done in a different way, in a much more creative way, in a less codified way. And artists can really be important triggers for this change of approach. They help us in thinking outside the box and they can help us also in getting in touch with different kind of people and difficult topics.”
– CHRISTINA DA MILANO

“I hope that whatever we are able to bring up to european policymakers, they will be really be listening. We are at a point where we don't have much time left to waste. Communities are here giving it all, providing their bodies to be there and I hope policymakers will listen.”
– ROCÍO NOGALES MURIEL

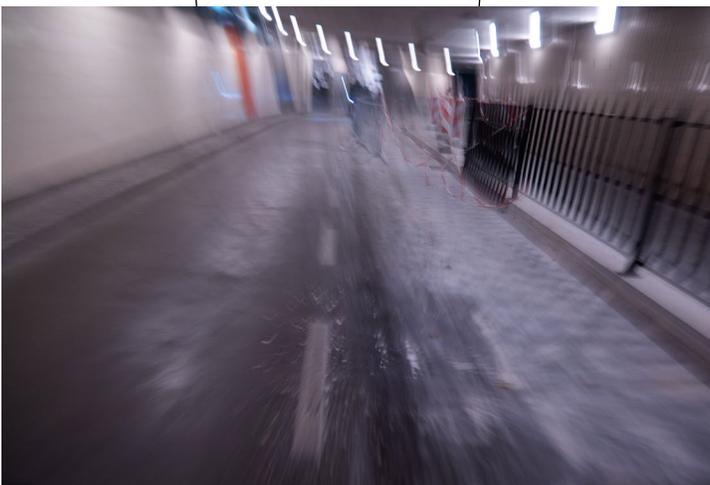
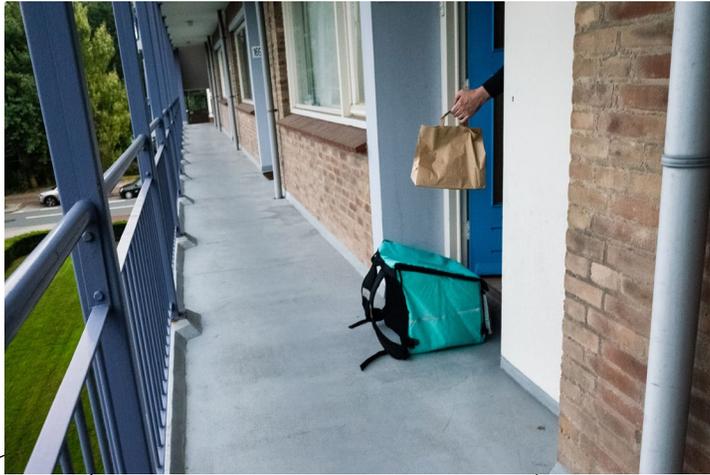
Amy Opstal, Ben Maier, Carles Hidalgo, Kay Fahnner and Lina Selg are students in their final year of the BA Photography of the Royal Academy of Art (KABK), the Hague.

1. Amy Opstal *The Parental Act*



In the past decades, developments in science, policy and law have led to new opportunities for a privileged minority to start a family through surrogacy. However, there is still a lot to be achieved in a country like the Netherlands, where independent women and LGBTQ persons aspiring biological parenthood undergo complex processes of paperwork and social acceptance. Some resort to transnational surrogacy, which further complicates the already complex legal and social process.

2. Ben Maier *I deliver your food; you treat me like s***.*



A video work on the precarious situation of gig-economy workers.

3. Carles Hidalgo *To ache for ...*



Delving from ideas like stigma, shame, pleasure and redefinitions of trauma, this series of portraits aims to give voice to individuals who have been or are part of chemsex culture. In doing so, it addresses the lack of societal and health response towards it.

4. Kay Fahner *Who will look after you? (working title)*



Gentrification affects working and lower class communities across Europe. This short movie visualises the delicate ecosystem that faces disruption while functioning as a body in Amsterdam Noord.

5. Lina Selg



Following the stories of five young adults dealing with depression, disorders and suicidal thoughts, this project addresses a generational feeling of sadness, invisibility and internalised wars — and the participants' struggles of being unheard and unhelped by the Dutch mental health system.

TO MAKE THE SILOS DANCE

Gijs de Vries

On the right you will find recommendations taken from **To make the silos dance**, a paper written by Gijs de Vries, commissioned by the European Cultural Foundation as a contribution to the Cultural Deal for Europe.

The Cultural Deal for Europe is a call from a wider European cultural community to acknowledge the pivotal role of culture in shaping the future of our lives. The Cultural Deal for Europe is jointly developed by the **European Cultural Foundation, Culture Action Europe (CAE)** and **Europa Nostra**, also in its capacity as coordinator of the **European Heritage Alliance**.

Culture is what brings us together. It is at the basis of the European project and determines the future of our societies. The gravity of the Covid-19 crisis proved again that culture is not a luxury, but a necessity to build cohesive, equal, sustainable and free societies.

In the introduction to his paper the author writes: “There are three main reasons why culture matters to Europe and why it should figure more prominently in EU policy. Culture matters intrinsically; it is central to a life worth living. Culture also matters as a central component of our societies and economies. Finally, culture matters existentially, as a principal but vulnerable dimension of our common identity as Europeans.”

“The cultural and creative sectors have long argued that the EU needs to adopt a horizontal, holistic view of culture”, de Vries writes. “My paper is intended to offer concrete suggestions about how this mainstreaming can be achieved in practice.”

TO THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION on the subject of the Green Deal:

- Develop a concerted approach, in dialogue with the sector, to fully harness the power of culture in the Green Deal, mobilising culture’s capacity to raise awareness and empower people to create a sustainable world;
- Propose a comprehensive strategy on culture and sustainability in local and regional communities;
- Facilitate the building of a Culture for Climate Coalition to co-create a participatory community to support the changes needed for a climate-neutral society;
- Invite Member States to share their national experiences in greening the cultural sector under the Recovery and Resilience Plans, and identify good practices;
- Together with partners, develop a ‘Team Europe’ approach to preserve and promote cultural sustainability around the world.

ON THE NEW PUSH FOR EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY:

- Use all legal and financial powers to defend and promote media freedom across the EU, including in response to undue media concentration and abuse of state advertising;
- Speak out against infringements of cultural rights such as academic and media freedom in individual EU Member States.

ON HORIZONTAL ASPECTS:

- Develop an integral approach to culture across policy areas;
- Improve policy visibility online;
- Invest in independent evaluation of project impacts;
- Clarify the legal definition of cultural and creative industries;
- Strengthen outreach to and concertation with cultural and creative sectors.

TO THE EEAS (EUROPEAN UNION EXTERNAL ACTION) AND EUROPEAN COMMISSION

- Integrate cultural policy into the new EU Strategic Compass for security and defence (2022);
- Propose a Joint Communication on Freedom of Cultural Expression and prioritise diplomatic and financial support for cultural rights around the world;
- Invite EU ambassadors to host public events celebrating International Days relevant to cultural freedom.

TO THE COUNCIL AND EUROPEAN COMMISSION

- Propose a broad-ranging and innovative Cultural Heritage Partnership with Africa, based on cooperation among equals;
- Speak out against China’s dual strategy of blocking and censoring European cultural expressions in China while interfering with cultural freedoms in Europe.

TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

- Encourage sectoral Committees as well as Delegations to regard culture as a transversal concern.

TO THE MEMBER STATES

- Increase support to EUNIC and invite national EUNIC members to devote at least 10% of their annual budget to European cooperation.

THE MAN FROM NOWHERE

Enda O'Doherty ILLUSTRATIONS Sjoerd van Leeuwen



A common currency, a single passport and a European anthem: all were originally the ideas of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. But though the founder of the pan-Europa movement was ahead of his time in many ways, impatience with institution-building meant his concrete achievements remained limited.

The 1920s was a troubled time in Central Europe. The vast and sprawling Austro-Hungarian empire had imploded in 1918, to be succeeded by a variety of new states, none of them very wealthy or very stable. Optimism was in short supply. Nevertheless, the decade was to see the emergence, within a couple of years, of two powerful young political thinkers born in the old empire who were to make a considerable mark on European politics over the coming decades.

One published at the end of 1923 a short political manifesto, *Pan-Europa*, which sold out its first print run of 5,000 almost immediately. The other took advantage of a period of enforced leisure in 1924 to work on a book that blended memoir with political ideology and which its author first thought of calling *Four and a Half Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity and Cowardice*. It was to be published, with a somewhat snappier title, in two volumes in 1925 and 1926.

The author of *Pan-Europa* was not yet thirty, but this was his third published book. He was ambitious and intelligent, had the benefit of a wealthy background and an elite education and quickly developed connections to influential political figures in more than one country. The author of *Four and a Half Years of Struggle* had had a turbulent childhood marked by bitter conflict with his father and poor school results. He graduated from technical school (*Realschule*) aged sixteen, after repeating his final year. It was only after his war service – he was twice decorated for bravery – that he at last discovered, in Munich, the sense of direction that had previously eluded him in his rather aimless bohemian life in Vienna. He had found the war immensely exhilarating and, like many of his fellow-combatants, felt Germany's 1918 surrender to be a betrayal.

It would not have been easy, in spite of the early commercial success of *Mein Kampf* (as his book came to be known), to predict which of these two men – the aristocratic, confident and polished networker Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi or the largely unconnected and embittered war hero Adolf Hitler – would make more of a mark on history. Most of their contemporaries in the mid-20s, one suspects, would have guessed wrong.

Coudenhove-Kalergi's *Pan-Europa* was a study inscribed in the tradition of 'big picture' history: a popular genre in the twentieth century, stretching from Oswald

Spengler's *Decline of the West* (1918–1923), through Arnold Toynbee's multi-volume *A Study of History* (1934–1961) to Samuel P. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996).

Echoing Spengler's approach to the serial rise and fall of civilisations, Coudenhove-Kalergi asserted that it had been the role of Europeans to step into the breach when earlier Asian powers – Chinese, Persian, Ottoman – declined. European influence had been positive: the colonisation of Africa, Britain's domination of India and the peopling of the 'empty spaces' of Canada and Australia were cited. Coudenhove-Kalergi traced European civilisation back to Alexander the Great, who in carving out a Eurasian empire with a pan-Hellenic culture had created 'the first Europe'. The second Europe was that established by the Romans, chiefly around the Mediterranean, *mare nostrum* (our sea). The third, which followed the migration of tribes from the north and east ('barbarians') into the Roman space, was the Holy Roman Empire, which reached its apogee under Charlemagne.

As that empire began to split into multiple polities the unity that had been lost on the political front was replaced by a spiritual one, when Europe became 'Christendom', a process most fully realised during the reign of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). This was the fourth Europe. Religious unity was shattered by the Reformation, followed in due course by the Enlightenment, the pre-eminent political representative of which was Napoleon, who, for a time, reorganised Europe – the fifth Europe – under French hegemony. Napoleon might have been toppled by the reactionary powers, but the idea of forging a united, *rational* Europe persisted.

The outcome of the fratricidal conflict of 1914–18, however, had seen Europe lose its place in the world. It was now threatened both by the growing financial power of American capitalism and the threat of Bolshevik communism – a destructive, atheistic creed inimical to Europe's intellectual and spiritual heritage. For Coudenhove-Kalergi, Europe ('Pan-Europe' as he called it) had a common culture which rested on two thousand years of history. As Martyn Bond puts it,

"Europeans ... were carriers of a civilization of global significance, which had achieved great things in all realms of thought and action, and which had the

potential to deliver even more in the future. For him, there was self-evidently a European identity, and hence a European nation, and all Europeans could aspire to join it.”

What Coudenhove-Kalergi wished to see established was the opposite of Hitler’s vision – not a community based on common ‘blood’ or ‘race’ (*Blutgemeinschaft*) but one built on common ideas and values.

At around 150 pages, *Pan-Europa* was not going to tax the reader too much. Arnold Toynbee was to identify twenty-six significant civilisations in world history but his study of these took him almost thirty years to complete. Coudenhove-Kalergi confined himself to Europe and to six historical stages – one in the future – and managed to knock his book into shape during a three-week stay at the Renaissance castle of his friend Willy Gutmann on either side of Easter 1923.

As with the Marxist version of history, or ‘History’, Coudenhove-Kalergi’s schema had a clear orientation towards the future, an essential element perhaps for any political philosophy which requires its followers to commit to activism. Interpreting the world is fine and dandy, but *the point*, of course, is to *change it*. Changing it, or at least changing that part of it in which they lived, now required Europeans to give up their national rivalries and unite in a co-operative structure which would usher in the sixth manifestation of the continent’s long history, a federal United States of Europe. This construct would exclude both Russia, politically and culturally incompatible, and Britain, which Coudenhove-Kalergi saw as being uninterested in the project, having other fish to fry in its far-flung empire. If Pan-Europa were to have any chance of succeeding, its central, and most difficult, task would be reconciling France and Germany, and this was the field in which he first set himself to labour.

Who was Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi? The double-barrelled surname is intriguing enough, but that is only the start. Hitler, in the third volume of *Mein Kampf*, referred to him dismissively as ‘that cosmopolitan bastard’ (*Allerweltsbastard*). Cosmopolitan is an accurate enough description of his politics, but also indeed of his family background. The Coudenhoves were a Flemish noble family in the service of the Habsburgs who moved to Austria after the French Revolution. The Kalergi or Kalergis family were Cretan Greek, with

another branch prominent in Venice. In 1857 in Paris, Count Franz Karl von Coudenhove married Marie Kalergi, the daughter of a famous society hostess and patron of the arts of German and Polish origin who, after separating from her husband, lived in Paris and

Warsaw. Marie Kalergi’s son Heinrich, a diplomat in the service of Austria-Hungary, married Mitsuko Aoyama while representing his country in Japan.

One might have thought that Heinrich and Mitsuko’s son Richard, with such a variegated pedigree, would have been at a loss to find further ways of offending the guardians of racial purity. But no: aged eighteen, he met the divorced Jewish stage actress Ida Roland, thirteen years his senior, and quickly fell in love with her. In 1915 they were married, much against his mother’s wishes.

Ida, whose earning power was substantial, was to be a great support to her husband, both financial and moral, throughout their long life together. They were to have no children (Richard adopted Ida’s daughter, Erika) but the Coudenhove-Kalergi ‘line’ still exists, its latest member, born in 2016, Richard’s great-grandniece Olympia Marie Gladys Zita Barbara Mauricette Elena Omnes Sancti Coudenhove-Kalergi – a Christian name for each of her five years and a couple to spare.

In 1924, Coudenhove-Kalergi received a message of support from the Hamburg banker Max Warburg which offered him funding – equivalent to almost €300,000 in today’s money – to be disbursed over a period of three years and to be spent building a movement, half of it in Germany and half elsewhere in Europe. Coudenhove-Kalergi established a publishing company for Pan-Europa in Vienna, with its own printing presses. From here he published the first volume of the *Pan-Europa Journal*, an essential pillar of his recruitment strategy for the organisation.

But if he wanted to expand the number of ordinary supporters his focus was just as often on recruiting the influential and powerful as sympathisers or sponsors. The support of successive Austrian chancellors – particularly Ignaz Seipel, Engelbert Dollfuss and Kurt Schuschnigg – was vital in furnishing him with a solid physical base from which to direct operations. Seipel, a Catholic priest who was chancellor from 1922 to ’24 and again from 1926 to ’29, gave Pan-Europa a suite of rooms in the Hofburg, close to Austria’s seat of government. He also brokered an arrangement with the Cistercian order whereby the Coudenhove-Kalergis



took over a beautiful central Vienna apartment recently vacated by the prior at a very modest rent. Here Richard and Ida’s servants – cook, maid, butler and chauffeur – occupied the ground floor while upstairs the couple entertained and networked with politicians, ambassadors, newspaper editors and distinguished foreign visitors.

By the end of 1925, *Pan-Europa* had sold more than 40,000 copies. By 1928, translations had appeared in French, Spanish, Hungarian, Czech, Croatian, Greek, Latvian, Japanese and of course English – though the latter was published not in London but New York. Coudenhove-Kalergi hoped to organise national Pan-Europa committees in all the countries of the European mainland but also

to find sympathisers in Britain and the US. These would contribute funding to sustain the expenses of headquarters and the ambitious programme of the union, of which Coudenhove-Kalergi had taken the precaution in 1926 of making himself president-for-life.

In France and Germany he sought out non-nationalist, or less nationalist, figures with whom he thought he could do business. Chief among them were the foreign ministers Aristide Briand (France) and Gustav Stresemann (Germany), who were to be jointly awarded the Nobel peace prize in 1926. If Briand’s support for Coudenhove-Kalergi’s federalist aims was enthusiastic (‘Go ahead, quick, quick, quick!’) the same could not quite be said for Stresemann, who knew how much resentment there still was

in Germany over the terms of the Versailles treaty and consequently how carefully he would have to tread in any move towards reconciliation with France. Martyn Bond comments:

“Stresemann ... was cautious, but offered RCK his unofficial support, essentially because Pan-Europa opened an alternative route for Germany to achieve a better understanding with France ... But Stresemann wanted to keep his options open to the east as well. He refused to recognize Germany’s new border with Poland, for instance, since, if ever Poland was attacked by Russia, Stresemann knew his country could demand a territorial price for supporting its eastern neighbour. RCK noted succinctly, ‘He was a European as far as he thought that Pan-Europa might serve Germany’s national interest’.”

Which is to say perhaps not very far.

As a young man, Coudenhove-Kalergi had entertained some mildly leftish ideas: that is, he believed that a more equal redistribution of wealth in society might be advisable in the interests of justice and to stave off social disorder. But he was not particularly enamoured of the idea of *political equality* as such. He never regarded Bolshevism as anything other than a serious threat – one ‘based on Asiatic principles’ – to civilised western values, and while he cultivated some German social democrats and French socialists during the 1920s and ’30s in the interest of spreading more widely his ideas on Europe, he remained rather ambivalent about the essential political basis for both liberalism and democratic socialism – universal suffrage and the competitive free play of political ideas and organisations. Bond writes:

“He had his doubts about social democrats and liberals ... since their embrace of democracy failed his test of ‘quality’ by sacrificing power to the lowest common denominator in the state, the highest number of voters ... The universal franchise was by definition *too* democratic, opening the door to rule by the masses or rule by money, by an ignorant mob or the pretention of plutocrats who knew the price of everything and the value of nothing.”

The alternative to rule by the masses or by ‘plutocrats’ was of course rule by aristocrats, the governing principle of the world into which Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi had been born, as son of the lord of Ronsperg, Stockau and Muttersdorf (today in the Czech Republic), in 1894. Aristocratic titles were abolished by the new, post-war Republic of Austria, though Coudenhove-Kalergi continued to use the ‘courtesy title’ of Count.

But if the old aristocracy had had its teeth drawn in many countries in the early years of the twentieth century, might there possibly be a new one in the making? Bond tells us of a visit Coudenhove-Kalergi made to Rome in 1933 to see Mussolini. The two men found they had a good deal in common. They were both keen on Nietzsche. Mussolini scoffed at the notion of German or Aryan racial superiority: it was the barbarians of the north who had throughout history threatened the more civilised nations of the Mediterranean south. Antisemitism was an absurdity. Coudenhove-Kalergi thought he could even

a detect a warmth towards the ideas of Pan-Europa. As Bond puts it,

“the man changed before his eyes from dictator to intellectual.”

Hitler, as a racist and antisemite, was beyond the pale, but fascism in its Italian form seemed to Coudenhove-Kalergi to have some positive qualities, mitigating the weaknesses of democracy by organising the business of government around a strong leader constantly in contact with professional and other elites, “all welded together into a national movement that did away with conflicting political parties and *divisive popular choice*.” When Italy invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935, Coudenhove-Kalergi refused to condemn the operation, on the grounds that

condemnation would only push Mussolini into Hitler’s arms.

Besides, in *Pan-Europa*, had not the African continent been designated as the happy hunting ground of the European powers, a permanent source for food and raw materials? In a conflict that stretched over several years, joining up with the Second World War, the Ethiopians estimated their dead at 700,000, very many of them civilians and about a third killed by chemical weapons.

The German-Italian agreement of 1936 might have forced Coudenhove-Kalergi to admit that his assessment of Mussolini had been mistaken, but he kept hoping until the last minute that alliances might be reversed and Italy might in the end join France and Britain in resisting Hitler. He was soon to have greater worries, however, than chagrin over a political misjudgement.

In 1938, Hitler demanded that the Austrian chancellor, Schuschnigg, withdraw his proposed referendum on unity with Germany (*Anschluss*). Schuschnigg resigned and was replaced by the Nazi sympathiser Arthur Seyss-Inquart, who invited German troops into the country. Coudenhove-Kalergi, who would certainly have been on ‘the list’, quickly fled with his wife across the Czech border and on by a roundabout route, through Hungary, Yugoslavia and Italy, to their country house in Gruben, Switzerland.

After the fall of Czechoslovakia, Coudenhove-Kalergi, who had been travelling for some years on a Czech diplomatic passport, applied for and was granted French citizenship. He had spent much time in these months of ‘phony war’ visiting Paris and London, but in May 1940 he and Ida left Gruben and drove across France, crossing the Spanish border at Port Bou, with the ultimate aim of reaching Lisbon in neutral Portugal.

After six nervous weeks there he eventually cleared the considerable hurdles erected by US bureaucracy and flew to New York.

Coudenhove-Kalergi’s years in New York can possibly be considered secondary to a study of his influence on the movement towards European unity. Suffice it to say that he found a job teaching at New York University and continued to write and network, though he mostly failed in his efforts to make an impression on the Roosevelt administration, for whom his unambiguous anti-Sovietism was

at this time inopportune. Nor was he welcome at the British embassy in Washington. A note on internal foreign office correspondence dated 1943 described him as “more a nuisance than a danger,” since he had “no backing.”

The Washington ambassador, Lord Halifax, previously Neville Chamberlain’s foreign secretary, also believed that Coudenhove-Kalergi was “in touch with a number of disreputable people” and asserted that he “wouldn’t trust him at all.” Halifax, who had gone fox-hunting with Hermann Göring in the 1930s and was at pains to assure Stanley Baldwin that “these fellows [the Nazis] are genuine haters of Communism, etc.,” can be assumed to have known all about the disreputable. One might speculate that Halifax’s reluctance to trust Coudenhove-Kalergi stemmed from his very obvious ‘cosmopolitanism’. While some who met him might have been impressed, others, of the *plain man* variety, obviously were not. As Bond puts it:

“He was hard to place. What country or what party did he belong to? Half-Japanese, but originally from Austria, and since September 1939 a French citizen, he had in earlier years been travelling on a Czech diplomatic passport and had a home in Switzerland. Where did he belong? ... To whom did he owe allegiance? If asked, he would have answered ‘Europe’, but in the eyes of the Allied governments, he had no locus other than that of an independent author from Central Europe, temporarily employed as a lecturer in New York University. He was a citizen of nowhere.”

Martyn Bond’s nationality and his career background – foreign correspondent for the BBC, university professor, European civil servant – have perhaps influenced him to trace in particular detail Coudenhove-Kalergi’s ideas in so far as they affected Britain, and indeed to offer a more general short history of that country’s engagement with Europeanism in the twentieth century and in particular in the post-war period.

One of the earliest references is to Labour Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald,



who offered the view that the idea of a united Europe was premature, though one might consider it in ten years' time – that would be 1939. In the post-war period Coudenhove-Kalergi thought for a time that with Germany out of the equation – it did not become a sovereign state again until 1949 – Britain might step into the breach, discovering a new European vocation. He forged a very amicable relationship with Winston Churchill, though it gradually became clear to him that Churchill's inspiring rhetoric on European history, culture and destiny did not necessarily imply support for any concrete proposals, still less ones that might tear Britain away from its more important links with 'the English-speaking peoples'.

Churchill's son-in-law Duncan Sandys became a particular bugbear for Coudenhove-Kalergi, as indeed he did for another European federalist, the Swiss Denis de Rougemont. Duncan Sandys, Bond writes,

“represented a particularly British view of the issue of European integration. He shared with Churchill a vision of Europe as a group of nation states with a common cultural heritage which would all benefit by co-operating voluntarily with each other on economic and other issues. But Sandys saw no need for a closer political bond between them, certainly not one which would lead to the creation of a common European citizenship and a federal structure of government, since this would inevitably be exclusive and run counter to the interests of Britain and its Commonwealth ...”

What Britain wanted was an alignment of aspirations, a meeting of minds, a warm, fuzzy Eurocultural feeling that would involve few or no actual commitments but possibly a lot more conferences, dinners and inspiring resolutions. In the longer term some of those who at the time suppressed their doubts about British intentions for the sake of 'unity' in the movement came to regret their

weakness. The French socialist minister André Philip, looking back in the late 1960s, observed:

“To the degree to which we buried the genuine problems we allowed ourselves to be sidelined by the establishment. In our fight for Europe we did not spill any blood, which is excellent and I am grateful for it, but we spilled too much champagne.”

When, in 1961, Britain finally applied for EEC membership under prime minister Harold Macmillan, Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell was scathing about Tory 'double talk' on Europe. There might indeed be pragmatic reasons for going in if the terms were right, Gaitskell suggested, but the ideal terms for him seemed to be those which entailed as little Europe as possible: “When they [the Tories] go to Brussels they show the greatest enthusiasm for political union. When they speak in the House of Commons they are most anxious to aver that there is no commitment whatever to any political union. We must be clear about this. It does mean, if this [political union] is the idea, the end of Britain as an independent European state. I make no apology for repeating it. It means the end of a thousand years of history.”

While the Benelux states were keen that Britain should join the community and act as a balance to the developing French-German axis, President Charles de Gaulle saw the British as a threat to French leadership and a possible Trojan horse for American interests. In 1963 and again in 1967 he used his veto to block their applications. When, in 1972, de Gaulle having been succeeded by the more friendly Georges Pompidou, Britain finally entered the European Communities, there were some who remained sceptical of the merits of joining a club which had so recently baulked at accepting them as members. Left-wing Labour minister Peter Shore reminded his parliamentary colleagues that

“we are dealing with a government in France, or perhaps I should say 'a regime', that is not – I use a rather

British understatement – all that friendly to this country, and that whatever the right description of our relationship with France is, we should be unwise to expect consideration, foolish to expect generosity, and ludicrous if we thought of it as having anything to do with community.”

Coudenhove-Kalergi had cultivated prominent statesmen over many decades, often with considerable success, forging useful links with the foreign ministers Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann, with three Austrian chancellors, with Harry Truman, Winston Churchill and Konrad Adenauer. His closest political friend, however, was Charles de Gaulle, with whom he developed a relationship that was not just mutually respectful – even warm – but profitable: de Gaulle arranged in the early 1960s for Coudenhove-Kalergi to receive a regular allowance from French state funds, an annual sum equivalent, Bond suggests, to the pension of an ambassador.

Coudenhove had always been drawn to ‘great men’, and there can have been few who projected the mystique of greatness in a more concentrated way than de Gaulle. One could argue, however, that his desire to be close to power and to exercise influence may on this occasion have involved some cost to his political principles. In summer 1950 he had written an angry letter to Bill Donovan, former head of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the forerunner of the CIA, accusing him of colluding in switching US support from his own federalist European Parliamentary Union to the European Movement:

“Under the influence of Duncan Sandys and Josef Retinger ... you have broken off your original cordial relations to the EPU and become the American Agency of the European Movement, providing it with funds and publicity in the USA. As you knew, the European Movement has from the very start been most hostile to the EPU because the latter is promoting a genuine United States of Europe, while the EM has been set up under British leadership with the very purpose of preventing such a European Federation by organising Europe as an association of sovereign states.”

The Treaty of Paris of 1951, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), aimed to attain a political goal largely through economic means. The treaty was based on the ‘community method’ of co-operation elaborated by the public servant Jean Monnet. Its preamble stated:

“Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.”

Monnet’s preferred version of relations between states involved a pooling of (some) sovereignty and the creation of supranational institutions like the European Commission, which was legally required to act in the common interest; this meant not overriding the interests of small states.

De Gaulle, on the other hand, tended to see Europe in loftier terms, not principally of economic and social policy but of high politics, foreign policy, security and world standing. He was opposed to Monnet’s supranational vision, preferring a *Europe des patries* (Europe of the nations), in which, however, some *patries* would be more equal than others. The lead in policy matters in Europe would have to be taken by a group of the largest and most populous nations, a *directoire*.

In theory, de Gaulle was prepared to admit Britain into this *directoire* if it eventually fulfilled the conditions to join Europe, but any minnows it might bring in with it (like Denmark or Ireland) would be staying outside with Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. A Europe of the nations was not quite what Coudenhove-Kalergi had signed up for in 1923 with Pan-Europa; one can perhaps at least partially attribute his apparent rapprochement

with the Gaullian vision to his admiration for ‘men of action’ and his lack of aptitude for patient institutional work leading to positive incremental change.

How can we sum up Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi? Some of his contemporaries were critical. The Berlin nationalist publication *Politische Wochenschrift* saw him as “Narcissus leaning over the pool and observing his reflection,” motionless and unaware of “the most urgent intrusions of political reality.” Few (Lord Halifax apart) seemed to doubt his sincerity or moral rectitude, though some thought he might perhaps keep too good company.

The pacifist journalist Carl von Ossietzky thought Pan-Europa was in danger of becoming a “movement of intellectuals without any popular base,” due to its founder’s predilection for unselectively gathering powerful figures around him and “getting nothing in return but a few kindly granted handshakes.” He might be a good European but he had the “sweet, childlike belief of an Austrian” in the power of connections. He had ruined the essentially good idea of Pan-Europa by ignoring the masses and “circulating only in grand hotels and exclusive concert halls.”

Enrolling ‘the masses’ in a pan-European movement might not have been easy as Ossietzky seemed to think but it is probably fair to say that Coudenhove-Kalergi never tried, in fact never even thought of trying. His inclination to live ‘the good life’ – staying in the best hotels, travelling in a chauffeur-driven car, keeping a small retinue of servants – seems to have stemmed as much from his notion of the dignity of his mission as from any personal addiction to luxury.

He was not a *bon viveur* – neither gourmet nor drinker – but he believed he was the ambassador for Europe and he lived all his life in the style appropriate to the ambassador of an important state. He was not pursuing personal enrichment, but he can be convicted of a certain loftiness or detachment, or more simply callousness, born perhaps of the considerable distance he kept between himself and the experiences of the working class and peasantry. The ten million who had died in the First World War, he said, were replaceable, but not the ten among them who might have been geniuses.

On the positive side he was certainly not as hopelessly utopian nor as politically isolated as some of his critics suggested. Why

would someone entirely without influence have attracted the hostility he did (not least from the British foreign office)? He was consistent in his opposition to Nazism and in his commitment to a Europe at peace. He was an innovative thinker ahead of most of his contemporaries: a European flag, a common currency, a single passport and a European anthem (the ‘Ode to Joy’) were all originally his ideas. In terms of concrete achievements, however, he had the misfortune to be overtaken by a very well-equipped train running on a parallel track.

He was above all a man distinguished by sharp focus and strong determination and a skilled and patient organiser at a time when building networks across international borders was a lot more difficult than it is today. In all of this he was sustained by unshakeable belief in the importance, and in the ultimate success, of his project. He received countless awards and in the 1930s was nominated year after year for the Nobel peace prize. But he never won it. His comment on this is typical of the man and certainly suggests no small degree of self-regard:

“Better to have deserved it but never been awarded it than to have been awarded it but not deserved it.”

Martyn Bond’s biographical study is a thoroughly informed, fluent, judicious and wide-ranging work, covering not just the career of Coudenhove-Kalergi but also offering a clear and accessible account of the wider political situation in the mid-twentieth century and in particular during the early decades of European construction.

In a note on the title prefacing his text Bond writes:

“After the destruction of the Second World War, when Europeans were starting to get their act together again, it was to Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi’s ideas that they turned. Today, we are a long way down the road to turning his utopia into a reality.”

This is certainly an unusual remark to hear an Englishman make in 2021; let us look on it as the informed judgment of a proud European.

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DOSSIER

RE: FRAMING MIGRANTS

Putin's invasion of Ukraine has pushed millions of people out of their homes and fleeing across borders to escape violence. This tragic situation reveals once again the importance of an inclusive European media space in which newcomers can engage as participants, rather than subjects of public debate. But refugees and other migrants who came to Europe in the past decennia frequently ended up being portrayed as one-dimensional characters, as 'others' on a simplistic binary of perpetrators and victims. Their own stories, perspectives and opinions, as multi-faceted persons dreams, fears, friends and family are rarely shared.

The pilot *Re:framing Migrants in the European Media* supports the development of a European public sphere, inclusive to the perspectives of refugees and migrants. The project is run by a consortium of *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warsaw), Here to Support (Amsterdam), Eticas (Barcelona), Beyond the Now (Berlin/Dublin/London), ZEMOS98 (Sevilla) and the European Cultural Foundation (Amsterdam). The coalition will research the ways refugees and migrants are currently represented in (social) media, map media and artistic practices inclusive to marginalised groups, build a community of practice by connecting practices from mainstream and community media, facilitate joint media productions by 'tandems' drawn from and draft recommendations to make the public sphere more inclusive to refugees and migrants.

The pilot is co-funded by DG Connect of the European Commission.



The EU increasingly embraces the idea of a continental identity, one that's white and Christian. Is it really the liberal body of remainder lore?

EUROPE'S REPUTATION AS A COSMOPOLITAN HAVEN HAS BEEN EXPOSED AS A MIRAGE

Hans Kundnani

When Kabul fell in mid-August, almost the first reaction of European leaders was fear of another wave of refugees arriving on the continent. “We must anticipate and protect ourselves against major irregular migratory flows,” said the French president, Emmanuel Macron. Armin Laschet, the Christian Democrat candidate hoping to succeed Angela Merkel as German chancellor in the election that takes place in two weeks, said there could be no repeat of the refugee crisis of 2015, when Germany received more than a million asylum seekers. By the end of the month, the European Council had agreed to “act jointly to prevent the recurrence of uncontrolled large-scale illegal migration movements faced in the past.”

The focus on ‘protecting’ Europe from an influx of asylum seekers reflects a troubling transformation of the European Union over the past decade. There was a time when ‘pro-Europeans’ were confident that the world would almost inevitably be remade in the image of the EU, as it endlessly expanded its rules and exported its model centred on the ‘social market economy’ and the welfare state. Since the eurozone debt crisis began in 2010, however, Europeans have become more defensive and now see the world largely in terms of threats.

Against this background, Europe also increasingly conceives of itself in cultural terms. As the European model has become less credible and compelling – in part because, led by Merkel, Europeans have hollowed it out in an attempt to become more ‘competitive’ – ‘pro-Europeans’ now talk endlessly of ‘European values’. Ursula von der Leyen’s ‘geopolitical’ European Commission even includes a commissioner for promoting the European way of life (it was originally ‘protecting’ rather than ‘promoting’), who is responsible for asylum and immigration issues.

When Macron became French president in 2017, he spoke of a Europe *qui protège* – ‘that protects’. This was initially, above all, about protecting citizens from the market; he hoped to reform the eurozone to create a more redistributive EU. But his plans were blocked, or rather simply ignored, by Merkel. Since then, under pressure from the far right and increasingly mimicking it, Macron has reinvented the idea of cultural, rather than economic, protection – in particular, from Muslims.

‘Pro-European’ centrists such as Macron increasingly think of international politics in terms of a Huntingtonian ‘clash of civilisations’ – but whereas Samuel Huntington saw the west as one civilisation that would find itself in conflict with China and Islam in the post-cold

war period, they see Europe as a civilisation that is distinct from, and which must also assert itself against, the United States.

The civilisational turn in the European project complicates the story of Brexit we have told ourselves. Leavers have often been portrayed as yearning for a white Britain before mass immigration began in the 1950s. But the reality is more complex. For example, one-third of Britain’s black and Asian population voted to leave in 2016. As political scientist Neema Begum has shown, many did so because they saw the EU as a ‘white fortress’ – and even those who voted to remain tended not to identify as European. Continental Europe generally lags behind the UK in terms of racial equality – for example, Brexit dramatically reduced the number of MEPs from ethnic minorities in the European parliament. (There are no exact figures because member states such as France and Germany do not collect ethnic data.)

On the continent, ‘pro-Europeans’ believe they have something in common with other Europeans that separates them from the rest of the world – they think of Europe as what the Germans call a *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, or community of fate. Few remainers think in this way; many are genuine cosmopolitans. The problem is that they are often as ignorant of the reality of the EU as leavers are and support an imaginary EU rather than the real existing EU. In particular, many on the British left imagine the EU to be much more open and progressive than it really is. Michel Barnier, the EU’s Brexit negotiator and now a candidate for the Republican nomination in the French presidential election next year, last week called for a suspension of immigration from outside Europe.

It is particularly odd, when you think about it, that identifying with ‘Europe’ should be thought of as an expression of cosmopolitanism. Europe is not the world and supporting the EU, or thinking of yourself as European, does not make you a ‘citizen of the world’, let alone a ‘citizen of nowhere’, as Theresa May famously suggested in 2016. Rather, it makes you a citizen of a particular region – one that happens to be the whitest on earth. In fact, historically, ‘European’ and ‘white’ were largely synonymous – think, for example, of what ‘European’ meant in apartheid South Africa.

It is true that, after the Second World War, a new, more civic European identity emerged, at least among elites, that was centred on what became the EU. But it constantly drew on older ethnic or cultural ideas of Europe for legitimacy and pathos – for example, the most prestigious prize for ‘pro-Europeans’ is

awarded in the name of Charlemagne, the embodiment of a medieval European identity synonymous with Christianity. As even the term ‘pro-European’ illustrates, civic, ethnic or cultural ideas of European identity were always being elided.

Moreover, while the EU was based on learning the lessons of centuries of conflict within Europe that culminated in the Second World War, and gradually also came to incorporate the collective memory of the Holocaust into its narrative, ‘pro-Europeans’ did not even attempt to learn the lessons of what Europeans had done to the rest of the world and never had anything to say about the history of colonialism.

The EU has become more embattled during the past decade as the far right surges throughout the continent and increasingly sets the agenda for the centre right and even some centre-left parties, such as the Danish Social Democrats. This means that the fragile civic identity that emerged during the postwar period seems to be giving way to a more cultural or even ethnic identity – defined, in particular, against Islam. In other words, whiteness may actually be becoming more, not less, central to the European project.

[This contribution has first appeared in *The Guardian*.](#)

HANS KUNDNANI

It is particularly odd, when you think about it, that identifying with ‘Europe’ should be thought of as an expression of cosmopolitanism. Europe is not the world and supporting the EU, or thinking of yourself as European, does not make you a ‘citizen of the world.’

SEEING BEYOND THE FILTER OF AN IMAGINARY EUROPE

Blackcoffee_pdc

Hans Kundnani wrote his article eight months ago, yet the topic couldn't be timelier. The journalist's analysis of Europe's reaction to non-European humanitarian crises recalls the media narration of wars started by the West but on territories far from it. Consequently, European public opinion perceives countries outside the West as places stricken by wars and poverty. The shared fantasy of these far-off and uncivilised populations always at war with each other – for tribal or religious reasons – legitimates right-wing parties. They justify their protectionist propaganda by describing non-European immigration as dangerous and invasive, enabling diseases to spread with people coming from cultures too foreign to them to fit in Europe. Then there is the moralist left that presents itself as a saviour to these people – they may still consider inferior – in need of a benevolent civilising white hand to save them. Despite their very contrasting views, these two approaches to immigration have one common point: the idea of a white and Christian Europe for right and left-wing parties.

At this particular moment, Kundnani's article is insightful. Following Ukraine's invasion by Russia, media such as **CBS News, the Daily Telegraph, BBC and BFM TV** reinforced this stereotype of a white and Christian European identity. According to their perception of Europe, many journalists and pundits have explained Europeans' closeness to Ukrainian people for the following reason: 'they look like us.' Behind this 'they look like us', some described Ukrainian people as civilised, Christian and culturally close to Europe. To this point, we wonder how much people know about Ukrainian culture or how much they know that albeit Christians, 67,3% of **Ukrainians are Orthodox**, whereas Catholics (7,7%), Protestants (0,8%) and Jewish people (0,4%) are a minority in the country. Thus, the religious proximity with Ukraine appears like a moot point, as the European Christianity the media and politicians speak about is a Catholic one. For the reasons mentioned above it is clear that the only element that unites Ukraine and that imaginary Europe is whiteness. Kundnani's last point, which states that "whiteness may actually be becoming more, not less, central to the European project," perfectly sums it up.

The way whiteness permeates the European identity is even more apparent as non-white and Black refugees fleeing Ukraine told about their difficulties to cross borders because of the '**Ukrainian first**' policy. Moreover, students and

BIPOC families struggled to flee Ukraine and enter Poland. **Such a difference in treating BIPOC refugees was motivated by false information spread by far-right groups about alleged crimes by non-white people fleeing Ukraine.** It is telling that we know about these discriminatory dynamics on the Ukrainian and Polish borders thanks to BIPOC activists, journalists (and refugees themselves) who spoke out first against those practices and who made the issue go viral on social media.

Furthermore, as Kundnani explains, using Kabul as an example, the arrival of non-white refugees means protecting one's borders. Yet, not only Ukrainian refugees are described positively, but European governments proactively prepare to open their borders to them. Case in point, French Prime Minister **Jean Castex recently revealed a plan to accommodate 26 000 Ukrainian refugees.** Unlike Emmanuel Macron did for Afghan refugees, Castex didn't speak about protecting France against irregular migratory flows. Recently French online journal **Mediapart** investigated the case of 49 migrants hailing from Afghanistan, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Mali, fearing eviction from the shelter they stayed in. Despite the local authorities denying their expulsion in favour of Ukrainian refugees, Mediapart discovered the organisation offering a place to stay to these migrants planned to give their newly vacant spaces to Ukrainian refugees.

The double standard between Ukrainian and non-white refugees isn't the only thing to notice. The narration of the EU as a beacon of freedom and democracy to which Ukrainian people should aspire, rather than their self-determination, is a significant part of media sensitisation.

The double standard between Ukrainian and non-white refugees isn't the only thing to notice. The narration of the EU as a beacon of freedom and democracy to which Ukrainian people should aspire, rather than their self-determination, is a significant part of media sensitisation.

We agree with Kundnani's statement that the narration of a Christian and white Europe fuels nationalism and focuses the debate on an imaginary Europe rather than the real one. In his article, he describes that fictitious Europe that believes to be cosmopolitan but roots its identity in whiteness – the Charlemagne Prize, coined 'the embodiment of a medieval European identity synonymous with Christianity' and awarding citizens contributing to the unification of Europe, being its epitome. However, this fantasised identity is hard to debunk as data lack (data collection based on race in many European countries is forbidden) to confirm that European identity isn't only white and Christian. Despite this hurdle, Black communities are more and more visible, notably through projects that defy the mainstream media storytelling and political propaganda about what is Europe. Podcasts like **Kiffe Ta Race**, **Tupoka**, #Blackcoffee_pdc, and many other projects are fundamental for the European space. They allow for a reformulation of European identity taking into account those affected by colonialism.

On the topic, French philosopher Ernest Renan, known for his reflection on the concept of nation (but less on his views on race), comes to mind. If, as he says, it is necessary to have shared memory to build a nation, then to make a realistic Europe, we need to read History going beyond the filter imposed by the European imperialists of the nineteenth century. We can't

keep on considering that period of history as "the mutual historical experience" that Renan talks about. A comprehensive reading of History shouldn't be limited to celebrating the 'glorious' times but instead critically analysing its impact on populations, who, despite being perceived as far-off, are an integral part of the modern Western social structure. Literature is brimming with exceptional voices – such as Frantz Fanon, an inspiration for anti-colonial realities – that are now landmarks for many Black people and ethnic minorities who are part of Europe today.

This conversation is also valid regarding how the media and politicians talk about the asylum system. In mainstream media, the refugees' voices are absent. Fortunately, there are a few voices, such as political geographer **Sinthujan Varatharajah who took to Instagram** (now in his highlights and entitled 'exemption') to tell about his family's experience as Eelam Tamil fleeing the genocide from the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. Born in a refugee camp in Germany, his story as a second-generation Eelam Tamil is not what you will see in mainstream media, despite him being part of the country's social structure. Like many non-white journalists and activists covering the Ukrainian war, Varatharajah denounces the double standard in how the mainstream media narrates the Ukrainians, most importantly, the discrimination suffered by non-white people at the Ukrainian borders. These non-white journalists and activists using the virality of internet and social media to spread news are often why some prominent news outlets end up reporting issues that wouldn't otherwise make it to the headlines. Such a two-tier reporting system confirms the gap between an imaginary and real Europe.



In Europe, vitality of translation is a sign that we do not want language diversity to be an obstacle to the common destiny that we wish to build together. We are organising our common destiny without closing the door to those who want to join us because they have the right to do so, or because they are fleeing. However, we say that the real key to our door is to learn and master one of our European languages – that of the country that welcomes you.

TURNING A BABEL OF LANGUAGES INTO A SHARED AND WELCOMING CITY

Didier Leschi

What we call Europe is not just a political map with shifting institutional borders. From the Atlantic to the Urals, it is something else. It is a common cultural space that goes beyond our institutions and that is heir to both a very great culture and very deep tragedies. A cultural space that is diverse – by religion, by language and by many other things. Europe is the birthplace of a conception of the world. A political and social project that has its roots in Greek Antiquity

– hence the singular place that this country holds in our collective consciousness.

What we wish to defend and share on the institutional level with European integration is a project of freedom and individual autonomy for everyone. But it is also the capacity for internal contestation, the right for each of us to constantly question the value of our institutions and the ideas that run through us. Of course, this does not mean that we are good by nature.

Unfortunately, the history of Europe is also the history of the horrors that we have been through, and that in their present form still hit us. We know that, on our continent, war can lead to the worst, even under the pretext of the language that we speak or that is declared as official to the exclusion of all others.

In the past, we recovered from the worst only through the ability of each of the nation-states that wanted to build our common future to question themselves, to admit the right of each of our populations that make up our European archipelago to choose their destiny consciously, to criticise themselves and to be aware of the views of others, to respect each other's culture. By accepting, through the exchange of ideas and experiences, to be the mutual guardians of what we wish for all. If there is a worldwide desire for Europe, that is to say for freedom, from Latin America to China, it is because of this. This is what makes us a valuable and envied continent. Nevertheless, this is also fought against ideologically and, unfortunately, violently, in the hope that the chaos caused by our deaths will lead us to renounce what we are. The prevalent and expanding existence of ideologies antagonistic to our values is the cause that explains why all those who come to us do not necessarily share what we want to be. We do not share our Enlightenment.

However, the exchange of ideas goes through a language that no one can replace to be the language of all. And so, it requires translation. Not only within the European institutions, which could only be built thanks to an apparatus of indispensable translators, but more widely by making available, through books but not only, the thought, as well as the literature that is developed and written in each country. Translation is a gesture that manifests both the will to recognise the language of each individual, their way of thinking, and the will to exchange with others, even if their thoughts come from beyond our continent. Thanks to translation, we are open to the worlds of those who come to us.

The opposite is rarely true. Translation is the recognition of the diversity of the world, and of the necessity to take it into consideration.

We know that, if we are to remain an open continent, we must integrate the men and women who are for many the projection of the chaos of the world to our doors. Integration does not only mean providing shelter and work. To integrate in a country is to show the will to start a process, sometimes long, whose purpose is to learn about the choices of individual and collective freedom, the principles we share, and to understand our way of life in order to fit in. This happens through language, because learning a language means being able to access the culture of which it is the expression – it means being able to access the possibility of participating in public debates, to a minimum of citizenship, and not only to a place to live or a job. This is the reason why we have established language learning programs in every country of the Union.

To fit in also implies understanding that our civic space is not limited to the country in which we reside, and that it is made up of both diversity and convergence. Hence the importance of highlighting, through the act of translation, the proof that our Union of countries respects the pluralities of each one – respects its languages. And even in many of our countries, with their specific regional languages, it also respects the various religions and cultural specificities within. And how better to demonstrate this than with translation, which underlines that, beyond our national historical developments, we all share a space of thought that transcends us. And which underlines that our will is not to be locked in any language. And how better to tell newcomers, when we ask them to adopt one of our languages, that we are not asking them to give up their own, but to not lock themselves into theirs – just as we know how not to lock ourselves into ours. We have long wished, through translation, to turn a Babel of languages into a fraternal city.

DIDIER LESCHI

To fit in also implies understanding that our civic space is not limited to the country in which we reside, and that it is made up of both diversity and convergence.

EVERYBODY KNOWS THIS IS NOWHERE

TEXT Friso Wiersum

To me this series is about the contradiction between the safe spaces you share with friends and family, everyone's small everyday life, and the larger world around us. I think it also depicts the longing for this bigger world by showing how international culture enters village life.

When I started this project I was already working as a photographer in Berlin, and traveling all over the world for assignments and projects. At some point I realised I had never really made a proper photo project in my own home country. That there were big parts of Norway I had never visited. It's not a very big country, but it's very long. This project takes place in the far north of Norway, in the area bordering with Russia, Finland and the Barents Sea. It's very different from what I knew yet.

Of course, I shared the culture and the language, so it was familiar, yet the endless landscape surrounding them and the isolation are different. I wanted the project to be site-specific on the one hand, and on the other catch the more universal feeling of being young. So, hanging out and having conversations was of course a big part of it. Many of the youngsters I spoke with were very tied to their hometown. At the same time, they longed to travel and explore the possibilities that a more urban life could offer. But they also know their hometown

depends on them coming back after going elsewhere, for studies or work. I think it's something they share with other young people growing up in very small places. They feel kind of responsible for keeping their hometown alive.

Seen from where they live, the capital of Norway already is another world, as they're so far away from it. Their orientation is much more on some kind of Arctic homeland, which they consider European too. But looking at that area from Berlin, you would say it is the periphery. In many discussions on European values or European lifestyles, we tend to forget what life is like in these peripheral places. I mean, it is not only about the physical nature of these places, but also the mental side of being on the outskirts. I am fascinated by these edges, perhaps as not all of them are all polished up. These places on the borders of Europe embody values we all know; being protective of your own kind, your family, your community.

Yes, there are negative connotations to that too. For every time we protect something, we keep others out. As with borders. But for many people living in this area the national borders between Norway, Russia, Finland, they don't exist. At least until the war in Ukraine started. It makes you wonder what the impact of borders is, and what the impact of distance is.

Andrea Gjestvang

















DOSSIER



CULTURE OF SOLIDARITY FUND

The **Culture of Solidarity Fund** is a public-philanthropic partnership launched in 2020 by the European Cultural Foundation as a rapid response tool to support cross-border cultural initiatives of solidarity to the coronavirus pandemic. Since then, six application rounds were launched, with various partners. On the following pages we introduce a few of the many grantees.

MAYBE TRANSLATION IS A SPIRITUAL SMUGGLING

Friso Wiersum

An interview with George Blaustein, one of the initiators of the forthcoming *European Review of Books* (ERB), a multi-lingual, pan-European magazine of culture and commentary, in print and online. In the conversation we touch on the art of translation, hyperlocalism and supra-nationalism and why European intellectual life needs more writers, why it needs more critique, more intelligent dissent, disharmony, and even cacophony.

FRISO WIERSUM: First of all, George, who are you?

GEORGE BLAUSTEIN: We're a group of writers, academics and designers. We're from the Netherlands, Norway, France and the US, and we're reaching out. I myself am originally from Wisconsin and moved to Amsterdam in 2011 after finishing my PhD. I teach history and American Studies, with an emphasis on the transatlantic: the founding preoccupations of my field were the American picture of Europe and the European picture of America. The ERB, though, is of a new era: a Europe after the American Century.

FW What made you think of the project?

GB About two years ago Uğur Ümit Üngör said to me, out of the blue: "we need a European Review of Books." Another friend, Sander Pleij, had been pondering a new literary magazine. Something clicked, though we didn't yet know what it would be. I think the first line we put on paper was: "Books? Review? Europe? A European Review of Books would sound thrice-doomed." For a while this was our perverse mantra.

Yet things began to take shape. Something called 'The European Review of Books' will of course spark very different sentiments— aspiration, nostalgia, bitterness, scorn, confusion, delight—depending on where you are. The title, I came to realise, is both a game and a commitment. It calls to mind the *New York Review of Books* and the *London Review of Books*, great magazines I subscribe to and admire. But the ERB has a different purpose and will have a weirder shape. While it channels a longstanding 'European' cultural aspiration, sure, experimentalism can sneak in under that staidness. Imagine something called, say, the *Zemblan Review of Books*, or the *Esperanto Review of Political Theory*, or the *Klingon Review of Horticulture*, or the *Utopian Review of Bicycles*.

Our commitment is to a literary culture beyond the nation and the metropole. We want a magazine for great original essays and great

criticism, in English and in a writer's mother tongue. We landed on that approach to language pretty early: strategic bilingualism. It's strategic in that there's no other way to do it. But it marks a grander commitment, too: to give good writing that double form, and to have it resonate within and beyond particular places.

FW How do you envision it to grow from local to pan-European?

GB Magazines—'little' or 'literary' magazines, at least—often emerge from a coterie. Ours is different, insofar as we are casting our *first* nets across language and region. Is this possible? We hope so. But it means that we aim both at the local and at the pan-European—or maybe that those labels obscure as much they reveal.

One risk of calling something 'The European Review of Books' is that it might sound like a parliament of other magazines, standing above and looking down, as if in parallel to the EU. But that is emphatically not what we are. (Here I do want to mention *Eurozine's* heroic curation of cultural journals: a punning alternative to the Eurozone.) The ERB can operate below the nation as much as above it—or perpendicular to it. These are clunky spatial metaphors. The point is that the ERB will wind geographic paths that I cannot imagine. The editing of it will demand, and can give rise to, unexpected intimacies and solidarities. None of it is orderly or clean, and it isn't without risk.

The literary line between the local and the pan-European doesn't have to run through the nation. The old aphorism that "a language is a dialect with an army and navy" comes to mind. I had heard it for years before learning that it appeared in Yiddish first: "a shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot." Max Weinreich, who expressed it that way in 1945, was a Russian Jewish linguist who had moved from the Latvian town of Kuldīga, to Berlin, to Marburg, to Vilnius. He was in Denmark when war broke

out in 1939, and then moved to New York—a life both hyperlocal and supra-national.

Another anecdote (since sometimes that is the only way to answer a question). Years ago—this still stirs me—I heard that a librarian at my university also translates Emily Dickinson poems into Frisian. (“Water, is taught by thirst / Land—by the Oceans passed” becomes “Wetter, wurdt jin leard troch toarst. / Lân—troch de befearne See.”) We want non-national languages, too. And we welcome any implosion of the old “traduttore, traditore” joke—here the translator is no traitor. Maybe translation is a spiritual smuggling.

FW What did the pandemic change?

GB The pandemic made us wish the magazine already existed. It also deepened our commitment: it accelerated pre-existing inequalities and precarities, and then took an enormous toll on culture. Those aesthetic costs—the blow to theater, music, and everything else—are immeasurable. One of the traps of our era is to see those things as somehow *secondary* rather than essential. What it means for a magazine of this sort is that we launch with a restorative purpose as well as a vanguardist one. We want to create an institution that pays contributors fairly, that cultivates new writers, that endures.

FW And – finally – how does your project help to make Europe an open and shared public space for everyone?

GB Everything I’ve articulated so far will sound elementary or even obvious to the people who (I hope!) will contribute to the ERB. But I’ll say two more obvious things.

English has a strange ubiquity in Europe. That ubiquity can give the *impression* of an inclusive lingua franca, which then raises a fantasy of efficient translation, of a frictionless *flow* analogous to the flows of goods and capital. (‘Frictionless’ is a horrible word.) But that impression is an illusion, and to celebrate it would be celebrate what is, after all, a shallow internationalism. The ERB is an English-language publication that also resists, or plays with, the seeming hegemony of English. (I understand and even sympathise with calls for linguistic protectionism, even though, as an academic expat in Amsterdam whose Dutch is clumsy and witless, I have myself followed the routes of that pseudo-internationalisation.) Call it a predicament, an irony, a contradiction, a paradox, whatever—we want to use the ubiquity of English to animate the multilingual.

Finally, I can understand someone asking, aren’t there a zillion magazines? What can a magazine really do? My answer is that

there aren’t enough of them! If anything, ‘European intellectual life’ is a bloodless abstraction that needs *more* writers, and it needs more critique, more intelligent dissent, disharmony, even cacophony. Inclusion is not enough, just as a lingua franca is not enough.



European Future

Marginal is a cultural association based in Palermo which uses spatial and anthropological tools to research and activate marginalised territories.

MIGRATIONS RE-FRAMING CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN HERITAGE

Alice di Giulio, Friso Wiersum

Francesca and Zeno of Marginal start our conversation on the work in their project Fulcrum in Palermo with: "As industrial designers we were trained for a world that doesn't exist anymore."

Their work centres around co-design workshops with newcomers in Palermo, researching what is the new European heritage. "We question the narrative of European heritage



as it developed against the backdrop of the Other from the South, or the East."

This question is particularly important in Palermo, a city of arrival. "And when we research handcrafts as weaving we see there are hardly differences between traditional Sicilian and Ghanese or Gambian traditions. We believe that these handcrafts need surviving into the 21st century, for matters of sustainability and quality, because the products are very good, and when, for example, we design a chair it will be a good chair, that will last for years. But we also want to return the notion of dignity to handwork. In many social design approaches the social exchanges are more prominent, but we like focusing on the design part."

During the pandemic many people realised they want quality material around them, in their rooms, not the cheap mass products we were used to. For Marginal believes the objects around us should have more than one function: "they should provide us with a sense of belonging. They should be rooted in human relationships, and contribute to us feeling at home in our surroundings." Marginal extends these notions to the work spaces they work in.

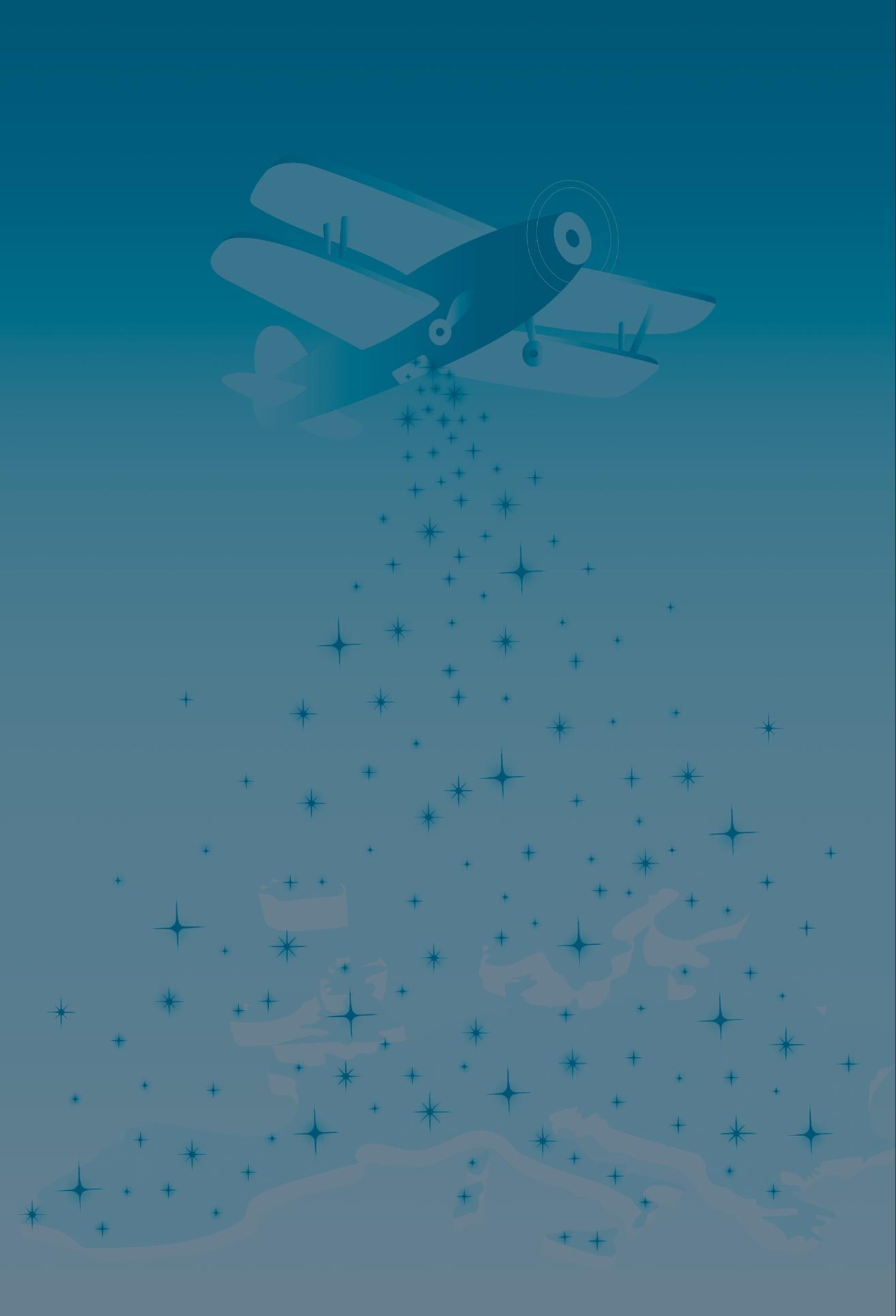
With Fulcrum Marginal wants to change the way we 'welcome' the foreigner and break away from euro-centrism: and according to them it should start exactly from the way we

perceive other cultures. Material culture, often neglected in favour of discursive verbal interactions, is the common ground for exchange and an effective way to contribute to mutual curiosity beyond linguistic and religious barriers. Fulcrum is an inquiry into the potential of migrations re-framing contemporary European heritage, a model and a methodology which can be replicated in any arrival city.



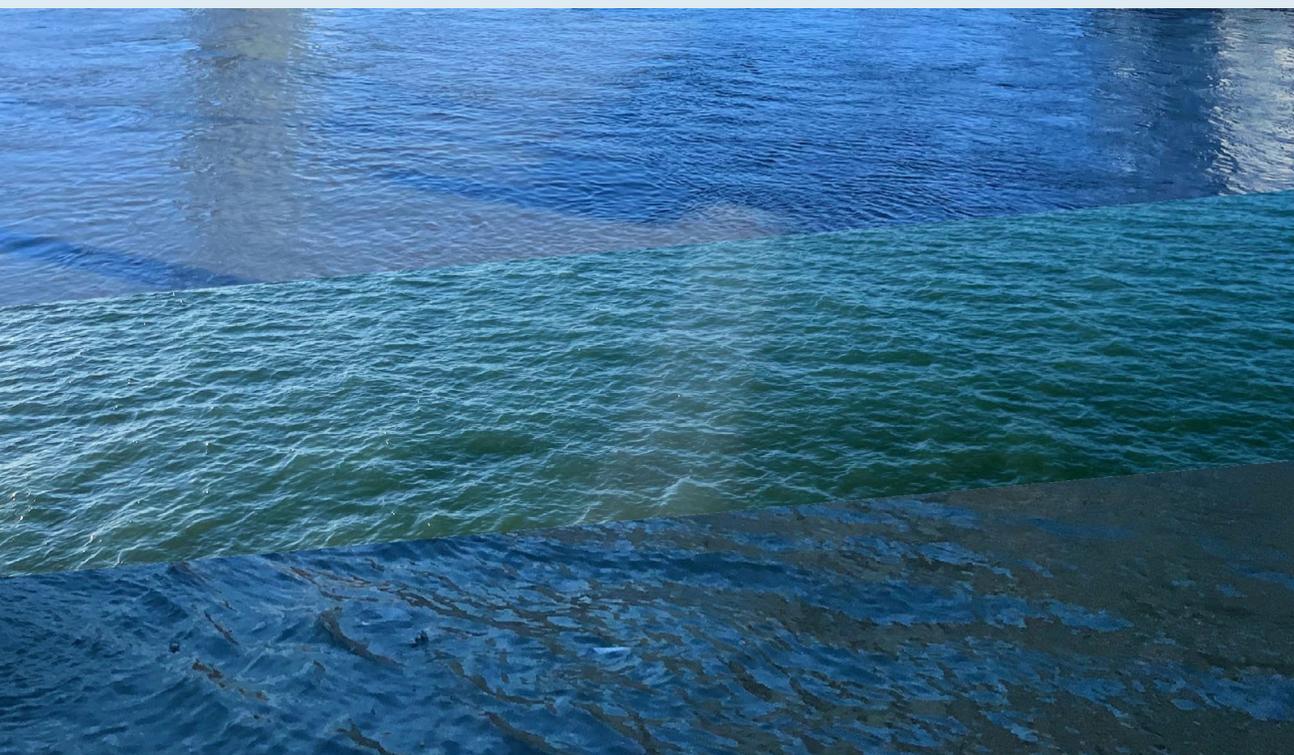
DOSSIER

THE EUROPEAN PAVILION



Launched by the European Cultural Foundation in 2021, The European Pavilion hosts artistic and cultural initiatives that imagine a sustainable and just Europe and bring Europe closer to its communities. The aim is to provide a space and a central stage for debates, learning, exhibitions, performances and other events that highlight the challenges but also the opportunities for Europe as a continent and a living fabric.

In times of shattered realities and uncertainty, we need to turn to the arts and culture to find understanding and niches where people can come together. We need a new lexicon, a new vocabulary, and a new design to be able to live together in peace and harmony with the natural environment. Arts and culture can provide such new narratives and imagery. For that, we need a shelter, a safe space: The European Pavilion is just that.



A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE

Monica Sassatelli

To discuss the 'European sentiment' is not for the faint-hearted. So, as an introduction and as gradual accompaniment to an adequate disposition, let me take you with me on a 'Sentimental journey through Europe'.¹ That means mostly a journey through the culturally engrained connotations that 'Europe' has collected along the way. Connotations that have also become affectively charged through time, carrying different overtones in different places and among different people in Europe.

Just very briefly let us recall the main milestones. When we talk of Europe today, we mainly talk of the EU. To be more precise, we often think of something larger and vaguer, and more cultural, than the EU, but the reason we do it are those public institutions that go by the name of European Union. This combination is important. The EU is the concretisation – the institutional and political reality – of an ideal, cultural, philosophical, even spiritual, reality. It is important to say this because we need both the idea(l) and the reality, and because we can intervene more effectively if we see both the distinction and the connection, and the different sentimental attitudes attached to each. To understand the latter, it is also important to recall, today in particular, that the EU is the outcome of a recovery plan.

We are now discussing recovery plans, so we can perhaps connect to that earlier time, when Europe needed to recover from World War II.² Restoring and keeping the peace in Europe has been tactically trusted into a mainly economic coalition, but the founders of the first communities always knew they were trying to unite much more than markets. Indeed the expression 'European sentiment' inspiring the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) comes from Robert Schuman, who declared "Europe needs to recover economically and socially, to organise itself politically, to strengthen its security and project itself culturally. However, all our efforts will be vain if Europe is not animated by a European sentiment."³

The issue of EU's Europe as lacking something fundamental is a recurring theme, a connecting thread throughout the history of post-war Europe. We find it in several expressions – such as 'we made Europe, now we need to make the Europeans' – and in the fact that when speaking of sentiment and the EU together the reference is mostly to anti-EU sentiment, it is a negative reference. It is no mystery that at least since the

1. A nod to Laurence Sterne's satirical travel novel *Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768): the risk of sounding rhetorical is always high when discussing sentiments, identity, inclusivity; a certain aesthetic, or intellectual, distance becomes a useful escamotage to find ways round the other, worse, risk: avoiding the subject altogether and abandoning it at the mercy of those who do use it rhetorically and instrumentally, effectively and without qualms.

2. This text was mostly written for The European Pavilion initiative launch in Turin, in late 2021. The main horizon then was recovery from the pandemic. Since the Russian army's invasion of Ukraine, war and post-war recovery in the heart of Europe are also more tragically pushed forward. The Democracy Pavilion for Europe conference, within The European Pavilion programme, has taken up tempestively the reformulation of priorities that is unfolding at the time of publication.

3. Cit. in ECF, *Unpacking the European Sentiment*, 2021 Available at: https://cultural.foundation.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Unpacking_report_v02.pdf.

1970s support and allegiance to European Communities then Union decreases in times of crises, prompting new emphasis on what's perceived as lacking, a European identity, a European sentiment, as a way to envision a shared, common future. So, the European sentiment enters the scene in a defensive mode, as a justification, as something missing that needs to be conjured up. This I believe is often underestimated and accepted, when recognised, as inevitable. I am going to challenge that – and say that it is possible to shift the mode from defensive to affirmative, and from past-oriented to future-oriented.

Existing and emerging instances of an affirmative European sentiment need to be given as much attention as the major obstacles they face and that, being the mainstream, often get a disproportionate share of it. First, however, it is important to clarify: what do I mean by defensive mode? I mean that what we say about European identity, or sense of belonging, or narrative, or indeed sentiment is the response to a perceived accusation of a lack, an absence where something important should be, especially when compared to, typically, the nation state and national or ethnic identity. This defensive mode implicitly accepts that the criticism is somewhat correct, that Europe is at fault – that there is no European sentiment, or not enough – and that therefore it must be made.

Who is, then, invested with such a task? Specifically, the cultural sector, the 'intellectuals', historians and novelists, opinion makers and artists, those who indeed make history and stories by writing them, performing them and so on – those who provide institutions with the raw material for the consensus they need.⁴ However, because of how this situation is portrayed in mainstream narratives of European identities, it is as if what is expected is a kind of discovery, as if there was a *passé-partout* to be uncovered to convince people to shift their view and finally feel European, and that once that master key is found, everything will fall into place.

This vision is both too pessimistic and too optimistic. Too pessimistic as a starting point, in that defensive attitude, in agreeing with the criticism, giving in if you like and ignoring precisely those who already speak and act outside the mainstream. Too optimistic in thinking that there can be an instantaneous solution, as if identities were not in fact precisely engrained, affectively charged narratives, and that a 'new' narrative is sufficient as well as necessary. A more productive way is one that is not a reaction to an external and perceived accusation, but instead one that is affirmative and looks at the internal energies and motives to focus on a European sentiment. This alternative view is of course also less optimistic, or less

4. The reference here is to British historian Eric J. Hobsbawm who provokingly commented that "Historians are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin addicts: we supply the essential raw material for the market" (in 'Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today', *Anthropology Today* 8(1): 3-8, 1992). A clever metaphor – however I would like to play a little thought experiment and see what happens when changing the substance being smuggled. Say, not heroin, which is thoroughly and inescapably toxic, but wine. Wine can be equally toxic for addicts and in excess, but is also a celebrated cultural object that injects vitality in the right situation and proportion – notably so in the rich cultures of wine production and wine tasting in Europe. The strength (the intoxicating effect we might say, taking the metaphor perhaps too literally) of nationalism was and perhaps still is such that a drug is an apt simile. The supposed weakness of post-nationalist or European sentiments might display then a different connotation, and also that mildness can be seen not as a flaw, but an opportunity. To be fair, Hobsbawm talked, out of metaphor, of the past: "Nations without a past are contradictions in terms. What makes a nation is the past, what justifies one nation against others is the past, and historians are the people who produce it." (Ibid., 3). One more reason for Europe to be future-oriented, even if that requires a reconceptualisation of identity and of the sentiments attached to it.

5. Chantal Mouffe, 'Art and Democracy. Art as an Agonistic Intervention in Public Space', in Chantal Mouffe et al., *Art as a public issue: how art and its institutions reinvent the public dimension*, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, NAI Publishers, 2008. See also Chantal Mouffe, 'Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism?', *Social Research* 66(3): 745-758, 1999.

simplistic perhaps, recognising that there is no instantaneous solution, indeed that we are not looking for a solution – a solution is an end point. Instead, identities and sentiments are ongoing, living phenomena, they are not found or made once and for all, they can never be definitive – which for Europe should be mostly good news.

To shed the defensive attitude means giving space to a more affirmative stance, from where we can tolerate more strife, more dissent, more diversity. Or, rather than just tolerate, promote it as an indicator of a proper public space. I am taking inspiration here from Chantal Mouffe's model of the agonistic public space as the specific contribution that arts and culture can provide to social life. Contrary to dominant visions that rest on the idea that consensus would be the outcome, albeit often only an ideal one, of an accomplished public space, Mouffe moves from the proposition that there is not technical, rational solution grounding a universal consensus, not empirically, not ideally, not therefore as aspiration. Consensus is always specific and partially exclusionary, hegemonic in her words. Whilst this is necessary to social life, as not all sedimented social and cultural practices can be questioned at the same time, the role of critical art remains to show alternatives, open up, pluralise, create space for the agonistic struggle.⁵

The idea that there should be a consensus, by definition in the singular, runs against the idea of diversity and shows that diversity is celebrated only as a façade. It is one of the responsibilities of scholars and artists today to warn against sugar-coated visions of diversity, that only speak of the richness of diversity and tolerance and getting along, and that universal consensus can always be reached. Instead, I think the cultural sector has the responsibility to create a conceptual, affective and effective space where monolithic consensus is not the required basis for competition but, perhaps counter-intuitively, a pluralistic dissent, or agonism, the basis for solidarity. Here the idea of the European Pavilion becomes an apt case and testing ground.

EUROPEAN PAVILION(S)

Having gone through this journey, when I first came across ECF's programme The European Pavilion, I was rather skeptical, I must admit, or perhaps, to say it more 'sentimentally', *afraid*. The choice of pavilion as a metaphorical and physical space sounded like choosing to dwell in the lion's den so to speak. My own defensive mode was stimulated first, understandably. Pavilions were born after all as the quintessential expression

of national representation within the imperialist, colonialist project of world exhibitions, they expressed a certain idea of progress, of standardisation of national identities into comparable 'boxes', each based on internal standardisation, common culture and consensus. In international trade and art exhibitions, national pavilions work a sort of common unit of measure through which nations can compete with each other.

The reduction to the common unit combined with the ideal of a universal, rational consensus means that competition to win the struggle to define the hegemonic canon is the ultimate rationale. One can see here how the ideal of universal consensus actually fosters competition, not as a means to betterment and not for all, as the argument in its defense often goes, but ultimately becoming an end goal. With these engrained connotations, can a pavilion challenge that? Can it become an agonistic space, where the formula instead of consensus-unity-competition would be, counterintuitively, dissensus-plurality-solidarity? What could be a European pavilion, truthful to the journey of European narratives so far, particularly to those voices that are excluded in the search for unity and consensus? Is it possible to rethink the pavilion?

I have tried to follow my own advice and switch from a defensive to an affirmative mode. What I have found – having read the ECF European Pavilion programme, participated at the meeting of the partners during the launch in Turin in November 2021 and followed their work in progress since – is certainly an emphasis on plurality, a valorisation of moments and modes of inclusivity and lack of an urge to be always consensual and to forge a 'unity'. The programme includes as diverse projects as ARNA's 'Dinner for future', reaching to rural communities in search of the 'future of food', or commissions to artists and curators, such as OGR's 'Next in Europe' addressing head on what type of space a pavilion may constitute – and others still that will gradually unfold. Yet, as well as great diversity, there are 'family resemblances' precisely in the collaborative questioning of what has been long the starting point, the common denominator, that is, borrowing from one of the partners, Studio Rizoma's 'Europe after Europe', questioning a Europe of nation states.

The idea of a pavilion that is singular in the name but actually plural and diverse in its concretisation seems really promising to materialise and develop these family resemblances and this quest to reimagine Europe. A space that is not a predefined box but grows with its content, some of which will be contradictory and filled of 'pluralistic agonism'. Outcomes are still very much in progress, but the working method, at least during the two days that accompanied the launch, was

promising: rather than establishing a common format for each to then go home and conform to, use the time to share the different formats and find connecting threads that can expand and challenge the vision of what can be included.

Opening the Democracy Pavilion for Europe conference on 9 March 2022, Charles Esche asked "How do we respond as the cultural sector to the question of democracy today?" He went on to recall that as a frame to look for answers a pavilion first of all evokes "a place in a garden where ideas can flourish," but that it is here used rather as a "thinking structure," a "structure in which it is possible to re-think where Europe is today,"⁶ particularly in relation to the rest of the world and in consideration how that relationship has long been a colonial one. There is potential to reimagine what a pavilion means, whilst still recognising, and also somehow assume responsibility, for the many connotations, as we have seen many of which problematic, that pavilions have acquired in the history of modern exhibitions.

The European Pavilion ambition is to "facilitate a space that encourages experimentation and reflection on Europe," "A space for imagination, a programme that aims to envision the future of Europe."⁷ This emphasis on the future is what requires to radically reimagine what a pavilion is as metaphor for the society it represents. A pavilion that could become a metaphor not of competition and future seen as extractive progress based on domination (of the rich over the poor, of a nation of another, or mankind over nature, as recent critiques of extractive capitalism have highlighted), but a new way to imagine a good future, where solidarity can grow with, not despite, diversity. Notions of edulcorated perpetual peace seem little more than wishful thinking, but in the certainly privileged space of cultural experimentation – privileged precisely in its being able to experiment safely – The European Pavilion makes sense as an open place where to imagine possible other worlds – what art and the future are, or should be, both about.

It becomes relevant here what anthropologist Arjun Appadurai said about the idea of future: at its core is the capacity to imagine and aspire to a better life. To do so means shifting from a politics of probability – the management of risks – to one of possibility – strengthening imagination and aspiration as a cultural capacity. "The future is not just a technical or neutral space, but is shot through with affect and with sensation. Thus, we need to examine not just the emotions that accompany the future as a cultural form, but the sensations that it produces: awe, vertigo, excitement, disorientation."⁸ Future conceived as risk to be managed and a probability to calculate is perhaps

6. These quotes come from Charles Esche opening of The Democracy Pavilion conference, on 9.3.2022, available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvVhZSkQswo&t=1751s (last accessed 4.4.2022).

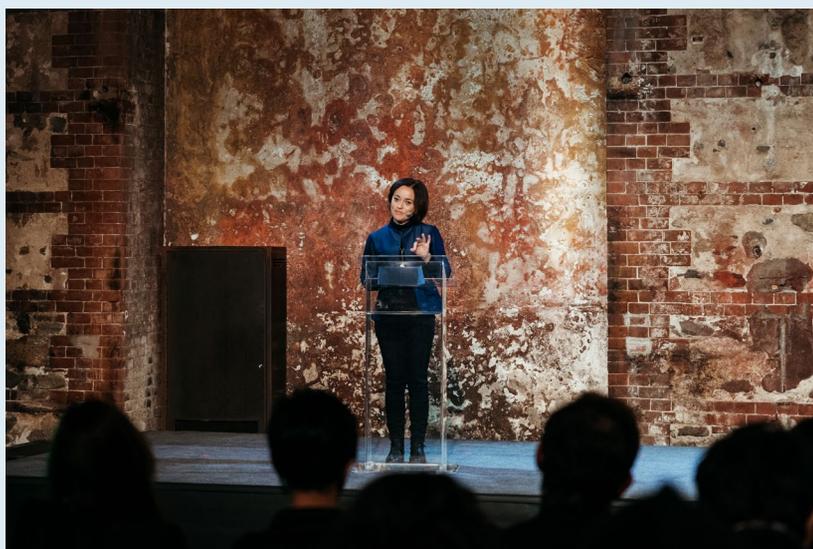
7. See: culturalfoundation.eu/stories/european-pavilion/.

8. Arjun Appadurai, *The Future as Cultural Fact*, London, Verso, 2013.

the dominant notion of future in contemporary society – particularly from the standpoint of those institutions invested with the responsibility of risk management, that have had so much prominence lately. But there are dedicated institutions for the future conceived as risk management, and there are other institutions dedicated to creating new meaning, and to the future as the realm of the imagination of the possible. I would say that this is the specific responsibility of cultural actors in society; we certainly need a new culture of the future.

Italo Calvino, himself citing Dante's *Purgatory*, used to say that imagination is a place where it rains inside.⁹ Not a perfect space, not a space of consensus, certainly not a neutral space, but rather a space that can tolerate trouble (as we have seen the case of Mouffe's agonistic pluralism). A place that is open – it requires openness and acceptance that it's not all about control and self-affirmation. Ideas, diversity, new visions of the good life can only pour inside from outside. A space where, therefore, being outside does not mean being excluded. A space where people are energised to imagine a future, to celebrate a future we cannot yet even imagine, let alone manage. To allow and create such a space is not an escape from reality, quite the opposite. It is a cultural endeavour; that is, a way to address in a meaningful, human, way the challenges we face. It is not to deny them, but to make sense of them, collectively, and so of ourselves. Not playing music as we sink, but keeping ourselves alive and together with stories and imagination, together shaping a European sentiment – while we are, as always, forced to navigate treacherous waters.

9. Italo Calvino, 'Visibility', in *Six memos for the Next Millennium*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1988



2

MEET THE EUROPEAN PAVILIONS

In the course of 2021, arts and cultural organisations in various countries have joined The European Pavilion. Through their projects, the Pavilions tackle urgent European topics that range from the future of food and the issue of waste in contemporary societies, the state of democracy and the urgency to listen to the unheard and the marginalised voices. They offer perspectives from within and from outside of Europe, and project a trajectory towards the future.

ARNA Dinner for Future

Established in 2011, ARNA (Art & Nature) is a non-profit organisation in the south of Sweden. They work through the culture dimension of sustainability in Vombsjösjönsänkan, an area on the go to become a UNESCO biosphere reserve. ARNA's vision is to contribute to innovation in sustainable development by building bridges between the experiences of different generations, the science of our time, and people's visions for the future. From this starting point ARNA's European Pavilion 'Dinner for Future' is developed as a research-based exploration, an artistic interpretation, and a performative experience of how the future tastes.

3, 4



TEXT Lore Gablier



5

BRUNNENPASSAGE Story: Telling! Europe

Since 2007, Brunnenpassage is a decentralised, transcultural space for contemporary art located in a former market hall with around 400 events per year. They are working in a transdisciplinary, post-national and participatory way. They create new collective spaces for a heterogeneous audience. They work in partnerships with established cultural institutions in the centre of Vienna, such as national theatres, concert halls and museums. The Brunnenmarket in Vienna is a European island in the middle of a metropolis, with a unique atmosphere and a very diverse population. People from diverse backgrounds reside, live and work here; it is Europe in a nutshell. Brunnenpassage's European Pavilion, 'Story: Telling! Europe', focuses on the sharing of personal experiences that sometimes require a safe and intimate environment, especially when addressing the question of Europe.



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- 1 Images of water at the three iniva Drift project site.
- 2 Monica Sassatelli at the launch of The European Pavilion in OGR, Turin
- 3,4 ARNA. Dinner for future, scenario planning, 10-11 March 2021. PHOTOS Nille Leander
- 5 Brunnenpassage Markt PHOTO Bert Schifferdecker
- 6 The Democracy Pavilion conference, Ljubljana, 9-11 March 2022. PHOTO Marko Zaplatil
- 7 Images of water at the three iniva Drift project sites. Margate Coastline PHOTO Beatriz Lobo
- 8,9 Leporello by Leyla Dakli, Elsa Dorlain, and Caroline Meyer-Picard, produced as part of their residency at Camargo. PHOTO Charlotte Arthaud
- 10 Images of water at the three iniva Drift project sites. Venetian Lagoon PHOTO Beatriz Lobo



10

THE CAMARGO FOUNDATION The Pavilion of Voices

Founded by American artist and philanthropist Jerome Hill (1905-1972), the Camargo Foundation fosters creativity, research and experimentation through its international residency programmes for artists, scholars and thinkers. Since 1971 Camargo has hosted nearly 1,000 individuals working in the arts and humanities from all over the world. Located in Cassis, France, on the edge of the Mediterranean Sea, the Foundation offers time and space in a contemplative and supportive environment, giving residents the freedom to think, create and connect. Within the framework of The European Pavilion initiative, Camargo is inviting French-Tunisian historian Leyla Dakhli to lead a collective process entitled 'Translating Resistance, Smuggling Utopia'. Consisting of researchers, translators, artists and activists, the collective shares, reads, compares and discusses texts, archives and ideas to retrace some trajectories of resistance and utopian thinking in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean.

L'INTERNATIONALE Democracy Pavilion for Europe

L'Internationale is an association that has worked for more than 10 years together with modern and contemporary art museums, academies and universities across the European continent. They have worked to serve as an apparatus for making visible the standardisation of Individuals and collective beings, defending the critical Imagination of art as a catalyst for the concepts of the civic Institution, citizenship, and democracy. Their 'Democracy Pavilion' wants to re-energise democracy as a desire and practice, looking into arts potential as an initiator role of imaginative epistemologies and ethics of living together within the limits of the planet.

INIVA DRIFT Pavilion

Based in London, iniva (Institute of International Visual Arts) is an evolving, radical visual arts organisation dedicated to developing an artistic programme that reflects on the social and political impact of globalisation. It was founded in 1994 on the premise of new internationalism – a recognition of the dualities and hybridised forms of diasporic heritage and experience that shape the work of artists and their communities. iniva is a place of inquiry which seeks a language to articulate those manifold experiences of movement, migration and belonging which make up the cultural identity of racialised and colonised communities. For their DRIFT Pavilion, they propose a series of radical re-imaginings of European-ness which reflect on the entanglement between land and water, movement and m/otherlands, in the forging of new identities and subjectivities. DRIFT will consider Europe from three vantage points, *The River* at Stuart Hall Library in London, *The Island* in Venice and *The Coastline* in Margate, and at these sites consider how water connects land, people and communities.

OGR TORINO Next in Europe

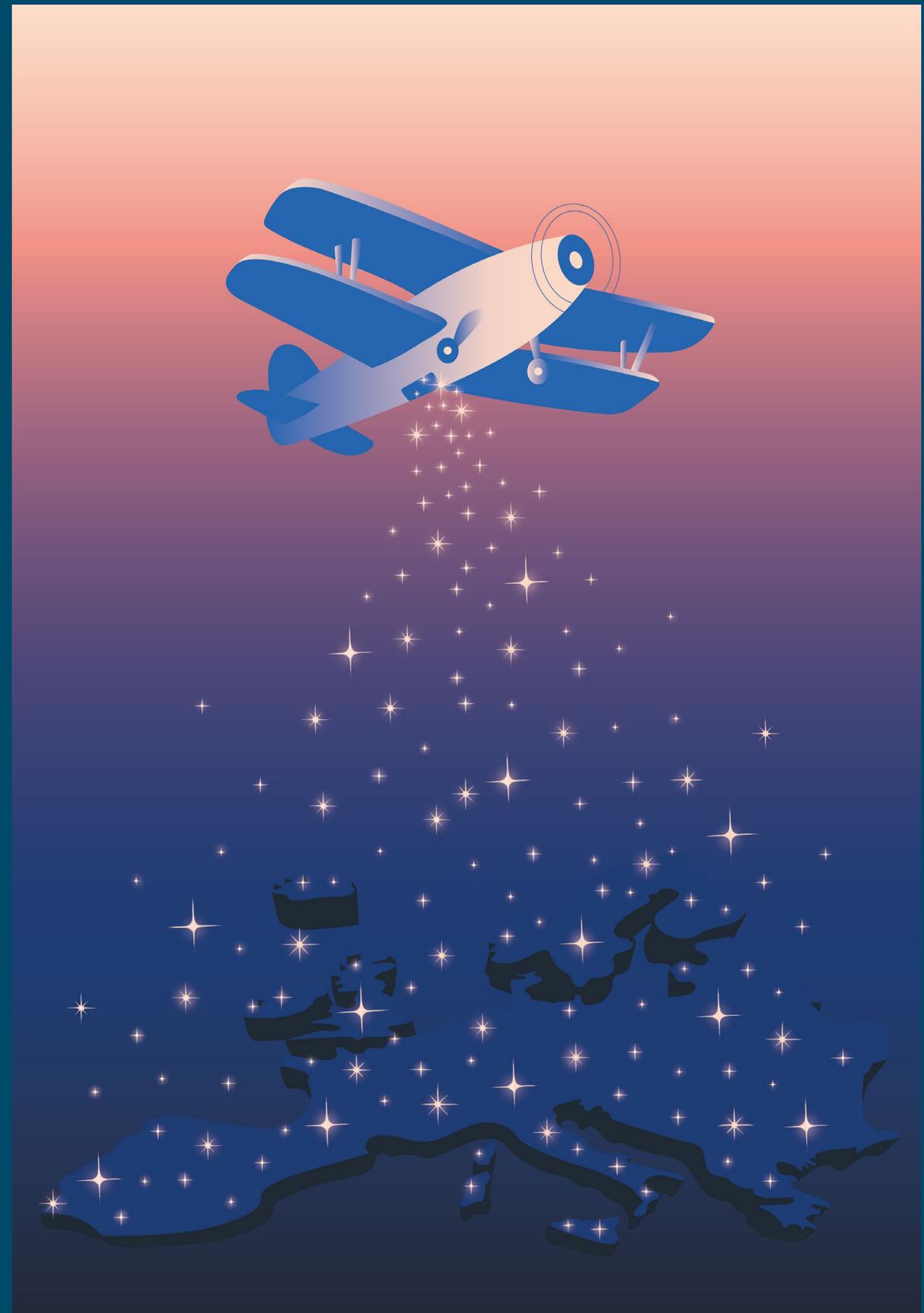
OGR Torino is a cultural and technological innovation hub stretching over 35,000 square meters. Built between 1885 and 1895, and used for a century for the maintenance of trains, the H-shaped building was left in a state of abandonment after its closures in the Nineties. In 2013, Fondazione CRT acquired it and after a thousand days of work, in September 2017, OGR Torino was returned to the city: from former railway workshops to new workshops of contemporary culture, innovation and acceleration of business with an international vocation. Since the opening, OGR Torino has become an experimental and ever-evolving space, close to the city yet open to the world thanks to its international programme. As part of The European Pavilion, OGR will produce a new art commission by Ludovica Carbotta, and a series of talks entitled 'Next in Europe', which look at the future of Europe from different perspectives that reflect the interdisciplinary approach and community of OGR.

STUDIO RIZOMA Europe after Europe

Studio Rizoma is an international cultural and political production hub based in Palermo and with an outreach office in Berlin. It has been established by the international NGO European Alternatives, in cooperation with Allianz Kulturstiftung, following the successful curation of the 2019 edition of the Biennale Arcipelago Mediterraneo in Palermo. Building on this success, during the 2020 pandemic year Studio Rizoma was set up to transform a one-off event into a stable presence guaranteeing continuity and leveraging on Palermo's position at the heart of the Mediterranean. As part of The European Pavilion, Studio Rizoma is developing a programme in three movements called 'Europe after Europe', which wants to address and build cross-border cooperation, especially across the Mediterranean basin.

STATE OF CONCEPT ATHENS Waste/d Pavilion

State of Concept Athens is the first non-profit contemporary art institution in Greece with a permanent location and yearly programme. Founded in 2013 by art critic and curator iLiana Fokianaki, it is an independent platform that fosters the appreciation for local and international contemporary art and the growth of artistic and curatorial practice. Operating as a bridge between Athens and the international contemporary art scene, it brings to the fore artistic and curatorial practices that address and question the current social, economic and political phenomena of Europe and beyond, which are looked at from the context of Greece, existing literally and metaphorically on the borders of West and East. For the European Pavilion, State of Concept has invited the Temporary Academy of Arts (Elpida Karaba, Despina Zefkili, Yota Ioannidou, Vangelis Vlahos) to develop the Waste/d Pavilion, which will unfold through a series of 'episodes', focusing on the relation between waste and labour, the body, ecology and language.



DEAR UKRAINIANS!

Alhierd Bacharevič TRANSLATION Jim Dingley

Dear Ukrainians! My heroes, my close friends.

People for whom we now feel pain.

I do not want this letter to look like vindication. It is already too late to try to vindicate myself to Ukraine; there's no sense in doing it, the machinery of war has already been set in motion, death is advancing from all sides, including my homeland, and no amount of attempts at self-vindication will put a stop to it. I do not want this letter to be read as an act of repentance either. Let the people with blood on their hands do the repenting. You are at war, you are defending your country – and we're not in church. We are all of us together in the courtroom of history, on different sides of a boundary between civilisations that we did not draw.

These are terrible days, first and foremost for Ukraine, but also for the whole of Europe, caught as we are in the eternal trap of our striving for peace at any price. This is the Europe in which I still believe, and for which you are now the hope. I would very much like you to read this letter right through to the end. You can then hate us, hold us in contempt, curse us again and again, but at the same time you should start thinking about who it is who is against you, and whether it is my Belarus that is against you.

“We Belarusians, we're a peaceful people...” So begins the national anthem of the Republic of Belarus. The music dates back to Soviet times, it's only the words that have changed. Back then you could hear the slavish words “We Belarusians, with our brothers the Russians...” However, my Belarus, the real Belarus, recognised neither the anthem of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic nor the new one. It is as much a symbol of dictatorship as the red and green flag and the Soviet-style coat of arms. It's just that the world is no longer very much interested in any of this.

“We Belarusians, we're a peaceful people.” These were words that for a long time satisfied everyone. They were taken up readily by both state propaganda and those who stood against the regime. We're a peaceful people. It was a declaration that both the powers-that-be and the opposition could sign up to.

It's now just a load of codswallop. The lovely old fairy tale of peaceful people and good neighbours has in a single moment been turned into



a hypocritical, blood-soaked lie. Together with “our brothers the Russians” Belarus has been made a bridgehead for an attack on Ukraine; it has become a real aggressor and now stands alongside the most odious nations in history. The image of “peaceful people” now lies shattered – for ever. Equally broken beyond repair is the image of Belarusians as victims, who for centuries have been oppressed and almost driven to extinction, but have nevertheless managed to survive and are therefore worthy of respect.

Lukashenka has at last driven Belarus and its people into the final dead end which all of us are going to have to scramble out from – even those Belarusians who all their lives have boasted that they are not “interested in politics”. None of us can now sit quiet with our mouths shut. None of us can now maintain “it has nothing to do with me”. None of us can now say “I’m just a little person, no one takes any notice of me”. But far more frightening than any of this is the shameful role that Belarus is now playing, a role for which future generations will have to pay the price. For many years to come the word ‘Belarus’ will conjure up in the minds of people all over the world pictures of war, a war where Belarus for the first time in history is neither defender nor victim, but the faithful servant of Putin’s fascism.

Not so very long ago we were proud of the fact that we had finally gained a beautiful, powerful image in the eyes of the world – the image of hundreds of thousands of unarmed men and women in 2020 going out on to the streets with no weapons in their hands. They went up against armed bandits who called themselves ‘police’ and ‘army’ with nothing but words of protest and a thirst for freedom. That particular image has now been erased, rubbed out, just as the revolutionary graffiti of 2020 are still being obliterated in my native Minsk and the rest of Belarus.

Except that now they are being smeared over with the blood of Ukrainians, and those actually doing the smearing consider themselves to be Belarusian, just like me. The essential difference is that those who dream of another Belarus, who for years have been trying to make that dream become a reality are conscious of an immeasurably greater, more powerful affinity with you than with all those generals and soldiers of ours who have now invaded your territory.

Therefore I, the Belarusian writer Bacharevič, am prepared to assume my part of the responsibility for what is happening. I am prepared to take upon myself the shame and disgrace of Belarus for what is happening – in exactly the same way as German writers in the emigration did in the times of the Second World War. This is one of the tasks of literature today. However, I cannot accept that the whole of my Belarus must now bear the stigma of disgrace and hatred before the world.

You Ukrainians are defending your country. Your regular army, your territorials, every Ukrainian man and woman are standing together to repel the invaders. Your war is one of defence and liberation. Your road to freedom has already made it abundantly clear that Putin’s Empire will never be able to claim you back in its prison. Ukraine has already changed for ever. In 2020 we Belarusians became aware that we have no army we can call our own. The military formations which were supposed to defend us waged war against unarmed people.

Belarusians could see that those who had sworn loyalty to the people betrayed those people without hesitation. They actively participated in the repression of the citizens of their country. Nobody now regards the army of Belarus as Belarusian. There is no army in Belarus. There are Lukashenka’s generals who, like Putin’s, in their dreams behold themselves adorned with their master’s medals. Then there are the lesser ranks who carry out their criminal commands. At the bottom is the cannon fodder in a criminal war.

I am told again and again that these are just words, and Ukraine expects decisive action from the Belarusians. But words are all I have at my disposal. Words for which I bear responsibility. I believe in words, as the final weapon of resort that any human being has. I am writing to you from the emigration, from a Europe where peace still reigns. A somewhat shaky peace. A Europe which today manifests an unprecedented degree of solidarity, a Europe that stands up for you. And as for actions... Hundreds of thousands of Belarusians turned out in 2020 to demonstrate against the regime that is now attacking Ukraine. I was among them, so were my friends and colleagues. Tens of thousands were thrown in jail, where they were tortured and continue to be tortured to this day. Killed, tortured, raped. Tens of thousands have left the country. And thousands continue their resistance underground by staying in their country.

Everything has been destroyed in my homeland. Even the little that managed to grow in spite of the regime over the past couple of decades. There is not even that tiniest bit of freedom left that permitted us to think critically and create fruitfully. There are no independent, free media platforms left that could at least broadcast the truth about events in Ukraine and to help people see the war through Ukrainian and Belarusian eyes. They are deemed ‘extremist’ and blocked, their journalists are in prison or compelled to report from abroad. Belarus has been in the grip of pain and horror ever since 2020.

Belarus is one huge, gaping wound. I do not know if there are any families left unscathed by the repressions. Belarus has not even had a chance to catch its breath after the smashing of the protests before

being dragged into war. The situation really does look to me something like this: an injured man is picked up from the ground, and they start using his head as a battering ram to break down the door of his neighbour's house. Who's to blame? Why, the injured man, of course! After all, it's his head that's being used to break the door down.

Back then in 2020 the Ukrainians supported us strongly in our struggle. They mainly offered their support in words – very important words which we will not forget. No one then said to you “Ukrainians, that's all just words”. Is it the fault of the Belarusians that we were unable to break down the wall? Or that we allowed Putin to occupy our country? Or that we allowed our country to be used for Russian fascism? In historical perspective – yes, possibly. But we are living in the here and now. Thousands of Belarusians have had first-hand experience of repression and are now doing time in prison. I can never accept that they deserve hatred and contempt. What they did was not in vain. Belarus was – very slowly – rousing itself from the sweet slumber imposed by Lukashenka. History is not made in a day. Those who were for freedom will maybe not live to see it. But does it mean that all their effort has been in vain?

Is it really the case that everything written in the Ukrainian media two years ago has been so quickly forgotten? Was it written so long before the war began? I cannot believe my eyes when I read what is being written today in the Ukrainian media about the so-called ‘referendum’ that was held in Belarus on Sunday 27 February this year. Yet another farce, organised by the dictator to establish total control over the country and hand it over to the Russians once and for all, is presented as some kind of anti-Ukrainian ‘free expression of the will’ of the Belarusians. I realise that there is an information war going on. Instilling hatred for the enemy is perfectly right and proper. However, in this instance there was no ‘free expression of the will’ of Belarusians. It was one of Lukashenka's routine dramatic spectacles, another of his ‘elegant victories’.

Belarus is currently living through a situation which can only be described as a civil war under foreign occupation. Belarus is not Ukraine. There is no Belarusian government in Belarus, no Belarusian army, no Belarusian police, no Belarusian politics, no free Belarusian media. Belarus is badly disfigured, Belarus is split. Belarus does not know what to do with itself or how to survive, or how to stop itself disappearing from the map of the world or from the territory of human morality. My Belarus currently exists – both within the country and beyond its borders – as a series of islands of resistance. The task of these islands is to stay alive and somehow gather strength. I would not count on their being able today to join together, seize power and



stop the war. I would however say that these islands of resistance are the basis for a future peaceful state, a free neighbour of a free Ukraine. In these days of war they join together in support of Ukraine and do everything they possibly can. Can their efforts be ignored, if they are being made for you and for the future Belarus as well?



Way back in 1968 seven Soviet dissidents came out on to Moscow's Red Square to protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Czechs wrote this about them: these seven people give us at least seven reasons not to hate Russia. Last Sunday and Monday one thousand Belarusians were arrested for protesting against the war with Ukraine. I would like to hope that these people are also a thousand reasons not to regard Belarus with hatred.

I most certainly do not want you to see this letter as me weeping and wailing on my knees in front of you. When I, like other Belarusians, make over any honorary payments I receive to the Ukrainian army or for humanitarian support, I categorically do not want this to be seen as an attempt to somehow redeem myself. I am simply doing it as an equal among equals, as a human being and as a Belarusian who is unable to help Ukraine at this difficult time. Whenever my wife and I take part in demonstrations in support of Ukraine, we do so not because our conscience nags us, but because we want to have some kind of influence on western politicians who still listen to what people say to them.

When I, as an emigrant with the barest of rights, write this letter in Belarusian from Graz in Austria to both Ukrainians and my fellow countrymen, I do so not to seek your forgiveness, but because I cannot and will not be silent. When I wrote my books and essays, when in my novel *The Dogs of Europe* I warned of the dangers of Putin's Empire, most of my readers regarded it as no more than a dystopia or phantasmagoria. Well, now we're living in it – you and us both. Did I do everything I could? That's not a question for you. It's a question for me, and I have to find the answer for myself. Just as all Belarusians do.

But I cannot calmly and with understanding look at what is being said in the social media: "OK, go ahead and kiss Putin's backside!" This is written not to Putin's fans but to Belarusians who have fought against Putin's fascism in every way possible and not allowed Belarus to become the disgrace of Europe. I cannot without horror and anger read about how Belarusians get the windows of their cars broken when they try to help Ukrainian refugees, all because their cars have Belarusian plates. I find it impossible to read how Belarusian friends of Ukraine who have been through repressions have to hear people say to their faces "You scum, go and snog that Lukashenka of yours". There are Belarusians who have been driven out of their homes in Ukraine, where they came to save themselves from Lukashism.

What is such hatred going to do for you? If you are convinced it will help you defeat the occupiers, write and tell us. We'll understand. We will go on supporting you in silence, keeping our mouths tightly shut to make it easier to bear the insult. Write to us and destroy the occupiers, wherever they come from – whether from Russia or Belarus, from Chechnya or anywhere else. We will be glad of any losses you cause your enemies. But this unthinking hatred of anything that calls itself Belarusian will not bring you any allies in the enemy camp. Anyway, most of us do not live in the enemy camp. We're now somewhere in the void, between light and dark. We are ashamed and insulted, and afraid – but we are fighting on your side. Some of us with words,

some morally, some with deeds, some with weapons – there are Belarusians who have taken up arms to fight for you. And there are some who simply follow the news, who cannot get to sleep because of a sense of helplessness and despair, who send their curses to those who unleashed this war.

We did not choose where we were born. Neither did you. Part of Moscow's infernal plan is to magnify hatred. Everywhere where it can. That's their plan for the future and they began to carry it out a long time ago. It is particularly important for the Kremlin to instil hatred among its neighbours. To raise hatred to such a level that it becomes impossible to go back to normal relations.

Their plan is to create a classic situation of 'divide and rule'. My dear Ukrainians, we and you both have a common enemy. And he is delighted whenever a conflict arises between us, whenever he sees how hatred grows between people who yesterday were friends. Putin and Lukashenka smile in smug satisfaction. It means that things are going according to plan. Do we really want them to smile? We have a common enemy. I say this to both Belarusians and Ukrainians. We have a common enemy. Let's not forget it.

Although it may already be too late.

This text was first published by [Ukrajinsky Tyzhden](#).
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1 COLLAGE Masha Svyatogor, works from the series *Everybody dance!*
2, 3 PHOTO Pavel Krichko
4, 5 COLLAGE Masha Svyatogor, works from the series *Everybody dance!*

AN ORDER WILL COME

REIN RAUD

ILLUSTRATIONS LEONIE BOS

When he was a boy, Joakim was always reluctant to visit his uncle. True, it came up infrequently: the man generally came to visit them, giving Joakim the opportunity to hide in his room for the duration. He was a couple decades Joakim's senior, had long hair, wore threadbare sweaters, and tended to flail his arms about wildly when discussing topics in which the boy himself felt totally lost. Every now and then, he tried to show up unannounced at a very late hour with a group of drunken friends, which Joakim's mother didn't particularly enjoy. Sharp words were exchanged on those occasions. Very rarely, such as on birthdays, Joakim and his parents went to visit his uncle, too. At the time, he lived in any of several different tiny, disorderly apartments in cheaper parts of town. Books filled almost every nook and cranny, but none of them had pictures.

Joakim eventually overcame his avuncular aversion and similarly gained an interest in enigmatic non-illustrated books. Every time the two of them met, his uncle's speech grew much more intelligible. But by then, the man spent most of his time working abroad at various universities. He returned primarily for the summer but preferred not to leave his spacious country home on the shore of a picturesque lake. Visits were permitted, though not noisy groups. Joakim, on the other hand, now preferred to spend the summer months in rowdier surroundings and to unwind from the fatigue that accumulated while studying at university and waiting tables in the evenings. Although Joakim always planned to visit for



at least a weekend every summer his uncle was back on home soil, it only worked out once. Still, it was a very pleasant experience. The man's house was merely an expanded version of his past apartments, cluttered with all kinds of books and papers. Fine wine made the night pass quickly and Joakim felt like kicking himself for not having spent time there earlier. Alas, he couldn't find a single spare evening to repeat it over any of the following summers, either.

Now that his uncle had passed away, it was no longer a possibility.

There were no heirs. His sole marriage abroad ended in divorce, and he'd never been in another serious relationship, so his house with all its books was passed down to his brother's family. Joakim's father therefore asked him to go and try to put them all into a semblance of order, as no one else in their family was capable of differentiating valuable books and manuscripts from worthless junk. The young man had just been informed that he was accepted into a doctoral program (in spite of his inane research proposal) and his previous plan to go hitchhiking around Europe with his girlfriend fell through after she met someone else. The notion of spending two or three weeks at his late uncle's summer home thus sounded rather agreeable, though doing so in his own company would obviously have been even better.

He was still there in a sense, of course.

After parking his ancient Subaru next to the house, Joakim left his bags in the car and went to open the door empty-handed at first. It was still someone else's home. But as soon as he stepped into the foyer, he realised he was just as welcomed as before – there was no sense of trespassing on foreign territory. On the contrary. He was astonished by how precisely he could remember the layout of every room and what lay behind each corner of every hallway, and realised that even if he should wake up in the middle of the night and set off in search of the toilet, he wouldn't stub his toe

on anything or reach for the handle on the wrong side of a door. This in spite of being perplexed by his uncle's highly unusual choices of furniture arrangement, which had been done according to principles that no one else would find logical or convenient. Yet since his uncle lived alone, there'd been no reason to fret over this minor detail: he himself apparently found it suitable.

Joakim dropped his bags in the bedroom he'd stayed in on the last occasion. The bed was made up with fresh linens, as if he were expected. Although the kitchen cupboards were all empty, he quickly filled them with groceries. There wasn't much of a selection at the local shop, but he reckoned that three different flavors of marinated chicken and spindly BBQ sausages were as good as anything, not to mention the jar of red Hungarian-style goulash.

Joakim's first surprise awaited him in the study. He'd prepared for the worst: scrawled papers strewn every which way and mixed with books in seemingly random piles, letters both opened and unopened, and the occasional plane ticket or grocery receipt. But no: the room was pristine. The stacks of papers on the desk were aligned and orderly, and it wouldn't be hard to find shelf space for the few books on the table next to the armchair, as corresponding gaps stood out among the other volumes.

Joakim breathed a sigh of relief. This made his task significantly easier, though it didn't accomplish it entirely. Filing the papers still entailed creating a system and determining what was worth keeping and what wasn't. Not to mention what belonged where. His uncle's academic interests had always been far reaching and his lines of research had intersected the axes of traditional fields, tying a range of questions to autonomous independence. As a result, his colleagues fell into two clear categories: those who respected him highly, and those who didn't at all. No one with even cursory knowledge of the man would have granted him

indifferent approval. Yet for Joakim, such a manner of thinking was the sole possibility in the first place.

His uncle had a desktop computer and a little tablet on the table by the armchair. Joakim switched on the larger device first. A dense row of folders appeared on the screen, as did a shortcut to a file titled "Catalog". This was his second pleasant surprise. It appeared the man had organised his books by a system of number- and letter combinations, just like in an actual library. That meant the shelved works must be systematised somehow as well. And they were. The system itself, however, remained a mystery at first. It would've been straightforward to arrange the books alphabetically by author or title, chronologically, or grouped by language, country of publication, or subject. You can even find some justification for cataloguing books by size or arrival date in some newer and not quite reader-friendly libraries. His uncle's personal library used none of these techniques, though Joakim didn't doubt that some kind of an underlying logic was at play. So, he shrugged and continued his work for the time being, assuming he'd figure it out sooner or later.

Next, Joakim tackled the stacks of documents. Some had been handwritten in his uncle's tiny but generally decipherable script. Only when an idea tended to gallop away were his letters simplified to an inscrutable degree, though this didn't matter much to a reader for whom his logic's course was unmistakable. Other documents were printed and had handwritten annotations on the margins. The method seemed unusually old fashioned: when undertaking a new project, his uncle wrote a draft in pencil, typed it into his computer, printed it out, and then edited it again. Thus, handwritten pages were probably drafts of articles that couldn't be found on the computer's hard drive, and printed texts contained final revisions that hadn't been digitalized yet. When Joakim searched the computer, he came across a folder titled "Unfinished", and it wasn't hard to match the printed titles to the

correct files. Tomorrow, he decided, I'll make his revisions first, then decide what should go where – maybe it's not too late to submit his final articles to editors.

It was already late, so Joakim had a light dinner before flopping down in bed with his laptop, scrolling through Facebook for half an hour (his uncle's Wi-Fi password from the last visit still worked), watching a couple episodes of an unfinished series, and going to sleep.

Joakim spent the following days digitising the revisions on the margins of the printed papers. It was more difficult than he'd expected, as occasionally he had to choose between multiple variations scribbled into the manuscript. In some places, his uncle had even struck a line through a newer version and begun another, though he'd failed to complete it. In other places, he'd made annotations in a scant couple of words, but left them too ambiguous. This meant Joakim had to pore over the entire article from the beginning, and sometimes even search the shelves for a referenced author to follow his uncle's train of thought. Yet, he wasn't averse to spending his time that way in the least: on the contrary, he felt that the more he read, the more he could hear his uncle's voice ringing in his ears and hold a conversation with him, and after a brief pause to think, he'd find a precise answer to the given question that opened up a whole new spectrum of ideas in turn. In any case, he didn't feel that any of the incomplete corrections he was forced to phrase himself were any less accurate than the ones his uncle had made in full.

It was tedious work, of course, and somewhere around the third or fourth day of leafing through his uncle's texts, Joakim decided he needed to take a break with some other task. His daily walks around the lake didn't count. Joakim sat down in the armchair by the window and turned on his uncle's tablet. It was the type he'd decided to buy for himself for reading e-books once he got into a doctoral program.

The device didn't display the home screen as Joakim had expected, but the first page of an open text file. It appeared to be his uncle's writing, but of an entirely different style. As Joakim flipped a few pages ahead, he realised there were dozens, maybe even over a hundred in total. The brief Estonian-language passages somewhat resembled later Wittgenstein – a thought journal, of sorts. Now this is quite the discovery, Joakim marveled. He essentially never published anything here in Estonia, though everyone knows his name. This could be the book that shapes how he's ultimately remembered in his native land. Joakim began reading.

With every passing moment, he became increasingly convinced that the document was a true pearl. His uncle had summarised the cruxes of almost all his theories in short, simple sentences, as if trying to explain them to a young child. At the same time, it wasn't intended to create a condensed outline of his life's work, but to connect personal memories to succinctly worded philosophical truths that he'd never posited in his English-language academic texts. It was obvious why: presently, as his uncle wrote, even free philosophical thought yields to the rules of scientific craft, and instead of addressing the topic itself, one must first discuss what has been discussed earlier, and furthermore do so in a way that arrives at an original source – at a classic from whom one can go no further back. In that sense, his uncle wrote, today's philosophical practice is both similar to that of the Middle Ages (because one must not look further than scripture) and different from it, because it, in its very best moments, has completely ignored the prohibition.

Joakim's uncle peppered these arguments with nice poetic intervals: memories from travels, impressions from walks, and gazes onto the lake from his window. It all meshed, and most of all with Joakim himself. He had the sensation as if it were a text he'd wished to have written himself. He wasn't jealous, not in the least. Joakim often felt a desire to

express things the way that others managed to do. Yet in his uncle's case, he could divine exactly how the points were formulated. Joachim had lived through the very same, in a way. Naturally, an author previously unknown to him would be referenced every now and then, prompting him to locate the given work somewhere on the shelves. The more this happened, the better he could understand why the book occupied the exact place it did in relation to others around it. Some volumes might share a shelf because of a line that made them famous, others because of the way the author saw and worded their inquiries, and a third might be present simply to connect the first two, which otherwise would seem out of place together.

That's the key! Joakim pondered. *It's the key to him, and simultaneously the key to this house; to why it is the way it is.*

He was now powerless to stop. He took the occasional break from reading, of course, but only to focus on, and continue, his uncle's line of reasoning. Furthermore, he could now identify these lines outside his uncle's words. The arrangement of furniture throughout the rooms was suddenly not only logical, but an inevitable outcome of his ideas. It dawned upon Joakim with astounding clarity as he sat by the lake: his uncle's thoughts reflected his entire surroundings – wooded paths, birdsong, and sudden splashes in the lake were all recorded in his words. Or, to be more exact: they were the life his uncle had lived and the interaction between the books he read and his environment. *I'd have to live here for a whole year and through the complete cycle of the seasons to gain even greater insight, though I can already accurately say what path he was walking and in what direction he was looking when a line from Bakhtin or Baudrillard came to mind and unleashed a chain of thoughts, no matter that they found their way to paper only after he'd strayed so far from his original sources that they were barely perceptible within his logical progression.* Even so, Joakim reckoned it

would be important to know whether the maple tree was cloaked in green or red at the time, or if it was alternately bare and leafless and revealed a view of the snowy hillside behind it. Only infrequently did his uncle explicitly allude to such details.

The further Joakim scrolled, the more slowly he advanced through his uncle's text. For although it outwardly seemed plain and simple for even the unprepared reader to interpret (up to a certain point), he felt a need to delve as deeply as he could possibly manage, and such detective work took time. The greater part of his days was now spent tracking down the books that his uncle had read while considering one topic or another, then giving them a thorough read himself while simultaneously attempting to reconstruct the trajectory of his movements at the time. That endeavor was no cakewalk, as his uncle had traversed spaces more or less haphazardly. Did he go for a long walk on the day in question, or was it pouring, which meant he spent hours sitting at his study window and observing the way the raindrops struck the surface of the lake? And did he, for that reason, perhaps postpone wrapping up an unfinished passage till a day with better weather in favor of working on an article or re-reading Bergson? These were in no way frivolous questions. Joakim hadn't a shadow of doubt whenever he made an accurate conclusion: the space around him became more lucid and coincidences receded instantaneously. For instance, it became unquestionable that the model ship on the mantelpiece must face left or that the jars of dried goods on the kitchen shelf should be in the exact order they were in. And when the bulb in the floor lamp next to the armchair burned out, Joakim knew exactly where he'd find a new one. He opened the correct cabinet door unerringly, though he'd never taken anything from there before.

"When I approach a podium," his uncle wrote, "and my throat is dry and I cannot collect my thoughts and I feel

the audience's critical, demanding, doubtful gaze upon me, I drink a glass of water and suddenly, my mind is clear and I feel the audience's expectant, well-intentioned, supportive gaze upon me, but am I alone the one who is thinking, or is it also the water I drank just a moment ago and of which I am now also composed? Or am I suddenly someone other than who I was when I took the podium; someone who is now irrevocably in the past?" Joakim nodded. Both theories rung true.

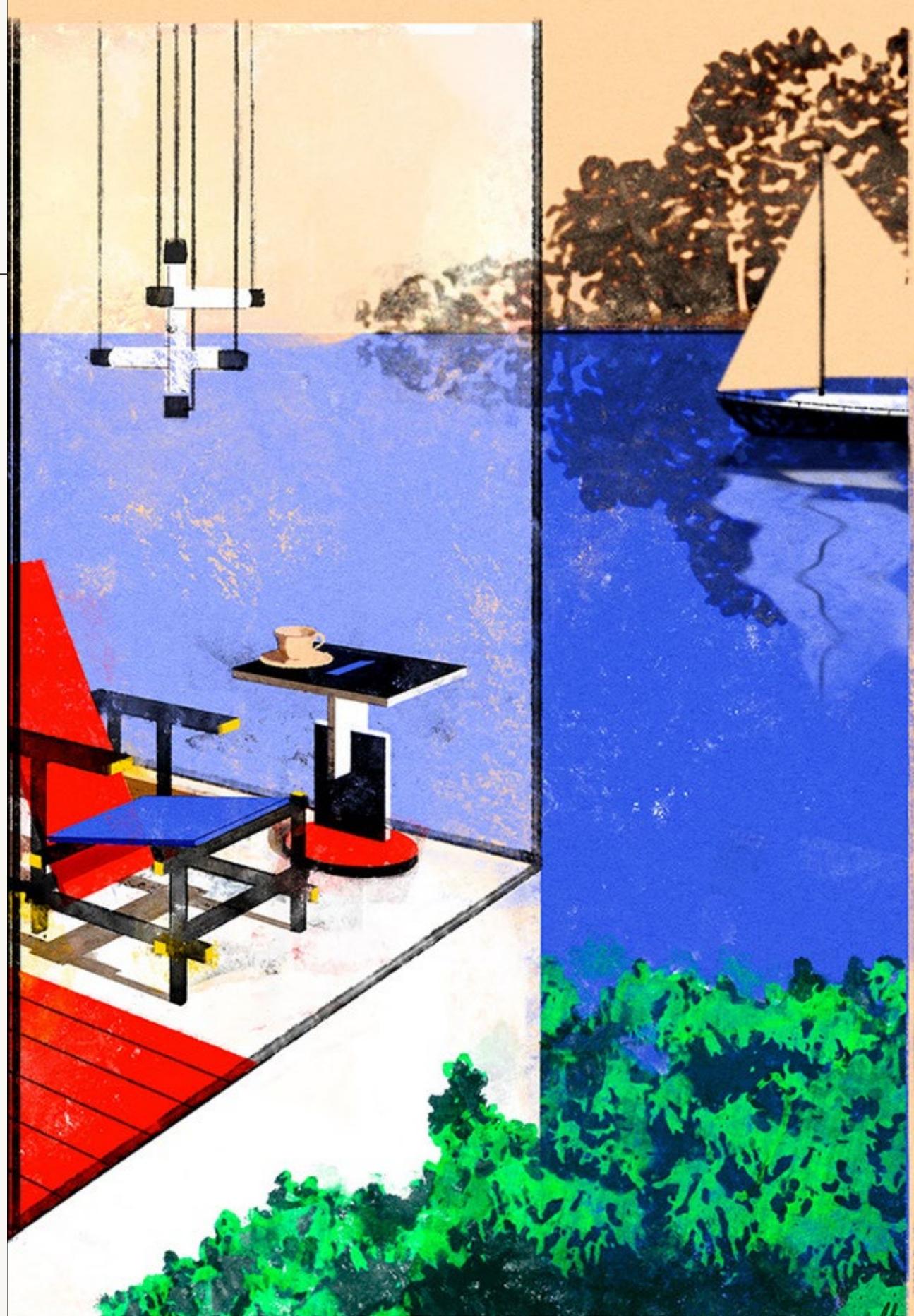
"And if that is the case, then who am I at all?" his uncle continued. "It would be absurd to identify me with my physical body, which now differs much more from my infant body than one infant does from another. Furthermore, biologists claim that every one of my cells is wholly replaced over a period of seven years. It is just as difficult to take seriously the idea of an immortal soul, for which my time on Earth is but a fleeting episode. I can feel how I'm made up of my parents, my friends, my memories, and what I have read to a much greater degree than some pure, fundamental building block that I alone possess. Even so, I know that I exist. Not like Descartes: even a computer can develop that type of intelligence. I am different, and I am here. Just yesterday, I read about someone (Joakim knew exactly who this was, or at least where the book was located) who redefined the human: we aren't merely our bodies and memories, but all that we can and wish to lean upon. Our environment, our technological extensions, our notes, our books, even our bank accounts and credit cards. Just as the Mongol does not exist without their horse or the American without their car, so do I not exist without this place. And so long as the way that things are here continues in this manner, I suppose I will continue to exist as well."

Joakim slid his finger across the screen to flip to the next page, but felt like something was off. Half of the last sentence he read repeated at the top of the screen. He flipped back to the previous page, but suddenly, it was gone. Still, he

retained a photographic memory of what he'd read. *I'm continuing what my uncle wrote*, he realised. *I simply knew what came next.*

He looked out the window. The evening sun cast a reddish glint on the surface of the lake, identical to the one that had been before, and he grasped with the utmost clarity: his uncle's death hadn't happened in the past, either. It was something that also still lay ahead.

TRANSLATED BY ADAM CULLEN



Clubs are cultural spaces. They boost the appeal and quality of life of our towns and cities. Clubs enrich and enlarge existing cultural offerings and are an important location factor. They're vital components in the creative development of a city, becoming part of the solution when revitalising and improving urban areas. And they bring a new momentum to the night-time economy that couldn't be predicted before the emergence of the club scene.

BUILDING A CLUB SCENE IS WORTH IT!

AND IT WILL BRING PEACE AND HARMONY

Dimitri Hegemann

Clubs bring people together. There are techno clubs in almost every European city. These places open their doors very late, here in Berlin, around midnight. Then crowds start getting together, people who have travelled from far and wide; they mostly meet in dark spaces, often in converted industrial buildings. These are scattered throughout the city, many on the former Wall strip where the no-man's-land between East and West Berlin

lay unused for almost 30 years, heavily fortified with booby traps and military patrols.

After the Fall of the Wall, there was an incredible euphoria over the reunification. Young people were ready for something new. In the eastern part of the city there were many vacant lots, areas of wasteland and hidden nooks and crannies – perfect conditions for small cultural cells to grow.

The forces of law and order barely bothered with this new movement; they had other problems to solve, such as traffic between East and West Berlin. There was cultural anarchy. On top of that, already in 1949 the curfew was abolished in Berlin. This was another major factor behind the emergence of a vibrant night-time culture – in fact, it reflected the general climate in the city of Berlin. The politicians of the day made no attempt to control or curb this movement. Then in 1991 came a bombshell – these new sounds from Detroit. Techno was born.

The Love Parade began in 1989, and within a few years the number of visitors had grown to more than several hundred thousand enthusiastic revellers from all over the world. They were drawn to Berlin by a longing to meet like-minded people and party together peacefully. And they stayed for days, exchanging ideas, joining in shared activities, chatting to each other and then going home excited and inspired. The miracle was achieved. A million young people embraced peace and harmony. And this mood continued week after week in the clubs. The Love Parade showed me the immense potential of peaceful energy that can be generated by a crowd. It really does work.

That's why I now think the World Heritage application by the co-inventor of the Love Parade, Motte and his friends, makes sense – I actually feel techno is a type of music that creates a happy, welcoming mood wherever I hear it, especially in clubs and at festivals. Techno has the potential to change the world peacefully. In the cosmopolitan city of Berlin, it has certainly succeeded.

I perceive techno as a type of music that's listened to by young people all over the world. I also see people in troubled countries who want to dance. When they can, they do. In fact, people from all cultures dance to techno, peacefully and happily.

I'm convinced this music has a worthwhile mission: it is both the soundtrack and the key to achieving peace among young people around the world.

Techno has transformed and rejuvenated the city of Berlin since the Fall of the Wall. A micro-economy sprang out the movement: clubs, cafés, galleries, restaurants, hostels, fashion boutiques, design agencies, and so on. A whole generation set off on a new musical journey. This music works without lyrics – there are no tales of romance or struggles. Instead, techno releases our hidden wild side, and makes us bold;



creative ideas are born at 3.30 in the morning, and they point us in new directions. Techno has the power to reach everyone, and enables all of us to discover the good in ourselves.

Dancing is better than marching, as the saying goes. And that doesn't just apply to Berlin. All over the world, the techno phenomenon and accompanying club scene provide the perfect space for bringing together life-affirming, happy people.

However, the power of techno has gone much further. The Berlin Love Parade changed the way Germany was perceived throughout the world – the images of Germans dancing and partying with Israelis and Poles were something new and played a major role in creating a new image of Germany. The same happened 10 years later during the 2006 Football World Cup, known as the summer fairy tale.





3

NEXT GENERATION CULTURE SPACE

Anna Harnes

Here at the Tresor Foundation we hope to create a robust, international artists' alliance between Berlin, Sarajevo and Tbilisi with the project 'Next Generation Culture Space'. Funded by the European Cultural Foundation, we are working to reinvent the use of historical spaces and breathe new life into them through cultural activities. Helping us are project partners Space of Urgency, Association for Procreation and Development of Future Ideas – Neocor (NCR, Sarajevo), Cultural and Creative Industries Union of Georgia (Tbilisi) and United We Stream e.v.



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The aim is to create safe spaces where alternative youth cultures, queer communities and other marginalised groups in Eastern Europe can thrive.

Working together with the community in Tbilisi, Sarajevo, Berlin and the networks of Space of Urgency and United We Stream, we want to offer a new future for experimental, multi-functional cultural spaces in Sarajevo and Tbilisi.

We are documenting our work and making it available online so that future researchers will be able to follow the process of adapting spaces.

The global Covid-19 crisis and resulting restrictions, coupled with economic stagnation and political polarisation, have threatened the social ecosystem of alternative youth culture, queer communities and other marginalised groups in Eastern Europe.

The closure of cultural spaces and disruption to creative ecosystems that have served as the last remaining safe spaces for these communities now pose a threat to the very existence of these under-represented groups.

On top of that, right-wing extremism is on the rise, as demonstrated by the recent violent attacks in Eastern European countries and the war in Ukraine, as well as the assaults at Pride events in Tbilisi, Kyiv and Belgrade that left many casualties.

Nationalism and religiously motivated discrimination are the chief factors splitting the three main ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and they continue to divide communities to this day.

Roma and Jews are still excluded from electoral systems. This kind of initiative can create a unified, democratic space for the young generation to develop their skills in a transparent political environment.

The disruption of the creative ecosystem has brought about new partnerships via 'localised internationalism' with new global alliances developing projects such as 'United We Stream' during the pandemic. These initiatives have helped raise awareness of local problems at an international level while putting pressure on local governments to take these issues more seriously.

We will be giving advice on constructing a new cultural space in Sarajevo as a pilot project and using it to build long-term, sustainable alliances to establish creative safe spaces where alternative cultural ecosystems can thrive again.

This guidance on developing independent, political cultural spaces in an East/West partnership will feed directly into the planning of a sister project in Tbilisi.

- 1, 2 PHOTO Tresor.
- 3 The planned cultural lighthouse for Sarajevo team, Hotel Igman. PHOTO Tresor
- 4 The planned cultural lighthouse for Tbilisi team. PHOTO Tresor

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BLACKCOFFEE_PDC is an Italian podcast that tells black identities with no filter, and was

created by Ariam Tekle and Emmanuelle Maréchal. The podcast consists of interviews with black Italians who enrich the conversations around black identities through their work and initiatives. They intend to create a space for conversing and debating complex issues, and lesser-known topics reported superficially by the media. A grantee of the Culture of Solidarity Fund created by the European Cultural Foundation, #Blackcoffee_pdc recently introduced two sections in English to connect with other black realities in Europe.

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COLOPHON

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| PRODUCTION | Tim Beijer Producties |
| PRINTING | Ten Herkel |
| BINDING | Wilco Zutphen |
| PAPER | Biotop, 90 g Materica Acqua, 180 g |
| TYPEFACE | Neue Haas Unica Pro Tiempos Text Panama |



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