

65 YEARS OF
THE EUROPEAN
CULTURAL
FOUNDATION STORIES
OF
(1954-2019)

EUROPE

STORIES OF EUROPE
65 YEARS OF THE EUROPEAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION



In 2019, the European Cultural Foundation celebrates 65 years since its launch. The celebrations coincide with the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and marks 80 years since the outbreak of World War II; it is also the 40th anniversary of the first European Parliament and the half centenary of Apollo 11's expedition to the moon. These events have marked the history of Europe and the world, shaping its grand narrative. There are far more stories to be told, though, and these stories unfold in the anecdotal, the fleeting, the places, texts and artefacts that are often overlooked: in the chipped off pieces of the Berlin Wall, collected by the so-called *Mauerspechte* (of which I was one) in the days and nights following 9 November 1989. In the determined speech of Simone Veil, survivor of the horrors of Auschwitz-Birkenau, on the day she was elected as the first ever President of the European Parliament in 1979. In the 4/4 time signature of Frank Sinatra's *Fly Me To The Moon*, the first song ever to be played on the moon, while the Apollo 11 astronauts took their first steps on the cratered landscape.

Similarly, we could be telling the story of the European Cultural Foundation as a post-war cultural project, founded in 1954, amidst the optimistic sprouting of pan-European ideas and institutions; we could tell you about the vision of its founding fathers, of a united Europe where citizens feel proudly European – a place where they can live, express themselves, work and dream freely, in diversity and harmony. And we will. But we believe that the ways in which the Foundation has both adapted to and steered the narrative of Europe are to be found in a wide range of tones, voices and serendipitous moments, all excavated from its extensive archive.

In this publication, we will navigate the history of the European Cultural Foundation in a variegated and multi-tonal way – looking for hidden and oblique links across time and political moments, finding the unexpected lines of thought that contributed to the full history of the European Cultural Foundation: a history in which a photography student predicts an increasingly globalised world; a theatremaker reflects on issues of authority and governance; or a young pianist bridges the seeming insurmountability of the Iron Curtain in the mid-1980s. It is indeed an approach to a complex archive that requires an open and imaginative mind, much like Europe itself.

In the following pages, we have curated a selection of archive material that is featured alongside essays and reflection pieces written by some of the people who have helped to shape the Foundation's work, including Timothy Garton Ash, Simon Mundy and Alan Smith, as well as others we have supported through our programmes, such as Merve Bedir and Ramsés Morales Izquierdo. We also hear from some of our colleagues at the European Cultural Foundation, as well as from some compelling contemporary European voices, among them Eleanor Penny and Giuseppe Porcaro, with their respective strong takes on Europe and the climate crisis, and a futurologist take on the 'Death of Dystopia'. Last but not least, we are indebted to a number of people who sat where I sit today: the former

directors of the European Cultural Foundation Raymond Georis, Rüdiger Stephan, Gottfried Wagner and Katherine Watson, who all took the time to reflect back on their time in office, and whose insights have made our archival research a whole lot easier.

All texts and documents have been compiled according to nine thematic axes that not only resonate throughout the past six and a half decades of our history, but remain important points of reference for today and tomorrow. Some revolve around much-debated buzzwords such as ‘migration’ and ‘mobility’, ‘sustainability’ and not least ‘culture’ itself, illustrating through our non-linear approach how these terms do not pertain solely to today’s discourse; others debate the roles of philanthropy, governance and participation, as well as education and the so-called elites in the gigantic task of building a Europe for all. Lastly, we linger on how Europe’s challenges – some would call them anxieties – influence our imagined futures, focusing on what has yet to come for the Foundation.

Telling the stories of Europe matters. Particularly in these times when, I admit, one could lose sight of the big European picture. We need a historical perspective to assess, and then resolve, the everyday political problems and crises that now confront us. And as for the future? There is no end to history, as some described the end of the Cold War. Instead, everything is possible, even things that seemed entirely impossible yesterday. This is something I’ve known since the Berlin Wall came down, and it has seared itself into my consciousness ever since. It’s even possible that Europe could emerge stronger and better from the current crisis while its doubters and opponents become a footnote in history. Everything is possible, but only if we do something, take a stand, challenge ourselves, find new partners and act courageously. This is exactly what the European Cultural Foundation intends to do, now and into the future.

André Wilkens,
Director of the European Cultural Foundation

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The following texts present the nine thematic axes that have emerged from our archival research on the European Cultural Foundation. They not only raise questions that still resonate today – some perhaps even more loudly than they used to – but are also intended as a set of coordinates to navigate the documents and essays we have compiled. These axes don't follow parallel lines; quite the contrary, they intersect and converse with each other, often in unexpected ways. To help readers navigate, we have set up a system of cross-references that link together the different texts, further emphasising our desire to propose a non-linear and non-exhaustive journey through the Foundation's vast history.

* FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS

There is something of a foundation myth surrounding the European Cultural Foundation: a story of justified anger, as Princess Margriet of the Netherlands pointed out in her farewell speech to founding members Denis de Rougemont and Hendrik Brugmans in 1985. Learning of the Ford Foundation's refusal to support its Centre Européen de la Culture – considered 'unclassifiable' – de Rougemont shouted: "They only lend to the rich, that's understood. But to be rich, you have to be able to give." The idea of initiating a foundation was born, and two years later, in December 1954, de Rougemont officially launched the European Cultural Foundation.

Due to its very nature – neither a private nor a public organisation, with a modest but steady endowment – the European Cultural Foundation played a particular role within the worlds of European culture and policy, tackling areas of work and issues that institutions could or would not undertake. An example of this is the instrumental role the Foundation played in implementing and developing ERASMUS (European Action Programme for the Mobility of University Students), acting as a partner of the European Commission, whose action space in the realm of education was still very limited. As current Foundation board member Rien van Gendt recently highlighted, foundations are more likely than governments to address issues of social cohesion, as this requires an interdisciplinary and a holistic approach rather than a siloed structure.

But philanthropic organisations also have their downside, and risk replicating the same hierarchical behaviours and structural inequalities that they are trying to oppose. In recent years, a group of European foundations joined together to form the European branch of EDGE (Engaged Donors for Global Equity), advocating for a paradigm shift in the way funding occurs, so more and more resources are allocated to support systemic change in the societal challenges we face. As one of the Foundation's current managers, Vivian Paulissen, urges in her essay 'Philanthropy Needs Imagination' (2018), a first step towards such a transition would certainly entail "[getting] rid of the paradigm of philanthropy as a culture of 'giving' that is equal to a gesture of altruism," and perhaps, establishing a culture of reciprocity, based on communal cooperation and mutuality.

* WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?

In 1951, Robert Schuman – one of the architects of the European Economic Community that later became the European Union and one of the founders of the European Cultural Foundation – declared: "Much more than an economic alliance, Europe has to become a cultural union." While this belief is at the very origin of the Foundation and has fuelled its vision and mission ever since its establishment, throughout its history the term 'culture' has been reflected upon in seemingly countless ways. What do we *mean* by culture? How are its delineations challenged or annulled, or then again reinforced and revived by a quest for unity in a diverse Europe? How political is the term? Is it too political or not political enough? Would we do well to leave 'culture' out of our name altogether?

This constant questioning of the notion of culture and its place in the Foundation could be described, on a good day, as healthy self-criticism; on a bad day, as the source of crippling self-awareness. Over the years, it has translated into different, and sometimes diverging, understandings of the role culture can play: from a more traditional approach of culture as the expression of artistic endeavours to an understanding of culture as all-encompassing; to the affirmation of culture as an engine of social change and a catalyst for civil society, as well as a key driver in policymaking. In other words, with this questioning, the European Cultural Foundation chimes into the dissonant choir of sentiments attached to the term 'culture' across Europe; a choir in which difference needs to be defended, and indifference needs to be challenged; more specifically, the indifference disguised behind notions such as 'European multiculturalism', which more than ever stand for a lack of contact between different ethnic groups, for politically acceptable racism.

The European Cultural Foundation, in one way or another, has seen itself through various periods of affective atmospheres with regards to culture, both reacting to and influencing the course of history. What can seem like a repetitive and inconclusive debate at times has become one of the main tenets of the Foundation: a reflection on its own mission, and on the genealogies of the concepts it decides to put forward.

* EDUCATION & THE ELITE

While Europe was beginning to take shape after World War II, the education of younger generations – the future generations of Europeans – appeared to be a determining factor in enhancing the European project and the sentiments behind it, as well as achieving European unity. Training a new generation of leaders was, on the one hand, instrumental in establishing the Common Market. On the other hand, individuals and organisations such as the European Cultural Foundation understood the need to build Europe as a cultural project, in line with the millennium-old educational tradition that shaped Europe as a learning community throughout ancient Greece, the Renaissance and beyond to humanism. In short, the backdrop against which a European education unfolded in the mid-20th century was one that was closely connected with an ideal of the elite – a term deliberately and positively used in the European Cultural Foundation's early days. Later on, with student uprisings erupting across Europe, the notion of the elite was widely rejected: education should be for all and so should access to culture.

Gradually moving away from a definition of culture as high-brow and beaux-arts-only, the European Cultural Foundation spent almost a decade working on questions including education for the 21st century with the research project Plan Europe 2000 (1968-1975). The insight generated during this period resulted in vital connections and developed into what is doubtless the Foundation's most renowned project: the European student mobility programme, ERASMUS. The Foundation managed this programme from its official launch in 1987 up until 1995, when the European Commission decided to take responsibility for the programme's administration.

Today, ERASMUS is an established component of what we perceive as 'European'. And yet, we are confronted with renewed scepticism towards (political) elites and adversity towards higher education in authoritarian regimes. This is why the European Cultural Foundation is committed to continuously reflecting on the role of inclusive and accessible education – making the benefits of elites available to more and more people rather than merely criticising them.

* WHO'S IN CHARGE?

"We would not be here if we thought that the most desirable type of man is the isolated individual, with no responsibility towards the community. If we thought that, we would have stayed at home." With these words, Denis de Rougemont opened his speech on Federalism at the congress of the Union of European Federalists in Montreux in 1947. Years before he established the Centre Européen de la Culture in Geneva, which would then launch the European Cultural Foundation, the staunch federalist de Rougemont had already formulated a premise that would retain its relevance throughout the Foundation's development: an individual's or a small group's responsibility towards a larger community is the main driving force in creating cooperation, building bridges among people and between people and institutions, as well as forging common paths.

The ever-expanding and critically reflected notion of what de Rougemont termed the 'most desirable type of man' inevitably leads to questions of responsibility and accountability: Who constitutes the public sphere, where does it surface, when and why does it not? Who gets to speak for whom, and whose voices can we trust? In more recent years, the Foundation has increasingly tackled these questions, facilitating discourses that sometimes take a closer look at the European Union, but mostly linger on those that arise elsewhere: in a local square, in online and print media, in the relationship between the Union and its neighbours, on the stages of cultural festivals. It has rethought its role as a grantmaking foundation, favouring support for ideas rather than projects, thus establishing itself not only as a financial partner but also as an interlocutor. In 2017, it also joined a group of foundations to launch a pilot grant programme in which grants are awarded not by donors but by the beneficiaries themselves. Admittedly, these are just a few steps forward, which cannot unilaterally solve the complex issues entangled in the seemingly simple question: 'Who's in charge?' So – in the quest to open up these questions to partners, peers and the public – we are still not planning to stay at home.

* DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY

In the introduction paper to a workshop organised at the Collège of Europe in Bruges in Spring 1994, Peter Hall asked: "Can we seek to make people more environmentally responsible in a democracy? Is there a conflict between environmental sustainability and equity?" Questions concerning natural environments and political ideologies are intriguing. However, even in 1994, two and a half decades before the current climate justice momentum, it was not radically new. In 1970, Hall was one of the speakers at the International Conference of Design in Aspen, held under the topic of 'Environment by Design'. The conference sparked heated debates when a French delegation around Jean Baudrillard and Roger Tallon presented a declaration that was highly critical of the United States' use of 'ecology' as a panacea against pollution. They urged everyone present to rethink the deeper issues at stake, such as uncontrolled growth and capitalist structures. For the first time, environmental challenges were presented as an ideological issue.

Fast forward to the present day: At a time when urgent concerns are being voiced about the implications of the extraction economy and consumption, it is becoming more and more evident that our planet's well-being hangs by the threads of the political and economic systems of global powers. The solution to our vanishing resources cannot simply be relegated to the actions of consumers or to small businesses offering alternatives to our consumption; we need to strive for a larger, more long-term approach. The environment is more than just our natural surroundings, maybe all the more clearly when described by the French word 'milieu'; it is the all-encompassing, holistic setting of everything that we engage with and live in. Acknowledging this interconnectedness, as daunting as it may seem, helps us to see the role a foundation like ours has played and can play in

this, although it is perhaps not evident at first. Our commitment to culture in its broadest sense, including our focus on livable cities, the commons and most recently green mobility, have certainly been first steps made in this direction.

* MOBILITY & MIGRATION

In the construction of post-war Europe, the mobility of people and ideas quickly became a real necessity, first and foremost in the development of a single market. Over the years, it became clear that mobility also served as a way of transcending national and mental barriers. It is no coincidence that the European Cultural Foundation has devoted a large part of its work and resources to supporting mobility in Europe. The Foundation has ventured where governmental institutions were notoriously cautious to go: for instance, in cultural cooperation between East and West Europe, enabling young people and students to move freely, then later, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent enlargement of Europe, supporting artists and cultural operators. This happened through programmes such as APEX, which later became APEXchange and then, in 2003, STEP Beyond, and exchange programmes such as Tandem.

Ever since the early 2000s, however, a distinction has grown in European society and media between the notions of mobility and migration, making the movement of people no longer a fundamental right and core European value, but more and more a source of fear and reclusiveness. Indeed, if the right to free movement is one of the fundamental values of the European project, it is also one of the most disputed. Thinking about mobility and migration together deeply grounds us, but it also uproots us. It forces us to see free movement as the biased notion it has become, one that is easily manipulated and needs to be addressed in all its complexity, and its all-encompassing traction. It urges us to reflect on issues of belonging as well as economic systems and environmental issues.

* WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?

There are 24 official languages in the European Union, and many more minority languages and dialects, spoken, read, thought in its centres and peripheries, in its nooks, but also in its main squares. Only three out of those 24 languages count as working languages for administrative purposes: English, French and German. In a project like Europe, the question of multiplicity is a challenge; and issues of language matter. The way we express European values, memories and identities, as has been expressed by German cultural theorist Andreas Huyssen, 'cannot be fortress'. And yet: the questions of 'where is here?', and 'where is elsewhere?' cannot be so easily dismissed, as they continue to be of relevance at a European level; not least when it comes to matters of accountability and social responsibility. Indeed, a careful treatise of these queries is of vital importance to the European Cultural Foundation, too: How can a philanthropic organisation for culture that calls itself European avoid the pitfalls of Eurocentrism? What has been done in the Foundation's work to counteract the vision of Europe as the centre of the world, and what still needs to be done?

Holding up a mirror to itself and the world, the European Cultural Foundation has been adamant about using both cultural policy and artistic projects to promote unity and at the same time preserve difference, going beyond a mere 'buzz of intercultural dialogue'. Projects initiated by the Foundation, such as the Mediterranean Reflection Group between 2006 and 2008, the photography competition Images of Europe throughout the 1990s or the efforts to fortify relations between East and West Europe ever since the mid-1980s are testaments to that; but it is the critical voices of those who did not simply get comfortable with the Foundation's quests and goals that truly advanced the discussion on where is here, and where is elsewhere.

* EUROPE & ANXIETY

Considering that a unified and united Europe has been a project of unstinting post-war hope, it is striking how anxiety, in varying degrees, has repeatedly seeped into European narratives. Over the past 65 years, Europe has seen itself wedged between Cold War fronts and its nuclear anxieties; the feeling has been at the centre of post-colonial transformations – those initiated by the gradual dismantlement of colonial rule, and maintained by numerous ripples on the European surface: anxieties about globalisation, migration and the role of European nation states on the globe's economic map. These processes have instilled a feeling of disquiet into Europe's understanding of itself, of its past, present and future. The letters drafted by over 100 public figures in 1994 – and exhibited by the Foundation in a 'Cabinet de Lecture' at a public debate in Amsterdam titled 'Between Hope & Anxiety' – reflect this phenomenon in varied ways.

However, as urbanist Peter Hall argued – when he was Professor of Geography and Chairman of the School of Planning Studies at Reading University – "anxiety can be a creative force." This was included in his introduction to a project that was a testament to the European Cultural Foundation's productive approach to future uncertainties – Plan Europe 2000 (1968-1975). Anxiety is certainly a force that is best leveraged when combined with the courage to analyse its root causes lucidly. Indeed, a certain kind and level of anxiety, if contemplated properly, can lead us to the roots of what we believe to be issues of European relevance: anxiety about borders can teach us something about inclusion; anxiety about identity can help us shape the diversity we want; anxiety about resources can give us the focus to tackle climate change.

* IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

In 1958, the European Cultural Foundation commissioned Dutch sociologist and Futures Studies pioneer Fred Polak to carry out a challenging task: drafting a roadmap for the future of Europe and the role the European Cultural Foundation should play in it. The document drafted by Polak does a number of things, such as formulate a focus on education and mobility, as well as offering a few hacks on how to exchange nihilism for European enthusiasm and instill something he called 'realistic idealism' in European youth. But mostly, it flags an early manifestation of the Foundation's undying interest in the Future with a capital F, as in the utopian projections of 'man in the 21st century' in Plan Europe 2000; or by envisioning unity through cultural projects on the cusp of Europe's most defining changes, such as the opening of borders and the subsequent global circulation of ideas.

Imaginations of the future, as jotted down in a working document on the Foundation's thematic 2009-2012 focus on Narratives for Europe, "generate new ideas, encourage collaboration, sometimes dreams." Indeed, projecting one's own aspirations for the future is not only individually empowering but politically relevant: In times of rising nationalism, a concept fuelled by nostalgia for an imagined rather than remembered past, increasing attention to collectively imagined futures can be an act of resistance. The practice of imagining what has yet to come through cultural tools can bring forward action-oriented ideas; but it can also work as a performative antidote to the Europe sketched currently by mainstream media, one of cities dominated by far-right militants, politics stagnated by austerity, and disengaged youth. With many of its initiated and supported projects, the European Cultural Foundation has kept its orientation towards future scenarios in line with its core values – and kept its mind open towards the unexpected.

UNPACKING THE ARCHIVES

012

1954/2019

- * FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
- * WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
- * EDUCATION & THE ELITE

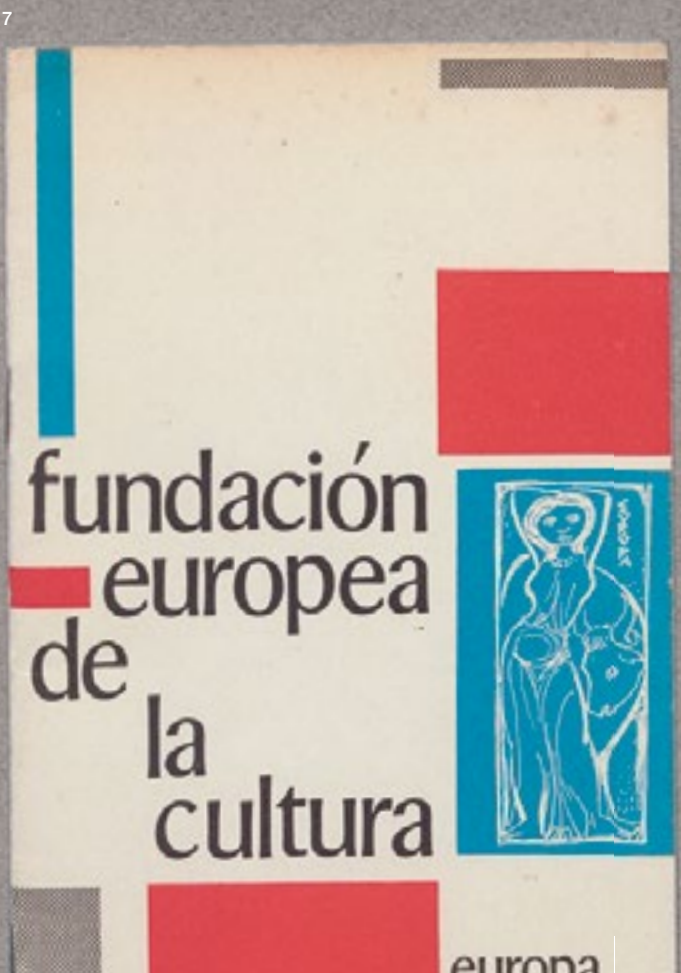
- * WHO'S IN CHARGE?
- * DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
- * MOBILITY & MIGRATION

- * WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
- * EUROPE & ANXIETY
- * IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE





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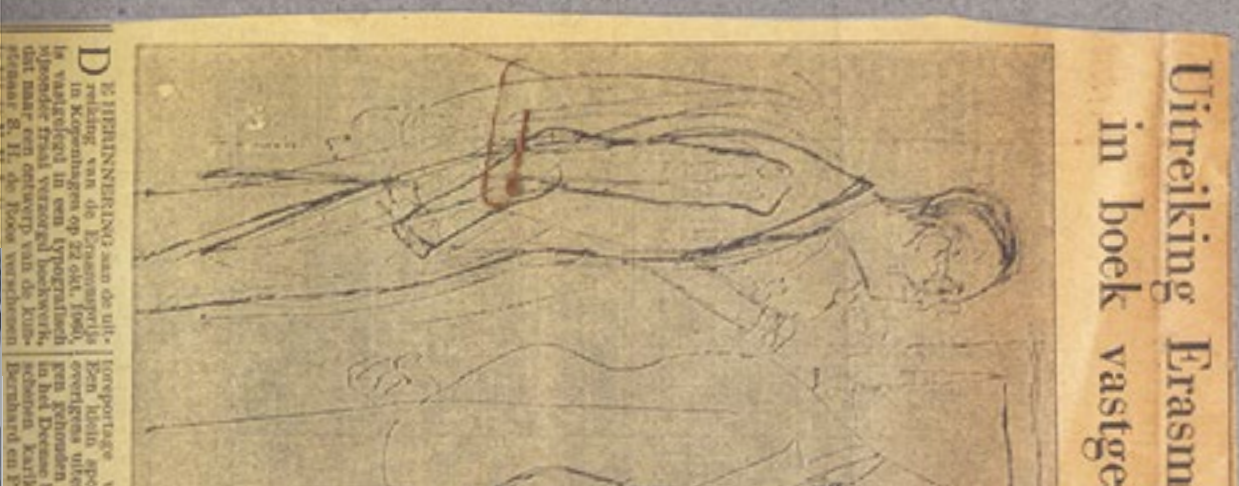
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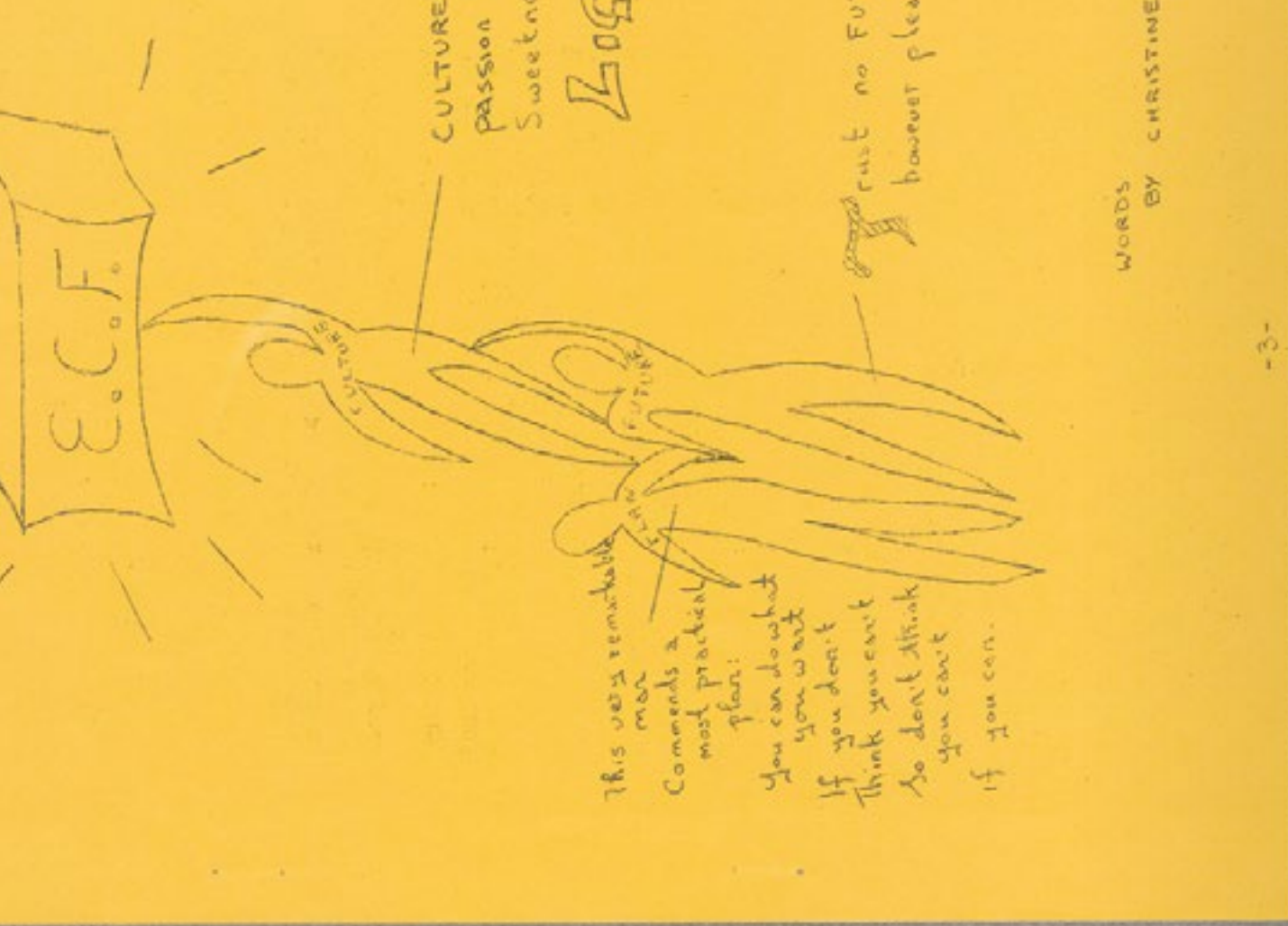


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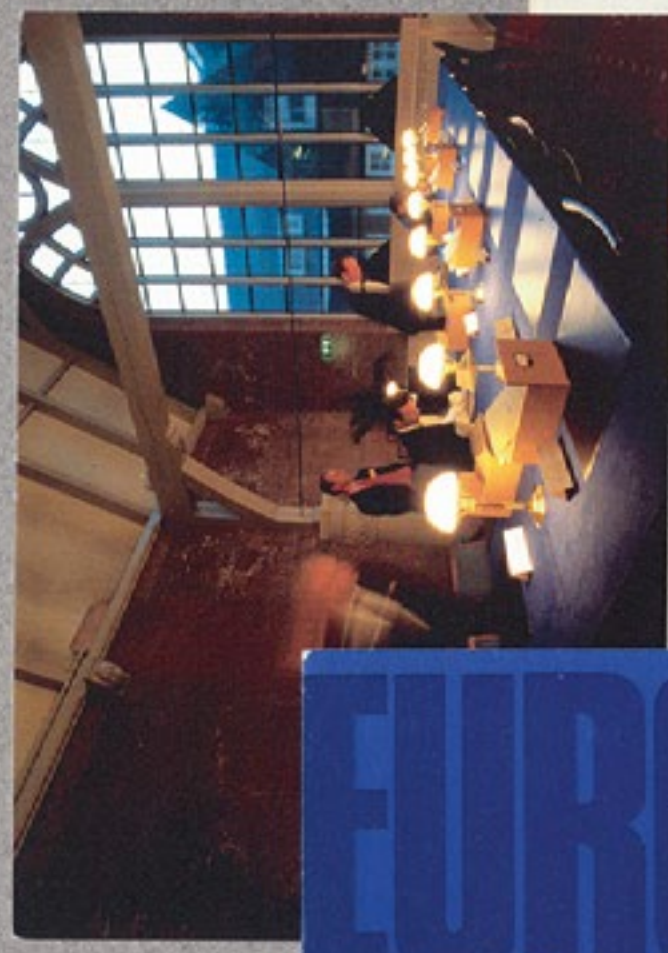


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ITS AIMS
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"Chócala amigo"... "Y con la mano"

EUROPA 2000

Europa 2000

16

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EUROPE 2000

Report on
the European Cultural Foundation's
'Plan Europe 2000'

Edited by Peter Hall

15

This is a new tantalizing game for brave people who are not afraid of the future! A challenge to all those undaunted ones who dare tackle it! Just try it out for size and you will win the prize (which is still a surprise!) (Your children, if you've still got them what with birth control, can colour this drawing.)

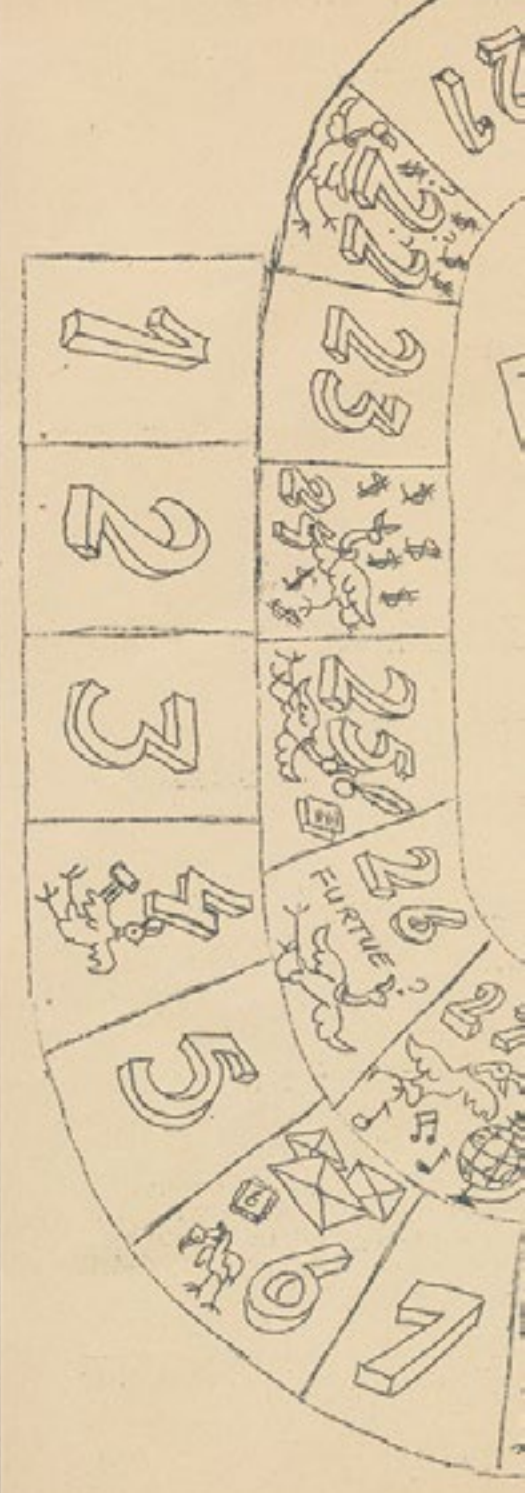
DIRECTIONS

All you need is a dice and f 100,- (you get this by throwing a "six" which every participant must do in order to start in the game. Try to play fair and don't hurry, the year 2000 is still 28 years away!

EXPLANATION

- 4 Your first Scientific Committee meeting takes a week; wait 7 turns.
- 6 You have written to 1000 people who might attend your first workshop: pay 10 guilders stamp-money.
- 8 You have sent out 999 reminders to people who might attend your first workshop (it will be your last as well); pay 9 guilders stamp-money.
- 10 Try to raise funds for your project. Wait 1 turn.
- 11 Gold-storage room. Your faulty research proposal and yourself go in there and you will have to make a new one; throwing a "6" (a new proposal) will get you out.
- 14 The Gulbenkian Foundation promises you f 100,-, you get f 50,-.
- 16 One of your workshop groups has written its report in Swahili; pay f 25,- translation costs.
- 19 You've got three people interested in the completion of your project. Congratulations; move on 3 places.
- 20 A budget discrepancy (shame on you!) of f 15,-. Pay this amount.
- 24 The Ford Foundation promises f 100,-, you get f 50,-.
- 25 Try to raise funds for your project, wait 5 times, (because it is getting more difficult than the first time, see 10)
- 27 You've now got 10 people interested in the outcome of your project and hold a world conference! Pay f 141,- conference costs.
- 28 Congratulations!! Though you've got not a penny left (as you correctly saw all your funds went into the conference costs) you've reached the magic year 2000. You're a hero and your ten interested people will worship you. And now your prize: first go to a rest-house to get your nerve-system in order again and then there's f 100,- subsidy waiting for you to start your next plan, the magic PLAN 2500!!! Isn't that swell?? Don't forget you have now got ten people interested, next time make it 20!

-4-



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Panel
Zuzanna Słodko-Fergl,
Peter Hall, Mats Lindberg,
in Malika, Riccardo Penello,
Sweden, Carl Thom, Virginia Yordanova

Panel
Serge Antoine, Sílvia Azeite,
Luisa, Cornelia Ulla, Branka Mijovic,
Maurizio, Robert Pick, Paul Rademaker,
an der Sluis

Panel
Jadranko Kojic

Panel
Philip Frenks

Panel
Two served in the Café Barbizon
by Philip Frenks

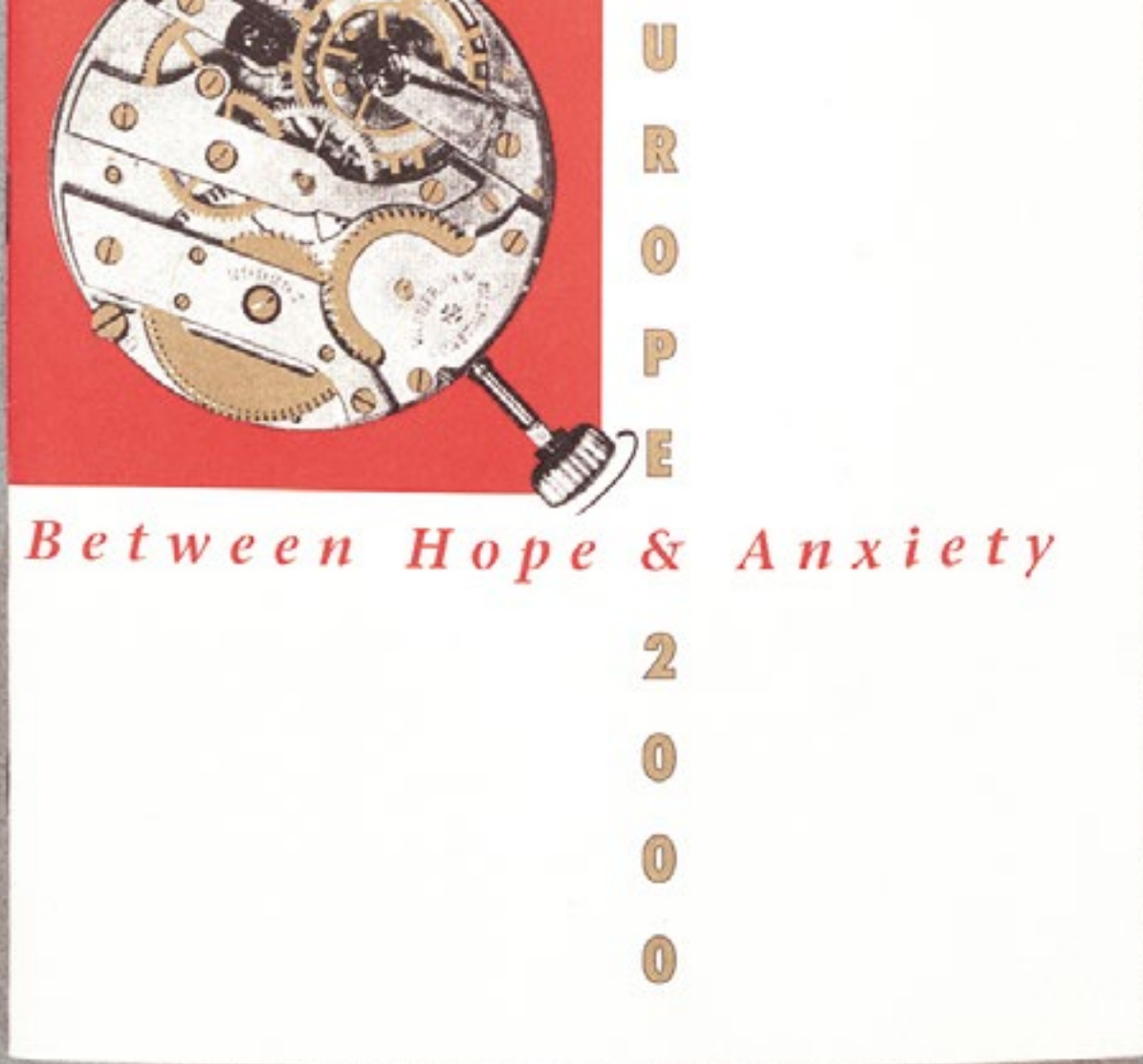
Panel
Discussion led by Princess Margriet of the Netherlands
if Discussion led by Piet Donker
served in the Café Barbizon

Panel
Discussion led by Riccardo Penello

Panel
Two served in the Café Barbizon
if Discussion led by Robert Pick

Panel
Discussion by Raymond Clearn, Secretary General of the ECF
if reception in the Café Barbizon







22

URBAN CULTURES - how to survive the city
fotohögskolan 2 · utställning på **STADSMUSEET**
30 jan - 28 feb **VERNISSAGE** lörd 30 jan kl 13.

ÖPPNINGSUTSTÄLLNING
 från sönd 11-16
 ons 11-20

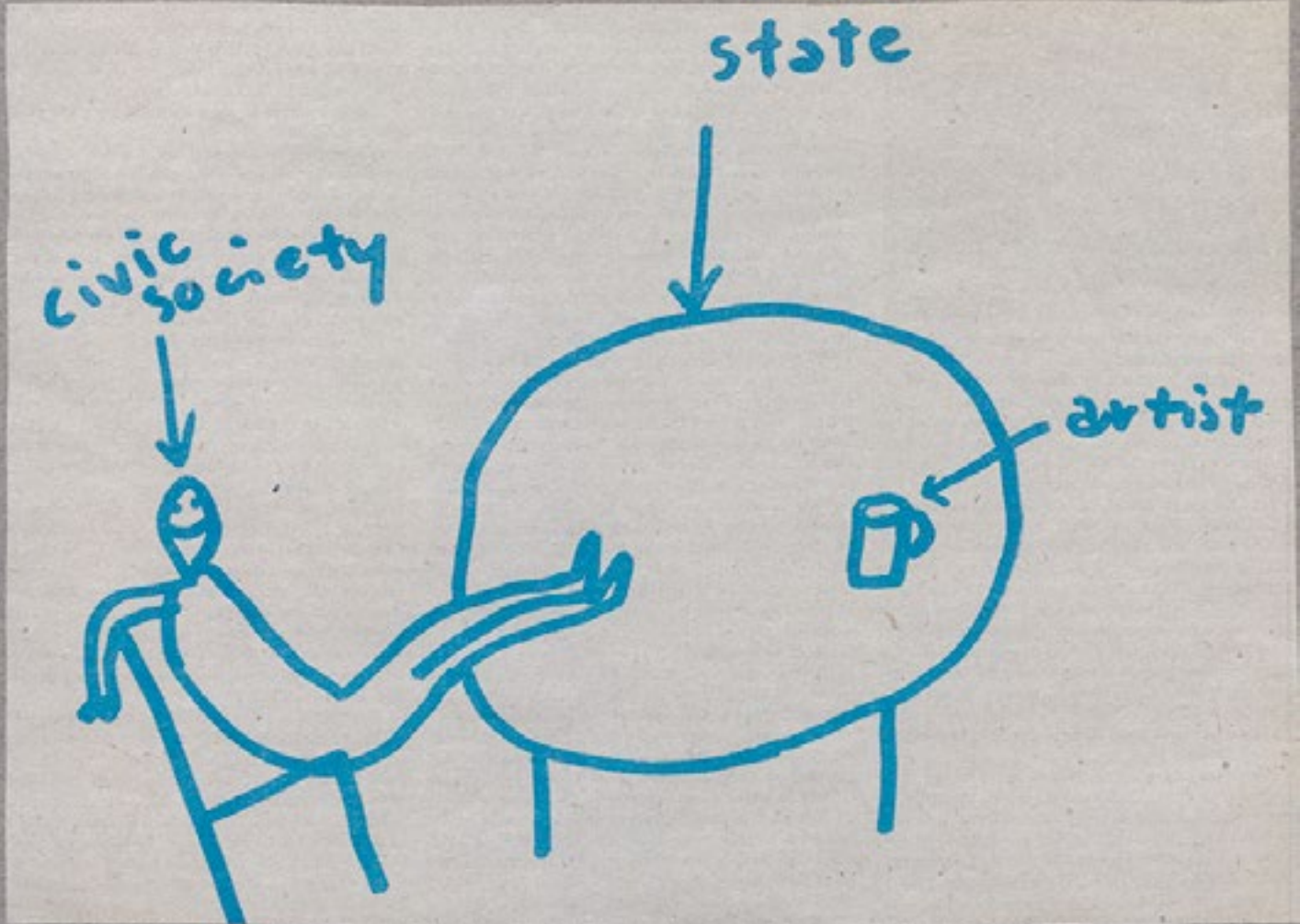


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The AFSC BeLiefs

Art for Social Change (AFSC) is a program based on a number of basic beliefs:

- * Progressive social change of any scope cannot be sustained but through the process of long-term positive individual change.
- * Development of a creative attitude toward reality is the main catalyst for positive individual change.
- * Artistic activity where professional artists and young people are involved as equals stimulates the recognition and development of creative attitude in a young person and revives a sense of social responsibility in the artist, making individual and thus social change possible.



23



25

CARRAO



26



Revue de la Fondation Européenne de la Culture
 1re Année No. 2/3 Juin 1960



...
 sorts of things
 t...or even writing
 we should be able
 aid to use strong
 as of children and
 ...
 a in America it will
 does not want to
 comfortable nest.



PROGRAMME-CADRE D'ACTION
ETUDE PRÉLIMINAIRE DES OBJECTIFS ET DES CHANGEMENTS
RAPPORT AU FINANCEMENT DE PROJETS CULTURELS
PAR LE PROFESSEUR FRED. L. POLAK
POUR LA FONDATION EUROPÉENNE DE LA CULTURE

Nouveau départ pour la

AMSTERDAM

de notre correspondant
Etait-ce du flair? De la chance? Ou bien un certain talent visionnaire? Pour porter sur les fonts baptismaux de la coopération culturelle sans frontières le premier

CE M
FEC a lancé en 1990 un programme d'ateliers et de séminaires itinérants (Vienna, Budapest, Varsovie, Strasbourg) sur « les procédures parlementaires en Europe de l'Est et en Europe de l'Ouest ». Quatre ans plus tôt elle avait créé à Oxford le CEPP (programme de publications et de traductions d'auteurs de l'Eu-



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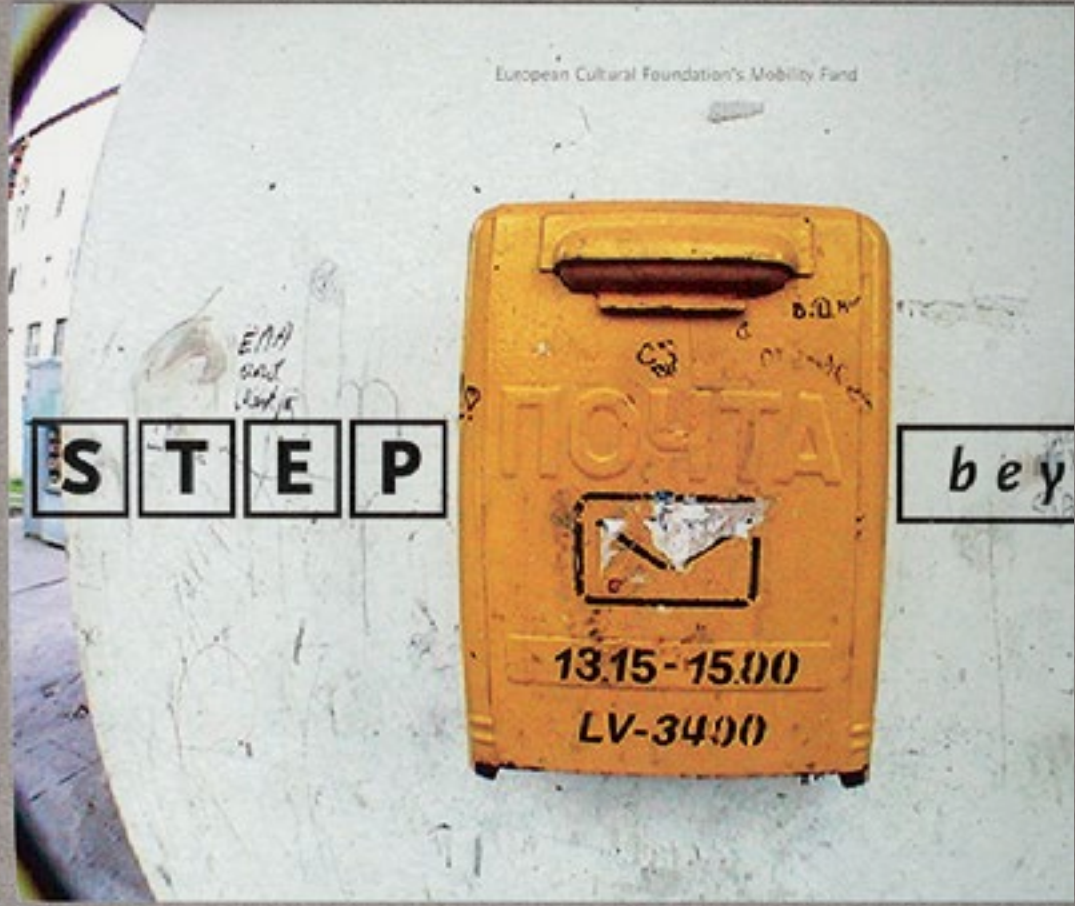
30



EUROPEAN SOUVENIR

Family Rahman
In Trigram of Dazuppon Dazuppon

My great grand-dad Munshi Rahman Khan travelled from Calcutta on the 25 January 1889 on an English ship called the Avon to work as a labourer in Surinam. He arrived in Surinam on the 23 April 1889. He was 24 years old. He was a well-known writer and poet in India. Over the next 40 years he wrote a diary about his life that has been translated and published as an "Autobiography of an Indian Indetured Labourer". He was one of a few who could read and write at that time which is why personal stories of this kind are quite rare.



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The Dwarfing of Europe?

Perspectives from the Balkans, Belarus, the Middle East and As a



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ADDENDA (29.8.83)

- toevoeagen aan Wetenschappelijk netwerk

Europees Instituut voor de Media, opgericht in Manchester in 1983 in samenwerking met de Universiteit van Manchester.

Voorzitter: K.-G. von Hase (D)

Directeur: Prof. G. Wedell (GB)

- toevoeagen aan advieslijst van netwerk

Europees Instituut voor de Media

The University

Manchester M13 9PL

Vernigd Koninkrijk

tel. 44.61-273.33.33

telex 668354 mbs g

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This booklet is a way of gathering learning from those people and organisations who are working for greater participation by – and representation of – those with refugee backgrounds in the media. It is based on the work of nine organisations from across Europe that were part of an Erasmus+ project called *Displaced in Media* in 2017-18 – Association of Creative Initiatives “e”, British Film Institute, European Cultural Foundation, Fanzingo, Kurziv, MODE Istanbul, Les Têtes de l'Art, We Are Hero and ZEMOS98. These are either socially engaged media organisations that are interested in working more with newcomers, or they are organisations that work with newcomers who are interested in working with media.

- English version of the European Cultural Foundation's 1977 annual report, cover detail.
- Dutch version of a brochure published in 1962 that contains the outline programme of the Foundation's cultural activities in the following years, entitled *Facing the 21st Century*, cover detail.
- Detail of an information brochure featuring the logo designed by De Heus en Worrell, which consisted of a dotted line with five dancing stars; it represented looking at the European stars, but from different angles. The logo was used between 1988 and 1992.
- Designed by Gerlinde Schuller, the current logo of the Foundation represents a spark.
- Between 1960 and 1964, the European Cultural Foundation published eight issues of its magazine, *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe*. The magazine included transcripts of lectures, reflection pieces and documentation on the annual congresses and youth meetings the Foundation organised during those years.
- An international meeting of foundations in Leningrad in September 1989, 'Cultural Co-operation on the Eve of the 21st Century: The Role of Foundations', organised at the initiative of the European Cultural Foundation and the Cultural Foundation of the USSR.
- Leaflet from the Spanish Committee of the European Cultural Foundation, based in Madrid and established in 1973. It was one of the 24 National Committees the Foundation operated between the early 1970s and 2009.
- Cover of *Info-FEC*, issue n°7/8, March 1975. *Info-FEC* was a free quarterly publication that appeared between 1973 and 1975.
- The European Cultural Foundation brochures in Dutch, French and English, 1983.
- Drawing featured in *Dodo*, n°1, 14 February 1972, p. 3. *Dodo* was a zine edited by the European Cultural Foundation staff in 1972.
- Two Soviet journalists from the magazine *Our Heritage*, published by the Cultural Foundation of the USSR, visit the European Cultural Foundation in March 1989.
- Reception held at the Amstel Hotel in Amsterdam on 6 June 1985, to mark the departure of Denis de Rougemont and Hendrik Brugmans from the board. On the same day, de Rougemont and Brugmans were also named as life-long Honorary Members of the Foundation's board.
- 13-17 Plan Europe 2000 brochures, 1968-1975.
- 'Plan Do-Do 2000' instructions and board game, in *Dodo*, n°1, 14 February 1972, p. 4-5. The European Cultural Foundation staff created this game, similar to the English Ludo, or the Dutch 'Mens erger je niet!', to give a humorous nudge to the administrative complexities of Plan Europe 2000.
- Drawing by Floor van Tongeren, one of the contributions received for the 'Europe 2000: Between Hope and Anxiety' and exhibited at the 'Cabinet de Lecture'.
- 'Europe 2000: Between Hope and Anxiety', 1994. At the cusp of the 21st century, the Foundation organised a series of workshops that aimed to revisit one of its biggest projects to date, Plan Europe 2000. Together with public figures, students and the broad public, hopes and anxieties for the future were discussed.
- 'Cabinet de Lecture', Olofskapel, Amsterdam, 5 November 1994. The Foundation collected letters by public figures and members of civil society from all over Europe and the world, in which they address their hopes and anxieties for Europe in the 21st century. The letters were exhibited in Amsterdam, in conjunction with the debate 'Europe 2000: Between Hope and Anxiety'.
- Poster of the exhibition 'Urban Culture: Surviving the City' in Gothenburg.
- Drawing by Romanian artist Dan Perjovschi, part of a series produced for the programme Policies for Culture, a regional framework programme for South East Europe led by the European Cultural Foundation and the ECU-MEST Association (Bucharest) between 2000 to 2008. In 2013, Dan and his wife Lia Perjovschi received the ECF Princess Margriet Award for Culture.
- Opening of the exhibition 'Urban Culture: Surviving the City', which grew from the photography competition Images of Europe, organised by the European Cultural Foundation in 1998. The exhibition was held at the Stadsmuseum in Gothenburg, Sweden, from 30 January to 28 February 1999.
- In 1961, the Foundation organised a gathering in Toulouse, inviting young men and women from across Europe to discuss the direction in which European society should develop.
- Views of the working spaces at the Idea Camp in Botkyrka, Sweden, in 2015 (left), in Marseille, France, in 2014 (centre), and in Madrid, Spain, in 2017 (right). Organised as part of the 4-year programme Connected Action for the Commons (2014-2017), each Idea Camp brought together 50 participants to develop their ideas in a collective and peer-to-peer working environment.
- Cover of Fred Polak's 1958 booklet titled *Programme-cadre d'action*, which at the time was also published in German. The pioneer in Futures Studies was commissioned by the Foundation to draft a working plan for the future of the Foundation, in which he emphasises the roles and impact of mobility and education in the creation of a young European elite.
- Europa Regina*, a map of Europe in the shape of a queen, was originally designed by Johannes Putsch (Bucius) in 1537 and later published in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*. The map was published in the issue n°6 of *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe* and is also featured on the cover of a folder of the Foundation's French National Committee.
- Flyer of STEP Beyond, a travel grant programme that the Foundation established in 2003. In 2018, STEP Beyond was renamed as 'Supporting Travel for Engaged Partnership: STEP'.
- Postcards published on the occasion of European Souvenirs, a live cinema performance by Karol Rakowski, Barış Gürsel, Farah Rahman, Malaventura and Noriko Okakuu, produced as part of Doc Next Network: a community for alternative media in Europe initiated by the Foundation in 2010. Doc Next Network was developed in collaboration with Mode Istanbul (Istanbul, Turkey), ZEMOS98 (Seville, Spain), BFI Future Film (London, UK) and Association of Creative Initiatives "e" (Warsaw, Poland).
- Book cover of *The Dwarfing of Europe?* (2014), one of two volumes that collected lectures held and topics addressed at the eponymous debates held in Amsterdam the previous year.
- Insert introduced in the Foundation's brochure dated 1983, which mentions the opening in the same year of the European Institute for the Media within the University of Manchester,

later moved to Düsseldorf. This was the last of five institutes that the European Cultural Foundation established as a result of its research project, Plan Europe 2000.

33 First Annual General Assembly of the European Foundation Centre at the College of Europe in Bruges, 9 November 1990.

From left to right: Horst Niemeyer (Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft); Bernard Latarjet (Fondation de France); Werner Ungerer (Rector of the College of Europe); Raymond Georis (European Cultural Foundation); John Richardson (first Director, European Foundation Centre); Carlos Monjardino (Fundação Oriente); Michael Brophy (Charities Aid Foundation).

34 Remapping Europe was the focus of Doc Next Network between 2012 and 2014, investigating how migrants were represented visually in the public sphere and the media.

LES DÉBUTS DE LA FONDATION EUROPÉENNE DE LA CULTURE

031

Known to be a prolific writer, the Swiss cultural theorist Denis de Rougemont published numerous essays, manifestos and historical treatises. In the fourth issue of the *Bulletin du Centre Européen de la Culture* entitled *Documents sur les origines du C.E.R.N. et de la Fondation Européenne de la Culture* and issued in the winter of 1975, he meticulously recounts the story of how these two initiatives of the Centre Européen de la Culture that he founded in Geneva in 1950 came to be. In it, he discloses an anecdote that explains the idea behind founding a foundation, which was then launched in 1954. This anecdote has been told over and over again, and it can be found in a number of brochures and historical accounts about the European Cultural Foundation, for instance in this leaflet of the Foundation's French National Committee.

*

DENIS DE ROUGEMONT

1975

* FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

* WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

"It starts with two large yellow curtains closed shut in a capricious gesture on the balcony door of my studio in Ferney. Raymond Silva, Secretary General of the European Cultural Centre, has just informed me that the American Committee on United Europe refused to help our Centre, which is considered 'unclassifiable', and decided to give one million dollars to a European propaganda organisation, already richly endowed but whose effectiveness does not seem to us to have been demonstrated. As I draw my curtains, I shout: - 'They only lend to the rich, that's understood. But to be rich, you have to be able to give.' - 'So', says Silva, 'You have to create a foundation. - That's the word! When they think we will be able to donate, they will donate to us!' From this dialogue, and from a just anger, the idea of the [European Cultural] Foundation was born in December 1952."

Denis de Rougemont, Les débuts de la Fondation Européenne de la Culture, 1976.



Fondation Européenne de la Culture à Amsterdam

second, l'Institut pour une Politique de l'Environnement, se trouve à Bonn dans des locaux mis à sa disposition par le Gouvernement féd. Il vient d'ouvrir à Paris et à Londres une section permanente. Il est présidé par M. le Père, de l'Académie française ; M. von Ze en est le Directeur. Parmi les travaux les plus importants, il faut citer : une étude sur la révision des comptes nationaux et la publication régulièrement à jour des traités multilatéraux et des législations des pays de la C.E.E. ; étude des compétences de la Communauté celle du rôle du Parlement Européen et surtout sur la dimension « environnante » dans les textes constitutionnels, le droit de location et de l'environnement...



H. Roger-Vieljeux

En ce qui concerne les manifestations, signalons que l'Institut a organisé au mois de janvier 1979 à Strasbourg, en coopération avec l'Institut International des Droits de l'Homme, une Conférence Européenne sur « l'Environnement et les Droits de l'Homme », qui a réuni des responsables gouvernementaux et parlementaires de 19 pays d'Europe.

• Le troisième, l'Institut pour une Coopération Intercontinentale, créé en 1977, est établi à Madrid et dispose d'un Centre de Recherche au Collège d'Europe à Bruges. Il est dirigé par le Pr Miguel Martinez Cuadrado. Cet Institut a pour mission principale de tisser un réseau d'information entre les organismes qui traitent des problèmes-clés du développement et des relations entre l'Europe, l'Amérique latine, les pays du Sud et de l'Est de la Méditerranée. Il a organisé, en juin 1978, un important congrès à Madrid sur le « Nouvel Ordre Économique International et les Valeurs Culturelles ».

• Il convient d'ajouter le Centre Européen d'Études Politiques dirigé par M. Roger Morgan qui a été mis en place à Londres en avril 1978 avec la coopération du « Policy Studies Institute ». À la différence des Instituts, ce Centre ne fait pas juridiquement partie de la Fondation, mais, dans la mesure où celle-ci assure la moitié de son financement et se trouve représentée dans son Conseil d'Administration, il est normal de le situer parmi ses activités propres.

Cette politique de décentralisation, cette orientation vers la recherche scientifique, ne s'est pas effectuée au détriment de l'activité culturelle, entendue dans son sens le plus traditionnel, comme en témoigne la politique de subventions de la Fondation, et comme en est la preuve l'activité du Comité Français pour la Coopération Culturelle en Europe.

Pour tous renseignements

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9, avenue Franklin-Roosevelt
75008 Paris (France) tél. 225.91.52
- Député Général : JACQUES BOUISSE
- Institut d'Éducation
Université de Paris IX-Dauphine
1, place du Maréchal de Lattre de Tassigny
75116 Paris (France)
tél. 773.06.41 / 761.505.15 / 10.100.3000
- Directeur : Ladislav CERVICH
- Institut pour une Politique de l'Environnement
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- Directeur : Konrad von MOLLKE
- Institut pour la Coopération Intercontinentale
Calle Modesto Lafuente
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- Directeur : Miguel MARTINEZ CUADRADO
- Centre Européen d'Études Politiques
112 Castle Lane, London SW1E 6DR (Grande-Bretagne) tél. 01-8287065
- Directeur : Roger MORGAN
- Fond Européen de Coopération
60, rue de la Concorde, 1050 Bruxelles (Belgique)
tél. 02-5123938
- Directeur : Jacques CHARBET
- (Filiale de la F.E.C., ayant le statut d'organisation internationale, travaillant sur la base de propositions contenues dans le rapport Tindemans.)

Les débuts de la Fondation Européenne de la Culture

par Denis de Rougemont

Avant d'absorber le fonctionnement du Comité Français, initié par M. de Rougemont, le soin d'évoquer ce que furent, il y a un quart de siècle, le début de la Fondation Européenne de la Culture écho à son initiative. Ces lignes sont extraites du Bulletin du Centre Européen de la Culture (N° 4 - 1975).

Cela commence par deux grands réseaux jeunes formés dans un geste d'honneur sur la pente tendue de ma salle de travail, à Ferney, Raymond Silva, secrétaire général du Centre Européen de la Culture, vient de m'annoncer que le Comité Américain pour l'Europe Unie refuse son aide à notre Centre, jugé « inclassable » et décide de donner un million de dollars à un organisme européen de médiation, déjà récemment doté mais dont l'efficacité ne nous paraît pas démontrée.

En tirant mes rideaux, je m'écrie : — On ne prête qu'aux riches, c'est évident, mais pour être riche, il faut pouvoir donner. — Donc, dit Silva, il faut créer une Fondation. — Voilà le mot ! Quand on pensera que nous sommes capables de donner, on nous donnera !

De ce dialogue, et d'un geste certain, est né l'idée de la Fondation, en décembre 1952.

Nous vivions alors une période de vive fermentation européenne. La C.E.C.A. s'installait à Luxembourg et Jean Monnet s'était en elle une première Autorité supranationale. « Souveraineté dans les limites de sa compétence » (Discours du 11.XI.52). Le Marché Commun n'était encore que le rêve secret de quelques économistes comme Pierre Uri, ou d'hommes d'état comme P.-H. Spaak. Mais le Traité instituant la Communauté Européenne de Défense s'élabore. A Strasbourg, une assemblée ad hoc avait chargé Fernand Dehousse de préparer un projet de Constitution européenne. Et le CERN ouvrait ses chantiers près de Genève. Plus que jamais, dans ce concours d'innovations économiques, militaires, juridiques et techniques, « l'Europe des esprits et des coeurs » devait affirmer sa présence et rappeler quelques grandes priorités. Certes, les idées ne manquaient pas, mais les moyens pour les réaliser et propager restaient encore à inventer...

Raymond Silva et moi devions beaucoup de lettres. Reisinger déjeunait avec beaucoup d'hommes influents. Les 14 et 15 novembre 1953, une quarantaine d'entre eux se réunissent à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, au Pavillon Henri IV, dans la chambre où est né Louis XIV.

Sont présents : des dirigeants de centres humanitaires du patronat et des syndicats, des présidents et secrétaires généraux d'organisations philanthropiques comme la Ligue des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge, ou ecclésiastiques comme le Kirchenberg, des directeurs de banques nationales et internationales, des PDG de grandes sociétés comme Unilever et Sina Viscosa, enfin des animateurs du Mouvement Européen et du Conseil des Communes d'Europe.

Le rassemblement de personnalités aussi diverses s'explique par l'attention des organisateurs : créer un cercle élargi d'Amis du Centre Européen de la Culture, et rassembler autour d'un grand projet des hommes qui contrôlent des

rayons importants et se sont signalés dans leur sphère d'influence par l'intérêt actif qu'ils portent à l'union des Européens...

Le groupe décide de prendre le nom de Club Européen et de s'assigner pour première tâche concrète la réalisation rapide d'une Fondation Européenne de la Culture, d'une part, et celui du CERN de l'autre.

Dès ce moment, les choses vont très vite. Quatre réunions du Club se tiennent en 1954 : — Les 21 et 22 mars, à Saint-Germain-en-Laye de nouveau, on discute les grandes lignes du programme de la Fondation. Un comité d'experts est constitué autour de M. Georges Villiers, président du Conseil National du Patronat Français (C.N.P.F.) pour étudier les aspects juridiques, financiers et fiscaux du projet.

— Le 4 mai, le comité d'experts se réunit à Bâle, au siège de la Banque des Règlements Internationaux dont l'un de nos membres, M. Marcel van Zeeland, est Premier Directeur général. Sont étudiés les problèmes posés par le nom, le siège, la structure juridique et administrative, enfin le financement de la Fondation. Une série de rapports informatifs ont été préparés par les soins notamment de l'avocat George Nebolsine, qui nous apporte l'expérience des fondations améri-



Denis de Rougemont

Conseil de la Fondation. Celui-ci prendra le nom de « Conseil des Gouverneurs ».

Dès lors, au terme d'une préparation soigneusement menée, comme on l'a vu — dans l'espace de treize mois seulement à partir de la rencontre initiale du Club — tout est prêt pour la signature des statuts.

La première réunion du Conseil de la Fondation se tint au siège du Centre Européen de la Culture le 15 décembre 1954.

Étaient présents : MM. Henri Haegmans, Recteur du Collège d'Europe, Bruges ; Franco Marinotti, Président de la Sina Viscosa, Milan ; Joseph Reisinger, délégué général du Mouvement Européen, Londres ; Denis de Rougemont, directeur du CEC, Genève ; Robert Schuman, ancien Président du Conseil, Paris ; Raymond Silva, Secrétaire général de CEC, Genève ; Georges Villiers,



Première Réunion au Pavillon Henri IV à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, le 15 novembre 1953. De gauche à droite :

André Voisin, Louis Carru, Bonaventura de Roggé, Georges Villiers, Marcel van Zeeland, Raymond Silva, Denis de Rougemont, Jacques Tessier

en matière de détaxation des dons faits par des corporations ou des personnes privées.

— Les 3 et 4 juillet, à Bruxelles d'abord, puis au château de la Houssière, Robert Schuman — qui vient d'entrer au Comité de direction du CEC et d'adhérer au Club — préside d'abord à un large examen de la situation politique en Europe, à la veille du débat décisif sur la CED. Le Club adopte ensuite les propositions de la Commission d'experts, discute le projet de statuts, ainsi qu'un plan d'activités culturelles. Le siège social de la Fondation est fixé à Genève.

— Les 5 et 6 octobre, pour la troisième fois à Saint-Germain-en-Laye où nous rejoindra le Président Antoine Pinay, le Club poursuit l'étude du programme d'aide aux activités culturelles, puis procède à l'adoption des statuts et à la nomination des premiers membres (choisis dans son sein) du

Présidents du CNPF, Paris ; et le baron van Zeeland, Premier directeur de la B.R.I., Bâle. Étaient aussi : MM. Louis Carru, Hermann Kausch, G. Stein, Paul Rykers.

Quand vint le moment de signer l'acte instituant la Fondation et dans lequel figuraient le texte définitif des statuts, le notaire suisse, selon la loi suisse, qu'un Président, un Trésorier et un Secrétaire soient élus sur le champ, en sorte qu'ils puissent s'engager au nom de la nouvelle institution. Nous n'avions, à vrai dire, pas prévu cette urgence. Après quelques minutes de pourparlers amicaux, sur les instances du directeur du Centre Européen de la Culture, Robert Schuman accepta de signer comme Président. — À titre provisoire (en-il le souligne) — cependant que Marcel van Zeeland signait comme Trésorier et Denis de Rougemont comme Secrétaire.

FAREWELL TO DENIS DE ROUGEMONT AND HENDRIK BRUGMANS

In her farewell speech to Denis de Rougemont and Hendrik Brugmans, respectively the founder and one of the initial governors of the European Cultural Foundation, HRH Princess Margriet of the Netherlands wittily recalls the steps that led to what she terms the embarkation of the Foundation on “its great European adventure.” HRH Princess Margriet was President of the Foundation from 1984 to 2007, following in the steps of her father, HRH Prince Bernhard, who took over the presidency from Robert Schuman in 1955. With the involvement of HRH Prince Bernhard, and his Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, the Foundation managed to secure a steady income – a rare circumstance for an independent cultural organisation. The ties to the Dutch Royal family were strengthened with the Foundation’s move to Amsterdam in 1960, and they have been strong to this day, with HRH Princess Laurentien having held the Presidency since 2007.

More than merely an *adieu* to Brugmans and de Rougemont, HRH Princess Margriet’s speech in Amsterdam on 6 June 1985 marked the celebration of their titles as lifelong Honorary Members of the Foundation’s Board of Governors.

HRH PRINCESS MARGRIET OF THE NETHERLANDS

1985

SPEECH of H.R.H. Princess Margriet of the Netherlands
President of the European Cultural Foundation
on the occasion of the departure of Denis de Rougemont
and Hendrik Brugmans as Governors
Amsterdam, 6th June 1985

The idea of the European Cultural Foundation was conceived in December 1952 during one of Denis de Rougemont's many but justified fits of anger. It was then, thirty-three years ago, that the struggle was launched to create "a Europe of the spirit and of the heart".

You will recall that in 1952, several initiatives were underway to give form to Europe. Although the Common Market was little more than the secret dream of a small number of economists and statesmen, the European Coal and Steel Community was being installed at Luxembourg, the European Centre for Nuclear Research or CERN as it is known - and another of your children, Mr. de Rougemont - set up its operational headquarters outside of Geneva, and an ad hoc Assembly was making its first attempt to draft a European constitution in Strasbourg.

Yet despite these various juridical, economic and technical developments, a soul was lacking. A "cultural" impulse was needed to link this otherwise disparate set of efforts.

It is to your honour, Mr. de Rougemont, that the idea was conceived of assembling, around a major project - that of a Foundation with a European inspiration - a number of outstanding persons, known in their own circles for their active interest in the cause of the Union of the European people.

- 2 -

And it was among these people - industrialists, bankers, politicians and intellectuals - that, from the start, and I am sure, not to your surprise, Hendrik Brugmans, Rector of the College of Europe in Bruges, was found.

Few organisations will have had the privilege to benefit from the inspiration of two men of such stature. And how unique it is that these same persons, over the course of thirty years, have devoted such an important part of their thoughts and energy to the institution which they initiated. The Foundation has been this most fortunate beneficiary.

Denis de Rougemont and Hendrik Brugmans have fought a double and similar struggle since their youth: on the one hand, the struggle for the "person", for the responsible individual, bound as he is to others by both thought and action; and on the other hand, the struggle for a Europe reunited in its diversity, a unique bulwark against totalitarianism and a necessary dimension for renewal of any kind. In your own words, Denis de Rougemont: "As the heart of Western civilisation, Europe has as its paramount and most pressing role to revive the resistance to the immense anonymous offensive against man; it is not only the question of freedom of the individual - 'habeas corpus' - which is at stake in the twentieth century, it is the question of identity, the right of each person to a soul, the 'habeas animam'."

Disciples of Emmanuel Mounier, both Mr. de Rougemont and Mr. Brugmans have been profoundly influenced by the "philosophie personnaliste" which focuses primarily on the problems facing man today, man in relation to the ever-intruding machine, man in conflict with himself, exiled from the spiritual realities which not long ago were the source of his fervour. To be a "personnaliste" is to believe that the purpose of existence is generated through interaction with others and involvement in the struggle for dignity and liberty. In the eyes of Denis de Rougemont and Hendrik Brugmans, it was Europe that offered a propitious framework for carrying out this struggle.

Mr. de Rougemont,

the main focus of your struggle has been and remains the "Centre européen de la culture", which you created in Geneva in 1950. Your objective: to stimulate the European sentiment. Your concern: to act in those sectors of cultural life where it seemed possible to obtain concrete results quickly.

Thus were born in rapid succession: the CERN, the European Association of Music Festivals, the European Schools' Day, the Civic Education Campaign, the University Institute of European Studies of Geneva and many other initiatives bearing your mark Mr. de Rougemont, that of a great thinker of our time, the author of "L'Amour et l'Occident", "Penser avec les mains" and "L'Avenir est notre affaire".

Yet there was one question which tormented you constantly: how to intensify the diffusion of the European idea not only in the different countries but particularly in the responsible sectors of each country? It was this concern that gave rise to the formation of the "Club européen des Amis du Centre".

Like the Knights of the Round Table, the members of this Club shared not only an ideal, the European ideal, but also a common task, that of establishing a European Cultural Foundation.

From that moment onwards, things developed very quickly.

In November 1953, fifteen "friends" of the Centre met at St. Germain-en-Laye at the initiative of yourself and Joseph Retinger, then Délégué Général of the European Mouvement. The meeting was held in the Henry IV Pavillion, in the room where Louis XIV was born.

In March 1954, the general outline of the programme for the European Cultural Foundation was approved. In October, the Statutes were adopted and the first Members appointed to the Board of Governors. And on the 16th of December, the first meeting of the Board of the European Cultural Foundation was held at Geneva at the "Centre européen de la culture". The meeting was attended among others by Hendrik Brugmans, Joseph Retinger, Denis de Rougemont and Robert Schuman who accepted to become the Foundation's first President. Six months later His Royal Highness Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands succeeded him and the Foundation embarked on its great European adventure.

In closing,

this evening the Foundation is taking leave of two of its founding members - its spiritual fathers. On behalf of all the members of this Board I would like to express once again the Foundation's deep-felt and permanent gratitude to you both, Denis de Rougemont and Hendrik Brugmans.

It is my pleasure to announce that to mark this occasion, the Foundation has decided to designate you both Honorary Members of this Board.

(presentation of certificate)

Thank you Mr. de Rougemont, thank you Mr. Brugmans.

x x x x x



From left to right: Hendrik Brugmans, Denis de Rougemont (both sitting) and HRH Princess Margriet.

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George Sluizer, General Secretary of the European Cultural Foundation (1961-1972), introduction to the annual report, 1971.

“We believe that an organisation like ours, with its essentially European structure, possessing the freedom of movement characteristic of a private institution, has a part to play in world events.”

Was it fate? Or was it luck? This was the question Christian Chartier – *Le Monde's* then-correspondent in the Netherlands – asked himself in 1992, when reporting about the first meeting of the European Foundation Centre (EFC) that took place on 9 November 1989. The answers remain unknown, but the list of the participating organisations doesn't: that day, Raymond Georis, who was at the time director of the European Cultural Foundation and founding director of the European Foundation Centre, assembled representatives of the King Baudouin Foundation (Belgium); Fundação Oriente (Portugal); Charities Aid Foundation (UK); Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft (Germany); Queen Juliana Foundation (Netherlands); Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy); Fondation de France; and a Polish Communist Foundation, which was later dissolved after the fall of the Soviet Union

* [p.150] – whose first walls came tumbling down precisely on that day in November. As Raymond Georis recalls, the initial incentive for setting up the European Foundation Centre was to create a centre of information about European foundations. However, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent dismantlement of the Soviet Union, the focus immediately changed to funnel foundations' resources into helping civil society's development in Central and Eastern Europe. For Georis, this was *the* success story of the European Foundation Centre, which opened up the path for foundations such as George Soros' Open Society Foundations to be born. Today, however, Soros is considered *persona non grata* * [p.177] in his own country, and for Georis, this calls once again for us to resume the struggle for pluralist, democratic values, through which people can freely express their opinions.

NOUVEAU DÉPART POUR LA FONDATION EUROPÉENNE DE LA CULTURE

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CHRISTIAN CHARTIER 1989

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Nouveau départ pour la Fondation européenne de la culture

AMSTERDAM

de notre correspondant

Était-ce du flair ? De la chance ? Ou bien un certain talent visionnaire ? Pour porter sur les fonts baptismaux de la coopération culturelle sans frontières la première fondation européenne de la culture (FEC) l'Institut européen d'éducation et de politique sociale, le premier organisme permanent couvert par la Fondation, Celle-ci en gère aujourd'hui une quinzaine. Si, dans plusieurs grandes villes européennes (Bonn, Bruxelles, Londres, Berlin), ces instituts et centres constituent un « réseau » de développement, la dynamique a longtemps été l'axe majeur de l'action de la FEC.

FEC a lancé en 1990 un programme d'ateliers et de séminaires itinérants (Vienne, Budapest, Varsovie, Strasbourg) sur « les procédures parlementaires en Europe de l'Est et en Europe de l'Ouest ». Quatre ans plus tôt elle avait créé à Oxford le CCEPP (programme de publications et de traductions d'auteurs de l'Europe centrale et de l'Est), après qu'un Fonds de coopération européenne, mis en place par la FEC dès 1977, se fut fait la main en soutenant la parution des premiers ouvrages de Vaclav Havel.

En remontant plus loin dans le temps encore, en 1974, des représentants polonais et hongrois avaient été incités à siéger au conseil d'administration de l'Institut européen d'éducation et de politique sociale, le premier organisme permanent couvert par la Fondation. Celle-ci en gère aujourd'hui une quinzaine. Si, dans plusieurs grandes villes européennes (Bonn, Bruxelles, Londres, Berlin), ces instituts et centres constituent un « réseau » de développement, la dynamique a longtemps été l'axe majeur de l'action de la FEC.

Sur les traces de Pierre le Grand

Mais en 1987 le conseil des gouverneurs, où siègent quarante-cinq personnalités de vingt et une nationalités, a enfin d'empêcher la domination par un pays ou un groupe de pays », a pris un virage important en érigant en priorité l'ouver-

tura à l'Est. Favorisée par la perestroïka (l'idée de la « maison commune », chère à Mikhaïl Gorbatchev, commençait alors à faire son chemin), une intensification des contacts s'ensuivit avec des universitaires et des petits groupes de la société civile dans plusieurs pays est-européens », dit Odile Chénal, directrice du bureau central de la Fondation à Amsterdam. « Notre rôle, précise-t-elle, a consisté à aiguillonner les échanges Ouest-Est dans le secteur à but non lucratif. » Et Odile Chénal de citer l'exemple du voyage entrepris en commun par une historienne néerlandaise et un journaliste soviétique « sur les traces de Pierre le Grand » pour retrouver les liens entre la Russie et l'Europe, ou celui de la réunion, en 1989, à Leningrad, des fondations culturelles européennes, soviétique, roumaine, hongroise et bulgare.

Ainsi la FEC s'est-elle trouvée naturellement aux avant-postes lorsque les régimes communistes se sont écroulés en cascade et lorsque la création d'associations culturelles indépendantes a été, dans les jeunes démocraties, « la première manifestation d'anti-stalinisme », avec pour résultat une explosion du nombre des acteurs et interlocuteurs culturels. « Au total, il existe près de quatre mille associations et fondations en Europe centrale et orientale », relève Raymond Georis.

Très souvent, il s'agit d'organismes sans moyens, à la recherche d'argent »,

s'empresse-t-il d'ajouter. Mais le phénomène en dit également long sur une « sorte certaine d'intégration dans le culture européennes ». Ce bledin procède parfois d'une « volonté de rattraper le temps perdu ». Comme dans le cas de la Pologne, qui souhaite pouvoir traduire et adapter des ouvrages longtemps interdits, tels les *Fleurs du mal*. Mais il procède le plus souvent d'une volonté de se remettre à niveau. La part pour laquelle les organismes culturels est-européens demeurent à la FEC un financement (au demeurant limité à 50 % du coût total de réalisation) « concerne principalement l'enseignement, la formation et le soutien à l'environnement », affirme Odile Chénal. Signe des temps : la production de manuels d'économie de qualité est souhaitée avec une insistance élocuante.

Une chambre d'échos

La Fondation est la chambre d'échos des attentes des nouvelles démocraties. Mais elle est aussi involontairement un observatoire de la disparité de leurs situations. Dans le domaine culturel aussi, la Hongrie, la Tchécoslovaquie et la Pologne semblent avoir pris une longueur d'avance, comme l'atteste la création récente de trois comités nationaux de la FEC. « Il n'y a pas de liens directs entre cette situation et la signature par ces trois pays d'accords de coopération avec la CEE, mais les contacts noués par la

FEC ont servi à Bruxelles », note Raymond Georis. Concrètement, c'est à la FEC que la CEE a confié l'application du programme Tempus, qui est un peu le pendant du programme Erasmus, à la nuance près que le premier est axé sur la mobilité des enseignants et le second sur celle des étudiants.

Disposent d'un précieux réseau de contacts de terrain dans des pays longtemps négligés par la bureaucratie communautaire, la FEC prête ainsi volontiers son « assistance technique » à la CEE. Mais elle veille à ne pas se laisser absorber et à ne pas devenir « une espèce d'agent secret de la supranationalité paneuropéenne », d'autant que l'Europe de l'Est, pour importante qu'elle reste, est une gère dépassée. « L'idée est aujourd'hui de donner une seconde vie à la coopération euro-méditerranéenne », annonce Raymond Georis : « notre Europe est plus large, plus souple et avance plus rapidement que celle de Bruxelles. »

CHRISTIAN CHARTIER

(1) Indépendamment politiquement, la FEC l'est aussi financièrement. Elle perçoit un pourcentage des recettes de la Loterie nationale et du Lotto spirituel aux Pays-Bas. Elle reçoit ainsi, bon an mal an 15 millions de francs, dont la moitié est réservée à l'attribution de subventions.

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28/4/92

LE MONDE

“Foundations are not a substitute for governments; governments in many ways are and remain important not only because of the size of the resources they have at their disposal but also because they have adequate systems of public accountability that give them their legitimacy. Yet foundations can play a prominent role. This cannot only be explained by the retreat of government and by the distrust in politics and governments but also by the distinct role foundations can play in comparison to government. Foundations can play a strategic role because of the quality of their resources rather than the quantity. Also the fact that governments are locked up in siloed structures is a disadvantage. It makes it difficult for them to address issues of social cohesion, as this requires an interdisciplinary and holistic approach. And that is exactly what foundations can offer.”

Rien van Gendt (current Vice-Chair of the Foundation's Board), 'Can Foundations Contribute to Social Cohesion in Europe?', in *The European Cultural Foundation's 2018 Annual Magazine*.



Lunch during the first meeting of the European Foundation Centre at the Erasmushuis in Anderlecht on 9 November 1989.

A SERIES OF CONFUSED OF REALITY

In 2004, a big part of the European Cultural Foundation's efforts were being channelled into 'LabforCulture' * [p.128], an online networking platform for all things European arts and culture. Then-director Gottfried Wagner had been working on the project intensively, and had sent out a number of working papers on the project to trusted members of the cultural policy community in Europe – not least to Ilona Kish, at the time Secretary General of the European Forum for the Arts and Heritage, since then renamed as Culture Action Europe. In response to her feedback, Wagner – who was known to correspond in Caps Lock – sent her a late-night email, touching upon issues of philanthropy, alliances and a connected Europe.

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DREAMS AND PIECES

GOTTFRIED WAGNER 2004

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From: Gottfried Wagner <gwagner@xs4all.nl>
To: "gwagner@eurocult.org" <GWagner@eurocult.org>, <ilona.kish@efah.org>
Date: 1/15/04 1:49AM
Subject: Re:Laboratory, a series of confused dreams and pieces of reality

I ALWAYS DOUBTED YOUR LONGER TERM DEMANDS. IN PRACTICAL TERMS, I THINK IT IS UNWISE TO PROJECT ONESELF/OTHERS/INSTITUTIONS TOO FAR IN THE FUTURE. BUT I AM ALSO INTRIGUED BY YOUR PERSISTING DEMAND FOR FUTURE.

IT (YOUR DEMAND) IS IN A WAY SHOCKING, BECAUSE IT WOULD NEED A VERY STRONG INTELLECTUAL AND VERBAL CAPACITY TO COMBINE THE PAST, THE ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENCE AND THE POTENTIALS OF THE FUTURE IN A METAPHORIC WAY WHICH STANDS AGAINST ALL STORMS OF CYNICISM.

POETS CAN DO IT. NOT ME.

YOU WILL LAUGH NOW. BECAUSE YOU WANT TO SEE THE ECF IN 10 YEARS, OR EFAH, THE EUROPEAN FORUM FOR THE ARTS AND HERITAGE, OR CULTURAL COOPERATION IN EUROPE.
NOT POEMS.

I EXPOSE PARTS OF MY NON-POETIC POOR AVERAGE THINKING. LET'S TRY.

MY LONG TERM VISION HAS TO DO WITH A EUROPE IN PEACE, EQUAL ACCESS, SOLIDARITY, BEING AWARE OF ITS DEFEATS AND SELF-INDUCED CATASTROPHES, A WORLD OF JUSTICE AND POWER OF HUMAN RIGHTS. A EUROPE WHICH AGGREGATES ITS PAST AND ITS LESSONS TO A WISE, LATE, POWERFUL AND AT THE SAME TIME HUMOROUS STANCE IN THE WORLD. A EUROPE WHICH CONSTITUTES A PLACE FOR INDIVIDUAL WELL BEING AND SOCIAL COHESION AS WELL.

I ADORE ARTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS, CRAFTSMEN AND ENTREPRENEURS, TAILORS AND SHOEMAKERS, COOKS AND SINGERS, MANAGERS AND NURSES WHO CHALLENGE THE HABITS AND QUESTION THE EXPECTED.

SOCIETIES WITH LOTS OF SPACE FOR THEIR EXPERIENCES WILL FLOURISH AND BE BRAVE ENOUGH TO RISK THE QUICK PEACE OF MIND.

I DO BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE OPTIONS, AND FOR SECURING THE OPTIONS WE NEED OPEN SPACES, FUNNY PLACES, EXPERIMENTS, THE ASTONISHING, SHOCKING INSIGHTS OF BEAUTY AND DESPERATION.

AND LOVING LEADERS. AND DEMOCRACY, WINE, CIGARETTES (?) AND JOKES. AND RESPONSIBLE ANARCHISTS. AND SOME PRIVILEGED ARISTOCRATS OF MIND. AND UNIONS OF GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY.

SOCIETIES IN EUROPE STRUGGLE, EUROPE STRUGGLES, THE WORLD STRUGGLES.

INSTITUTIONS WITH THE CAPACITY TO OPEN GATES TO DREAMS ON EARTH AND TO EARTHLY PROGRESS, ARE RARE, BUT DO EXIST. THEY NEED TO BE SHELTERED AND DEVELOPED. BY INDIVIDUALS, ALLIANCES, TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC GAMES, AND BY WISE PATRONS.

ONLY THE 'COMBINATION' WILL SUCCEED. THE CONSTANT FIGHTS NEED

SMALL STEPS AND SOME BIGGER ONES. TRUST, FAILURE, RESPECT, OPTIMISM, CARING ATTITUDES, POWER.
THE WORST PART IS THAT THE DREAMS HAVE TO BE BROKEN DOWN INTO SUCCESS OF PROMISES, PUZZLE STONES OF HOPE, REAL, BORING, TOUGH WORKING HOURS. DIRTY AND ELEGANT DIPLOMACY.
WE CAN AFFORD THIS DISCREPANCY IF WE PAY EACH OTHER MUTUAL TRIBUTE FOR THE UNCOMPLETE OUTCOMES, FOR THE WEAKNESSES, AND IF WE ALLOW EACH OTHER AND OURSELVES TO BE HUMAN BEINGS.

THE ECF IS A PRECIOUS (AND PRIVILEGED) PLACE. IT DOES PERFORM WELL. IT HAS POTENTIAL. I WANT IT TO BE EVEN MORE SO, A SMALL, BIG MOTOR FOR THIS GAME OF HOPE AND INSPIRATION, AND I WANT IT TO REMAIN IN PLACE, INDEPENDENT.

IT NEEDS TO BE STRENGTHENED. BUT IT BELONGS TO THE ANGELS OF LUXURY, AND ANGELS FALL. THE LOTTERIES ARE NOT FOREVER PATIENT. WE HAVE TO REPLACE/COMPLEMENT THEM BY OTHER HEAVENLY SUPPORT, BY VERY EARTHLY POLITICS.

FOUNDATIONS HAVE TO WORK TOGETHER WITH (REPRESENTATIVE OR UMBRELLA) NETWORKS – ONE HAS THE FREEDOM AND THE OTHER ONE HAS THE GRAVITY OF REPRESENTATION. THE ECF CAN DISPOSE AND THEREFORE TAKE SOME RISKS, EFAH IS DEMOCRATICALLY LEGITIMIZED. OR AT LEAST MORE SO.

BOTH ARE PRE-DEMOCRATIC. THEY ARE 'PRIVATE', AND DON'T BELONG TO THE COMPLICATED COSMOS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. THEY ARE BOTH IN A WAY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE (ULTIMATELY UNDEMOCRATIC) SO-CALLED CIVIL SOCIETY. ONE MORE, ONE LESS, ONE LESS, ONE MORE, DEPENDING ON THE VIEWPOINT.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MOON ARE GOVERNMENTS, THE EU, MINISTRIES, THE COMMISSION... IT HURTS. IT'S BORING. IT'S LIMITED. IT'S ALSO FAKED DEMOCRACY, BUT... AS LONG AS WE DON'T HAVE BETTER MODELS, THESE ARE THE ULTIMATE POINTS OF LEGITIMACY. I LOVE THEM.

IN CULTURE (AND IN MANY OTHER FIELDS) DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS NEED THE KICK IN THE ASS BY THE PRE-DEMOCRATIC OR UN-DEMOCRATIC ONES. FOUNDATIONS AND NETWORKS CAN – IDEALLY, OR OFTEN – BE POLITICALLY BETTER SUITED TO CHANGE 'DEMOCRATIC' INSTITUTIONS INTO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS THAN THEY THEMSELVES.

I AM TALKING ABOUT SURVIVAL STRATEGIES, ABOUT PROFESSIONALISATION, ABOUT ALLIANCES, ABOUT 'COMBINATIONS', ABOUT GETTING STRONGER FOR WEAKENING THE PETRIFIED PARTNERS, ABOUT NOT BECOMING PETRIFIED OURSELVES.

MY DREAM IS ULTIMATELY A POLITICAL ONE. CULTURAL POLICIES ARE POLICIES FOR ME. LONG TERM VISION IS NOT ABOUT SHEER 'ADVOCACY', BUT ABOUT SHAPING SOCIETY FOR THE BETTER, IN 'COMBINATION', TOGETHER. IF I COULD, I WOULD PLACE THE ECF IN THE CORE OF THE GAME, AS LONG AS IT LIVES UP TO THE STANDARDS OF THE ENLIGHTENED, DEMOCRATIC (WHAT A CONTRADICTION!), ARTISTICALLY AND SOCIALLY FREE, RESPONSIBLE SOCIETY. AS LONG AS SOLIDARITY IS STILL A VALUE IN IT. OTHERWISE IT SHOULD BE CLOSED DOWN.

LONG STORY, UNCOMPLETED.
BUT I REALLY BELIEVE THAT OPPORTUNITIES HAVE TO BE TAKEN UP WITH THE LONG BREATH OF THE DREAMS, AND WITH THE DUSTY SHOES OF THE PILGRIM, AND WITH SOME FUN IN CARAVANSERAI ON THE WAY.

FOUNDING OUR FUTURE

Vivian Paulissen is Head of Programmes of the European Cultural Foundation and a member of the Board of Directors of EDGE (Engaged Donors for Global Equity). She considers herself a privileged 'activist in residence' of philanthropy. Here, she addresses the contemporary challenges that foundations and philanthropy in general, are facing in founding their futures.

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VIVIAN PAULISSEN 2019

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Ultimately, it comes down to a very simple fact: we, as foundations, and the act of philanthropy need to be democratised.

Foundations are overwhelmed by the immensity, urgency and complexity of the challenges facing our society. The gaping climate crisis, inequality and injustice, and the flawed system of liberal democracy, are harmful effects caused by the paradigm of growth at all costs and extractivist behaviour. This has come largely at the huge expense of the majority of the people, the planet and other living beings. And there is a bewildering sense that everything is connected to everything else.

What role can foundations and philanthropy play in these challenging times? Foundations claim to be more and more aware of the need to act differently and in collaboration in order to make a very much needed transition towards a healthier future for our planet. If not us, then who? But let's face it: philanthropy, as a field, tends to move at a glacial pace. While many of the challenges we face are systemic – emblematic of the interconnected, multiple crises of our time – foundations too often merely address the symptoms of these problems rather than their root causes. We tend to promote short-term and single-issue strategies and transactional reforms that reinforce the logic of the dominant system, instead of helping to build alternative approaches. Indeed, we are part of the problem.

And yet, although more often than not foundations have been rather 'laid back' – stressing their political, structural or institutional limitations – this cautious attitude is beginning to change. Because we all know that it is time to question our role in society very deeply. We need to look at the systems we represent. How do we avoid being part of the problem? And how can we work differently?

Let's take a close look at some of the challenges foundations need to address with honesty and humility.

Our work is political

Philanthropy certainly needs imagination as the words chosen for the European Cultural Foundation's 2019 tagline highlight: 'Democracy Needs Imagination'. But what the philanthropic sector needs first and foremost is democratisation. Foundations can no longer remain invisible, and act

behind closed doors in a self-sustaining system. We know that foundations and philanthropy as a 'sector' do play a role in civil society, democracy and politics. Let's just face it, philanthropy is, by default, political. Whether we like it or not.

"Is this a political fight? [or, in other words: 'being political is none of our business!'] Yes, it is – but so is everything else. Trying to keep the *status quo* or just addressing symptoms, not root causes of problems, as many other foundations do, is also a political standpoint. There is no a-political position in philanthropy. It just happens that a 'keep things as they are' approach is not only 'conservative', but unsustainable in the face of global inequality, climate change, and resource exploitation. 'Traditional', 'conservative' or even at times 'progressive' philanthropy is not outside of politics. On the contrary: they are often a force for the continuation of current politics, a politics of cosmetic change, not systemic change," (excerpt from the Funders Guide on Systemic Change available via the EDGE network).

But we can shift towards another attitude, if we also acknowledge the following.

We are the elites

'Philanthropy is under attack' is a statement that we are hearing these days. It is true that, over the past few years, philanthropy has become much more part of the public discourse. Within civil society, foundations are viewed as holding power and privilege. We have to come to terms with this position and acknowledge the tensions that come along with this responsibility. This means becoming more transparent and publicly accountable about how our foundations' wealth has been accumulated, how we operate, how we invest (now, please, ethically and sustainably!). We can't keep claiming that we are a-political while we have so much potential to carry out advocacy and be an intermediary force between civil society, politics, business, academia and the media. Don't we claim to exist for the common good?

This is a huge challenge for foundations to deal with, of course, because

this needs a profound introspection. But it is also an opportunity, not a threat, although admittedly it needs imagination and boldness. If we want to start successfully addressing what is wrong and what should be done – and by whom – we have to democratise our own way of working.

With 1% of the world's population holding 45% of the world's wealth, foundations are part of the elite. Along with the demand for a redistribution of wealth worldwide come questions like: Who defines the strategy? Who decides what to fund? And what is in the interest of the common good? We know we hold power, because we have the luxury of acting with our resources. We have to be responsible and open about our assets and look once again at our foundations' ethos, practice and vision. If foundations are open, transparent and honest about their failures, and if they join forces with other foundations, then philanthropy can really be a major player. Building bridges and advocating for the common good represents a tremendous opportunity that could fuel a historic transition that will benefit all living beings.

So yes, it is a hugely responsible role to play in a world in which: a) politicians can't manage to handle the multiple crises coming their way and are struggling to restore the trust of voters; b) there is still a prevailing for-profit driven economic and political system; and c) individualistic leaders put their own interests above those of the people and the planet.

Maybe some philanthropists are also activists, taking action through money. In foundations we see positive change-makers. People who stretch the limits of their organisations from within, who want to renew, rebuild, rethink the role of foundations in society. It is no coincidence that foundations attract people from NGOs, social movements, politics, academia, advocacy, public institutions or independent cultural forces. We know only too well that if philanthropy has limitations, so do these sectors, actors and institutions. In philanthropy, at least, one can shift resources and power for the sake of democracy, towards a redistribution of wealth, towards equality, taking risks through trial and error.

We are privileged to work in philanthropy, as it is at the intersections of so many different sectors. It is exciting to revisit our foundations beyond the (admittedly true) money-is-power dogma

“Philanthropy is under attack’ is a statement that we are hearing these days. It is true that, over the past few years, philanthropy has become much more part of the public discourse. Within civil society, foundations are viewed as holding power and privilege. We have to come to terms with this position and acknowledge the tensions that come along with this responsibility.”

and to reconfigure our role in society with a spirit of openness. Philanthropy has the power to move resources, but we had better act responsibly with them.

The money belongs to the people

In traditional grantmaking, foundations have the monopoly on decisions concerning the distribution of their funds. Sometimes they hire experts or advisors from the field, but they have the final say. This seems quite logical, but we have to realise that ‘their money’ is not really their money. It has been accumulated – often in a rather questionable way – and then at some point it was committed to a certain issue relating to inequality, social or environmental injustice. If we look at it this way, it makes sense that the people who are affected by those issues are also the ones making the decisions. Usually, however, they are not represented in foundations, and if they are, it's a very selective group of people who do not necessarily represent diverse stakeholders or the affected communities at large. If we consider that money (still) is power, then that power is also concentrated within philanthropy: among a very small number of people. Thus, structures in foundations reflect what is wrong with society at large.

In the case of the European Cultural Foundation, which was neither founded by a wealthy individual or family nor by a corporation, being publicly accountable is even more paramount. The Foundation is in essence a (semi-)public foundation, whose core funding since the late 1950s has come from people who are trying their luck in the Dutch lotteries. We are a strange player in philanthropy and the world of foundations: our activities are funded with the money people spend gambling. So we better be explicit about what we fund, how we operate and what our position is. There have been honest attempts to reinvigorate our operations in the public interest, among them, FundAction: a pilot for a citizen-run fund that draws on our available resources. This is participatory grantmaking as a tool for democratisation.

Participatory grantmaking: much more than the newest fashion

FundAction was co-launched in October 2017 by the European Cultural Foundation

together with the Open Society Initiative for Europe, the Charles Leopold Mayer Foundation and the Guerrilla Foundation. Two other foundations joined over the course of the past two years – the Lankelly Chase Foundation and Un Monde par Tous. Unsurprisingly, these foundations are all committed to working differently and have found common ground to experiment and learn within EDGE – a global progressive network of foundations with a European branch.

Before the launch of FundAction, we experimented with other ways of grantmaking. We wanted to work with partners rather than sticking to traditional grantmaking whereby the ‘donor-versus-recipient relation’ obstructed mutual knowledge exchange and collaboration between philanthropy and civil society. FundAction may be considered the culmination of the European Cultural Foundation's ongoing learning and reassessment of the relation with its grantees.

Foundations consider these new ways of participatory grantmaking as a more democratic and just process of decision-making. At the end of the day, aren't the people in the field, the people we support, the ones who know best where the money should be spent? Or where the greatest needs are in terms of knowledge exchange, capacity building, research, experimentation and lobbying...?

In this up-and-coming, fashionable new model of grantmaking, a foundation can declare its imagination to be democratic. But, as much as this is interesting and necessary, there has to be more to it. Shifting the power and gaining mutual respect between funders and grantees, sharing and benefitting from each other's (different) skill sets, can only be done when a new relationship is built with trust, patience, trial and error.

The exceptional case of FundAction is not the participatory element of grantmaking where foundations ‘allow’ citizens to co-decide on what should be funded. The term ‘participatory’ says it all – it is somehow still asking someone to participate in an existing framework. FundAction, however, was developed in a democratic way from the start. The group of foundations came together in 2016 to form the idea for FundAction with active citizens. They outlined the intention, values and structure of the fund. Democracy, inclusivity, openness, peer-to-peer

working, transparency, trust, respect and autonomy are the values that both the foundations and the civil society actors involved are committed to upholding. As such, FundAction is a European living mechanism, a daring pilot that is non-institutional, not static, not perfect. It is an opportunity for foundations to learn and adapt to new times. Although it is becoming fashionable amongst foundations that are looking for a quick fix solution to the demands of society to be more democratic and accountable to communities' needs, participatory grantmaking addresses power and privileges in philanthropy. But it is not a quick fix solution by any means. Participatory grantmaking is a confrontational and sometimes difficult way of assessing your foundation's own operations, core values and exclusive position in society. But it is also a great way to start sharing privilege, power, experience and knowledge.

Collaboration means diversity

Since the current crises we face are felt across the globe, it makes sense for us to look at a global practice for philanthropy. This is being discussed in different progressive foundations' networks, which rightly address an urgent need for more trans-continental collaboration, pooling resources and knowledge. And although foundations should definitely collaborate across sectors and localities, we have to be mindful of our different contexts.

A US vision of progressive philanthropy in particular is gaining interest in Europe. We can learn a lot from new ways of ‘doing’ philanthropy that include much more actively and openly joining in with (political) proclamations of social movements that fight for racial and gender justice. Addressing the living legacies of colonialism and patriarchy must be at the core of European foundations' strategies. They are root causes of many problems, but the way we strategise about these issues can't be dominated by an Anglo-Saxon narrative.

There is no such thing as one global language when superdiversity is all around us: simplifying this can become confusing. In Europe alone there is already an immense diversity of languages, cultures, histories and politics. Individual countries deal differently with contemporary challenges, like migration and xeno-

phobia or socio-economic fragmentation. Can we be allies across these differences, for the same cause? We need European philanthropy to come together, for a narrative and practice that is grounded in Europe's diversity.

The need for a new narrative emerges when we feel a disconnection between the system and what we experience and imagine. We don't need one new story: we need a narrative that underpins the multiple and diverse stories of many people, with different visions, traditions, cultures, languages, beliefs and identities. A narrative is a structure of many stories that provides a connection between them. It is in the connections between these stories that the European power lies: a force that relates to what people think, it relates to events in the past and present and imagines the future in a non-linear way. We need everyone to contribute to a new progressive and not exclusive narrative, yes. But we have to do it knowing there are different contexts, so we can start the dialogues between people with different stories, even if we are all facing the same global challenges.

In order to encourage more collaboration across foundations in general – globally or at a European level – we must do extra work to interrogate our own individual foundations' ways of thinking, frames of reference, cultural assumptions and professional habits. We need to come together in our diversity, finding the best ways to complement and challenge each other to engage in joint action.

All in all, foundations need people; they need democracy; they need honesty, participation, accountability, diversity and true collaboration. Philanthropy as a commons may be a (utopian) ideal to work towards. But why not work towards a collective management of resources that is open, sociable and participatory. Why not? We can do it!

THE TRIBAL, THE WINDOW, THE BLUEPRINT AND THE SPARK

Ruben Pater is a graphic designer based in Amsterdam. On his platform Untold Stories, he creates visual narratives about complex political phenomena. For this publication, we asked Ruben to dig into the visual identity of the European Cultural Foundation and juxtapose the narrative it spun over the decades to trends and moments in European history. In the following, he maps a critical and eclectic visual timeline of the European Cultural Foundation.

* FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
* WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

* WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
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IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

Can someone love a symbol? Probably. Can someone be killed because of a symbol? Definitely. The question is whether it is the form of the symbol or the values that we adhere to it, that makes it so powerful. Early depictions of skulls and bones did not signify danger or death, but rebirth. Showing a *Hakenkreuz* symbol in Germany is a crime, but the same symbol mirrored and turned 45° becomes an ancient symbol for sun called 'swastika' in Sanskrit. Symbols are important, but how we use them and what they mean can be much more revealing.

This short essay reviews the symbols that have represented the European Cultural Foundation over the last 65 years. Looking at these symbols in isolation would be a meaningless act, as the example above illustrates. This is why these stories do not only look at the symbols themselves but also at the visual contexts when they were created.

RUBEN PATER 2019

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Portrait of Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands published in ECF's magazine, *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe*, 1957.

The Orange Triangle

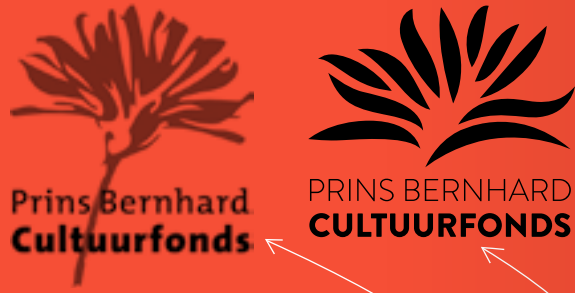
In the summer of 1943 a festive event happened at a Royal Air Force (RAF) base in the Northeast of England. A wish of Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands had come true with the founding of the first Dutch RAF squadron. A 'Spitfire fund' had been established in 1940 to raise money for the war-planes that the Dutch pilots so desperately needed. Even if only eight of the 25 pilots were actually Dutch, all the Spitfire fighters were painted with a downward orange triangle with a black outline, the symbol of the Royal Dutch Air Force. We can see Prince Bernhard posing in a Spitfire with the orange triangle under the cockpit, with the RAF round symbol cropped from the photograph. More future prominent European Cultural Foundation members were active during the war in London. Both founder Denis de Rougemont and future director George Sluizer inspired those in the occupied territories by their broadcasts for allied radio stations.



Aircraft Roundel of the Dutch Air Force used in World War II.



Prince Bernhard visiting the 322 Dutch Squadron RAF Hartford Bridge, 1944. Nationaal Archief.



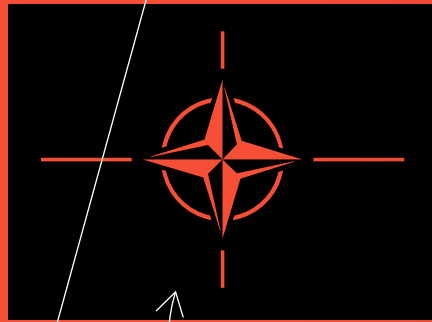
Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds logo (from fund website).

The Carnation

After the war the 'Spitfire fund' was rebranded as the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds and its headquarters were moved to Amsterdam. The money that was once raised to buy war-planes would now be used to revitalise European cultural life, and one of its beneficiaries became the European Cultural Foundation. Prince Bernhard himself went on to become its president. The Foundation did not have a logo then but the Prince did have a trademark; in his student days he wore a white carnation in the lapel of his jacket coat. It had become a symbol of resistance during World War II in the Netherlands. This is why the symbol of the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds is – still today – a carnation.



Drawing of a compass published in a mid 14th-century copy of *Epistola de magnetate* of Peter Peregrinus. Bodleian Library.



NATO flag, 1953.

The White Compass

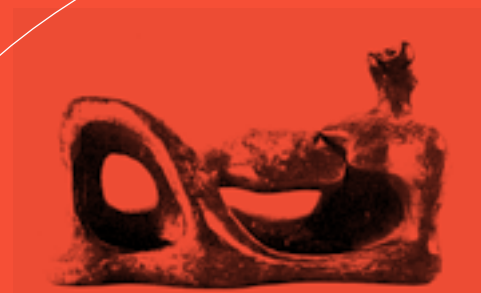
Prince Bernhard was also Inspector-General of the Dutch armed forces. The Netherlands was part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), founded in 1949 to face future military threats. The symbol from 1953 shows a white, stylised compass. A metaphor for keeping countries 'on the right path', a not-so subtle message to the Communist threat. The compass is a Chinese invention from 206 BC but it played a major role for European seafaring. The NATO symbol is reminiscent of a time when European colonial powers controlled the oceans, resuscitated with US military technology.



Tribal symbol used on the covers of ECF magazine, *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe*, 1962-1964.

The Tribal

It is early 1962 when we see a European Cultural Foundation symbol appear for the first time. The letters look like they are cut out of rock or sculpted from dry dirt. The shape looks like it is intended to communicate a deeper communal meaning. It appears on a series of magazines *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe*, designed by Ton Raateland. Although it is unclear if he designed the symbol as well, his other work does show primitivist influence. One of the artists supported by the Foundation at the time was Henry Moore, a British sculptor whose work was influenced by Mesoamerican figures from Chichen Itza.



Henry Moore, *Reclining Figure*, 1945.



Chacmool excavated by Augustus Le Plongeon from the Platform of the Eagles and Jaguars at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, 1875.

Spiritual leadership

The 1964 issue of the magazine shows a group photo. We see only men, all dressed in suits. They came to discuss the future of Europe during a meeting organised by the Foundation. The French speaker Gabriel Marty opened the event with a fiery speech calling upon Europe to 'assume the role the Romans once had' and 'maintaining its spiritual leadership'. Looking back, this kind of hubris seems perhaps unfitting as the same young men were sent off to fight 'primitive' peoples in Indochina, Indonesia, New Guinea, Kenya, Sudan, Egypt and Algeria to enforce that same doctrine of European moral leadership.



Oil rig, photograph published in the Foundation's magazine, *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe*, 1964.



Participants of the annual youth meeting, 'The Training of an engineer in Europe', in Grenoble in 1964.

Art and extraction

Inside the magazine we find a combination of industrial images (nuclear installations, farm equipment, oil refineries) and artworks (European churches, Renaissance and Medieval artworks, Picasso, Kandinsky). The odd combination of European cultural heritage and modern industry becomes apparent in the text. Most of the speakers allude to Graeco-Roman culture and the spirit of Christianity while celebrating the developments in nuclear energy and the petrochemical industry. This should be seen in light of the necessity to rebuild the ruins of post-war Europe, before 1972 when *Limits to Growth* warned the world about the threats of climate change.



Poster of the exhibition, *Stenen beelden uit het oude Mexico*. Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, 1963. Design Ton Raateland.



Book cover, Edward Kienholz, (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1970). Design: Wim Crouwel and Jolijn van de Wouw (Total Design). Image: NAGO.

Multinational modernism

The golden years of growth ended in an economic downturn at the end of the 1970s. In graphic design, modernist radical thought had solidified into an 'international style' fitted to the expansion of multinationals and the global capitalist superstructure. In the Netherlands Total Design – led by famous graphic designer Wim Crouwel – implemented the same rules of modernist design for both multinationals and museums.



Cover of the Dutch version of a brochure published in 1962, entitled *Facing the 21st Century*. Detail.



Promotional brochure from 1972, announcing the release of the two first reports published as part of Plan Europe 2000.



Cover of the French information brochure of the European Cultural Foundation, 1983.

The printed material for the Foundation shows a similar thinking. Sans-serif typography, no ornaments, grid-based, using only primary colours, all implemented with mathematical precision. Perhaps today the design would be seen as minimal or even corporate, but at the time this uniformity was seen as a necessary political act that would help build a utopian, cleaner and modern society.

Lingua franca

Sifting through the covers of reports and leaflets we notice a changing dynamic through the use of language. It began with FEC, *Fondation Européenne de la Culture* in 1954. French is still considered the language of diplomacy, which had replaced Latin as the world language in the 17th century. English was second, German and Dutch were tertiary (German as a first language was out of the question after the war), which meant that annual reports were written in four languages. English became the sole language of communication of the Foundation after 2003. In addition, the Foundation had a network of 24 national committees that communicated in local languages and stretched far beyond the EU Member States.



ECF titles and logos, 1957, 1973–1981, unknown, 1989.

Language reflects the changing structures of communication and power. The main official languages of the EU are English, French and German. Even though these are spoken in the three largest countries of the EU (before Brexit), Italian and Spanish are not included, even though Italy was a founding member. The domination of French and English is closely connected to the hegemony of France and the United Kingdom in the 1700 and 1800s, and the economic and cultural influence of the United States after World War II.



Information brochure of the Foundation's Spanish and Finnish National Committees.

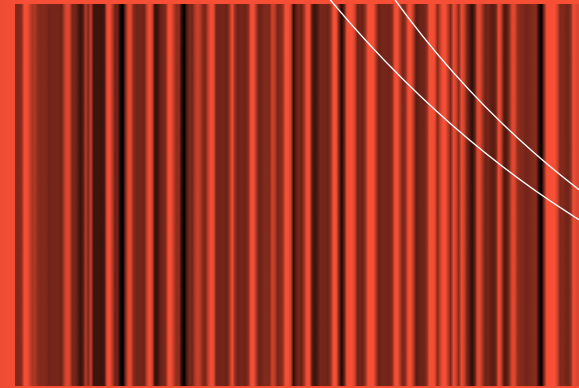


Information brochure of the Foundation's Spanish and Finnish National Committees.

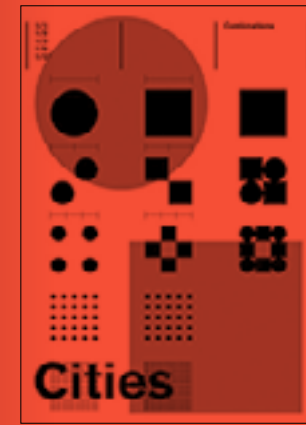


Pax Europaea

The prime years of the European project began after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The EU expanded from 12 to 27 states between 1989 and 2007. With the violent exception of the Yugoslav wars, Europe became an example for peace and stability – Pax Europaea. This was formalised with the introduction of the Euro, an economic success story represented by the blandest graphic design imaginable. The lack of inspiring imagery used by the EU was often criticised and mocked. It led architecture studio Office of Metropolitan Architecture to propose an alternative EU flag, which became a barcode of all flags horizontally stacked. Europe as a shopping centre. The formal language of Europe was mirrored in the redesign of the Foundation's symbol in 1989, which had five yellow stars on a blue background.



OMA, flag for Europe, 2001.

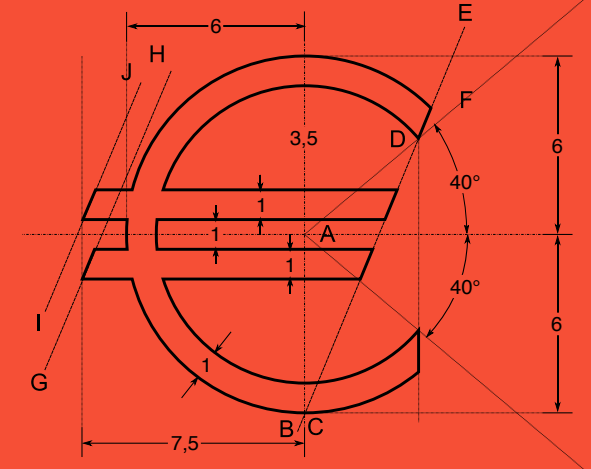


Rotterdam 2001 Cultural Capital of Europe, Mevis & van Deursen, 2001.

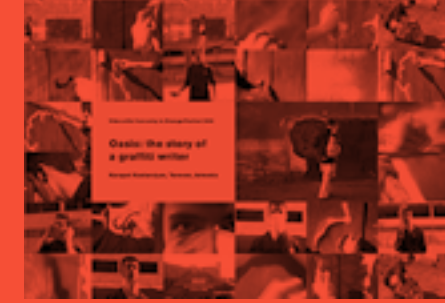


Rotterdam 2001 Cultural Capital of Europe, Mevis & van Deursen, 2001.

European Cultural Foundation logo, 1993 and 2007. Design Ris van Overeem.



Euro symbol, designed to be easily handwritten, 1996. Design Alain Billiet.



European Cultural Foundation's annual report, 2008.



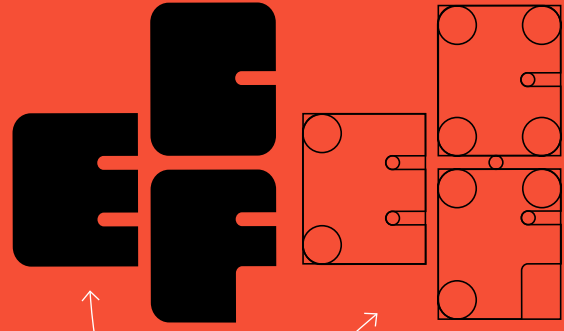
Poster of the 1996 photo competition Images of Europe. Design Ris van Overeem.

Dutch Design

In the 1990s Dutch graphic design was having its moment of fame. The success of Droog ('dry' in Dutch, as in dry humour or dry wit), with their maiden exhibition in Milan in 1993, established the brand Dutch Design as being conceptual, funny and simple. A new symbol for the European Cultural Foundation, 'the window', was designed in that same year. The design shows similarities to the Dutch graphic design of that period, for example, the Rotterdam Capital of Culture by Mevis and van Deursen and the Droog design identity by Nikki Gonnissen and Thomas van Widdershoven. Typographic simplicity as a derivative of modernist thought but with a postmodern wink.



Droog design logo, Nikki Gonnissen and Thomas van Widdershoven, 1997.



ECF logo, design C-Roots (Bart Jan Horrée and René van Hulst), 2010.



Letter gothic, design by Roger Roberson for IBM, 1956-1962.

The Blueprint

New times require new symbols. The modernist European Cultural Foundation logo was replaced with a complete new graphic identity in 2010. We see that the new logotype of the letters 'ECF' is based on simple geometric shapes. The designers even refer to the logo as a 'blueprint' in their presentation. For text, a monospaced typeface is used, a technology from the 1950s that was designed for the reading of banking transactions by computers.



Cover of ECF's annual report 2010. Design Martin Takken & Tom Zandwijken.



Cover of ECF's annual report, 2011. Design Martin Takken & Tom Zandwijken.

Techno-optimism

The annual reports from this period feature many technical illustrations. Culture is framed as a rational and measurable phenomenon, with data visualisation on the covers. We should remember this was a time of techno-optimism. Google was founded in 1998, Facebook in 2004 and the first iPhone was launched in 2007. Digital technology was promising a better future.



Infographic from Foundation's annual report, 2016.

Austerity

Cultural funding across Europe was heavily damaged in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis. The remainder was allocated to serve the 'creative industries', as creativity was seen by politicians to be instrumental for gentrification and urban economic development. At the same time a growing populist sentiment gave way to technocratic politicians who fixed problems rather than discussing long-term visions. The European troika that imposed austerity measures in Southern European countries applied the same technocratic thinking. This de-culturing of Europe in favour of saving capitalism revealed that the EU's foundations were economic rather than cultural.



Athens protest in 2011. Photo: Eric Vernié, Flickr.

Calm before the storm

Why was a design chosen in a time of crisis that was pragmatic and technical, largely devoid of cultural and social references? Perhaps because the mass protests against the austerity measures happened after the design was already implemented. Student protests in the UK happened in December 2010, Greece anti-austerity protests brought 100,000 people to the street in 2011, in Spain the indignados started in May 2011, and the Occupy movement followed suit in September 2011. The symbol caught up seven years later.



European Cultural Foundation

European Cultural Foundation logo, 2018. Design Gerlinda Schuller.

The Spark

The crisis of Europe's political unity was just about to begin. First there was the election of Viktor Orbán in Hungary in 2010 * [p.110], then the reinstating of national borders and border fences with the arrival of refugees in 2015 * [p.115]. Then the UK decided to leave the EU in 2016, followed by the victory of Lega Nord in Italy in 2017. Under the theme 'Democracy Needs Imagination' a new European Cultural Foundation symbol and visual identity saw the light in 2018. The symbol shows a crossroads where three lines meet, each with a different angle and width. Coincidentally or not, the origin of the word 'crisis' itself comes from the Greek *krinō* (to choose, to decide), which refers to a crossroads. The name of the logo is 'the spark', which can refer to a moment of imagination and inspiration but also ignition or conflict.



Visual communication, action grant scheme 'Democracy Needs Imagination'. Design Lyanne Tonk 2018.



Cover of the Foundation's booklet, 2019. Design Jorg de Vries Humel.

No More Walls

Around the symbol we see an aesthetic come to life with torn paper, tapes and bold typography that references 'punk' aesthetics and protest banners. Designs are saying 'No more walls', 'The Battle for Europe' and 'I am a European patriot'. While previous designs claimed neutrality or objectivity, the Foundation has now taken a side. As Desmond Tutu said: "If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor." But which oppressor exactly? In 2017 the UN declared the European border 'the world's deadliest border', where more than 33,000 people have died since 2000. Many designers in Europe want to get involved with some kind of 'design activism' against nationalism and the politics of exclusion. Admirable, but born from a privilege that can perhaps only exist because of the closing of borders in the first place. It remains to be seen what the result will be in the coming decades, on an aging continent of such enormous wealth and privilege.

Conclusion

During the Foundation's 65 years, new symbols were designed roughly every five to ten years. Branding experts say a symbol should only be changed in small steps – a genetic mutation if you will – so the audience learns to recognise the symbol and internalises its associated meaning. Think about the symbols of IBM, Philips, the United Nations or Nike that have changed only slightly over decades. This has not been the case with the European Cultural Foundation. Perhaps because Europe as a cultural construct does not have a fixed meaning, or perhaps – in spite of what branding experts say – it is not always necessary to have one consistent identity. Each symbol simply reflects its contemporary context, and just like the other symbols became obsolete in some sense, the current aesthetic will be followed by one that responds to a different *Zeitgeist*. That does not necessarily mean the energy and resources spent on them is simple wasteful. It is precisely the ideology of our own time that can only be reflected on after the fact, when we find materials in archives from the past that show us the blind spots that we have overlooked all along.



Installation view of *The List* by Banu Cennetoğlu presented in Liverpool in 2018, and photographed after it was covered with a racist statement. *The List* includes the name of all the people who are known to have died attempting to travel to Europe to make a new life. Photo: Joe Anderson.

“I was asked to talk to you about the future of culture in Europe. In other words: does European culture still have a role to play in the world? They added: you will have one hour to talk about this problem! One hour to lecture, that is long enough, and for the public sometimes that is even too long. One hour for the future of culture, that is a speck of dust in the desert, a drop of water in the ocean, since culture – like the ocean – is an ungraspable element, never resting, sometimes effervescent, other times calm after the storm, but always vibrant, captivating.”

George Sluizer, excerpt from a speech delivered in Toledo, Spain, on 29 July 1967.

*

Raymond Georis in conversation with Dee O’Sullivan, published on the occasion of the European Cultural Foundation’s 60th anniversary in 2014.

*

“Culture is not just external manifestations of creativity – art, architecture, books, education, music, science, theatre and so on – vital as they are – it is also intrinsic to how we frame ourselves as human beings and how we value each other.

It is never static and has to be constantly nurtured. [...] In the aftermath of World War II, the Swiss philosopher Denis de Rougemont saw culture as ‘a particular valuing of mankind’ and a vehicle for social renewal. I believe that still holds true today.

Culture is also a vehicle for going beyond boundaries and challenging our perceptions of ourselves and our world. This is visible in the spread of the styles and ideas from earliest times through the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and now the modern digital revolution. We have to continuously rediscover and reconnect with the basis of culture: that it combines all these elements and all play an essential part. We must also remind ourselves that it is an ongoing process: what we start today might not bear positive results for 20 years or more.”

WHAT CAN CULTURE DO?

Each director at the European Cultural Foundation has come to the job with their own vision of what culture is and their own answers to the question: What can culture do? Those visions and answers were shifted and sculpted during their time at the helm of the Foundation, responding to societal needs and current events.

In 2019, following the recruitment of its new director André Wilkens, the European Cultural Foundation embarked on a tour throughout Europe to discuss with a diverse range of people what culture can do today to make Europe a better place. The goal was to inform the Foundation's new strategy for the next few years. The following text was used in the 14 tour stops to spark a conversation about culture and philanthropy's role in contemporary Europe.

ANDRÉ WILKENS 2019

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Europe is under attack. It would not be an exaggeration to describe these attacks as the Battle for Europe. The attacks are coming from inside and out. From the inside, they are coming from those who want to renationalise Europe, seal it off and turn it into a copy of its former self – a Europe that was almost destroyed twice by hostility between nations. Those attacking the continent from the outside have long regarded a united, supranational, cooperative Europe as a thorn in their side, because it sets a utopian example to the rest of the world.

This Battle for Europe is being fought not with tanks and missiles, but with ideas, narratives, bots and social media. The majority of Europeans do not yet realise that their continent has become the site of a global battle – and the outcome will have international implications, as history has shown so many times. It is time to defend the European idea of peace, stability and prosperity before it's too late.

What can culture do? Culture can create European experience. Whatever politics and politicians do, culture can bring Europeans together, make them experience Europe, let them do something together. European experience creates European identity. Without identity Europe is vulnerable to nationalistic narratives. European identity is not exclusive but inclusive of national, regional and migrant identities.

Culture can tell the story of Europe. Europe is not boring. Europe has a wonderful story, with heroes and villains, heydays and crises, twists and turns. Culture can tell the story of Europe: better, different, new, sexy, provocative.

Culture can imagine a better Europe. Europe is not perfect. Of course not. Inequality has been growing for more than 30 years, political and economic elites have lost touch with ordinary citizens, Brussels is incapable of explaining how it makes Europe better and for whom. National leaders sabotage common action where it is needed most. Europe urgently needs reforms that put people and the environment first. Europe needs to excite with its vision, utopian ideas and practical measures that improve people's daily lives.

Culture can imagine a better Europe beyond pie charts and growth rates, but with stories, images, ideas.

Culture creates public spheres. The European public sphere is still weak. But where it exists, culture has been its fore-runner. Look at the composition of orchestras, pop culture and festivals, exhibitions, architectural exchange. And let us not forget the Eurovision Song Contest and the Champions League. Seriously.

Culture can mitigate the potential impact of Brexit by keeping the exchange of people and ideas between Europe and Britain alive and even intensify it. Because Britain is and should continue to be an important part of the European cultural community.

Culture can also provide resistance against neo-nationalist cultural ideologists who put national identity and national culture first.

Culture is a European priority. It creates identity, community and a narrative for the future. Culture is much more than an accessory. Culture is essential for the survival of European unity today.

HABEAS ANIMAM. HABEAS ANIMAM?

1999

On 5-6 September 1999, Dutch historian Willem G.J. Kuiters, who was commissioned to write an account of the history of the European Cultural Foundation, organised a workshop bringing together former and current staff members and general secretaries as well as a number of academics from the humanities.

The workshop was titled after a text by Denis de Rougemont from 1953, 'Habeas Animam' [The Right to a Soul], in which he stresses the importance of supporting and promoting European cultural initiatives to restore European self-confidence. The text was presented at the occasion of a meeting organised on 14 and 15 November 1953 at the Pavillon Henri IV in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, during which about 15 representatives of national employers' associations, trade unions, philanthropy (Red Cross, Kirchentag), and large companies (Unilever, Snia Viscosa) drafted the first outlines of the European Cultural Foundation.

In the following, we publish the minutes from the discussion that followed an introductory speech by Prof. Pim den Boer (Faculty of Humanities, University of Amsterdam) on the 'Post-war European Culture: The cultural heritage of nations and the New Europe'. Some of the attendees were representatives of the Foundation's National Committees which, in 1970, were established in agreement with the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Cooperation. Originally called 'joint national committees' their aim was to represent the Foundation in the national environment, to raise funds and awareness for its work and to advise on

grants. The Committees built a network that operated on a voluntary basis, and which existed until 2009.

The participants in the conversation included: Prof. Maarten Brands (Founding Director of the Duitsland Institute in Amsterdam); Lord Asa Briggs of Lewes (historian and Founding Chair of the Governing Council of the Foundation's Institute of Education and Social Policy); Raymond Georis (Secretary General of the Foundation from 1973 to 1994); Prof. Pierre Grémion (French sociologist); Konrad von Moltke (Director of the Institute for European Environmental Policy); Robert Picht (Vice President of the Foundation from 1976 to 1995); Rüdiger Stephan (then-general Secretary of the Foundation); Raymond Weber (then-Director of Education, Culture and Sport at the Council of Europe).

The eclectic group discussed a number of issues that had been relevant over the course of the Foundation's history, among them the very notion of 'culture'. Feared by some, despised by others and defended by most, the participants recalled the moments in which the term risked being erased from the Foundation's name and scope altogether. The discussion also opened up to reflect the broader cultural dimension of the European Community: cemented during The Hague Congress held in May 1948 and backed up by the Marshall Plan, it indeed mostly emerged as an economic project.

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* [Asa Briggs] comes back on den Boer's remark on the diminishing popularity of the term 'European culture' in the 1960s. He indeed sees a reaction against the older sense of this term and thinks that the development of different notions of culture (i.e. popular culture) in this period is crucial to the conception of a European culture. He thinks that some of the radicals in the 1960s did have a sense of Europe, but thought that the issues should be approached in a different way, and not 'from above'.

* Raymond Georis remarks that studying the differences in the concepts of Europe is interesting. We should not forget Churchill's Zurich speech and his role at The Hague Congress. Thus, a British conception of Europe lay at the basis of the process of building up a European union. De Rougemont never shared in this.

* Reacting on Asa Briggs' words, Georis remarks that the British concept of European culture was a big handicap within the European Cultural Foundation. When the plan 'Europe 2000' was being worked out from 1967 onwards, 'culture' was never mentioned. In the four main projects of the plan we do not find the word culture. A British governor at that time, coming from the Shell company, repeatedly said that culture was a problematic concept in Britain, that it had a somewhat decadent connotation (naughty pictures).

* Georis remembers that one of his first acts after having become Secretary General of the European Cultural Foundation was to propose suppressing the word 'culture' from the name of the Foundation. His proposal, though supported by the British and particularly by Butler [Lord Butler of Saffron Walden was the Director of the Foundation's UK National Committee until 1980], did not receive the approval of a majority of the governors (Georis remembers it as his first defeat). Upon Georis's proposal, René Huyghe said that taking away the word 'culture' from the European Cultural Foundation's name would destroy it. The French representatives in the Board of Governors then put up a marvellous defence in favour of 'culture'.

* Maarten Brands says that what Georis just said clearly demonstrates how nationally oriented the use of the words 'Europe' and 'culture' are.

* Raymond Weber addresses himself to the historians. Was the cultural dimension of the Geneva foundation only due to the Marshall Plan being of a strictly economic signature? He thinks it evident that after The Hague Congress, the definition of Europe was mainly a cultural one. The three main bodies appearing after that conference are the Council of Europe, the Geneva Centre and the European College at Bruges. All three of which have a mainly cultural dimension. Weber proposes that this strong cultural dimension was a reaction to the strictly economic Marshall Plan.

* Konrad von Moltke remembers that around 1974, when the French won the battle over the term 'culture' in the European Cultural Foundation's title against British plans to enlarge the Foundation's umbrella by scrapping that epithet, the German committee

was discussing about moving towards a much broader conception of social society, away from the concept of high culture. Even if the vote went to the French, the European Cultural Foundation's activities were more and more directed towards the institutes. The activities of the institutes were based on a much broader concept of the idea of culture than the one defended successfully during the 1975 board meeting by Joël Bouëssée, Armand Bérard and René Huyghe. Von Moltke therefore doubts that the French victory truly influenced the course of developments within the European Cultural Foundation.

* Raymond Georis remembers a subsequent battle, taking place during a meeting of the Board of Governors in 1977. On this occasion it took a full day to oblige Armand Bérard to resign from his chair at the European Cultural Foundation's executive committee. This was, as he said, the end of the 'French period', which, indeed, did not last very long. Georis concludes that the British started backing the European Cultural Foundation by supporting de Rougemont's concept, then the French tried to impose a narrower concept of culture in the sense of their 'Beaux-Arts', in which not even education held a place, and then, with German support, the concept of culture current within the European Cultural Foundation was broadened to include all projects of the Plan Europe 2000 * [p.135] and their spin-off.

* Robert Picht intervenes saying that discussing this internal piece of ECF history in terms of nations is interesting but that it should also be looked at in terms of generations.

* Georis agrees but remarks that, at this time, the European Cultural Foundation proceeded by leaps and bounds as the only way to change policy was by changing the people in charge. He continues by saying that he did not intend to paint the history of the European Cultural Foundation in national colours but that he personally felt, inside the Foundation, the presence and influence of nationally determined ideas about culture.

* Dr Rüdiger Stephan asks to come back to Raymond Weber's question about whether the strong cultural dimension of the definition of Europe after The Hague Congress could have been a reaction to the strictly economic signature of the Marshall Plan. Raymond Weber said he was prompted to this question by a phrase by Denis de Rougemont, looking back at the origins of the Foundation, saying that it was born in anger. Stephan answered that de Rougemont's anger was in fact about the decrease of American support to his activities and his efforts to help creating a federal Europe through culture.

* Stephan goes on with a question. For him it is clear that the idea for creating a New Europe originated during and immediately after the war from among the different Resistance movements. He describes it as a popular movement. People getting together with the idea of creating this new and unified Europe. The question is whether this popular idea ever had actual influence on political decision-making. This he would like to submit to the historians' consideration.

* Robert Picht makes a methodological suggestion: look at who does what, when and where. He says that there is a continuity of persons of whom many can for example be traced back to Bruges. Picht calls them the keepers of the idea for the construction of Europe (Pahr wittily calls them the 'Bruges mafia').

* Pierre Grémion indicates that he will come back on Stephan's question in his speech later on. By reading a leaflet about the creation of the 'Centre Européen de la Culture', one obtains a picture of the spirit of the time. "All the currently undertaken efforts to save an ill Europe will remain largely in vain and sterile if the injured won't demonstrate the willingness to live, heal and use all of its energies for it. Awakening the European consciousness, the sentiment of our common belonging to a civilisation responsible for all of our grandeur and that is for us the very meaning of life is the primordial and vital condition for a European Renaissance. While in Strasbourg the political cadre outlines the new Europe, it is high time to define the human gaze and vision that should preside this process, the present vocation of the European Community." Grémion goes on to cite from the last page of this same leaflet: "By providing the centre with an amount that represents but a tiny fraction of the sum assigned to the Marshall Plan we cannot expect much more significant results than those we achieved until now."

* So, Grémion continues, there are two dimensions to de Rougemont's anger * [p.030] First it is about his deception to channel sufficient funds from the Marshall Plan into his efforts to create a cultural Europe, and secondly it is about the refusal of the Ford Foundation to finance his 'Centre Européen de la Culture' in Geneva. In fact, Grémion says, the establishment of the European Cultural Foundation is a direct result of this last refusal.

* Asa Briggs expresses his agreement with Grémion. He mentions three points that ought to be taken into consideration, even in a bigger context than the Marshall Plan. Briggs tells about his experience how in 1947, he, as a young man, was the first Englishman to teach at the University of Münster since 1933. He was conscious then of the strong cultural differences that existed between the British mood of thinking about Europe and the one he found at the spot. The first point he makes is thus that the pre-Marshall Plan period should receive some attention. His second point is that the Americans, through the Ford Foundation and, in the background, the CIA, were keen to establish a cultural reaction to Communist propaganda. Thirdly, he tells of his visit to Aspen in the United States, where a great effort was made, particularly during the Goethe celebrations (which Briggs sees as important because they brought back Germany into the cultural scene) to bring out the message that Germany mattered in relation to European culture.

* Maarten Brands remarks that the years 1950 to 1954 were crucial in determining what direction European unification would take. Not only a defence union was discussed but also a political union. 1954 was a year of deep crisis in that respect. The sectoral idea be-

came dominant from that point onwards, born out of the breakdown of the efforts towards creating truly over-arching structures. Brands says that, in this sense, most 'Europeans' were Marxists in the sense that they expected that by building up an economic Europe, the rest would follow. Brands, conscious of his audience and auditorium, remarks that this assumption was not unanimously shared.

* Alan Milward remarks, also in answer to Raymond Weber, that the strictly economic signature of the Marshall Plan was politically very plausibly defended by the Americans by invoking the Brussels agreements that had preceded it. This treaty had many clauses about European culture and involved an Anglo-French promise to cooperate in funding European cultural programmes rather handsomely. Those clauses were taken over in the NATO agreements so that NATO always had an impressive pot of money to support research in the humanities and in culture. More than they ever managed to spend, probably because people just did not associate NATO with culture.

* Raymond Georis proposes that it would be interesting to study what the Brussels Treaty did for culture. They asked a French professor, Monsieur Jautran, teaching at the Lycée Henri IV, to write a book about 'La civilisation occidentale et l'école'. The Brussels Treaty was concluded between five countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France and Britain. What did the 'civilisation occidentale' represent to them? They ignored Germany completely, as well as Spain. This shows an important and more general limitation in European politics, the impossibility to go beyond the bounds of a treaty. Culture, he thinks, is too broad a concept for a limited treaty such as the Brussels treaty and needs a broader view.

* Willem Kuiters asks Pim den Boer whether he wishes to make a few concluding remarks. Den Boer stresses that with his speech he meant not to belittle the European movement or Denis de Rougemont. He calls their ideas and concepts for the future of Europe impressive but remarks that they remained on the level of 'ideas'. In this context he introduces a 'star-witness', Paul-Henri Spaak. Spaak said that the creation of the European community would have been impossible without Stalin, and proposed to erect a statue for him in Brussels. The point den Boer wants to make is that the value of ideas in actual politics should not be overestimated and that the reality of the Cold War needed stressing.

* In relation to what is said on the plans for changing the Foundation's name and on nationally determined differences in connotations relative to the word culture, den Boer is reminded of what a colleague once said to him. This colleague, an art historian and Rembrandt specialist, with a German-Dutch bi-cultural background said: "The German word 'Kunst' (Art) is the same as the Dutch 'kunst', still, when I dream of it, it is 'Kunst' I dream of."

* Raymond Georis makes a plea for the use of a word much in use in America, 'Humanities'. 'Humanities', he says, has all the connotations of what we could call the basis of civilisation.

USE SOME IMAGINATION

USE IMAGINATION AGAIN

SIMON MUNDY 1997/2019

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
* WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

* WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

This article, originally published in 1997 in *European Voice* (which is today known as *Politico*), was written by Simon Mundy, a British poet and novelist, as well as founder and President of the European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (now Culture Action Europe). His book *Making It Home: Europe and the Politics of Culture* was published by the European Cultural Foundation the following year, in 1998. Three years later, Mundy also entered the Foundation's UK National Committee co-directing it with Rod Fisher for four years, and remaining its member until its dissolution in 2009.

As Mundy argues in this text, the concept of 'culture' is easily hijacked by politicians and interest groups for a variety of spurious purposes. But with the Treaty of Amsterdam, the European Union has given itself an instrument which could – if used with flair – transform the lives of its citizens for the better.

As a reflection on his original article, Simon Mundy arches back to his 1997 thoughts, and debates what Europe's strengths and weaknesses are in the cultivation of culture.

*

Use some imagination (1997)

Culture resonates very nicely in a politician's vocabulary. Slipped into a speech or the final statement of a dreary meeting, it can give just the right nuance of civilised concern.

For a start, culture has a comfortable habit of making the politician cultured, with that hint of a sense of history, of the high values of society that if appropriated skilfully can turn a mere politician into a statesman.

Invoke culture and nationalism suddenly has a softer face. Offer the justification of culture and nobody can argue that your heart is not in the right place.

The results are not always very pretty. Presidents dump hideous concrete

opera houses into the middle of cities and would have us believe they are trying to enhance culture rather than their own flimsy immortality.

The far right uses culture as the excuse to terrorise newer residents, usually of a conveniently different colour for easy identification, and to march in defence of a concept which is little more than folk memory mixed with fear and distorted into inaccurate legend.

They know in their gut that culture embodies all the assumptions, expressions and habits which define our way of life. Therefore, to cry that our culture is in imminent danger is a rallying call which cannot fail to evoke a belligerent response.

Narrow the meaning down a little, though, so that as well as freedom of ex-

“So those who work in the cultural arena are constantly bewildered to find that they are treated in diametrically opposite ways. In one direction they are told that culture is a vital element of democratic life and that people have no identity without culture. In the other, they are regarded as mere entertainment, a bit of froth on top of the real economic dish.”

pression for all it means supporting those who package that expression to make a living, and the enthusiasm can be seen draining from the political visage.

Automatically, culture slips from the delightful realm of inherent human characteristics – like skin, we all have culture, whether it is presentable or not – and becomes a minor afterthought in the public spending process.

So those who work in the cultural arena are constantly bewildered to find that they are treated in diametrically opposite ways. In one direction they are told that culture is a vital element of democratic life and that people have no identity without culture. In the other, they are regarded as mere entertainment, a bit of froth on top of the real economic dish.

Those who use culture as a trade need to sell things just as much as anybody else who earns a living, of course, and when culture does sell, it does so spectacularly successfully, as the publishing, fashion, recording and film industries frequently demonstrate.

But this is not always the case and as in any other line of business, for every idea that makes millions, there will be a few hundred that earn very little.

Sometimes, this is because the work is just plain bad. (Although that does not stop rubbish doing well. Sam Goldwyn's dictum that “nobody ever went bust underestimating the taste of the American public” applies just as effectively to European art). Often, though, contemporary lack of interest is as much because the work is challenging the convenient and the familiar as because its quality is dubious.

For governments and European institutions, therefore, culture is a difficult subject. It can arouse passion quite out of proportion to its real value. At the same time, because the one thing that culture can never guarantee is measurable value for money, it is hard to defend against charges of extravagance.

However, there is an awareness that the richness and vitality of life depend on being able to demonstrate that there is more to society than the delivery of material comforts. Bars and clubs can and do argue that they are more basic to the culture than anything else, but any decision-maker knows that a culture which relied on these alone would be unhealthy (in more ways than one). Cultural activity

does not mean the things you do when you are not doing anything more worthwhile. And it is disturbing for governments. It vigorously proclaims its right to be critical, even subversive. Worse, it expects the public purse to help it criticise.

Even the heritage business, the exploitation of our cultural past, inevitably makes some unpalatable comparisons with the present. Museums are not always relaxing places in which preconceptions can be validated.

For me: it is this ambivalence at the core of official attitudes which explains why it took so long for culture to be seen as necessary to the process of European union. It also goes some way to explaining why, having had a remarkably well-worded cultural article inserted into the Maastricht Treaty, Europe and its Member States have been so loath to do anything which realises its potential beyond the cosmetic.

Culture is, it is true, subject to a decision-making procedure which, if applied to the railways, would ensure that no train ever left the station.

Yet that still does not quite account for the lack of progress. The cultural action programmes which the Directorate-General for information, communication and culture (DGX) does foster – Kaleidoscope, Ariane and Raphael – are limited, short of cash and universally seen as inadequate for the task.

As in all other areas of EU policy, each Member State projects its own attitudes and prejudices on the European screen. Too often, sadly, they then announce that these prejudices themselves have a cultural basis.

This is an immense pity. The Union, in its new treaty, has given itself an instrument which could transform the way Europe works and enjoys itself.

The scope of the relevant article is tantalisingly broad. Even though it tries to be protectionist, limiting EU action to those things the Member States choose not to do for themselves, the fact that they do so little means that an awful lot could be done by the Union.

So far, European cultural action has taken the form of either paying for grand emblematic gestures which are rarely more than public relations exercises for the EU itself, or reacting with too little, too late to plaintive demands from the cultural sector.

Little thought has been given to the real goal of the cultural article, which should be to make people in Europe more secure by ensuring the expressions through which they define themselves are respected, made widely available and supported.

It is self-confidence which will bring new dynamism and prosperity to Europe, not just decent living conditions.

Because nation states seem automatically to think either parochially or bilaterally, it is up to the European Union and Council of Europe to help people make connections that are more complex.

If the networking can be made to function properly, professionals will gradually gain a perspective that is able to jump borders as effectively as the weather.

Where they lead, however, the fiscal and social security systems must follow. At the moment, the majority of creative people working in the cultural sector personify the flexible, mobile and open-minded worker that economists say is essential for future growth.

Yet they are normally treated by the taxation and welfare systems as though they are unemployed car workers, useless to society unless they have a weekly wage packet in their hands. If they were treated as a resource, constantly adapting, inventing and researching, so that future production could take place, a far more constructive environment could be created.

In the end, though, good cultural policy is not about professional artists or performers. They are just its servants. It is about helping people to realise their own expressive potential in a way which makes the most of their cultural past in a multinational world, participating in cultural life cannot happen only in the context of old states. Let us have, then, cultural programmes which promote generously the fluidity, the individuality and the creativity of culture in Europe. It is not so much money as official imagination which is in short supply.

A rich culture – rich in participation levels as well as content – will not make Europeans better people. It will not necessarily make them happier or any more likely to re-elect tired old governments.

But it will make Europeans more friendly towards each other, and the territory itself a far more interesting place to live.

Use imagination again (2019)

Looking back 22 years at my challenge to European politicians to take culture seriously or regret it, a few things have changed. *European Voice*, in which the article ‘Use Some Imagination’ was published, has been discontinued in print and merged into the US online site, *Politico*. The photo of me (actually taken in 1990) reveals that my shape, hairline and spectacles are not what they were. Time is a beast.

The changes to the political discourse this century though, and the place of culture within it, have been almost uniformly negative. In theory the EU spends more money on culture than it did in 1997, but if you look carefully at where and how it is spent, the self-congratulation disappears. Politicians mean one thing by culture, officials mean another, and artistic practitioners mean something entirely different. The epic gap between definitions and expectations is constantly widening.

The divergence of objectives was recognised 15 years ago when the ‘A Soul for Europe’ initiative was set up in Berlin, aiming to bring all generations and parts of the cultural, business and European governmental sectors together. To be honest, it has been relatively effective on the cultural side but there has been, as usual, a stream of well-written speeches with no follow-up from the European institutions. Business has fulfilled its role as occasional sponsor and presented high-ranking individuals with great cultural enthusiasm. There has been, however, as with the institutions, no real interest or commitment shown afterwards among managers below the directors.

The first half of my pre-millennium article explained why governments at national and supra-national level find culture so easy to glorify but the contemporary artistic manifestations of it so difficult to support. They find it even harder to earmark money for the associations vital to professional collaboration and, disastrously, this political and bureaucratic reluctance has become far worse this century. Everything has been reduced to time-limited, measurable (whatever that is meant to mean) projects; convenient for those managing time-limited budgets but utterly destructive to the continuity of professional life that cultural activity relies on. While a festival, piece of sculpture, book or symphony might be a ‘project’, the

constant stream of commissions that sustain a career can only come about if those doing the commissioning have the economic wherewithal and confidence in their prospects to look five to ten years ahead. Writers and composers need money while they write, sculptors have to source the metal and experiment, festivals need proper planning. And all of them need their professional networks staffed properly to work efficiently and imaginatively in the background. Perhaps allocating funds to the networks with Europe in their title could be a sensible role for the European Cultural Foundation if the EU does not want the responsibility. It has the expertise and the understanding but it probably will need an extra €75m per annum at 2019 prices to be devolved to do the job well.

Optimistically, in 1997 I wrote that “there is an awareness that the richness and vitality of life depends on being able to demonstrate that there is more to society than the delivery of material comforts.” The dislocations in politics, the fall-out in terms of financial austerity and personal insecurity, and the fragmentation of social consensus since 2008 suggest this is, at best, only partially true. The last decade suggests national and European government is judged on the delivery of prosperity before anything else.

Reaction to the failure to satisfy expectations after 2008 has been expressed largely as cultural machismo. Individuals latch onto almost any political, religious or social notion that promises to assuage their angry futility by promising to make the disagreeable go away. The disagreeable can be defined as other people, international law, different dress, genders or age-groups. It doesn’t really matter. Just blame and remove them from sight. Truth, civility, integrity and (perhaps most of all) competence are regarded as obsolete. In a way I am quite glad that Trump, Putin and a battery of tiresome European iconoclasts have denounced all these qualities as wishy-washy liberalism. It confirms me as a fundamentalist in that liberal creed.

There is a strand of hope, though, and it is from the level that gave us the word civil: the city. The progress is not uniform but there is a critical mass of mayors and city administrations coalescing around the tried and long attested idea that cities revive, cohere and regen-

erate through artistic energy. Releasing that energy means providing spaces, renovating buildings without pricing them beyond the reach of cultural operators, and saying ‘yes’ to ideas that may not have rock-solid business plans but make a city a joy to live in. Most of all cultural regeneration makes residents proud of where they live and of each other. Even if it does not happen overnight it takes a lot less time than anything else. In a year or two it is amazing how spirits can be lifted when the grass is cut, the empty shops have artists and artisans in them, the filthy facades are painted and the bands are playing.

The success of the European Capitals of Culture programme has not been that it has spent or generated huge sums, nor that it has made dull cities famous. Instead it has focussed the imagination of citizens and their representatives. It has given everybody the freedom to experiment. It can be worn as a badge of honour. Too often, though, just like Olympic cities, the energy is allowed to dissipate once the ‘year’ is over. That sense of regeneration needs to be sustained and itself revived before entropy takes hold in the town hall. Perhaps in each city there needs to be a European Capital of Culture anniversary month every two years to give the body politic the injection of stimulants it requires.

My own thinking has moved on since 1997. Perhaps I am more aware of what the EU is good, and not good, at. Each level of government needs to specialise in how it reflects and supports cultural activity. Cities and regional assemblies should take the lead with individuals, arts organisations and heritage sites in their area. They should also take responsibility for cultural cohesion initiatives and share best practices. Nation states should wave their flags, champion their languages and pretend to be important but – unless they have under 10 million people – leave the work that is not about them to others. Europe (whether the large Strasbourg-based Council or smaller Brussels-centred Union) should treat the continent and its islands as one big city – funding its networks, supporting the organisations that bear its name and investing in the future so that, when the nationalistic fervour burns out, it has the infrastructure to take a federal lead once again.

delightful realm of inherent human characteristics – like skin, we all have culture, whether it is presentable or not – and becomes a minor afterthought in the public spending process.

So those who work in the cultural arena are constantly bewildered to find that they are treated in diametrically opposite ways. In one direction they are told that culture is a vital element of democratic life and that people have no identity without culture. In the other, they are regarded as mere entertainment, a bit of froth on top of the real economic dish.

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Bars and clubs can and do argue that they are more basic to the culture than



Mundy: culture is like skin – we all have it

Portrait of Simon Mundy featured in the *European Voice* article of 1997.

The following is an excerpt from an essay by Spanish art historian and curator Nuria Enguita Mayo, who was at the time Director of Fundació Antoni Tàpies in Barcelona. It was published in *Managing Diversity: Art and [the Art of] Organisational Change*, which the European Cultural Foundation compiled in 2008, one year after it introduced cultural diversity as a main focus of its work. Comprised of two volumes, the publication includes a number of testimonies and reflection pieces on how cultural organisations deal with diversity in and through their work. Significantly, this publication was launched the same year as the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, which also marks the creation of the Routes Princess Margriet Award for Cultural Diversity. This later became the ECF Princess Margriet Award for Culture. In 2008, one of the first Award laureates was Professor Stuart Hall, the father of cultural studies, who articulated a critical perspective to the discourse of diversity, increasingly used, not least, in the contemporary art world.

DISGUISED GEOGRAPHIES, VEILED HISTORIES

078

NURIA ENGUITA MAYO
2008

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
* WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
* MOBILITY & MIGRATION

* WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

The heterogeneity and the conflict present in our contemporary societies has been replaced in cultural discourse by diversity (another form of multiculturalism) and complementarity, with the further difficulty that the cultural industries, under the aegis of 'difference', are converting culture into one of their most profitable commodities, if not into an excuse for the total transformation of systems for relation and definition of subordinate social contexts. The exacerbation of typology, its conversion into cliché and the fetishist cult of rarity, uniqueness or 'authenticity' are transforming diversity into a type of publicity, aestheticising and depoliticising what is different, with a view to its rapid consumption.

The major cultural events – cultural fora, celebrations of diversity, etc. – which basically continue the 19th-century tradition of Universal Exhibitions * [p.224], as well as other proposals, seemingly more progressive, always seem to position the Other as an abstract being deprived of history, de-contextualised from any real geography or historical period. They represent essential cultures and identities, not currently relevant or socially constructed, getting dangerously close to questions of race and ethnicity or imaginary and mythical traditionalisms without any historical or scientific basis. The difference is then conceived as absolute and, above all, natural, without any association with time and history.

However, culture is not something that a person possesses, but rather it is something which is moulded; it is not an immutable thing, a locked piece of luggage that we transport from one place to another. Cultures that are dramatised in this manner do not seem to correspond to the process-based cultural systems which, like navigation systems, depend at all times on the user's position within historical time and political space, as Gerd Bauman (*The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities*) reminds us. The reification of culture, the organised representation of cultural difference, its exotic and timeless theme-setting, its marketing as ethnic difference, do not seem to contribute to the supposed cultural dialogue when, in reality, this Other lives in our local district and is part of our everyday routine, but in many cases is kept separate, if not shut away and without a voice. A critical analysis of culture, a true dialogue, would require real collective action, which would emphasise contacts in a given time and place, creating multiple narratives which are open and under constant transformation and which consider identities as acts of identification within a context. According to Gerd Baumann all identities are identifications, all identifications are dialogical and all attempts to achieve a shared dream are practical. Cultural phenomena, separated from their political, social and economic reality, help to freeze semantics, and, having been converted into stereotypes, prevent any practice of resistance.

Within contemporary art there are still too many socially present and politically profitable works or exhibitions that present diversity and conflict as de-contextualised and sterile narratives, out of time and place, aestheticising what is different and re-updating colonialist historical clichés. Artistic or cultural proposals that reproduce an 'exotic' and 'topical' vision, easily digestible for Western consumption, are accepted without any kind of criticism – journalistic clichés,

which simplify and reduce the complexity of these societies, but which act as a moral alibi and an escape valve for Western democracies.

The critical potential of an artistic work does not depend on its relationship with the standards accepted in advanced societies, but rather on the relationship and adaptation that it is capable of establishing between language, content and context. It seems inevitable that a real presence of diversity within culture can only come from a radical change in the place in which it is declared, from a change in point of view, so that the heterogeneity of disparate and diachronic historical processes is accepted, and special attention is paid to the details and minor variations that allow us to articulate different perspectives. Ultimately this would mean putting into practice a break in the consensus, as the fixed way of producing a shared reality. Then it would not so much mean criticising institutions, official powers or means of communication, but rather creating new forms of intervention, new cultural or artistic devices, which question this distribution of what is accepted.

It is possible that one of the areas of greatest resistance and real heterogeneity currently lies in the use of new communication tools as channels for spreading independent news on the internet, or in personal or collective blogs, in spite of the difficulty in moving around and establishing a presence in a world oversaturated with information. Very often persecuted and sometimes censored, these spaces allow a spontaneous and critical rejection of products accepted by consensus in traditional information, providing other possibilities and other fora for debate. And finally, and as a counterpoint to technology (or as its opposite) it seems fundamental, at a time when truth is so threatened, to recover micro-history by means of retrieving from and working with archives. This work incorporates memories of the past and allows a break with the dominant linear progression of history by defining new frameworks for understanding the present, and it is fundamental in the reconstruction of local micro-memories.

IMAGINING DIFFERENT FUTURES

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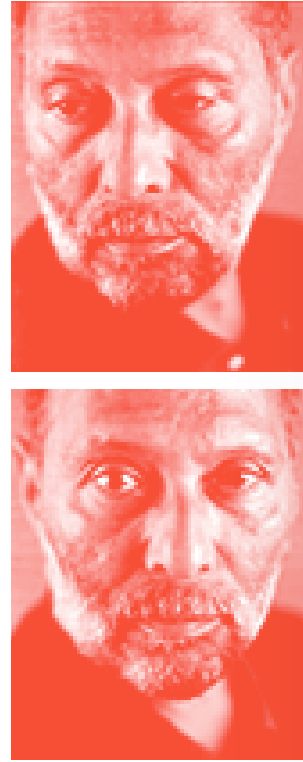
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The following text is a keynote speech by Gilane Tawadros, Chief Executive of DACS (Design and Artists Copyright Society), a London-based not-for-profit visual artists' rights management organisation, and founder of the Institute of International Visual Arts, which she directed until 2004. It was delivered during the opening of the first European Cultural Challenge in Amsterdam on 15 May 2018. Bringing together over 100 participants – artists, activists, academics, policymakers, representatives from philanthropy and businesses, the Challenge drew on the European Cultural Foundation's long-lasting tradition of initiating 'reflection groups' with the aim of looking at the *status quo* of a particular topic, and proposing new ideas related to these. Organised under the overall topic of 'Courageous Citizens', the 2018 European Cultural Challenge comprised seven working groups that explored issues relating to municipalism, economy, the role of public cultural institutions.

The European Cultural Challenge ended with the ceremony of the ECF Princess Margriet Award for Culture, which celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2018.

GILANE TAWADROS 2018

A decade ago, the teacher, cultural theorist and public intellectual Stuart Hall delivered his acceptance speech on the occasion of being recipient of the ECF Princess Margriet Award for Culture. In his speech, Stuart spoke about how important it is to “recognise and learn to value difference” and how we need to learn how to negotiate difference, “slowly and sometimes painfully.” At this particular historical and political juncture, not just in Europe but all over the world, the need to value difference and to negotiate difference has never been more necessary and more urgent. We are living through a period of rapid and momentous change. There is a sense that there has been an acceleration, an intensification and depth to the changes in the political and social landscape, which some find exciting and liberating and others find ominous and disturbing. These changes have been punctuated by a sequence of events that seem to be indications of more systematic and even seismic shifts in our social and political reality: the ISIS-inspired attacks in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, London, Manchester and elsewhere; the assassination of the British politician Jo Cox by a right-wing extremist; the Brexit referendum vote; the election of Donald Trump in the US; the increasing popularity of far-right political groups across Europe, which have had significant electoral success in Italy, Hungary ✱ [p.110] and also here in the Netherlands. Although these are very different events with different actors and locations, they have all been framed by questions of race, nation and identity; more specifically, they raise the question of living or rather *not* living with difference.



Dawoud Bey, Portrait of Stuart Hall, 1998. Commissioned by the National Portrait Gallery in conjunction with Autograph ABP.

This Saturday’s *The Guardian* newspaper carried a front page story on Professor Tendayi Achiume, the UN special rapporteur on racism who spent 11 days in Britain investigating the impact of Brexit on racial equality and concluded that there

has been a ‘Brexit-related growth’ in ‘explicit racial, ethnic and religious intolerance’ including ‘extreme views’ that have gained ground in mainstream parties of the left and right.



Front page, *The Guardian*, Saturday 12 May 2018.

Perhaps one of the most tangible effects of the current historical conjuncture is the overriding sense of fissure, not only in terms of a break in the cultural consensus but equally of a divide between different communities and constituencies. In the context of a violent backlash against all kinds of difference – racial, sexual, ethnic and religious – one of the key challenges we face today is how we can create a space in which we can learn to recognise and value difference and negotiate each other’s differences. What makes this difficult and uncomfortable is that truly recognising and valuing difference means acknowledging that difference cannot be assimilated, resolved or erased. What Stuart Hall reminds us in his writings is that Europe’s historical entanglements beyond its shores – through slavery, colonial relationships and imperialism – were founded upon racial and cultural difference and upon unequal relations of power. Being courageous citizens in the 21st century therefore depends upon us recognising and negotiating difference on *equal* terms.



Front cover of Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (Macmillan: 1978).

In the 1970s, Stuart Hall was working as a professor at the Centre for Cultural Studies in Birmingham where he and his colleagues carried out research into race, mugging and

crime. This resulted in a book published in 1978 called *Policing the Crisis*. The book was produced in the context of a deepening political and social crisis in the 1970s in Britain and the rise of a new right-wing, free market politics that was spearheaded by a politician called Margaret Thatcher. The book is a forensic study into the different contributing factors that gave rise to the moral panic about mugging – crime statistics, media reporting, the courts, police attitudes to young black men in Britain’s cities – all of which contributed to this moral panic and provided the opportunity for the new right in Britain to assert itself as the means by which order and authority could be restored.

It’s important to emphasise that the deepening political and social crisis at that time was not all about race but race was a recurring motif and race and crime were at the centre of what ‘Thatcherism’ – Stuart coined the phrase – could focus on as a way to try to roll back the social democratic consensus in Western Europe in the post-war period. By studying the rise of new right politics and the increasing authoritarianism of the state through the lens of race, Stuart was able to identify before many others how Margaret Thatcher’s rise was not just a political victory for the new right – but critically – that this marked a profound change in political culture and marked a shift to a new historical conjuncture. As Stuart correctly identified, Thatcherism was not simply a British manifestation, it was the beginning of globalisation and a ‘new stage in the global capitalist economy’. Here in the Netherlands, the sociologist and political scientist Merijn Oudenampsen has drawn parallels between the moral panic in Britain in the 1970s described in *Policing the Crisis* and recent developments in the Netherlands where he identifies a similar moral panic in relation to crime and Dutch Moroccan youth who are seen to be a threat to societal values and interests, prompting a *Marokkanendebat* – a debate about Moroccans in the Dutch Parliament a few years ago in April 2013 (Revisiting ‘Policing the Crisis’, book review in *Anthropoliteia*, 22 May 2014).



Michael Landy Studio, *Breaking News*, installation view, London, 2015. © Michael Landy. All rights reserved. DACS/Artimage 2019. Courtesy of Thomas Dane Gallery, London. Photo: Richard Ivey.

How can we make sense of the current social and political juncture in Europe through the prism of race – and more specifically through the prism of attitudes to migrants to Europe and to European citizens who are Muslim – the people whom the Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte described last year in the run-up to the Dutch general election as *alloch-*



Fiona Tan, *A Lapse of Memory* (2007), 24 minutes. Courtesy of the artist and Frith Street Gallery, London.



toon – ‘Dutch strangers’? Can we, as Stuart Hall did, turn the mirror back onto ourselves and interrogate how the different elements of our social and political reality have been constructed block by block to create the conditions in which we now find ourselves?

We did not arrive at this current situation overnight. Although it sometimes feels as though events have been unfolding rapidly over a short time-frame, the reality is that changes have been taking place slowly over an extended timeline during which we have seen the emergence of neo-liberalism as ‘a new epoch in the world’ that has profoundly transformed social and cultural relations across the globe, leading to conflicts, displacements, migrations, the suppression of human rights and dramatic inequalities in the economic conditions of millions of people around the world. Throughout Europe, a pervasive anxiety grips indigenous communities. Those who have been cast adrift by the forces of globalisation and neo-liberal economics feel alienated and disenfranchised in their own homes. In response, they turn nostalgically to an idea of a homogenous national identity that has probably never existed; and turn against those whom they consider to be strangers in their midst. Coupled with this turn against the stranger, the outsider, the migrant, the refugee, is what Stuart describes as a profound historical forgetfulness about Europe’s past and its entanglements with other parts of the world through its histories of slavery, empire and colonialism. Europe lives in the shadow of this past.

So how does culture fit into this picture?



Frank Bowling, *Marcia H. Travels* (1970), Copy-right Dallas Museum of Art, TWC x TWC for AIDS and Art Fund, 1988.15.McD.

Let us return to Stuart Hall: in the same way that race provided him with a lens through which to see bigger shifts and changes in society and culture at large, culture too was important to Stuart as a means by which to understand deeper currents in society and to address questions that could not be articulated easily in other contexts. He recognised that “culture is a dimension of everything” and that as he so succinctly put it, “everything both exists and is imagined.” If we want to penetrate into the area where deep feelings are involved, which people hardly understand, he advises us, we have to look at culture.

“If you want to learn more, or see how difference operates inside people’s heads, you have to go to art, you have to go to culture – to where people imagine, where they fantasise, where they symbolise. You have to make the detour from the language of straight description to the language of the imaginary.”

I now want to make my own detour to the imaginary and consider what it means to be an artist and intellectual in this present political moment. I want to consider what role, if any, the artist and intellectual has at this time of social, economic and political turbulence?

In 2006, the artist Fiona Tan made a film called *A Lapse of Memory*. The film imagines a solitary and lonely man shut up inside the Royal Pavilion – an extravagant, ostentatious palace built in Brighton on the English coast by the 18th-century regent Prince George. Tan’s protagonist Henry is an eccentric, living in voluntary exile and completely oblivious to his luxurious and extravagant surroundings. He talks to himself constantly, unable to distinguish past from present, reality from fiction. Henry’s mind appears as confused as the décor of the Royal Pavilion with its hybrid quotation of Indian, Chinese and Japanese styles. It appears as if Tan’s eccentric old man has been shaped irrevocably by the culture from which he is a recluse and which, perhaps, has been the cause of his delusions.

In his memoir, *Familiar Stranger* (2017), Stuart Hall talks about his strategic self-exile from his place of birth Jamaica and how he lived – as he put it – on the hinge between the colonial and post-colonial worlds. ✱ [p.156] The diaspora experience shaped Stuart’s ideas. It enabled him to think differently – or as he put it – to think diasporically. Diasporic thinking involves seeing the world from multiple positions simultaneously, both geographically and temporally. It entails understanding the present moment through the prism of the historical past. I believe that this current political moment requires us all to think diasporically: because the past – in terms of Europe’s historical entanglement in slavery, empire and colonialism – continues to haunt the present. And because in this globalised world, what happens over *there* beyond the shores of Europe, has an impact and effect *here*.



Zarina Bhimji, *Memories Were Trapped Inside the Asphalt* (1998-2003). All Rights Reserved, DACS 2019. Courtesy of Zarina Bhimji Studio.

The family of the artist Zarina Bhimji was amongst thousands of Ugandan Asian families who arrived in Britain in the 1970s. In 1972, President Idi Amin ordered the expulsion of Ugandans of South Asian descent from Uganda. As has happened repeatedly throughout history, the expulsion was a means to detract attention from the country’s political and economic problems and to scapegoat a minority who were given 90 days to pack up and leave their homes.



These works by Zarina Bhimji, which relate to her monumental film *Out of Blue* (2002), address the experience of forced exile and its residues in a poetic and elliptical way. The works are almost an anti-archive in the sense that they do not elicit any factual information from what has happened in the past or organise the fragments of the past into any ordered, meaningful way. Rather these haunting, melancholic images speak of cataclysmic events that appear to have been forgotten or neglected. Bhimji has described the works as being concerned with “learning to listen to ‘difference’, the difference in shadows, microcosms and sensitivity to ‘difference’ in its various forms. Listening with the eyes, listening to changes in tone, difference in colour... it is about making sense through the medium of aesthetics.”



Adel Abdessemed, *Exit* (1996-2009). Copyright Adel Abdessemed, ADAGP, Paris, 2019.

In his 1993 Reith Lecture – part of a series of radio lectures given by leading figures of the day commissioned by the BBC – the Palestinian intellectual Edward Said talked about what it means to be an intellectual: “The challenge of intellectual life,” he says, “is to be found in the dissent against the *status quo* at a time when the struggle on behalf of under-represented and disadvantaged groups seems so unfairly weighted against them.” For Said, being *both* an intellectual *and* an exile brings with it distinct advantages. The condition of marginality which accompanies the exile (and we can also add the immigrant and the refugee) frees the intellectual from “having to proceed with caution, afraid to overturn the apple cart.”

“To be as marginal and as undomesticated as someone who is in real exile,” says Said, “is for an intellectual to be unusually responsive to the traveller rather than to the potentate, to the provisional and risky rather than to the habitual, to innovation and experiment rather than the authoritatively given *status quo*. The exilic intellectual does not respond to the logic of the conventional but to the audacity of daring, to representing change, to moving on, not standing still.”

The space of arts and culture presents the opportunity for a radically different model of enquiry based on the proposition that, unlike science, religion, politics and many other fields of our intellectual and social lives, contemporary artistic practice is concerned with posing questions about the

world around us, rather than offering up answers or solutions. Because, until we understand fully the questions that we are asking – in a profound, critical and self-reflexive way – then we are unlikely to find the right answers.

Let us think about (1) making sense *through* culture and (2) thinking diasporically; that is, seeing the world from multiple positions simultaneously, both geographically and temporally. I’d like to propose that the challenge *and* the opportunity of this current conjuncture is for all of us – artists, intellectuals, policymakers – to embrace fully the conditions of marginality and exile and in doing so, to challenge the *status quo*; to take risks; to innovate and experiment; to move on... imagining a different future to the present in which we find ourselves, and thereby transforming it.

Sutapa Biswas, *Birdsong* (2004). Colour Photograph. Production Still from *Birdsong*, 16mm film transferred onto 2 DVDs. Copyright Sutapa Biswas. All Rights Reserved DACS 2017.



SOME SUGGESTIONS IN REGARDS TO 'FONDATION EUROPÉENNE DE LA CULTURE'

088

FRANS OTTEN AND FRITS PHILIPS 1957

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
* EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
* MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

Starting in the late 1950s and until the mid-1960s, the European Cultural Foundation organised a number of meetings and annual congresses around topics relevant to the development of the European continent, such as the future of education and the future of youth. The first congress took place in Amsterdam in November 1957. Following their attendance, Frans Otten and Frits Philips, respectively Director and Vice-Director of Philips Gloeilampenfabrieken N.V. (Philips Lightbulb Factories Ltd.) in Eindhoven, wrote up a number of suggestions as to how the new Foundation could better strategise its work and gain more traction in its fundraising efforts. While the main conclusion is based on the need to outline three-year programmes focused on specific themes, the document also discussed who, in their opinion, should be the main beneficiaries of the Foundation's work: the youth. The main idea suggested to get young people involved was centred on the 1958 World Exhibition * [p.224] in Brussels: in order to "enlighten the younger generation of Europe," they should be brought to the Expo pavilions on weekly busses, departing from each European capital. The following is an excerpt of the document submitted in 1957.

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When thinking about the actual work the Foundation is faced with, we cannot help thinking that those who stand to benefit most from the Foundation's work are the millions of young people now studying at the secondary schools, universities and academies of the free European countries.

Despite the fact that much progress has been made in fighting nationalistic and chauvinistic education, it cannot be denied that the general outlook of our generation is still suffering from prejudice, shallow-mindedness and outspoken preference for nationalistic achievements in the broader sense of the word.

There is not a possible doubt, however, that the more our young generation will be made to learn about the achievements of other countries in cultural, scientific and technical fields, the more they will appreciate each other and the stronger that Europe of tomorrow will be. In this respect it is our candid opinion

that any money spent by the Foundation will be put to the most effective use when it will be applied to enlighten the younger generation of Europe.

In fact we strongly believe that the larger part of its funds should be used for this purpose, leaving room for incidental support of efforts, the significance of which rises far above the average.

If we can agree upon the above procedure, we might then conclude that the Foundation's work for the present time would mainly be devoted to confront the younger generation with facts, figures and examples of other people's achievements, thus broadening its outlook, training it, as it were, for greater responsibilities in a United Europe.

A new and much wider horizon unfolds itself with all the effects it may eventually have on better understanding and even on a better and a higher productivity.

*
here we have indeed a unique chance to confront the young people of the European countries with the culture of their neighbors, presented in a way as will not be possible again for a great number of years to come. To miss such a chance would deprive the Foundation of one of the most important avenues for better understanding and greater appreciation between the free peoples of Europe.

We are, therefore, suggesting that during 1953 the Foundation's activity should almost exclusively be confined to sponsor excursions for young people coming from all parts of Europe descending on Brussels where they are made to meet, and exchange ideas about the future of Europe.

Reduced to practical possibilities, it might be e.g. be possible to send one bus, filled with student's and highschool pupils each week from the capitals of all Western European countries, all to arrive at the same day in Brussels where they are met by the Foundation's representatives and either split up in groups or kept together, spending a few days studying each other's representative exhibitions. After that a big get-together, something along the lines of a Jamboree where opportunities will present themselves for an exchange of ideas on what has been seen and inspected, may take place. Opinions and impressions could then be crystallized and given shape.

What better ambassadors for a United Europe could be forged here than those having visited all the splendid pavilions in which are exhibited the best fruits of present day European civilisation and culture.

No doubt, those returning will spread the gospel and we like to think that if the Foundation could possibly take such an important initiative, the results would be very positive and inspiring.

One bus every week from every European capital for the duration of the Exposition might very well become a platform from which the Foundation could start operating in different field.

It is not questionable that the wholehearted and energetic support could be enlisted from educational authorities from all countries which would gladly, we think, undertake the work to familiarise the various schools and institutions with the idea that there is a possibility for a limited number of students and highschool pupils to visit the Brussels Exhibition.

Naturally they will have to earn such a distinction, either by writing an essay on the future of Europe, or through having personally distinguished themselves in some way or

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"Under modern conditions, with the concept of power as functional control and ability to take functional decisions, a good technician must be something more than a mere expert. His technical education must be the basis for the formation of the new intellectual of the future, who is going to be neither an idealizer of the past detached from reality nor a doctrinaire irresponsible reformer. A good technician must realize that his specialized, technical activity has broader implications and a far greater meaning for the whole society."

THE WORLD FACING EUROPE

Only a few years after the Universal Exhibition and Frits Philips' suggestions for student travel, the European Cultural Foundation organised its 1962 annual congress in Brussels titled 'Europe's Mission', focusing on the education of young Europeans. It brought together French, Austrian and British professors who reflected on Europe as an ideal to follow worldwide, or what during one speech was termed the 'European we-feeling'. Organised excursions took the participants to sites like the Erasmus House in Anderlecht, or other Belgian tourist destinations like Bruges or Ghent.

The moderately self-congratulatory tone of the congress was briefly disrupted during Raghavan N. Iyer's speech. A political theorist from India, who received a Rhodes scholarship to study at Oxford University in 1950, Iyer was in his early thirties at the time and had just received his doctorate when he caused quite a stir at the conference. In his speech, he criticised the racialism and paternalism of Europe and the so-called European canon of education. He rhetorically challenged Europe with a number of questions: Is Europe going to allow for other influences to be considered, other voices to be heard, hailing from Asia, Africa, the Middle East and South America? Or is it going to hold onto its heritage and supposed values, hoping it remains forever unchanged, untainted?

The reactions to his lecture were not only positive: some journalists called him arrogant, even insolent; others questioned the veracity of his statements, asking if the issues he addressed would remain relevant after decolonisation. In any case, the polarising responses from both members of the press and the attending scholars proved he had hit a certain nerve.

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
* WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
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RAGHAVAN N. IYER 1962

A transcript of the speech was published in issue n°8 of *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe*, a magazine published by the European Cultural Foundation between 1960 and 1964.



“...does civilisation consist in a commanding tone, or in hypocrisy?...” Princess Kartini to Mrs. R. M. Abendanon-Mandri, October 27, 1902.

The world outside Europe, especially in Asia and Africa, took what Europe had to give culturally and, indeed, that was a great deal, the true measure of which will be seen by the heirs of those who received it in the decades and centuries to come.

But the receiving countries had to take what Europe had to give on highly unfavourable terms of trade, and increasingly rejected the monopolistic claims of European power, European Christianity and European culture. European ascendancy was challenged everywhere until its end became inevitable, hastened by internal divisions that led to two World Wars. As early as the 1840's '[Aleksandr Ivanovich] Herzen refused to believe that the destinies and the future of humanity are fixed and nailed to Western Europe, and he foresaw the U.S.A. and Russia as 'the two torchbearers of the future'. Sixty years ago the Javanese princess Kartini wrote that "the time has long gone by when we seriously believed that the European is the only true civilisation, supreme and unsurpassed; ... does civilisation consist in a commanding tone, or in hypocrisy?" And yet Kartini was a great admirer of Europe and wanted her people to gain from Europe.

The victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 marked a turning point in the history of Asia and the world. Then in 1909 was published Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*, a severe indictment of modern European civilisation, which even today most Europeans would find unpalatable. Tagore's writings to the end warned that the true spirit of European culture could only be released when European nationalism had been largely destroyed and there was a consequent decline in European power.

In the last decade the racialism and paternalism of Europe have been decisively rejected in a resurgent Africa. And yet, today, the European has altered their world map with surprising rapidity. European self-consciousness has enormously increased, but it has made it necessary for the European, even for the faithless technological European, [George Bernard] Shaw's 'new barbarian', to rediscover his own lost roots in classical culture and his religious as well as his secular tradition, and also to re-assess his own role in a radically different world from that known to his forebears. Europe's remarkable recovery since the last war is a profound tribute to the richness of the European heritage to humanity, the resilience, inventiveness and imagination of Europeans, as well as the ever-present energy and idealism that abundantly, though not exclusively, belong to Europe.

White Europe has considerably changed, the world around it has altered even more profoundly, perhaps totally, certainly irreversibly. The religious messianism of Europe has been powerfully challenged by a secular creed with the force of a religion, the resources of modern science and technology, and – above all, a historicist faith that time is on its side and the whole world is its oyster. It makes one think when one considers the remark of an Indian friend of mine that it is extraordinary that the ideological conflict in Europe is between two camps deriving their inspiration from two members of the same race. The message of the greatest human being that the Jewish race ever produced, regarded as God, not by Jews or non-Christians but by Christians, the message of the greatest personality and prophet ever pro-

duced by the Jewish race was challenged by the greatest Jewish revolutionary that ever lived and one of the most influential Jewish thinkers.

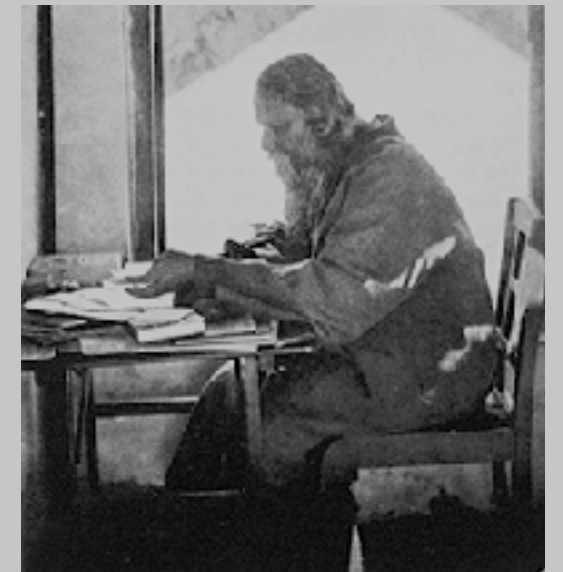
Internally Europe is ideologically divided, and outside there is a surging dynamism, a frightening self-confidence in Asia and Africa. Sometimes a non-European might be disconcerted by the fresh ebullience of the European, but I have only to remind myself that today Asians and Africans think and talk and feel as though history has totally changed, as though a cosmic event has transpired in the history of the world, a total Copernican revolution. We can indeed see a tremendous and excessive impatience, a restless Faustian dynamism among the peoples of Asia and Africa, trickling right down to the tiniest village and hamlet. Profound disturbances are taking place – there is a massive awakening, an unprecedented élan. Here we find in Asia and Africa – the home of the oldest cultures, the earliest civilisations, all the major religions, and of the majority of mankind – an upsurge of vitality and suddenly the inheritors of old cultures are more proud to be citizens of new nations. We see this more clearly than elsewhere, perhaps tragically, in the case of China, an ancient and wise civilisation, now behaving at times like a juvenile delinquent.

"The ghosts of dead ideas are ever with us," said Ibsen. Unfortunately the ghosts of discarded or discredited European notions have secured a ghoulish lease of life in Asia and Africa, especially the gospel of automatic material progress, not yet entirely disavowed by Europe, as one sees every now and again. This secular creed of automatic material progress has entered Africa and even Asia, which has always been extremely cynical about material, let alone automatic unilinear progress, with its doctrine of cycles, with its belief that humanity has existed for millions of years, with its profound sense of the infinity of this universe.

We find in Asia and Africa today an assertive nationalism, even disguised racialism. Indeed, there is an ugly form of racialism emerging – and how typically unfair, it does not discriminate between one European and another, between one white man and another, it cannot discriminate between the pinko-greys. Asia and Africa have also imported Benthamite utilitarianism, militant collectivism, messianic socialism, even Hayekian liberalism, the worship of political and military power for its own sake, entrenched bureaucratism, the multiplication of new wants, conspicuous consumption, an obsession with uniqueness and exclusive claims, even in regard to religion – the ultimate sin for us in the East – ideological fanaticism, arrogant atheism, the cult of cynicism, ruthless competition. We find increasingly the attitude – "I'll take care of myself, I shall conquer – you take care of yourself or be left behind!" – the Darwinian doctrine of struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, new forms of cultural parochialism and collective egoism. This is indeed a profound tragedy, which must make Europeans sit up and seriously think. These dismal tendencies are sometimes turned by non-Europeans against Europe, but also, and increasingly, towards each other. The best Europeans, the most sensitive, the most honest, the most humble, must shudder at the consequences of so-called Europeanisation and the future nemesis that is bound to come owing to

European errors in the past. A few ethnocentric Europeans have already begun to talk once again of the rape of Europe by the non-European bull.

Hegel thought that the only lesson taught by world history is that we learn nothing from it. Will non-Europeans, Asians, Africans at last learn from the lessons of European history? Who is to tell them? Have Europeans learnt those lessons? Surely the answer to this crucial question will depend upon whether Europeans now show that they have really learnt the lessons of their history; that they are at last anxious to discard the coarse, and renew the finer elements in their tradition; that they can understand, and are willing to exemplify, the dictum that a good European must be a good world citizen above all else. It is Europeans who must now show that they have the strength, the courage and the will to resist perhaps the last and greatest temptation that Europe is facing – the temptation of replacing an older nationalism by a new form of chauvinism, attractive to those who feel it, sad and ugly to those who do not.



"Tagore's writings warned..."

In order to envisage a new and creative role for Europe in our world, we must, I think, consider the benefit that Europe could secure for itself, the example it could set to the whole world, and the positive contribution it could make to humanity today by a concrete programme for the re-education of the European. How can Europe help non-Europeans? Do I really need to talk about the goods, the technology, the assistance, the sympathy, all kinds of skills that Europe could give – these indeed we must receive. We will get them at a world level, we will take them from everywhere, because that is possible with things that can be bought or bartered. But I think what we really want from Europe – and this comes right from my heart – we want Europe to produce good Europeans. We have not seen enough good Europeans outside of Europe and it is sad that even today and certainly in the past, individual Europeans – individual Englishmen, Dutchmen, Frenchmen – were commended by non-Europeans for not being like Europeans in general.

“Do Europeans wish to apply the techniques of co-existence achieved within Europe to a world plain and thus promote the co-existence of the races, nations, cultures, religions and political philosophies of humanity? Have they anything to learn from the experiments in co-existence elsewhere, in South Asia, in the Middle-East, even in America?”

When Europe begins to cultivate its own garden, in Voltaire’s phrase, then we shall come to say that even if Europe did not exist, it would have to be invented – but not until then. The Lusiads of Europe have returned home, but their new mission is more exacting than the old, for it requires more thought, more self-examination, more humility, more real tolerance, not talk about tolerance, more daily civility, not boasting about civility. Are Europeans prepared to heed the teachings of Christ, or will they disown their teacher, like Dostoevsky’s Grand Inquisitor? Are they really willing to study in a receptive spirit the scriptures of other religious teachers, or are they more concerned, the cleverer they are, to disparage Krishna, Buddha, Lao Tze.

We are greedy in the East when we hear about the New Testament or Plato’s *Republic* – we grab it, we want to derive what we can from it. There are many people today in the East for whom the New Testament, the *Republic* of Plato, and the plays of Shakespeare mean more than for most Europeans. But how many Europeans are there who have actually read the Bhagavadgita, the message of Krishna given 5,000 years ago for the dark age of Kali Yuga?

There are several questions that I urge Europeans to ask themselves. Are they really prepared to receive, to draw from these great texts now accessible to all, to study them with an open mind and to derive benefit from them? Are Europeans willing to widen their concept of antiquity and study the classics of all cultures, or are they concerned to fit even the Greeks into their own crudely Christian or rationalistic models of European history? Have Europeans really learnt the lesson of the Crusades, or do they now wish to embark upon a fresh crusade against newly chosen external enemies? Are they prepared to recover the sense of wonder and curiosity of the Renaissance, the universalism of the Enlightenment, the pride of the Stoics in their membership of humanity? Are they, like non-Europeans, anxious to learn the art of living, to make of one’s life, as Thoreau said, ‘a poem’? Are Europeans interested merely in what they can spend in the way of energy or do they give some thought to conserving power, the reserve power that belongs to the African chief and the Asian peasant? It is the reserve power of Europe that we non-Europeans are interested in, not merely what is displayed, not merely the ebullience of the European. What will count in the long run is their capital and what it means to them, their spiritual security, not merely their temporary profits.

Are Europeans still going to regard themselves merely as children of the modern age of material and scientific progress? Are they still concerned (as some Europeans have been in the past, though regarded at times as traitors) with the cause of freedom and justice in far off places, even when the sinners are white-skinned? Are Europeans prepared to contemplate the redistribution of the world’s income and resources in favour of the world’s proletariat? Do Europeans wish to apply the techniques of co-existence achieved within Europe to a world plain and thus promote the co-existence of the races, nations, cultures, religions and political philosophies of humanity? Have they anything to learn from the experiments in co-existence elsewhere, in South Asia, in the Middle-East, even in America? Do Europeans really believe

in strengthening international institutions and empowering the United Nations, even if they have to concede the democratic claims of non-European peoples to take their share in determining the pattern of global action and world unity? Or is it to be said that, while some Europeans took an active part in creating this imperfect instrument, others have now merely developed an anti-establishment complex in regard to the United Nations, which now has a Buddhist, not a Christian, and a Burman, not a European, as the Secretary General? Above all, are Europeans more anxious to make unique claims for themselves and their heritage, or to take legitimate pride in their contribution without devaluing the contributions of other peoples and civilisations to the sum total of human wisdom and world culture?

When Europeans, or at least a small band of new Lusiads, are ready to face up to the full implications of these and related questions, they will then be willing to devise and advocate concrete measures of educational reform, and in these matters it is not for us to advise them.

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Family portrait of Raghavan N. Iyer and his family during the Foundation’s annual congress in Brussels, 1962.

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Are our senses equally sensitive?



Do our eyes perceive the truth?
And our senses?



How do you like it that we should suspend our judgments
about the world when getting to know this world?



Is it good that a concept is already done

Film stills from *Philosophy Classes*, by Maciej Diduszko and Kasia Krapacz (Poland, 2009). The short film documents a philosophy class conducted by the Association of Philosophical education Phronesis with participants aged from 10 to 12. The film is part of MediActivism.eu: an online platform that offers a safe space for activists to share their causes and discuss how to mutually support each other in achieving their aims. The platform was launched in 2018 and follows more than a decade during which the Foundation has dedicated a large part of its work to media activism, notably with programmes such as Doc Next Network (2010-2014) and Displaced in Media (2016-2018).

ERASMUS: GENESIS OF A PROGRAMME (SINCE 1973)

LORE GABLIER
2019

ERASMUS is undoubtedly one of the most famous European programmes, and many would say even one of the most successful innovations in recent European history. Few people, however, know that its name not only refers to the Dutch humanist, who for many represents a key figure in European culture, but that it is at the same time an acronym for European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students. Similarly, only few people know the complete genealogy of ERASMUS, which is more complex than the story told in official history books and can actually be traced back long before the official launch of the programme in 1987.

Although education had surfaced as a recurring topic in European discussions and notably within the European Cultural Foundation, for instance with Fred Polak's future plans * [p.224], Frits Philips' suggestions for mobility * [p.088] and Raghavan N. Iyer's admonitions at the Congress in Brussels * [p.092], things only really started falling into place for European education in 1973. That year, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark joined the EU's predecessor, the European Economic Community, marking the first in a series of enlargements leading up to 2013, when Croatia became the European Union's newest member.

In 1973, Raymond Georis was appointed Secretary General of the European Cultural Foundation, after serving as Director of the Plan Europe 2000 * [p.135] project 'Educating Man for the 21st Century' for six years. 1973 also

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IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

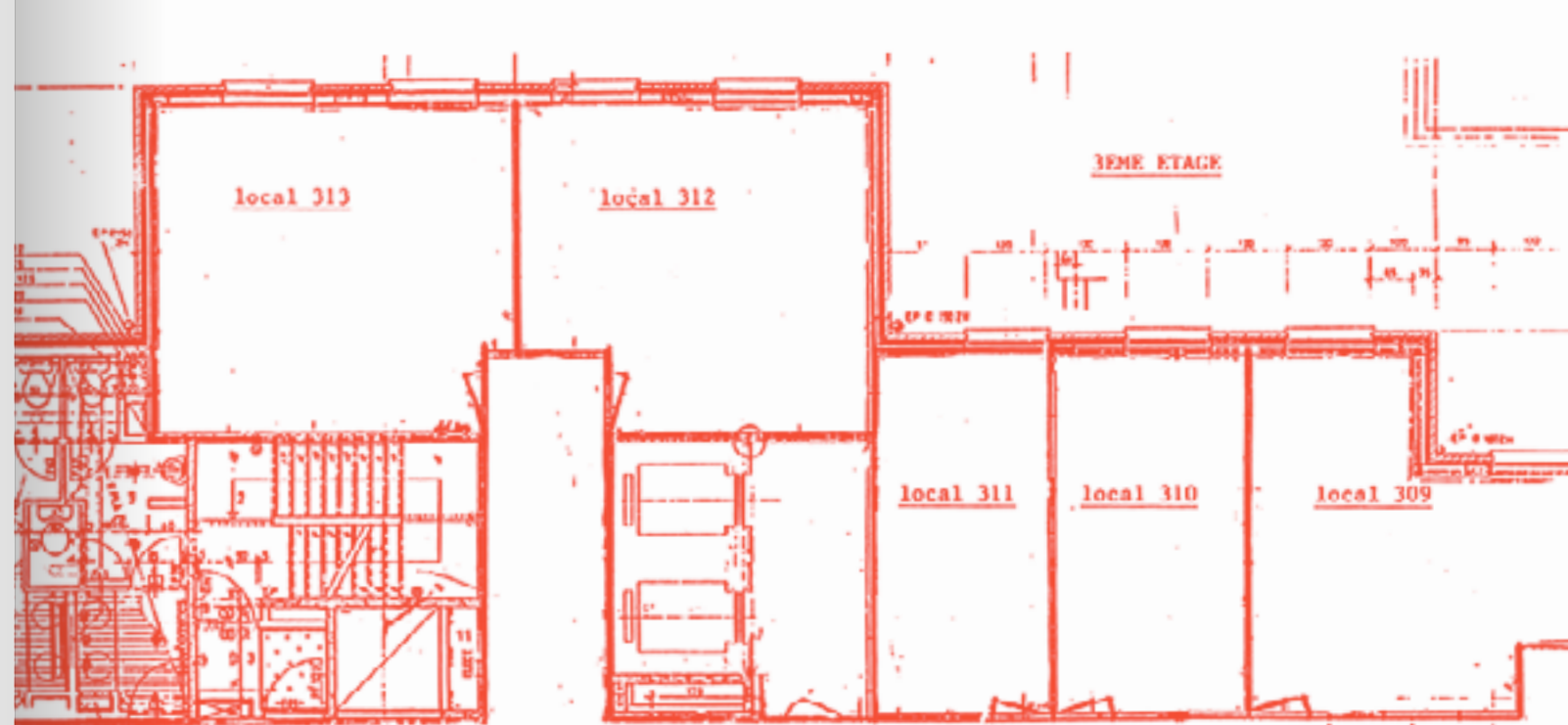
marked the creation of a department for education and youth policy within the European Commission, headed at the time by Ralf Dahrendorf, also Chairman of the Foundation's German national committee. The direction of the new department was entrusted to Hywel Ceri Jones, who brought to Brussels the idea of integrated study abroad in other academic fields than foreign languages – a landmark feature of the University of Sussex where he had previously worked.

It was in their new respective roles that Jones and Georis met for the first time that very same year of 1973, at the request of the former, who was then seeking collaboration with the European Cultural Foundation. Meanwhile, Ladislav Čerych – an expert on higher education policy and former senior staff member at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – had accepted Georis' invitation to join the Foundation's team in Amsterdam. Together, they were discussing the establishment of an Institute of Education in Paris, which opened its doors two years later, in 1975, under Čerych's leadership. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Commission of the European Communities had a very limited mandate in educational affairs, which until today has remained primarily a national responsibility. Nonetheless, a first Action Programme was adopted in the mid-1970s to boost European cooperation in this field and the Commission was keen to launch the pilot initiatives foreseen at European level in close cooperation with suitably qualified organisations.

The European Cultural Foundation's new institute, led by Čerych in Paris, proved to be a potential partner whose independence and expertise – notably acquired thanks to the research on education developed as part of Plan Europe 2000 * [p.135] and a landmark study conducted by the institute on strategies for study abroad in Europe – would be key. With the financial support of the Commission, two pilot projects for inter-university cooperation and student mobility – the Joint Study Programmes (JSP) and Short Study Visits schemes – were initiated in the different member countries starting in 1976. The organisation and execution of these projects were entrusted to the European Cultural Foundation, via its Institute of Education, initially in



View of the first building that housed the ERASMUS Bureau, on Rue d'Arlon in Brussels.



Blueprint of the third floor of the ERASMUS offices, Rue Montoyer in Brussels, the largest building to house ERASMUS under the Foundation's administration.

Paris and then from 1980 via its Brussels office. From May 1982, this was called the Office for Cooperation in Education (OCE).

Between 1976 and 1986, over 500 universities worked together in the framework of the Joint Study Programmes, exchanging staff and building the necessary trust for student exchanges, which were also initiated, albeit on a modest scale, during the 'JSP' Scheme. As acknowledged by everyone centrally involved in its later development, the immediate success of ERASMUS was due in no small measure to these first ten years of experience. After the official launch of ERASMUS in 1987, the European Cultural Foundation continued to be closely involved in its implementation and development. The responsibility for the central operations office of the programme, the 'ERASMUS Bureau', was entrusted to the Foundation until 1995.

This was not the European Cultural Foundation's only contribution to the development of EU-sponsored cooperation in the education field. For a decade and a half up to the mid-1990s, the Foundation also provided the framework for the Brussels-based European Unit of EURYDICE, the Education Information Network of the European Community, led by Luce Pépin. And when the Iron Curtain was finally lifted, it was the European Cooperation Fund (forerunner of the European Foundations Centre and today's Network of Foundations – NEF) initiated by the Foundation which was given the task of assisting the Commission in the launch and implementation of the EU's vitally important TEMPUS programme for the support of higher education cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe led by Lesley Wilson. Together, these years of close collaboration with the European Commission constitute an innovative and highly productive example of public-private partnership at European level in the area of education.

But the story of ERASMUS would not be complete without taking a look back at the context in which it was launched. As leader of the European Cultural Foundation's team responsible for running the Joint Study Programmes scheme and director of the ERASMUS Bureau during the first five years of the programme, Alan Smith was one of the key figures in this ERASMUS story.

In an address delivered at the Schuman Student Congress in The Hague in 2018 (of which we reproduce an excerpt in the following pages), he emphasised that ERAS-

MUS was born at a time when Europe was facing economic stagnation and widespread 'eurosclerosis'. In this situation, the French socialist and new Commission President Jacques Delors seized the opportunity to reinforce the single market as a strategy to bring the Union together. But of course, Europe could not just be an economic project. A cultural dimension to it was also key. Somehow, ERASMUS served both purposes. On the one hand, it was instrumental in preparing a new elite that would enhance the single market. On the other hand, by enabling a much larger number of citizens – and especially young people – to cross national borders, it would help promote mutual understanding, the acceptance of diversity as a resource rather than a threat, and thereby contribute to the emergence of a united and truly European society.

MESSAGES FROM ERASMUS FOR EUROPEAN STRATEGY

ALAN SMITH
2018

ERASMUS was born at a time when Europe was emerging from crisis: Mrs. Thatcher's call "I want my money back" had been putting a brake on progress with integration in many areas; a period of economic stagnation had befallen several Member States; and 'Euro-sclerosis' had characterised the situation at European level for years.

The key factor in overcoming this, once the British problem had been solved, was Jacques Delors' strategy for com-

pleting the Single Market in a specific time-frame, which caused a strong surge in European negotiations and had an amazing galvanising and re-motivation effect on the European institutions' staff. Every department wanted to be in on the act – education included, and rightly so! But people don't fall in love with a Single Market. It was clearly recognised that alongside the bold step forward in the economic sphere, what was needed was also an equally bold strategy to encour-

age people to identify more with Europe. The Citizens' Europe idea was born, and ERASMUS was its centrepiece.

That was no coincidence, because ERASMUS fulfilled both requirements: it addressed the economic goal, by contributing to the production of the European 'human resources' (to use that rather dehumanised expression) which the Single Market would need in order to fulfil its potential, but at the same time it was the ideal agent for encouraging

people everywhere to become actively involved in Europe and to experience its benefits at first hand.

To digress for a moment, there is by the way a strong parallel with Robert Schuman here: While on the one hand he placed coal mining and steel production – the basic commodities for war as well as peaceful development and thus the most basic national interests – at the heart of the Europe he wanted to build, he recognised at the same time that this would not be enough. Europe, he said, “cannot and must not remain an economic and technical enterprise: it needs a soul.” Jean Monnet even went a step further and is quoted as saying that if he had to do it again he would start with culture. I think he would have been wrong. It is precisely by placing the essential national economic interests – at that time coal and steel – at the heart of the European project that it became possible to overcome the false dichotomy between national and European interest.

In my view this double approach – ensuring that the European strategy for overcoming problems is also in the best national interest (and not just for some countries but for all), while at the same time promoting direct citizen involvement in Europe – is the only one that will lead to the long-term viability of the Union.

The *outcomes* of ERASMUS also have a strong tale to tell in the broader European story book. There are many and I will not enumerate them in detail: for the students, the improvement in their professional prospects but also their personal enrichment and development; for the universities, more and stronger international links, spin-off effects on research collaboration, a more stimulating campus, more professionalised international services; for industry and national governments, a pool of young and dynamic professionals trained in and with a European perspective; and for the European Union, all of these benefits combined plus the contribution ERASMUS makes to the emergence of a truly European society. That is not just an empty piece of rhetoric: the participants in ERASMUS are proven to have a far higher than average incidence of life partners from a different country than their own, and the Commission’s statisticians have calculated that at least one million ‘ERASMUS

babies’ have resulted from the programme. That is what I call a very tangible outcome of European cooperation!

The point in this enumeration is not to vaunt the success of ERASMUS, but rather to point out that all the stakeholders in ERASMUS are seeing positive outcomes from the programme from their point of view, and are therefore keen to continue backing it further. That is an important message for the design of future European programmes.

Conclusions for the future

I would like to leave you with some parting thoughts concerning the future, and what the ERASMUS experience tells us in this regard. There are two thoughts in particular that I would like to share with you.

The first is that – fine though it is to support the mobility of students – that is not nearly an ambitious enough goal. Higher education is a sector with a strong tradition of international cooperation, and the people involved in it, staff and students alike, certainly tend to be more pro-European than the populace as a whole. We need to extend the benefits of ERASMUS to the whole of the education and training sector on a really large scale (to schools, to vocational training, to adult education), to give a major boost to youth and sport activities at the European level, and to launch new programmes enabling the population at large to get involved. The Citizens’ Europe, the building of partnerships and friendships in civil society across national borders, needs to become a reality rather than just a slogan. The cost would still be microscopic compared with the EU’s large spending sectors, and every euro invested in it will bring far higher social, political and also economic dividends in terms of the enhanced sense of identification with Europe I have been talking about.

The second conclusion for the future is that this is an agenda not just for the current ‘powers-that-be’ but also and in particular a rallying call for the younger generation, especially students. To put it bluntly, it is up to you to fight for your common future. When French President Emmanuel Macron sought a symbolic stage for delivering his speech setting out his vision for Europe, he chose the Sorbonne. That is not a coincidence.



‘ERASMUS: What’s that?’ Student enquirers keep ERASMUS Bureau staff busy at the Salon de l’Etudiant in Brussels soon after the programme’s launch.

All hands on deck at the Office for Cooperation (OCE): Jean-François Lahou (left), Guy Van Overstraeten (centre) and a student helper hard at work on the preparations for the Brussels Conference in late 1985, which preceded the launch of the European Commission’s proposal for the ERASMUS Programme.



EDUCATION IS NOT THE ONLY ANSWER

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A CONVERSATION WITH RAYMOND GEORIS 2019

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
* EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
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MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
* EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

The immediate success of ERASMUS encouraged the setting up of a number of European exchange programmes in higher education and beyond. These were conceived not only to promote a European shared identity, but also to fashion a specific type of 'European' – one that constitutes a member of the so-called 'elite'. In the following conversation, which took place in his home in the Belgian village of Maransart on 4 June 2019, the European Cultural Foundation's former Secretary General Raymond Georis – a pedagogue himself – discusses what the elite should, can and can't do, in his view.

Lore Gablier The notion of the 'elite' comes back very often in the archive of the European Cultural Foundation, especially in documents from the early period. At the time, the notion of the elite was very much linked to the question of education: to the need to prepare a new generation of leaders with a European commitment. Nowadays, however, the term 'elite' has taken up a complete different meaning.

Raymond Georis Before I joined the Foundation in 1967, it had preoccupied itself only with elitist culture, what in French you call the 'Beaux-arts'. But for me, culture encompasses education, environment, industrialisation: all these issues that we were addressing in Plan Europe 2000 * [p.135] with George Sluizer – who was General Secretary of the Foundation at the time. So for me, it was not a problem to have the term 'culture' in the Foundation's name. Culture was everything. It's a very easy word. You can use it for many purposes.

LG When we read about that notion of elite, it was not so much in relation to the arts, or to an intellectual class. It was more about shaping the Europe of tomorrow. So it all goes back to the question of education. In 1962, the Foundation organised a congress on the 'Education of the European of Tomorrow'. One of the speakers was Raghavan N. Iyer, * [p.092] a political theorist and philosopher. In his lecture, he questions the curricula provided in Europe, which is pretty much self-centred and sustains the idea of a hegemonic European culture.

RG Don't forget that the Board of Governors were at the time the big names in Europe in the fields of education and culture: Hendrik Brugmans,

René Huyghe, Denis de Rougemont, etc. It's true that it was the happy few. The Foundation never reached the man in the street. But should it? That's also very much the question.

Sabrina Stallone How much time, money and resources, even with ERASMUS, have been invested into creating this young elite? And why are we now rejecting the concept fully? Why is this political sentiment that comes from populism that completely rejects the elite? Shouldn't it be our job to also reclaim this term? What do we do with this 'elite'? Do we chime in with the negative and try to reach the man on the street, or do we claim it?

RG Don't forget that ERASMUS has also changed. In the beginning it was limited to universities. Now, it's open to a lot of other institutions, such as vocational schools. In my opinion, instead of criticising the elite, we should make its benefits available to more and more people. That is perhaps the best way. But it's true that in the last European Parliamentary elections an important proportion of highly educated voters supported far-right parties. So education is not the only answer. Perhaps, we need to look to what we call the 'social networks': they have a role nowadays that nobody expected. It's interesting. My grandson came to visit us earlier today because he was preparing a study on the impact of television. When you see a film on television at home and a film on a screen in the cinema, psychologists have noticed that the reactions to the same film are different. The right hemisphere, which traditionally is assumed to be the seat of emotions, is more attracted when you see a

film on TV, while the left hemisphere which is more thought to be about reason and critical thinking, is more stimulated in the theatre context.

SS The cinema is a stage more than a TV is, so you would expect some elevation.

RG Yes. That means that nowadays, emotions are more 'used' than reasoning. And emotions have nothing to do with education. You can be highly educated but you can still vote for Trump. For me, the question is emotion. Don't forget that populists are mostly emotion. We are using the right hemisphere more and more. And what can the European Cultural Foundation do to reach that hemisphere as well? That is the question.

LG Indeed, populists feed on fears and anxieties. But on the other hand, there is a need for reconnecting with our emotions: we cannot just avoid the fact that people have feelings.

RG But how should we do it?

SS The question is indeed more about what we make of our emotions; in the end, my emotions and a populist's emotions may not be that different.

RG But you don't react by fear only. You still keep a critical view. I agree, emotions are important because otherwise you would not be driven to achieve things. But you need to be equipped with critical and rational tools. This is maybe what culture can do: since Socrates – this master in irony, this expert in questioning – culture provides you with the critical tools to deal with your emotions, so that you don't just react or even overreact but you accept the contradiction. You may then define democracy as the only regime able to bear the contradiction and to balance antagonistic forces.

TO DECOLONISE IS TO REVEAL THAT KNOWLEDGE IS ALWAYS MARKED BY POWER RELATIONS

Tegiye Birey is a PhD candidate in Gender Studies at the Central European University and Utrecht University. In the following conversation, she talks about her experience studying and working at Central European University and the need to both protect and reform higher education in Europe.

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A CONVERSATION WITH TEGIYE BIREY 2019

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Sabrina Stallone (Higher) education is one of the areas most aggressively targeted by illiberal forces and authoritarian regimes across Europe, as maybe most strongly seen at your current alma mater, the Central European University (CEU) in Hungary. At the same time, voices about the reformation, decolonisation and diversification of universities are on the rise again. Why do you think that is? And how do we focus on one – protecting the university from anti-education manoeuvres – without losing sight of the other?

Tegiye Birey I think the crucial point here is to notice the interrelatedness of struggles for decolonisation of knowledge with struggles against illiberal attacks on universities. The movement to decolonise education, which has its genealogies in post-colonial and indigenous spaces, was reignited by the Rhodes Must Fall protests at the University of Cape Town when students demanded the removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes, a British colonialist, in 2015. Since then, the mantra 'decolonise the university' has found a broad echo across the globe. Decolonising does not only require bringing diversity into the curriculum, but also devising perspectives that enable blunt engagements with the texts, institutions and practices that are products of cultural and economic dispossessions and that have contributed to disproportionate accumulation of wealth and other forms of power by groups of elites, institutions, empires in their various manifestations. To put it simply, to decolonise is to reveal that knowledge is always marked by power relations. In Hungary, attacks on higher education are accompanied by attacks on civil society, the media, spaces

“While the founders of the European Cultural Foundation saw education as a tool to promote values such as openness and solidarity, some decades later, the period that preceded the Bologna Process has witnessed the framing of European education purely as a tool to meet the needs of the market. This, then, begs the question: what is there to the European identity other than participation in the single market?”

that sustain collective memories and action, attempted changes to the judicial system and the appropriation of seemingly democratic practices such as public consultations. From there, attacks on higher education in Hungary become part of a bigger political project of colonisation of all aspects of life and alternative possibilities of knowing and remembering. Resisting illiberal attacks in tandem with working towards decolonising the academy becomes especially significant in Europe’s current political climate where liberal-to-centre political actors do not shy away from catering to discourses that have been popularised by the right-wing opinionmakers, fearing to lose voters to the rising right. On such a slippery terrain, insisting against the erasure of histories, and tracing the connections between them and ongoing experiences of dispossession and oppression, figure as an urgent project.

SS You have been a PhD researcher at CEU over the past three years. How have you experienced the climate and attitudes towards education in Hungary?

TB The announcement of the legislation on the modification of the Higher Education Law in 2017, which effectively forced CEU out of Budapest, was preceded with the national curriculum being put under centralised government control some four years ago. Since then, Gender Studies programmes lost accreditation across universities with the justification that graduates from such programmes do not contribute to the economy. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the country’s oldest scientific institute, recently lost its research units and networks to another body that will be run by a board appointed by the Prime Minister. While attacks on education and other areas of life are accelerating through the amalgam of tactics that include legalism and well-networked oligarchic structures, attacks only do not represent the totality of the climate and attitudes towards education in Hungary. Budapest, the city in which CEU has been based for nearly three decades, houses other rooted higher education institutions such as Eötvös Loránd University and Corvinus University. This process also witnessed the rise of activist solidarities in-between the students of different universities in Budapest, leading to tent-protests by the Parliament, and generated mass demonstrations in defense of education. On 2 April 2017, nearly 10,000 protestors took to the street in Budapest to defend academic freedom. As one legislation after another attempts to reshape the new face of education in Hungary, political socialities that are not directly governed by law continue to serve as a strong resource to facilitate encounters of collective resistance, learning and imagination.

SS Your research centres on the gendered politics in networks of solidarity between migrants and local initiatives in Europe. Where do you see the university’s role and responsibility in tackling these issues?

TB In the face of the increased visibility of forced migration in the last five years, many universities across Europe launched special educational programmes for refugees. These initiatives not only provided spaces for

encounters and engagements amongst newcomers, academics and students (not always separate categories), but also offered opportunities to counter downward social mobility that the current migration regimes induce. However, these initiatives are not immune to illiberal attacks on education either. The CEU’s Open Learning Initiative, which aims to open the university to refugees and asylum-seekers, partially funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union, is now forced to continue part of its operations outside of Budapest. The duty of the university, therefore, is not only to make the university more accessible, but also to find ways to keep it open, and not only for a few.

Migration regimes legally fragments identities into the categories refugees, asylum-seekers, economic migrants, highly-skilled migrants, low-skilled migrants, etc. Migrants without documents are usually excluded from such university programmes. Here, the practice of creating sanctuary campuses becomes critical. With a history that goes back to medieval England, sanctuary movements have upheld moral responsibility towards others above immoral laws, and provided safe spaces to people escaping persecution. In the case of universities, mostly based in the US, present practices of sanctuary campuses range from symbolic support, refusal to cooperate with immigration authorities, not recording immigration/citizenship status and offering physical sanctuary. As repression is legalised through the bombardment of legislations, as in the case of Hungary, problematising what is deemed legal and what is deemed illegal figures as a political and ethical question that the universities are forced to take a stand on, not only in classrooms but also in their practice.

SS The founders of the European Cultural Foundation believed that investing in education would mean investing in a new generation of leaders whose values would be openness, solidarity and striving towards a united Europe. Today, we see a rise in far-right discourses and politics across Europe – not least in the circles of highly educated people. Has the project of European education failed? Or, in less pessimistic words, what needs to be done to save it?

TB It is evident from the plethora of EU-level documents that education and culture are still framed as central shapers of European identity. European education and research programmes such as Erasmus Mundus, and more recently Erasmus+ and Horizon 2020 have enabled the mobility of numerous students within Europe. In an era when humanities and social sciences face the risk of being defunded or are already poorly funded, these programmes do make a difference in fostering scientific cooperation. All of this, however, goes hand in hand with the neoliberalisation of academia – another struggle that defines the contemporary academic scene – and arguably, where European education is failing.

While the founders of the European Cultural Foundation saw education as a tool to promote values such as openness and solidarity, some decades later, the period that preceded the Bologna Process has witnessed the

framing of European education purely as a tool to meet the needs of the market. This, then, begs the question: what is there to the European identity other than participation in the single market? Students, just like the ideal neoliberal subject, are imagined as ever mobile and flexible. Universities are increasingly run as businesses and newly appointed staff face precarious working conditions. Depending on short-term, external funding for their income, researchers are forced to cater to the priorities set by funders, which may risk the production of independent knowledge. It would be unfair to conclude that the rising far-right is a symptom of the failure of European education. However, neoliberalisation of academia can be said to weaken its very potential to serve as a base to counter the rise of the far-right, as the very mechanisms it is embedded in function through and reproduce economic and social hierarchies.

SS Another highly criticised notion of our time is the ‘elite’, said to be constituting a large part of the so-called establishment. How should higher education deal with this term and what it implies – should they reject it completely or reclaim it?

TB Today, the word ‘elite’ has come to imply that an individual or a group appropriates power disproportionately – and I do not think that there is much to gain from reclaiming it. Instead, it is important to see education as commons, which means enabling active participation of community members in education not only as consumers but also as agenda-setters. Public dissemination of research in a way that facilitates communities’ feedback and engagement, together with participatory research methods also play a significant role in commoning education.

SS If you could make three wishes for the European education of tomorrow – what would they be?

TB Space for decolonisation, democratisation and recognition of higher education institutions’ autonomy!



Photographs (p.111-115) taken during the 'Szabad ország, szabad egyetem' (Free Country, Free University) protests in Budapest, 24 November to 1 December 2018. The protests had been sparked by the amendment of the Higher Education Law of 28 March 2017, which introduced new restrictions for foreign-operated universities – and which clearly targeted the Central European University (CEU). Students and staff at CEU organised a week-long occupation of Kossuth Square in front of the Hungarian Parliament and staged a funeral for free education. Since then, the group has participated in various other demonstrations as well, including anti-Slave Law protests in December 2018, a solidarity protest to support the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which is under government attack, and more generally anti-fascist activism. Photos: Elettra Repetto

WHO IS IN CHARGE? THE STORY

MARTINA KUJUNDŽIĆ 2004

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This short text is part of TheBookProject, a collaborative artistic initiative developed through the European Cultural Foundation's Art for Social Change programme, started in 1996 as an initiative for participatory art projects in Europe.

In 1995, the Foundation financed a study called Art as a Catalyst, coordinated by Christel Hartmann-Fritsch, a German expert on art and culture education. The research focused on the experiences and impact of those involved in artistic initiatives targeting marginalised youth and carried out by artists. In 1996, the report was presented at the premises of the Foundation to a group of professionals in the field. During that meeting it became clear how very alive, but also how very fragmented, that realm of cultural work was. Art for Social Change emerged as a project out of this meeting, with the aim of contributing to a common European dimension of all the hard work done in the societal integration of disadvantaged youth through artistic activities.

TheBookProject ironically originated as an online platform for the participants of Art for Social Change to freely exchange works, ideas, creative output – sometimes frustrations. The late Serbian actress Martina Kujundžić wrote a heartfelt note about authorship and authority.

*

This story was supposed to be written two months, eight days and 22 hours ago. I sit beside my computer, which I intended to use to lose my emotions, and I ask myself at least three times 'why'. Why have I not written it two months, eight days and 22 hours ago? Why do I subconsciously associate this computer with a story from Steve Martin's movie, where he asks the attendees at the table if they would mind him satisfying his physiological need. They answer him 'no' and after a few moments he says 'thanks'? And why did I have the time to ask myself anything like this while I was sitting down in front of this very computer?

That is because I have been scared for two months (and 22 hours) of someone's judgement of my story on – AUTHORITY! For two months (and 22 hours) I have been wondering how to write a clever story that will explain everything that needs to be explained about authority. And for those two months (and 22 hours) my fear of authority didn't let me realise that I was suffering from the fear of authority and that it was a great starting point for this story... Did you understand what authority does to us?

Between 27 and 31 August 1947 at the first Union of European Federalists (UEF) congress, held in Montreux, Switzerland, federalist ideas that sought to redistribute sovereignty in equal measure between the nation and its regions were debated. The congress also served to reaffirm the principle of regional federalism in contrast to the very fashionable internationalist arguments at that time. The general policy motion adopted by the congress called for the creation of a European federal government. The participants also urged the convening of a mass event involving all the forces actively promoting federalism in Europe. Less than a year later, this took the form of The Hague Congress.

At the Montreux meeting, Denis de Rougemont, founder of the European Cultural Foundation, contributed with a speech entitled 'The Federalist Attitude' (partially republished on the next page), in which he emphasised the citizen's dual responsibility: towards their own vocation and towards their community, clearing the path to a governance model that transcends individual and national interests.

THE FEDERALIST ATTITUDE

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DENIS DE ROUGEMONT 1947

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“We should not think that ‘person’ defines an average – meaning, the exact middle path between an individual without responsibility and a political soldier without freedom. For the ‘person’ is the real man, and the other two are nothing but morbid deviation, a step back from complete humanity.”

What is the definition of man on which we can reach agreement? – tacitly at any rate, since we have actually come here to talk of federalism. We would not be here if we thought that the most desirable type of man is the isolated individual, with no responsibility towards the community. If we thought that, we would have stayed at home. But equally we would not be here if we agreed with Hitler that man is nothing but a political soldier, totally absorbed in the service of the community. If we thought so we would be on the other side of the Iron Curtain * [p.150], in spirit at all events. But we are here because we know that man is a doubly responsible being: towards his own unique vocation on the one hand, and on the other towards the community within which that vocation is exercised. Therefore we remind individualists that man cannot realise himself fully without being involved in the social complex; and we remind collectivists that social achievements are worth nothing unless they make each individual freer to exercise his vocation. Thus man is both free and involved, both autonomous and solidary. He lives in a state of tension between the two poles, the particular and the general – between the two responsibilities, his vocation and the commonwealth; between the two indissoluble loves, that which he owes to himself and that which he owes his neighbour.

The human being who lives in tension, in a creative debate and a permanent dialogue, is what we call a person. Hereby I therefore define three types of human that favour three different types of political regimes, which are in turn favoured by them.

- * The man considered as a pure individual, free but not (socially) committed, corresponds to a democratic regime, leaning towards anarchy, and leading to disorder, which always precedes tyranny.
- * To the man considered as a political soldier, fully committed but not free, corresponds the totalitarian regime.
- * And finally, to the man as a person, both free and committed, living in the tension between autonomy and solidarity, corresponds to the federalist regime.

I would like to add another remark, to complete this simplistic scheme, which nonetheless seems essential. We should not think that ‘person’ defines an average – meaning, the exact middle path between an individual without responsibility and a political soldier without freedom. For the ‘person’ is the real man, and the other two are nothing but morbid deviation, a step back from complete humanity. The person is not halfway between plague and cholera; it indeed represents civic health. A man who drinks water and washes himself is not halfway between the one who dies of thirst and the one who drowns.

And similarly, federalism will never be born of a clever mix of anarchy and dictatorship, narrow-minded particularism and oppressive centralisation. Federalism is on a different level than these two complementary mistakes. Everyone knows that outraged individualism is the bedrock of collectivism: these two extremes are on the same level, conditioning and calling each other. It is with the dust of civically irresponsible individuals that dictators make their cement. And we have seen, during the last war, that the resistance encountered by dictators is on the contrary the work of groups of responsible citizens, which is to say federated persons.

A NEW EUROPEAN CONUNDRUM

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RAMSÉS MORALES IZQUIERDO 2014/2019

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IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

In the run-up to the EU Parliament elections of 2014, the European Cultural Foundation joined forces with the collaborative platform Cartoon Movement to invite cartoonists to reflect on European citizenship and the various issues Europe was facing at the time. A particularly impactful submission came from the Cuban cartoonist Ramsés Morales Izquierdo. Five years later, we asked him to draw and write up a response to his 2014 contribution.

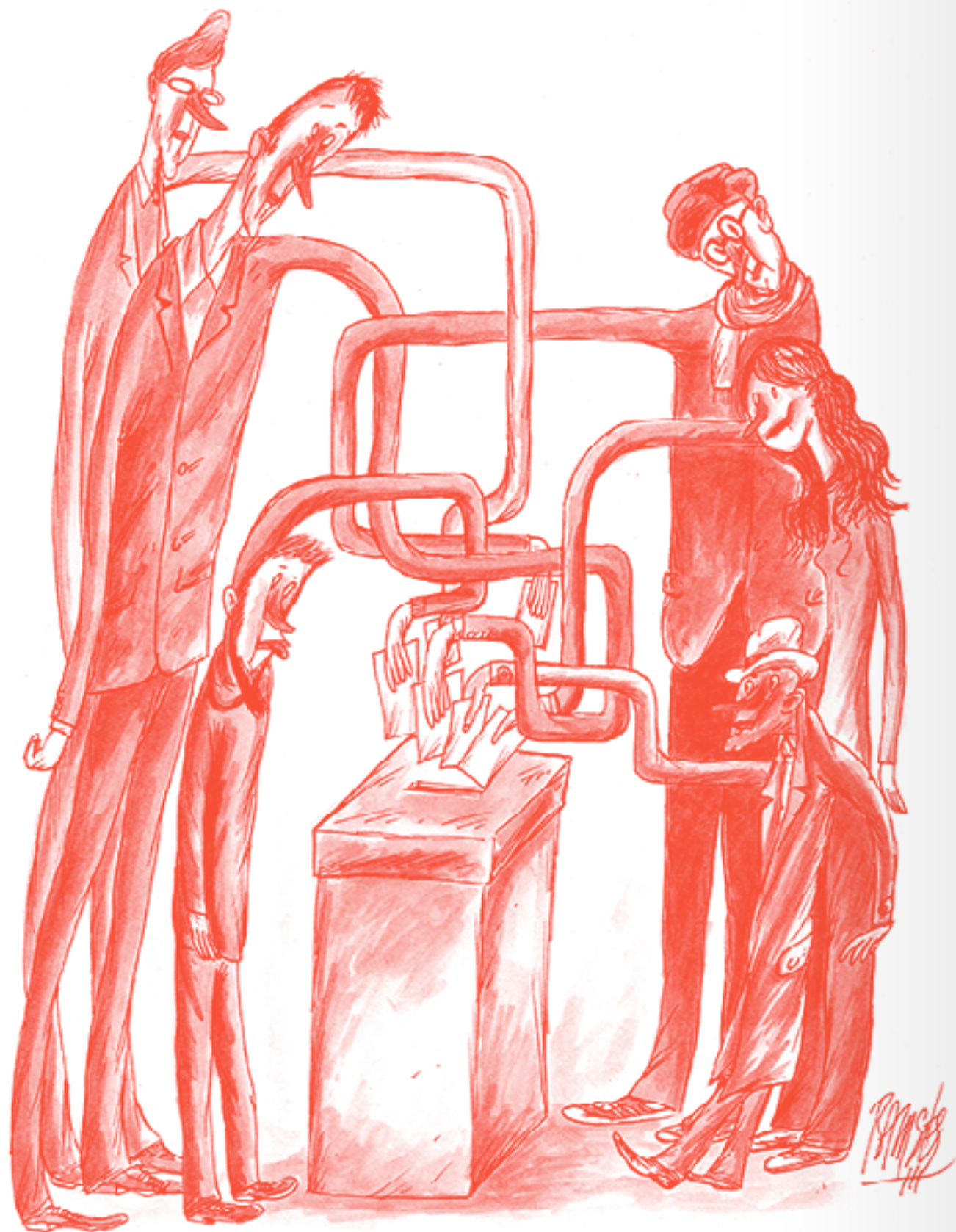
In 2014, I published my cartoon *Voting Conundrum* for the first time. I was then living in Cuba, with all the difficulties that it entailed. I was pretty concerned then about the European elections and their impact on America, especially on countries like Cuba, and parts of the world like the Caribbean, Central America and South America. At the same time, the USA was going through a particularly positive political period, with Barack Obama as the first African-American President in history. Of course, these positive developments were also echoed in Cuba. We were experiencing a period of renewed relationships between both countries and, simultaneously, an opening up of Cuban society. It was truly a miracle that the presidents of both countries were now talking to each other about reopening the American Embassy in Havana. For me, who, as a child, had grown up in a completely closed-off country and was ready to become the next Che Guevara, this was a completely unimaginable thing. People started talking about a 'big approach' between common North American people. You could even feel the freshness in the air. I had better access to the internet, which was very good for my work as a cartoonist. And I could be more active in an international context. I was interviewed by CBC, the Canadian television broadcasting company about my ideas of that moment. Everything pointed to a new start.

As a cartoonist and a witness of my time, I considered it my duty to be focused on the latest political developments, both in the American context and on the European stage. I need to say that the relationship with other cartoonists

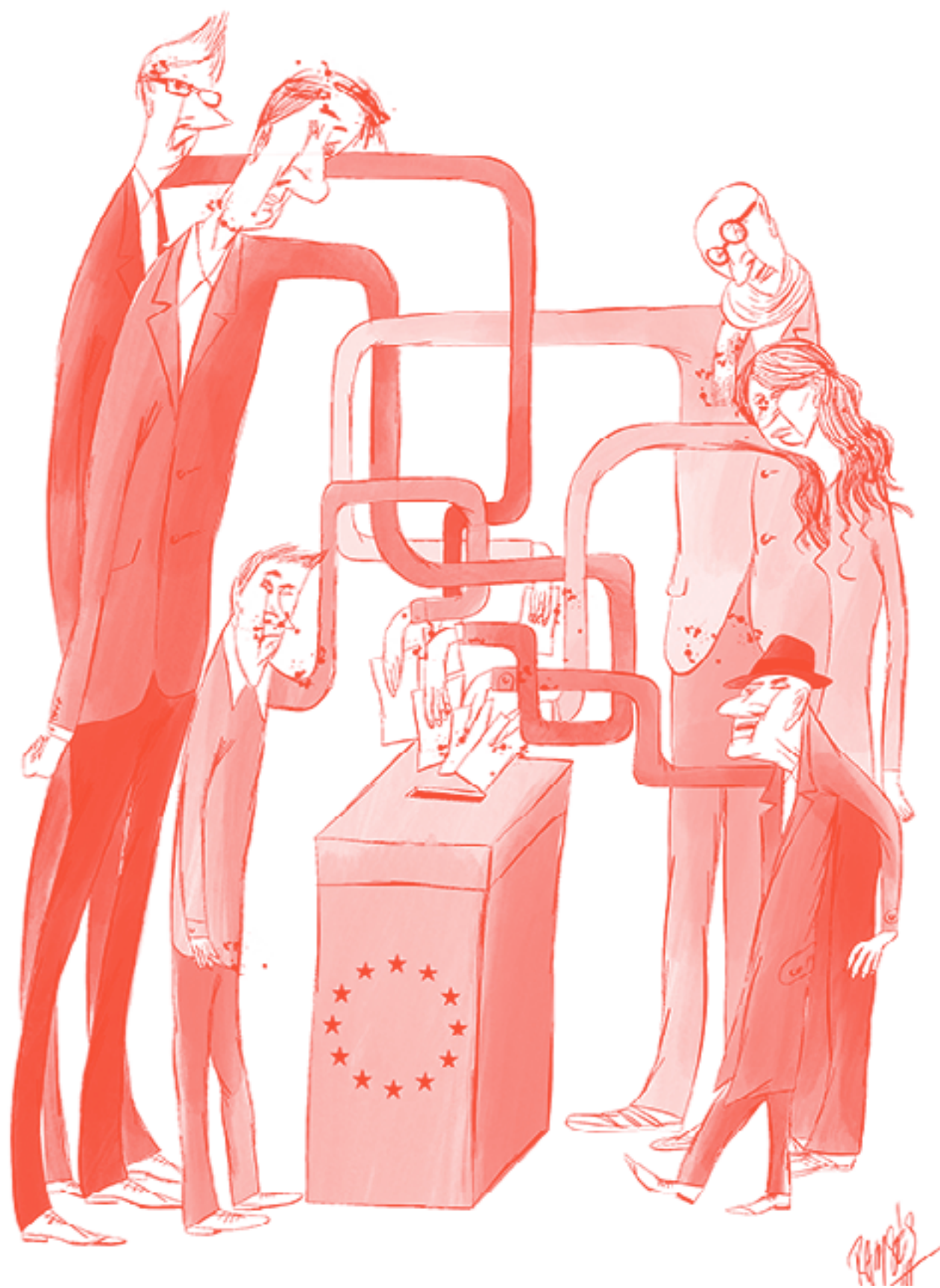
through *Cartoon Movement*, a digital platform for political cartoons, was decisive in my development. I have made hundreds of cartoons thanks to the education I was receiving from those contacts. To meet such artists during those moments helped me a lot in the formation of my ideas.

Today, the times have changed, and so has my personal situation. Since 2016, I have been living in Switzerland and working as a freelancer for the European press. The current President of the USA is everything but a president. Cuba is living a political regression to the 1960s due to the new regulations in North American policy. And Europe faces a new era after the recent European Parliamentary elections and the rise of issues that we thought were buried.

In the meantime I have witnessed the catastrophic scandal of the rise of the rightwing in Austria. And the rise of the Alt-Right in Europe, seasoned with the even bigger phenomenon of Fake News (which I suppose is not entirely new... but could be a reason for another cartoon). It makes me think of a new European conundrum. With all of these new perspectives and understanding, and after three years of living over here, I have revisited my old cartoon and see that its original meaning has not changed for me: a complex entangled maze with the hands of the voters in which their desires and hopes to have a better future were in jeopardy. Today I keep my idea to defend democracy from the bottom up; from where common people like us live and love our life day-by-day, hour by hour and second by second.



Ramsés Morales Izquierdo, *Voting Conundrum* (2014).



Ramsés Morales Izquierdo, *A New European Conundrum* (2019).

FROM CIVIL SOCIETY TO POLITICAL SOCIETY

AGNIESZKA WIŚNIEWSKA
2017

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FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

* WHO'S IN CHARGE?
* DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

The following text is an excerpt of an essay by Agnieszka Wiśniewska, a Polish activist and editor-in-chief of the online daily opinion of the think tank Krytyka Polityczna. The essay was originally published on the website dedicated to Connected Action for the Commons, a network and research programme initiated in 2013 by the European Cultural Foundation and led together with six European cultural organisations: Culture 2 Commons (Croatia), Les Têtes de l'Art (France), Krytyka Polityczna (Poland), Oberliht (Moldova), Platoniq – Goteo (Spain), and Subtopia (Sweden).

During the four years of its existence, the network focused on the paradigm of the commons as an alternative value system challenging the duopoly of the state and the market. Through joint activities such as the Idea Camp and joint advocacy such as the *Culture and the Commons* statement, it addressed issues related to public space, culture and democracy, highlighting new forms of cultural cooperation by citizens and communities.

In her essay, Agnieszka denounces the lack of political recognition generally attributed to initiatives and forms of decision-making carried out by civil society.

It won't do itself

We all know a neoliberal story about the rich getting richer and the affluence trickling down, magically, or at least automatically, to those who are less rich, and even entirely poor. But this is not what has happened, nor will it ever happen.

The same goes for waving a magic wand when it comes to civil society. We can create hundreds, or even thousands of excellent local initiatives – in culture, in remembering forgotten history, or testing alternative economic solutions. But these experiences, or the effects of these actions, will not automatically go anywhere near the parliament, where the law is written, nor the city hall, where city planning is carried out; nor will it go into the European Parliament or European Commission, where the legal framework for the EU and its members is being forged.

I told the European Commons Assembly the same thing in November last year in the European Parliament. Brussels was then a meeting point for activists dealing with the commons (one of the hottest topics of the last few years – it is all about common goods, such as city spaces, but also available housing, culture or all those skate parks built by local communities, or city gardens planted by activists). Since the European Parliament has created an intergroup focusing on the commons, it was possible to hold this large meeting in Brussels.

Of course, we talked a lot about our experiences, we showed pictures of all those excellent initiatives, but by the evening something had snapped. The organisers invited myself and Lorenzo Marsili [Director of European Alternatives] to meet the participants of the Commons Assembly. We are both members of the Coordinating Collective of DiEM25, the Democracy in Europe Movement 2025. The evening meeting showed that those who had so far been talking about individual 'activist' experience now wanted to speak about the looming Brexit, Trump winning the elections, populism gaining momentum – and what to do about it. Many said, over and over again, that they do not 'do politics', that the commons are neither left nor right-wing (but let's face it, they are definitely left). It was clear that we could not avoid talking politics anymore. The old wisdom has it – you can only avoid paying attention to politics until politics starts paying attention to you.

Poland is similar. In spring 2017, a coalition of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) started demanding that the European Commission applies Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union. The head of Amnesty International Poland, Draginja Nadaždin, when speaking to Krytyka Polityczna said, "We won't be silenced and we won't be intimidated by the accusation that we are telling on the government. We criticise the situation that needs critical appraisal."

Organisations that had so far not criticised the authorities, even though they tried to assess the impact of the situation in the country, this time unequivocally stood against the policies of the Polish government. The authorities then launched a counterattack against the NGOs. This is typical of the populists, as documented by Jan-Werner Müller in his *What is Populism?*, and as illustrated by Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and his recent 'Foreign Agents' law * [p.110].

I believe that, for years, the arrangement between politicians and civil society in Poland was clear. Politicians did not pick on the NGOs as long as NGOs did their work – work that the State did not want to do. And NGOs did not pick on the politicians too much, because it was clear that sooner or later, one would have to find ways to work together. This was convenient for politicians – the smaller organisations, which often financed their activities from money assigned by a given ministry or the local authority, could barely afford to wage a war with those in power. This characteristic division of labour has been in operation since the 1990s, even though it finally turned out that the NGOs took on more than they should have done.

Finally, the political situation that, as Romanians said, turned 'toxic', the disillusionment brought by lack of change, and the general dissatisfaction took over. How long can one 'do' debates, workshops, festivals, write reports? 25 years of work and very little to show for it. We in Poland have been given some little bits – participatory budgets, election lists quotas, Culture Pact. Some of us even got jobs in public institutions and in city halls. Great! Local authorities can learn a lot from activists, and vice versa. But this is all too little, considering the challenges. And when Law and Justice came to power even these little bits became unreliable, and the third sector – excluding the part deemed 'proper' – became not just a nagging petitioner, but an open enemy of the authorities.

Challenging the 'apolitical'

There is an interesting discussion going on within the Polish NGO portal ngo.pl – should NGOs go into politics or not? In it, Jan Mencwel, an activist from Warsaw, reminded everyone that, "there is a false and disturbing conviction, damaging not

only for the third sector but also for the form of public debate, that there is a clear moral distinction between social and 'political' actions – the former is pure, impeccable and altruistic, the latter being a dirty game."

The discussion about NGOs and their 'political turn' is not necessarily about each and every NGO setting up a political party or joining one, or about all civil society representatives now having to run for public posts. It is about – as Mencwel duly noted – "questioning the 'apolitical' as the major virtue of a social activist."

Such challenging of the apolitical stance is well under way – in Barcelona, Zagreb and, as we see, in Poland. What we witness is what we, in Krytyka Polityczna – inspired among others by Paweł Zajączkowski's *Neoliberalism and Civil Society* – would like to call a transition from civil society towards a political society.

When last year the Friedrich Ebert Foundation invited us, among other NGOs, to co-create one of the topic sessions in the Academy for Social Democracy – which was supposed to teach and to network with various progressive activists, both members of political parties, as well as people working for NGOs and informal groups – our colleague Michał Sutowski suggested that we focus precisely on 'political society'. By that we meant all the different kinds of people's organisations – including parties, NGOs, campaigns and many others. We asked: how can they respond to current politics challenges, share their experience and create a practical synergy in changing political reality?

When we published the first issue of *Krytyka Polityczna* 15 years ago, using the bad word 'political' in the title, people thought we were crazy. Politics is confined to political parties – we heard. Maybe that was why, for the next ten years, Sławomir Sierakowski [Founder of *Krytyka Polityczna*] has had to answer the question: when are you going to set up a party? We never did. But some of us went into politics. We are in political parties, we work in city halls, we run in elections. Both then as now, we conceive of the 'political' to be broad – to be a sphere of influence, exerted by different means, over public and social life.

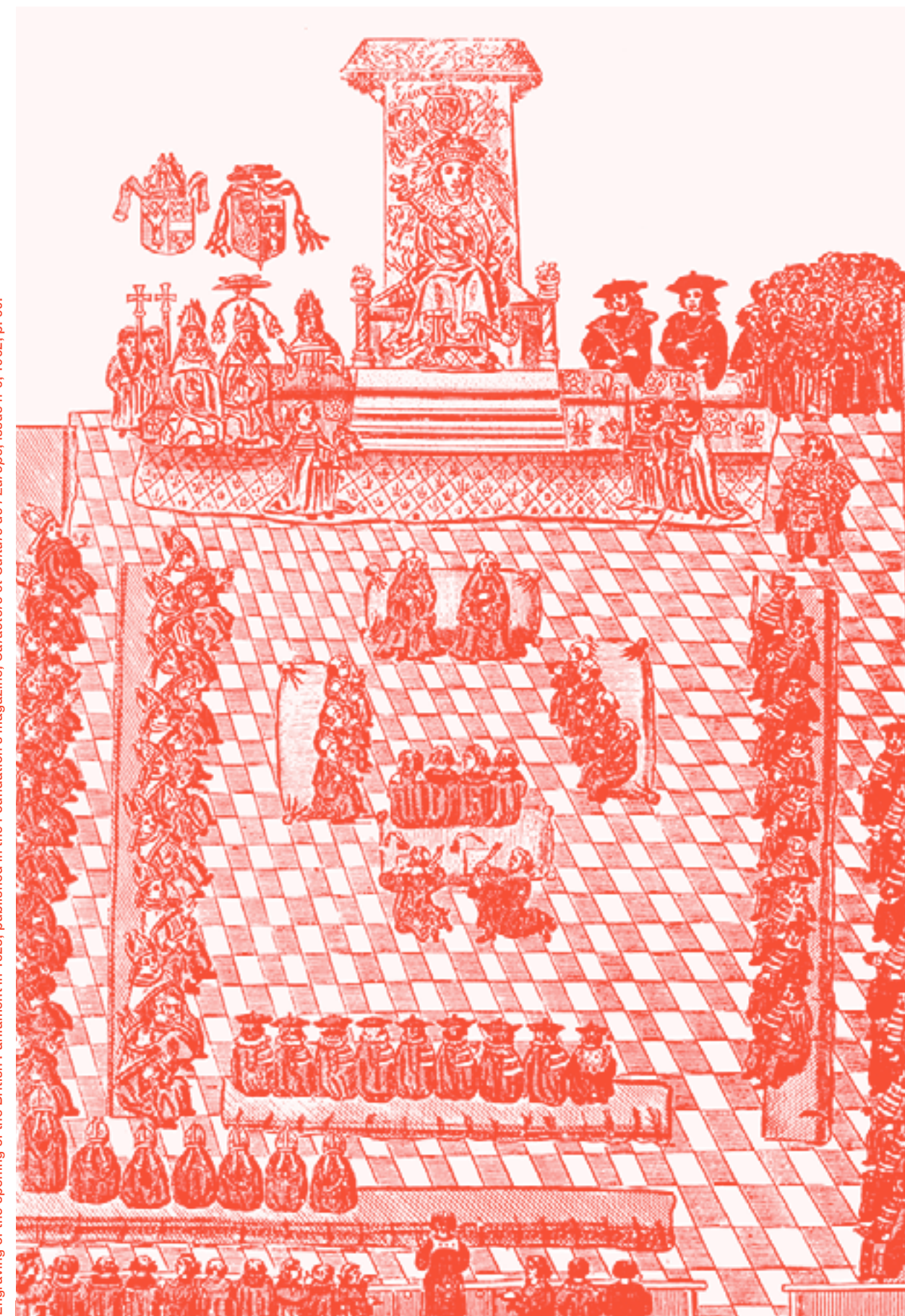
Three months ago in Rome, DiEM25 presented the European New Deal programme. A month ago in Berlin, former Greek Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis

– who today sits on the DiEM25 coordinating council – announced that, should the need arise, people from DiEM25 were ready to run in elections with this programme.

DiEM25 is not a think tank that just writes a programme, publishes it on their website and waits for somebody to use it. It is up to its members to decide if DiEM25 should establish an international party. When I talked to them in Berlin, some are having doubts, some quite the contrary. It is clear, however, that a conversation about changes in Europe is no longer one in which the words 'politics' and 'citizens' cannot be used in the same sentence. It is now a conversation about going into politics, following new rules, as they are sketched by citizens.

The idea of an apolitical civil society made some sense back in the 1990s. In *Krytyka Polityczna*, since its inception, we have made a fuss about it, considering the 'apolitical' to be a scam. Today, the idea of a civil society has run out of juice. It does not fit the *Zeitgeist*.

Political society is making its entry on the stage. In parts of Europe it already sits in local authorities, where it is getting ready for parliamentary elections. Igor Stokfiszewski [activist and member of *Krytyka Polityczna*] once wrote about the 'political turn' in culture. It is time to write about the political turn in civil society.



Engraving of the opening of the British Parliament in 1523, published in the Foundation's magazine, *Caractère et Culture de l'Europe*, issue n°6, 1962, p. 60.

FUNDING ON AN IDEA LEVEL

A CONVERSATION WITH KATHERINE WATSON 2019

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From 2009 to 2018, Katherine Watson was the Director of the European Cultural Foundation. She first joined the organisation in 2006 as Director of LabforCulture, an online platform initiated to facilitate cultural cooperation across Europe. During her time at the helm, she lived through a number of societal changes that would transform the way we engage and exchange with each other – the biggest being the emergence of the digital sphere as part of the public sphere. In the following conversation, Katherine reflects on how this and other pivotal changes were incorporated in the Foundation's initiatives, particularly focusing on 'interlocal', participatory projects.

Katherine Watson Throughout my career, and my time at the European Cultural Foundation, there were three concepts that inspired me: the impact of the digital shift on our lives; the magic that happens when culture intersects with other sectors and spheres of knowledge; and the empowerment that comes with enabling voices from all corners of society.

Regarding the digital shift, in recent years, technology has permeated all aspects of our lives and we have seen huge changes – changes that have moved at break-neck speed. But beyond technology itself, the digital shift has created new expectations in both online and offline engagement. Of course, not just in terms of everyone wanting to have wireless internet everywhere, (and in wanting to be 'always on' and connected) but really in thinking of expanding the means of engagement with each other. So the expectations that now two generations have on how they want to engage with things is because they have grown used to being able to engage with and contribute to everything – including arts and culture.

Communication is not as linear – not as directional, as in 'one to many', or 'one to one'. People nowadays are all about participation, exchange and voicing their perspective. And that's been at the root of everything that has developed at the Foundation in the past 15 years or so. Culture providing a meeting space across boundaries, whether the meeting happens across boundaries of nations, towns, cultures, ideas – and all over the world, thanks to technology and the (relative) ease of movement.

Sabrina Stallone That was exactly the intention of LabforCulture, right?

KW In the early 2000s there was discussion at a European level on how technology and the digital space could support more cultural collaboration and exchange. Gottfried Wagner picked up on this, instigating LabforCulture as a public-private partnership with several foundation partners * [p.186]. Flashing back to the early 2000s, it was a much different online experience. Many platforms and portals, data-driven spaces were set up: with loads of information to deliver, and update and change. The idea with LabforCulture was: can there be a space where a mass of information can be provided to increase cultural cooperation across borders? In the beginning it was much like an online magazine, with a directory component, a journalistic approach with case studies, tools, information on funding... maintaining all of that required time and significant resources. Our challenge became:

how can we use this platform to create communities and can the space be driven by users creating content?

For this to happen, you need to move away from a top-down delivery, and really start responding to what the community wants and needs – giving the community the leadership. With LabforCulture, and later ECFLabs, Labs for Europe and other online developments that came out of our Youth and Media Programme and STEP community, we experienced how to shift from the more centralised database approach to providing a platform for a community in which people can share the information that is relevant to them. In this case the online architect has less – or, ultimately, no control. And that's desirable! That was the evolution that I saw through.

SS Well, the digital is no longer just a separate community, but rather an extension of our public sphere.

KW That was a core mission of LabforCulture – to contribute to a European public sphere. We witnessed and were influenced by the transition from the technology that allowed fast delivery of information to the technology that enables exchange, communication, activism, working together. I've learned that it's not just about the tools that are built, but the fact that this digital shift has changed expectations in education, cultural projects, mobility, information provision, democracy – everything that is dependent upon relationships. A six-year-old who goes to school will already have had different levels of engagement with information than two generations before, in the era before the internet. So the digital spills over into the non-digital, plus, it upends the creation-production chain as we knew it. And have we changed our systems enough in response to this? Of course we cannot turn a blind eye to the dark side of the web, remembering that the potential of technology to do fantastic good is matched by the potential to do terrible evil.

SS It's very interesting to look at how these societal shifts, particularly in the digital realm, have also reflected in the type of grants that the Foundation has awarded over the years. The first project to receive money in the 1950s was a European Youth Orchestra, which then performed at one of the early European Cultural Foundation congresses – very different from most projects that are granted funds today.

KW If I look back to ten years ago, through our project grants, we would support some 15 stellar projects, in places where it was really difficult to get money elsewhere. The question arose however, if this was the best way to use our resources and how did this respond to our mission? How were these projects contributing to something else, something bigger, something urgent? We wanted to find a way to fund differently: funding early on in a process, on an idea level. This is how the concept of Connected Action for the Commons * [p.124] and the Idea Camp was born.

The aim was to do two things: to give seed money, but also help in the exchange of knowledge. And mostly, to put people, dreams and ideas together. Through this, as well as Tandem and STEP * [p.140], we were facilitating

“Leadership includes rather than excludes voices. It is about listening, and beyond listening – about hearing and responding. Leadership is also the willingness to be led and to identify and facilitate leadership in others – wherever that may come from.”

interlocal connections. I always felt that the intricate web of intersections at a local level was an alternate view on and an alternate ‘map’ of Europe, rather than one based on nations. Everything we did was geared towards making connections – ‘connecting the dots’ and in nurturing spaces of intersection.

A really nice example is the idea from Solin, Croatia, as a result of the first Idea Camp in Botkyrka in 2015. Students from the University of Split had been looking at how to get resources to do public consultations around the future use and repurposing of an abandoned quarry. So after participating in the Idea Camp they applied for a research and development grant to do the public consultation. Which was exactly what our money was for. They did it, and that was enough money for the city to step up and give some legitimacy to the process, embrace the process as it continued. And now they are also part of large EU funding programmes. So this is an ideal situation resulting out of our initial task: make smart decisions about where our limited amount of seed money can and should go.

SS In this case, it seems like the cultural aspect lies in giving the money not to the actual repurposing of the quarry, but to the process of figuring out what to do with the quarry.

KW Exactly. And the wrap up of the story is that, with the money they then received from local and supranational institutions, they created a sensory park for children with disabilities. In the beginning, when we received their proposal, nobody mentioned the need for a park for disabled children. You needed that process of public consultation to realise that this park was absolutely needed and for the community to become an active stakeholder in the new public space. It was the legitimacy provided through that small seed grant that allowed them to take one more step with the municipality, plus larger money becoming available.

For me, that's a European success story. Because what they ended up doing was connecting to other localities across Europe and their work became interlocal. If an applicant is located in Germany, does that make it a German idea? Or is it a Hamburg idea, or a Berlin idea that may have great similarities with or relevance to Athens, or Madrid? For me, that became a very important lens through which to look at things. And to try and find a way to keep these inter-local connections alive.

At the same time we know that to really achieve political leverage, you have to engage the EU level, the national level, and municipal levels, which more and more are stepping onto the international stage. Engaging those spheres is of course not an overnight thing. The tension that a lot of the citizen-led political approaches have is: do they stay active in the fields within which they already operate, such as social or environmental justice, women's rights and equality, LGBTQ issues, or do they step into the nasty world of party politics? Some have set up new political parties. And also it is critical to think across movements and align more beyond specific silos: the climate justice movement banding together

with the social justice movement is hugely powerful. Those connections are sorely needed to push systemic change. Culture and cultural changemakers can lead this change!

SS What does all of this mean for leadership? Who really is ‘in charge’?

KW Coming back to the role of a foundation in facing our complex 21st-century challenges, we need to lead by example, to be responsive and act accordingly – and quickly. Leadership includes rather than excludes voices. It is about listening, and beyond listening – about hearing and responding. Leadership is also the willingness to be led and to identify and facilitate leadership in others – wherever that may come from. I think it is rather opposite to the idea of ‘being in charge’, which seems a closed concept and does not recognise that one does not have the answer, but as a leader must seek the right questions. We lead by ensuring that culture has a voice around whatever issue is being addressed – we enable other leaders, we seek them out and connect them to others. Leadership requires working with others on urgencies that are bigger than yourself, bigger than your organisation – finding solutions and implementing them together.

EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE

... A strong, united Europe that is an equal partner of the U.S. and Japan ... based on political liberty, solidarity, and balanced economic growth.

EUROPEAN DECADENCE

... a gathering of independent, autonomous nations that is lagging behind the US and Japan ... admiring its glorious past and building upon its differences.

A MUDDLED EUROPE

... muddling through the international developments in a pragmatic way.

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These three scenarios were used during the workshop 'Europe 2000: Between Hope and Anxiety' organised in Bruges on 24 and 25 October 1994. They were inspired by the methodology developed as part of the original research project Plan Europe 2000, and which defined the three logical stages of any prospective project: the provisional stage, the problematic stage, and the programmatic stage. Participants of the workshop, mostly students from the College of Europe, were invited to reflect on these three scenarios, asking themselves: What are the characteristics of the scenario? What is possible, what is probable and what manageable? And what are our hopes and anxieties for each scenario?

THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

STUDENTS FROM THE COLLEGE OF EUROPE 1994

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
* DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
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* IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

From 1968 to 1975, the European Cultural Foundation undertook one of its most ambitious projects, called Plan Europe 2000. Under the leadership of then-Secretary General George Sluizer, the Foundation launched an interdisciplinary research project in what was then termed the 'Human Sciences', looking with trepidation to what the year 2000 could and would have in store for European society.

This exercise in futurology was a means for the Foundation to chime into the upcoming trend of studying the future * [p.224]. For instance, the future as a field of study was being explored by the Club of Rome, an association of European industrialists and scientists who went on to publish in 1972 the influential book, *The Limits to Growth*, in which they predicted a depletion of resources that would lead to the stalling of economic development. Arguably, the Club of Rome was just as inspired as Sluizer by a 1964 article by Harvard political theorist Stanley Hoffmann, in which he argued that Europeans, being so very preoccupied with their present, seemed to be not all concerned about their future.

Sluizer, deeply influenced by the US professor's statement, quickly began to assemble a team of over 200 international scientists at numerous European universities, which was commissioned to explore the following four themes: 'Educating Man in the 21st Century'; 'Urbanization - Planning human Environment in Europe'; 'Rural Society in the Year 2000'; and 'The Social Sciences and the Future of Industrial Man'.

The results of the research project were manifold: public debates and conferences were organised; several articles containing preliminary results were published, as well as a book homonymous to the project compiling final results, edited by British urbanist Peter Hall in 1977. Another major outcome was the establishment of five European research institutes, namely: the European Institute of Education and Social Policy at the University of Paris-Dauphine (1974); the Institute for European Environmental Policy in Bonn (1975); the Institute for Intercontinental Cooperation (1977); the European Centre for Work and Society in Maastricht (1979); and the European Institute for the Media in Manchester and later in Düsseldorf (1983). The Network of Institutes and Centres existed for several years, and some have been continuing their work after 1993, when they became independent of the European Cultural Foundation.

The echo of Plan Europe 2000 kept on resonating, when almost three decades after the research project's

completion, the European Cultural Foundation facilitated a series of public discussions and a student workshop reflecting on some of the themes of the Plan under the title 'Europe 2000: Between Hope and Anxiety' * [p.194], coinciding with the Foundation's 40th anniversary. The workshop took place at the Collège d'Europe in Bruges, on 24-25 October 1994. Its aim was to prepare students for a public debate taking place in Amsterdam ten days later, which encouraged attendance by academics, policymakers and the general public alike.

Themes discussed by the students with Peter Hall included political, social and economic issues. One of the most engaged debates, however, was sparked by the topic of the environment. The original Plan Europe 2000 put humans at the centre of all its concerns; while the focus of the following discussion is indeed still the undoubtedly man-made urban context, the questions asked by Peter Hall to facilitate the debate pushed the students to shift the focus more and more towards the impact of human action on our planet's well-being. Hall's questions at the beginning of the workshops were:

- * Can we seek to make people more environmentally responsible in a democracy? Is there a conflict between environmental sustainability and equity?
- * What would be the most appropriate bundle of policy measures? Are taxes and incentives better than regulation? Can they work on their own?
- * Does a sustainable policy require a return to the cities? Or could we base it on rural self-sufficiency as in Europe 2000?

In the following text, we reproduce three of the reports from the working groups, taking these queries as a starting point.

Working Group 1

After reaching the agreement that, despite the fact that living in city centres is not the most attractive way of living in terms of human needs for communication and contact, people in the future will settle there as they did in the past. We do not think that the model of self-sustaining rural communities will work. One of the main problems in the past was that settlements in the inner cities and all kinds of flows into big European cities or metropolises wasn't or was only to a limited degree a concern of politicians and town planners. Although there were projects like the Garden City at the periphery of London 100 years ago, they didn't take the pressure off the city. As a result of these failures and the above-mentioned lack of effective town-planning policies, we find nowadays infrastructurally highly developed inner cities on the one hand and poorly provided suburbs, 'ghettos' of migrant workers and overcrowded outskirts, on the other.

We then discussed the different measures that were taken in the past and that have to be taken in the future to make living in cities more comfortable, also in terms of environmental protection. One of the means was to develop and to offer transportation systems that take into consideration the structure of the cities and that also make it possible to abstain from using cars. For example: in historical centres it seems to be useful to avoid fuel or diesel-powered buses and to give preference to electric buses or trams. There should also be a mixture of systems for short and long distances in the cities (municipal railway, metro, bus lanes, tram, taxi lanes and bicycle networks, development of the intermodal chain; for example, the use of shuttle service).

The group then discussed the phenomenon of mass tourism, which, despite its economic advantages, has quite a lot of destructive or at least disturbing consequences. We agreed that there should be a combination of the protection of the historical urban areas and the search for new models, like installing 'security-corridors' in the natural environment to protect against destroying nature. Or to draft travelling exhibitions on certain historical cities or environmental areas of public interest.

We all agreed that education is once again a key issue to make people aware of environmental problems and to teach them a responsible attitude towards the environment they live in. But we also saw that, according to this problem, Europe is not homogenous. In Eastern Europe for instance there is much less awareness about pollution than in the 'West', because concern about the environment is a consequence of a certain wealth. So we shouldn't wag the moral monitory finger, but we should support every initiative taken by 'poorer' countries to protect their environment.

Coming to the question of whether fiscal or regulatory policies should be adopted to protect the environment, we came to the agreement that both can be effective in preserving the environment, but only if taken in a balanced way. There is for instance no use in raising fuel taxes (as was done in Italy) when this is not accompanied by improvements to the transportation system, by means of effectiveness and far-reaching perfection.



Working Group 3

In our group we agreed that people have to become more environmentally responsible to respond to the problem of pollution. We have to organise our relationship between nature and humans. One of the causes of pollution is the transport of people. We live in the country, in the agglomerations and we are going to work in the city. Everybody has a car and drives alone to their workplace because work and home are separate places. We thought first of home working as one of the possible solutions. Then we wouldn't have traffic jams either and it would be possible to work for parents who have little children. However, it is not a long-term solution because we would miss the social contact.

The question was how we can make people more environmentally responsible? We agreed that we need incentives and regulations. First, we made the comparison with the smoking problem. People have to be aware that it affects their health. There are discussions going on about the subject (in school, on the television...), the smokers ask if they may smoke in places where there are also non-smokers. There are also regulations, for instance, the prohibition of smoking in public places.

Secondly, the proposal was made to make public transport more efficient and less expensive so that people leave their cars at home. We gave the example of the Randstad in the Netherlands where public transport is well organised.

Then we said that we should also share our cars. Maybe people should pay taxes if they drive alone in the city? Not everybody in the group agreed about the taxes.

The last proposition was the need for less polluting cars.

Working Group 2

The group considered that we must seek to make people more environmentally responsible. However, the combination of policy measures to achieve this is crucial – we stressed the importance of using incentives for people to help them see the advantages of being environmentally friendly, and the necessity of tight, often international controls and regulations for companies (whose primary concern would otherwise be profit). The polluters must pay – taxing for petrol, for example, may encourage decreased usage or, as in San Francisco, charging less for road use according to the number of people sharing a car journey. Everyone particularly emphasised the need for education in order that external controls and regulations become less necessary. This would mean that cheating rules will no longer occur as people are taught to develop an environmental conscience.

However, limits were seen, particularly in regard to equity: poorer people may be left in run-down inner cities as the rich move out to more attractive rural areas – hence inner city development is very important; the rich may be able to afford environmental taxes and so ignore

their effect; the trade-off that often occurs between environment and employment; the problem of the costs of environmental protection in developing countries.

The general group consensus favoured a concentration of populations in the cities, which must be accompanied and encouraged by lower rent prices, renewal of inner city areas and establishment of businesses (with tax incentives to encourage this), development of public transport and housing with 'soul' rather than tower blocks, etc. This would prevent the loss of habitation of city centres, and the concurrent rise in crime and impersonality, as well as protecting rural areas from invasion and destruction. The 1970s ideal of the 'Electronic Cottage' was deemed undesirable due to the lack of human contact ('défiance') it implied, although perhaps less physical travel (hence pollution and congestion) due to telecommunications contact was desirable. The question of 'museum-cities' (Bruges, Venice) was also considered, with the disadvantages of tourist pollution and depopulation, and the advantages of preservation and economic gain for the region.



Cover of *Student Handbook*, an unofficial print publication distributed at the International Design Conference in Aspen in 1970. It shows a sculpture of junked cars and appliances, painted white and assembled in Aspen by students from Northern Illinois University under the supervision of Professor Don Strel.



A STEP TOWARDS GREEN MOBILITY

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SANDRA GRZIWA 2019

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
* DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
* MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
EUROPE & ANXIETY
* IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

Sandra Grziwa is a Project Officer at the European Cultural Foundation and has been working on issues of mobility and sustainability through her work on the Foundation's travel grant scheme, STEP Beyond. In the following text, she explains the evolution of the Foundation's mobility programmes and the first European-wide steps towards more sustainable travel funding schemes in the cultural sector.

The launch of STEP Beyond

Assal is a designer and illustrator. In 2019, she received a travel grant from the European Cultural Foundation's STEP Beyond travel grant scheme for a bicycle journey across Spain and Italy. Along the way, she organised a series of 'Talk Exhibitions' with artists and cultural organisations. Assal's is one of more than 2,700 projects that have been brought to life since the STEP Beyond scheme was launched in 2003 and it is definitely the slowest journey ever supported, with a trail of 1,000 km followed over the course of three months – precisely the duration of her visa. It is an example that reflects the Foundation's current ambitions to promote slower means of transport through its travel funding schemes.

STEP Beyond is one of the European Cultural Foundation's longest running mobility grant schemes. It grew out of the Foundation's dedication to supporting cultural mobility, which can be traced back to the late 1980s, when the Foundation played a decisive role in implementing and managing the acclaimed ERASMUS Programme for student exchange * [p.100].

It has been quite a journey since then. In the following decade, the Foundation decided to launch APEXchanges, a mobility scheme to support young artists and cultural practitioners from Central and Eastern Europe, with the aim of facilitating East-West cultural exchange.

The new Millennium brought with it the biggest ever enlargement of the European Union, with ten new countries joining in 2004. With this in mind, the Foundation initiated a two-year programme in 2002 called 'Enlargement of Minds', which intended to explore the cultural dimension of the EU's expansion. This programme was in step with the Foundation's mission to stimulate the cultural cohesion of Europe as a whole – and to build societies that are more democratic, open and inclu-

sive within and beyond Europe's borders. The Foundation responded to the changing socio-political environment by promoting cultural exchange between the existing EU Member States, and with the countries that were due to join in 2004 and those that were candidates for the next enlargement. Soon after the launch of the mobility scheme, in 2005-2006, more countries became eligible to take part – including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey – reflecting the Foundation's belief in a Europe that does not stop at the eastern borders of the European Union. In 2010, the scheme was expanded further to place a further emphasis on cultural exchanges with the Arab-Mediterranean countries.

Culture and sustainability

A number of new programmes, funds and advocacy actions grew out of Enlargement of Minds, including STEP Beyond in 2003. Almost a decade after the 2004 EU enlargement, the Foundation took The Foundation took STEP's 10th anniversary in 2013 as the next departure point for a major overhaul of its mobility grant scheme. Climate change was gaining momentum in the public sphere. For the Foundation, it was the right time to reassess its practice with regard to mobility.

Over ten years, STEP Beyond had gained significant popularity and has seen the number of applications almost double. Awarded grants were predominantly allocated to cover flight expenses, as for most grantees air transport was a pragmatic decision in terms of cost and time efficiency. The Foundation wanted to come up with a solution to help lower the growth of its carbon footprint, but to do so it had to re-evaluate sustainability from a cultural point of departure.

In its 2013-2016 strategic focus 'Connecting Culture, Communities and Democracy', the Foundation clearly reflected



Asai Ali Nejad in her element: with her bike and her art during a pause in Santo Stefano di Magra along the road.



on culture as a *change agent*. As part of this strategy, the Foundation believed that the key to social transformation lay in the connection of artistic practice through direct intervention in the community of a chosen destination country. These interventions create affective experiences that can help to transform thinking patterns and give birth to new ideas, perspectives and potentially improve society and environment. The collaboration of artistic and cultural practitioners is therefore a potential route towards tackling the global climate change problem. Sustainability has to start from the bottom up and needs to force us to reconsider our civilisation model based on aspects such as democracy and social justice.

Since STEP Beyond came into existence, 'green' projects that aimed to enhance the environment through sustainable practices in connection with the local community have always been encouraged. In order to make the choice for train or bus more attractive, the Foundation restructured its grant scheme in 2013 to encourage slow travel and increased grant sums to around 200 Euro when choosing on-land-travel methods that produced lower CO² emissions.

As a result, more STEP beneficiaries chose to travel by train, especially for short distance trips. For many artists the space and time spent on a train can represent a starting point for the implementation of a project, seizing the 'moving space' for reflection, contemplation and possible human encounters that benefit the development of their work. This was the case for Assal, who included the people she met along her way in her illustrated story project.

In its first decade of existence STEP Beyond had a specific geographical scope, emphasising the connection between European and (neighbouring) non-European countries. In 2013, the geographical connection extended to include intra-EU travel too, encouraging short-term travel within Europe. STEP Beyond travel grants were changed to Supporting Travel for Engaged Partnership: STEP and the scheme's focus shifted towards a strong focus on community involvement as a project outcome. In that way, STEP not only became more focused on sustainability – by aiming to reduce its CO²-emissions – but also by supporting the sustainable development

of critical thinking, novel ideas and solutions – on a 'local' level in the grantee's chosen country of destination.

Towards a sustainable future

As well as introducing measuring tools for its activities, STEP joined the Creative Climate Leadership Alumni Network in 2017. The cooperation between *Creative Europe* and *Julie's Bicycle*, a UK-based charity that provides customised tools for measuring the ecological footprint for the creative and cultural sector, aimed to strengthen the knowledge and leadership between cultural professionals, working across the climate and cultural sector and tackling climate issues by connecting global communities to make a local impact.

However, broadening the efforts for greener practices within a travel scheme requires further consideration of cross-sectoral collaborations. Instead of focusing solely on the cultural non-profit sector, the focus could be extended towards cross-sectoral collaborations in the private, public and social sphere. Collaborations with private railway or bus companies, for instance, could be a highly effective way to increase preference for train travel across Europe over easy-to-access airlight deals.

Another important aspect to consider in the debate around environmental sustainability is the advance of technological solutions towards personal meeting spaces where wide physical distances can be bridged with one 'mouse-click'. However, a collaboration to develop multi-disciplinary, multi-layered artistic and cultural projects requires a physical experience where the social and cultural encounter is part of the development of a project. Cultural mobility has been quite a journey for the Foundation so far and thousands of cultural practitioners have benefited from the programmes over the past four decades. But the journey towards creating a more sustainable future has only just begun. To be able to sustain a practice of environmental strategy, the Foundation needs to be a pioneer in their line of work. This includes placing sustainability at the top of the agenda for strategic development, within programmes and the overall activities, but also placing it at the very heart of the organisation's structure and operation.

EUROPE AND THE CLIMATE LEVIATHAN

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ELEANOR PENNY 2019

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Eleanor Penny is an essayist and poet based in London. For this publication, she reflects on how Europe has been tackling the climate crisis in recent times, condemning the role of extractivist economies and issuing a warning about the considerable role European far-right movements have been able to play in framing the climate discourse.

A United Nations special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights has warned that "human rights might not survive the climate crisis." Philip Alston has cautioned the world that with basic supplies of food, water, housing and medicine under threat, "The risk of community discontent, of growing inequality, and of even greater levels of deprivation among some groups, will likely stimulate nationalist, xenophobic, racist and other responses. Maintaining a balanced approach to civil and political rights will be extremely complex."

As the dreadful promises of ecological catastrophe slouch steadily towards us and concrete progress on decarbonisation stays sluggish, climate panic is rising to a global chorus. Scarcity of food, water, livable land and resources are right around the corner. Disenchanted with the inaction of domestic governments, many progressives look to the EU as a rare bastion of forward-thinking and grit on both climate questions and human rights. They point to its leadership on the Paris Agreement, especially vital since Trump's notorious withdrawal, its 'pioneering' research into green technologies, and the fact that a number of key Member States matched and bettered the emissions reduction targets laid down in the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. So far, so rosy. But the EU's forward-thinking and tough talk on climate change are always thwarted, diluted and compromised by its more fundamental political commitments to growth, to the preservation of profit, to the free movement of capital. So how, in this context, can the EU square the circle?

The Paris Agreement enshrined the commitment to foster trade links only with countries that signed up to it – a key practical step in turning a potentially vague, hand-waving declaration into a policy with teeth and muscle. But when Trump's administration, crammed to bursting with an unsavoury allegiance of oil lobbyists and climate deniers, threatened sanctions against the EU, those commitments were swiftly shelved in order to open talks.

Free trade deals which endanger even the most meagre environmental protections have been the mainstay of economic negotiations for many years. The notorious Energy Charter Treaty is one such example. It has for decades been championed for its ability to create a utopia of frictionless exchange where money and goods could flow freely across international borders: generalising an 'Investor State Dispute Settlement' procedure that allows private companies to sue governments in secret for loss of profits – past or 'potential'. Private companies can (and indeed, have) scuppered governmental efforts to tackle environmental degradation, all in the name of business interests.

Defenders of a nineties-style 'third way' argue that this isn't necessarily contradictory to the goals of a sustainable planet. They cling to the gospels of a floundering liberalism, which claims that free markets can flourish alongside a kind of *laissez-faire culturel* and moral pluralism, all stewarded by the distant beneficence of technocratic governments that need not dirty their hands in the business of real change.

But here's the problem: researchers have consistently found that combating climate change means being prepared to tackle business interests head-on, from fossil fuel corporations to the banks which make their capital-intensive operations possible. As Alston and many others fear, a failure to do this basic task means careering the planet into political and moral catastrophe. Thus eternally capitulating to business interests means gradually undermining the material basis for the social liberalism under which the EU justifies – and indeed celebrates – much of its existence.

Many economists have argued that this tendency to protect capital before climate is baked into the constitution of the EU itself. Despite its superficially progressive charms, the network of organisations enshrines a neoliberal politics whereby the architecture of both the nation-state and its supranational counterparts act not like vehicles for democratic



On 9 June 2018, the collective Fossil free Culture NL orchestrated a performative intervention in the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam to demand the suspension of the funding the museum receives from fossil companies. Loud, clear and huge: a 12-metre long message to “End the fossil fuel age now” filled the museum. Fossil free Culture NL is one of the numerous collectives of artists and activists around the globe that denounce the unethical policies of oil and gas sponsorship in the arts and culture. Photo: Alejandro Ramirez.

policymaking, but as conduits for the smooth flow of capital – at any cost. w

In a traditional liberal imaginary, no contradiction emerges between this goal and its human rights commitments: in a liberal democratic state, a lightly regulated free market guides a free people into a halcyon dawn of unspecified ‘progress’. But the challenges of the climate crisis warp the liberal imaginary into a twisted series of contradictions. They pit people against profit in a pitched battle for survival, throwing into sharp relief the incongruities of an institution that claims to act in the interests of both. If this task were ever possible, that time has passed. The

EU’s efforts in global governance bear an ever-dwindling connection to the globe it is attempting to govern.

So if faithful dedication to company interests is a doctrine of disaster, what new political ideologies will rise to take their place? A brief look at EU politics gives us a grim answer: that Alston’s prediction is already being vindicated by the rise of far-right parties across Europe. We have seen a startling rise in authoritarian populism and rising anti-migrant sentiment; treating human movement not as the symptom of a much deeper problem, but as a blight to be stamped out, legitimising the use of all force, and

a rejuvenation of a ruthless, weaponised state, in which human rights are a minor inconvenience to be easily brushed aside.

If the EU does not make good on its promises of climate clean-up, then we will be left to manage the wreckage – and that management will likely be far from ‘progressive’. When a challenge to capital has been shelved, human rights experts and campaigners have warned that governments will choose the only other option obvious to them: a roster of authoritarian policies to protect their own access to resources, whilst shifting the blame for economic collapse onto the already marginalised. For the growing

far-right movements around Europe, already in the business of manufacturing fear, such a crisis is a heaven-sent opportunity for political triumph. The enemies of freedom can pose themselves as the guardians of prosperity, framing their reactionary and Malthusian policies as a necessary tonic to the rot of society, and a way of securing the lion’s share of the planet’s dwindling resources for a chosen people. Pan-European far right group ‘Generation Identity’ has taken an explicitly eco-friendly pivot in its propaganda, popularising the slogan ‘Save the seas / Plant more trees / Deport refugees’. The EU has proved sclerotic and/or unwilling to tackle this phenomenon. Indeed, its austere monetarist crackdown on southern debtor states has been charged with fanning the flames of far-right extremism by plunging more people into desperation, and reviving the electoral hopes of more bourgeois reactionaries looking to cynically clean up in the carnage. They’ve proved more successful in thwarting the efforts of the far right’s most concerted opponents, drawn from more radical left spheres of society who openly challenge the ‘neoliberalism’ of the EU. Whilst from Viktor Orbán to Matteo Salvini, the far right tend to be openly business-friendly; embracing an extractivist economic model whilst loading the blame for and costs of its failure on marginalised groups. The EU might not consciously embrace the far right, but the far right poses little structural challenge to the economic models that the EU is designed to promote – paving the way for an uneasy series of ententes between the technocratic centre and the populist right. Once again, commitment to an economic model at the root of climate change leaves the EU unable to fulfil its nominal commitments to human rights.

This Malthusian attitude has dominated the European political landscape in the past few years – and not just in the expensive-suited or jackbooted ranks of the far right. As the migrant crisis rose to a steady pitch, many states claimed that there were simply not enough resources available to accommodate the flood of new would-be citizens, many of whom fled crises and conflicts catalysed by climate change. ‘We are full’ became a clarion call to justify untold humanitarian outrages at Europe’s borders; all in the name of protecting the freedoms at its

centre. Human dignity is broken on the wheel of global scarcity – whether real or manufactured.

This is the challenge for an institution with a Human Rights Charter at its centre: whether it is prepared to fend off the threats to those rights by a failed economic model. Across the continent, people are agitating for a ‘Green New Deal for Europe’. Some of its most prominent champions like Yanis Varoufakis see it as an opportunity: with a shift towards climate justice comes a shift away from punishing neoliberal orthodoxies that have led to skyrocketing inequality across the continent. One thing is for sure: something has to give.

Climate change is often understood as an ecological problem; a crisis of the natural world that its enlightened human stewards must fix – for the sake of the polar bears on shrinking scraps of ice, the penguins caught in oil slicks and the fish choking on plastic. A problem of human charity towards the flora and fauna with whom we share a globe. This attitude desperately strives to defend a distinction that does not firmly exist; the distinction between the natural and the political and cultural. It puts a comforting distance between human society and the impending climate crisis. But we cannot afford the luxury of comforting dissimulations. Human civilisation and human politics is at its core a way of arranging humanity’s relationship with the rest of the web of life; food, land, water, the wealth of the earth, the basics of a worthwhile existence. With those fundamentals of life compromised comes a crisis in the political systems intended to manage them. This poses a fundamental challenge to our political institutions, a fact which they, sluggish to the point of complacency, don’t seem to have truly metabolised. Whether or not they are interested in anthropogenic climate change, it is deeply interested in them. The climate leviathan will bend all people to its might, the faithful and the unbelieving alike.

"We are often told how wonderful and enriching it is to travel abroad. No doubt about it. That is the exciting and positive way of crossing borders. But roads may be the scene of dramas and heartbreaks, too, when one is simply forced to leave one's country, when getting underway is reluctantly made."

Aline Extermann, excerpt from the letter that accompanied the series of pictures she submitted to the Images of Europe photo competition organised in 1996 on the theme 'Crossing Borders'.

Geneva, 10 March 317

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"Europe: Crossing Borders"

I really liked the theme of this competition because it was so open, apt to so many different interpretations. The words "Europe: Crossing Borders" kept running through my head for a long time before I try to translate them into images. And I realized I wanted to preserve the vastness evocated by those words.

I had the image of roads as symbol of borders. In a very literal way, visible signs of separation between countries are given by frontier posts cleaving some roads. But roads become borders themselves by cutting off landscapes.

We are often told how wonderful and enriching it is to travel abroad. No doubt about it. That is the exciting and positive way of crossing borders. But roads may be the scene of dramas and heartbreaks, too, when one is simply forced to leave one's contry, when getting under way is reluctantly made. I deliberately choosed not to come to a decision among those interpretations. Neutral roads were requested, because I wanted anyone to be able to go personally along them, filling them with their own stories.

Exodus, trip, flight, walk... are basically linked with roads. As I see it, crossing borders and roads are indissociable, always implying change, moving, unknown.

As I mentionned it before, I did not want my photographs to be too specific, too directly linked with myself and my personal environment. I would have like to cross Europe up and down, collecting images of thousands of roads, neither typical nor spectacular. Attempting to decipher the unity of a continent through its road network. Pointing the artificiality of Europe's frontiers.

I made this trip through Europe in the surrounding area of Geneva, Switzerland. Riding for days on bicycle with my camera, hardly stopping to take a photograph, those images are like a travel report. They appear to me timeless and unlocalizable, maybe because this beautiful trip was mostly an inner trip.

SOVIET ENCOUNTERS

(1986-1991)

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SABRINA STALLONE 2019

One of the main mantras of the European Cultural Foundation, with its particular position between public and private, has always been: “We go where official institutions can’t go,” * [p.050] sometimes alluding to figurative movement and in other cases to actual mobility across geographies. This dynamism has been central in allowing for connections to be established – and steps to be made – across state borders. When it came to establishing a form of East/West cooperation before the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Foundation’s position as an organisation with an emphasis on cultural production was just as important as its non-governmental nature.

The first decisive encounter for the Foundation’s engagement in Eastern Europe took place in 1986 – out of all places, in New York City. The young pianist Leona Francombe arranged a meeting with then-Secretary General Raymond Georis, whom she had briefly met previously at an event in Alberta, Canada. Francombe, an English-born US citizen with Czech ancestry, pitched an idea to Georis that consisted of putting together an orchestra with both Eastern and Western European musicians. Georis not only decided to grant the idea, but gave Francombe a job at the European Cultural Foundation, so as to develop her idea to the fullest.

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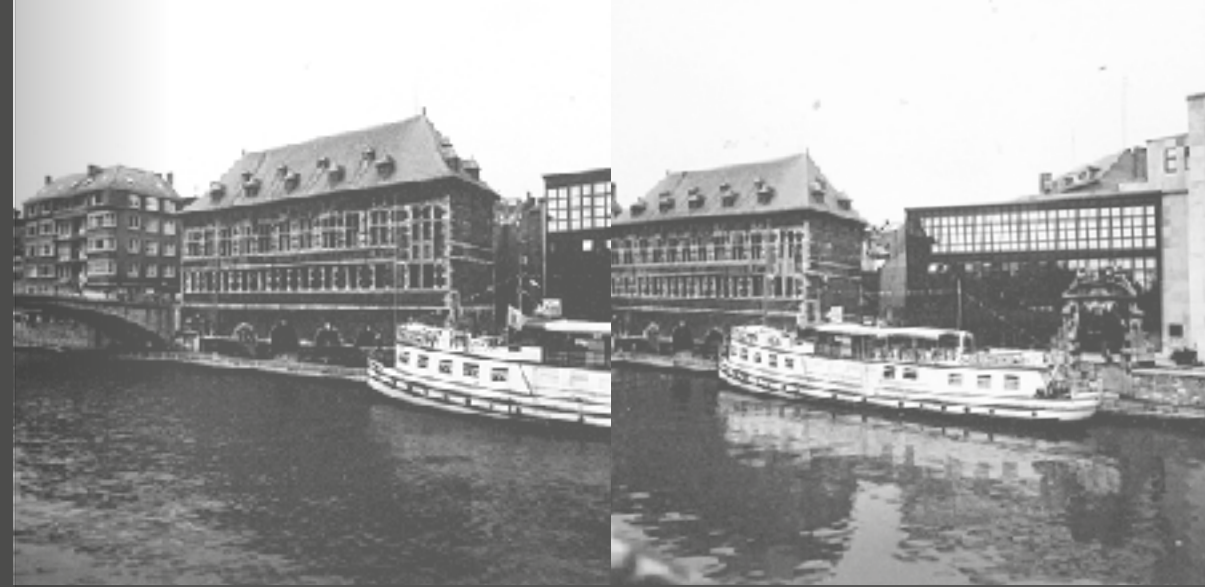
Georis, who knew that Francombe was fluent in Russian, suggested she get in touch with the Cultural Foundation of the USSR, an organisation founded by USSR leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986, amidst his Glasnost reform. Francombe seemed to have convinced Gorbachev's board as well. The Soviet Foundation invited Georis and the pianist to Moscow for a meeting. A few months later, on 1 September 1987, the Concorde East/West Orchestra was born.

Out of this successful first cooperation grew a series of steps towards each other; a journey begun with official encounters to discuss cultural projects, encouraged by a mutual curiosity. The Board of Governors of the Foundation inscribed this commitment to East/West cooperation into its declaration of 1987, solidifying the priority in granting given to projects that promote the building of bridges. In the annual report of that year, the Foundation proudly described a "single poster of Leningrad that decorates the high, bare walls of the Victorian office." A monumental reminder to achieve the goal of cooperation.

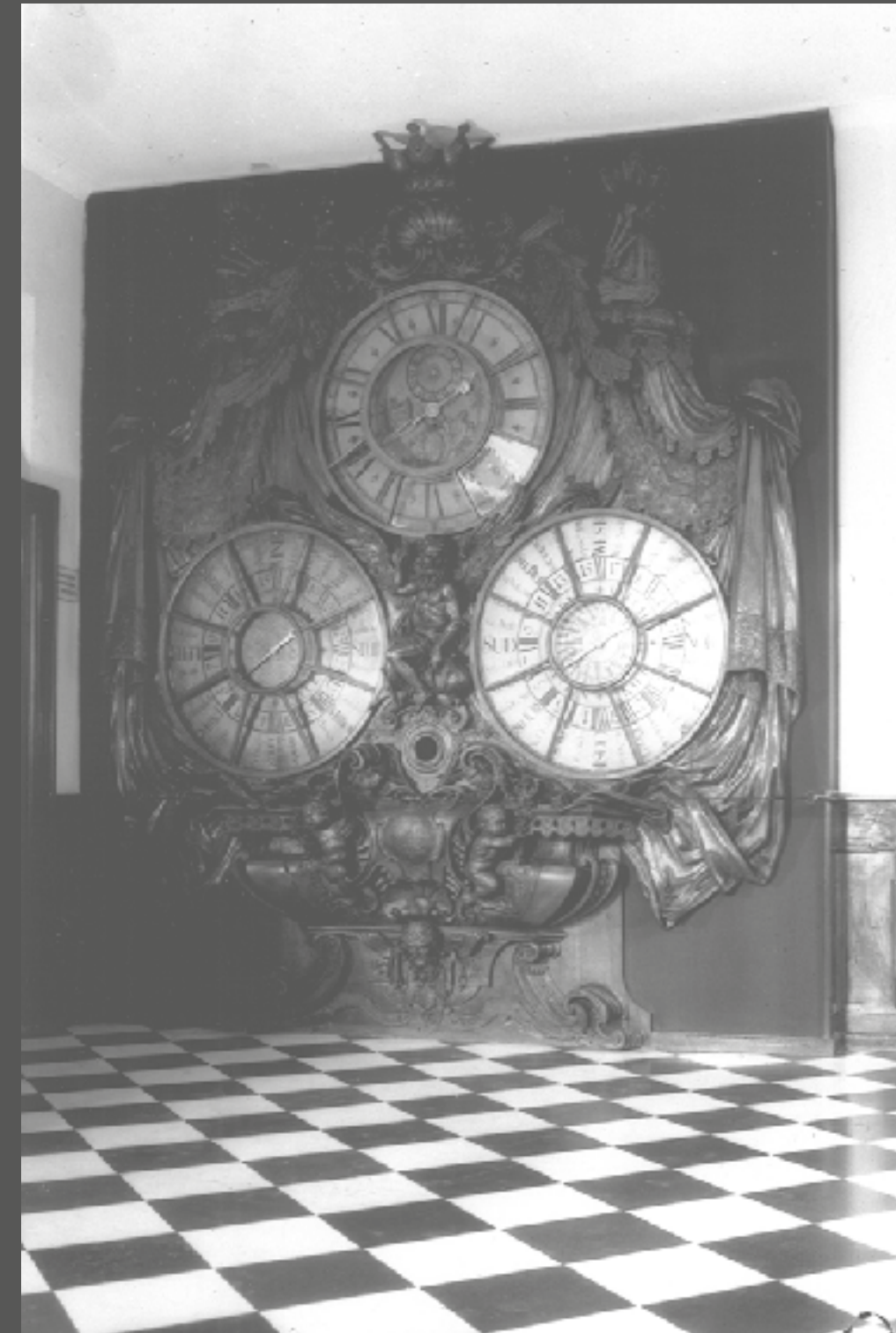
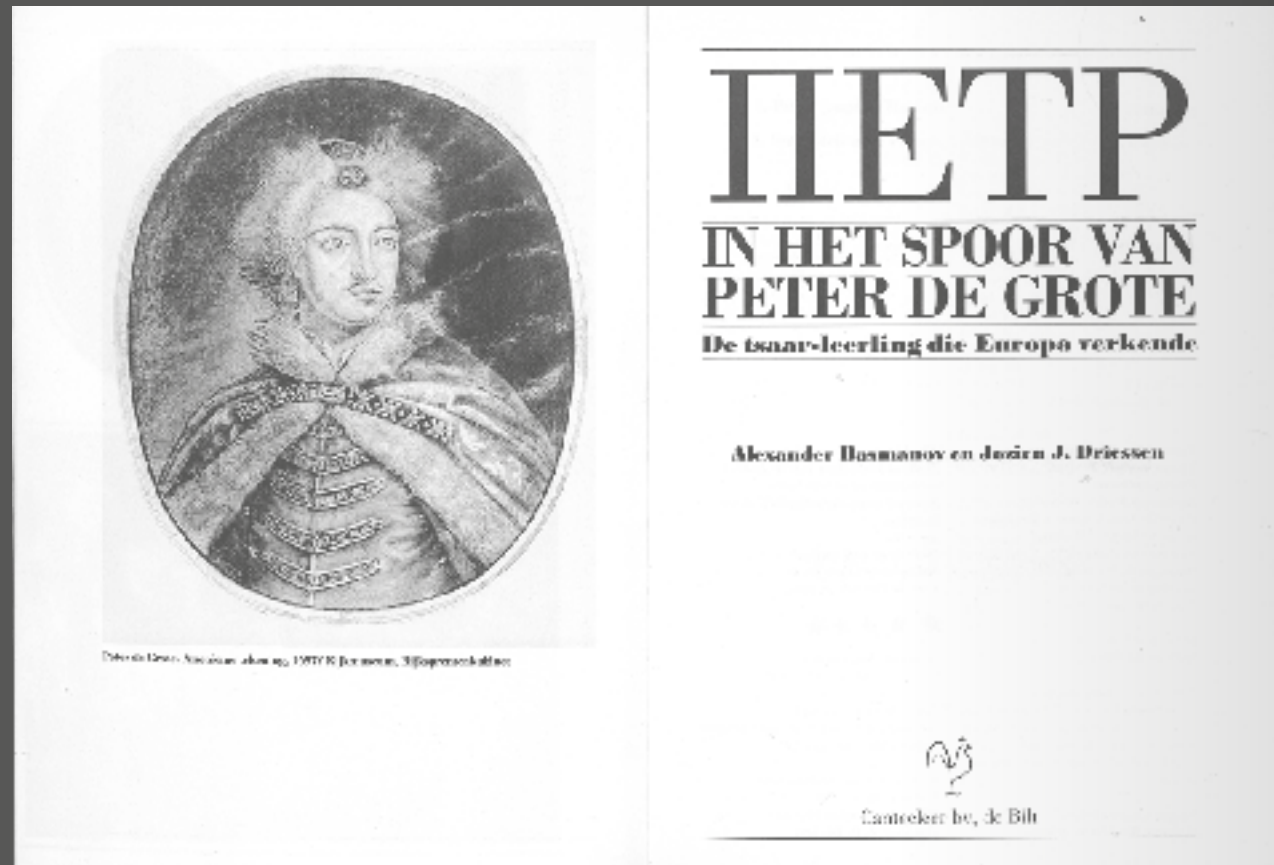
In 1988, a delegation including representatives of the Cultural Foundation of the USSR, and the Chief Editor of the magazine of the Soviet foundation titled *Our Heritage*, Mr. Vladimir Enisherlov, came to the offices of the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam. The main topic of discussion was not concerned with current developments in the Soviet Union or in Western Europe, but with Peter the Great. The Russian Tsar had travelled to European countries in 1697, within his so-called Grand Embassy, attempting to establish cultural and political links between Europe and Russia. In his first year abroad, he spent a number of months in the Netherlands, working in shipbuilding and studying the paintings of the Dutch Golden Age. The traces of this journey were still to be found, primarily around Zaan-dam, where the young Tsar Peter had been residing for most of his stay. The two foundations decided to retrace his steps by putting together a travel guide for Peter the Great's route between East and West. A symbolic gesture, committing to establishing links between Western European countries and the Soviet Bloc.

In September 1989, about 50 representatives of East and West non-profit institutions came together in Leningrad at the joint invitation of the European Cultural Foundation and the USSR Foundation to discuss cooperation between foundations on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It was during this event, which occurred a few weeks before the fall of the Berlin Wall, that the Cultural Foundation of the USSR decided to join the European Cultural Foundation in the financing of the book on Peter the Great.

Months later, *Our Heritage* sent two reporters to Amsterdam. The goal: to write an article about the 'Western Foundation' and their work, inquiring on topics such as the Foundation's activities, its attitudes towards Perestroika, and its levels of concern in light of the 'increasing Americanisation' of Europe. All questions that were meticulously drafted, amended, reflected upon by Raymond Georis. As well as the interviews and meetings, the journalists also began talks to kickstart the travel guide project. The guide was written in cooperation between the two foundations by a Dutch historian, Jozien Driessen, and a Russian journalist, Alexander Basmanov. The first copy of the book was presented to the press on 12 June 1991 – the same day the Russian population cast a democratic vote towards changing the name of Leningrad back to St Petersburg.



Below: the first double page of Basmanov's and Driessen's book *In Het Spoor Van Peter De Grote* (Following in Peter the Great's Steps), published by Canteleer in 1991. Above and on the right: Three images of the Peter the Great Route in Zaandam, following the path of the Russian Tsar, featured in the 1991 publication.



ANXIETIES AND DIALOGUES OF CONTINENTS

RANABIR SAMADDAR 2013

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The following excerpt was originally published in *The Dwarfing of Europe? A dialogue between Brazil, India, China and Europe*, a book edited by the European Cultural Foundation in 2014 following an eponymous conference initiated by then-Director of Programmes and Deputy Director at the European Cultural Foundation, Odile Chenal. It took place on 22 and 23 May 2013 in cooperation with Tilburg University's Department of European Studies and De Balie in Amsterdam. The conference explored a range of non-European perspectives on Europe, grouped under the theme 'Dwarfing of Europe', an expression coined by historian Arnold Toynbee in a lecture as early as 1926. In it, he proclaimed the end of European supremacy over the world. The 2013 conference was concerned with themes that would discuss the mechanisms of this supposedly lost, but in many instances still very much felt, claim to supremacy. Indian scholar Ranabir Samaddar addressed this theme through his notion of the 'postcolonial predicament' as a global issue.

Clearly, the heterogeneity of the social space called Europe that necessitates dialogues within in order to have meaningful dialogues with the outside has to do with the question of migration. For a long time, we ignored the fact that a good part of the particular constellation of territory, authority and rights that we now term as Europe had imperial lineages in more than one way. European empires had been characterised by several kinds of population flows. Barbarians had appeared periodically in history against empires. Barbarians represented migratory movements, and in the context of our time we may say they had a decisive impact on what Sandro Mezzadra (the Italian political theorist) calls 'borders/confines of citizenship'. As we know, the classic concept of borders arose in the wake of the emergence of the modern state and its geopolitical dimensions, within which the individual was historically constructed as a citizen. Nation, state, citizen, border – all these seemed to unite in an excellent fit.

I am speaking here about the emergence of empire and the trans-border migratory movements, which have collectively thrown our understanding of citizenship into doubt. Sovereignty in the beginning was not always strictly territorial, and imperial sovereignty was not so

much indicative of the borders of the empire (though Hadrian was the first known ruler to have territorial markers put in place to indicate the imperial reach), but more of exceptional powers to be above law and execute lives as and when the emperor felt necessary. Of course, who was Roman was a problem then too, and trans-border incursions of people into Rome made things difficult. It was these incursions and the intrinsic difficulties of defining citizenship under imperial conditions that made empire as a form of the State increasingly impossible. The problem as we know was temporarily solved with the emergence of modern political society, where citizenship, territoriality, borders and sovereignty were combined in the form of modern nation states – but we have to note here, that this was possible not only because of popular democracy (the dream of Rousseau, and which every liberal political philosopher has looked forward to), but also because of colonialism, which meant in this respect several things.

Colonialism meant: (a) clear territorial distinction between the sovereign state and the subjugated areas known as colonies; (b) clear legal distinction between participants of the polity, that is citizens and the subjects; (c) clearly demarcated sites of developed sectors of

economy and the production of primary goods; (d) and, finally an effective way of combining territorial conquest, subsequent annexation and the long distance control of economies of the world. In this way, the imperial form was taken over by the modern nation state; and the imperial form of the nation was the historically achieved solution to the twin problems of the empire having borders, and the need to negotiate the territorial limits of the legitimacy of the power of the State. As if politics had solved the question of the distinction between internal and external, which was supposedly the only thing required to guarantee order and peace. Yet immigration flows make the solution of the border question in the form of a European space only partial. Migration history is thus, to use the words of Saskia Sassen, "the shadowy cone over the history of Europe" – that contains the unreported histories of masses of errant, deported and eradicated individuals who live in a foreign land, in countries that do not recognise their 'belonging'. These migratory movements have fractured the national, ethnic and linguistic features of polities and political societies. In a defensive move, the empire now speaks of 'metaborders', indicating the division between the imperial land and that of the barbarians, and not the boundaries

between its constituent units. Yet as a strategy, it has had mixed fortunes. While in the last 15 years, this institutionalisation of 'metaborders' as a strategy has served the function of locating and defining the imperial land better, it has ill served the function of stopping the raids of what the empire considers the extra-planetary animals. Thus, for instance, the phenomenon of labour flows from 'New Europe' to 'Old Europe' threatens the imperial-civilisational core of the Euro-Atlantic continent, and consequently puts pressure on the internal confines of the empire. The border/confine in this way is continually under pressure, and the stress reproduces itself in the interior of the empire. The reserve army, or the army of surplus labour, must conform to the institutional rules of the global labour market. The logic of these institutional rules, while calling for orderly immigration, allows detaining centres in Greece and elsewhere, encourages racism and xenophobia, and produces an interceptive system with FRONTEX leading the pack featured by, among others, groups of self-styled vigilantes prowling the cities of Europe.

Post-colonial predicament

As if ordained by fate, the discussion on immigration leads to the third question: that of our common post-colonial predicament. It is a global predicament. Heterogeneity of economies, the emergence of the affective subject of politics, the return of primitive accumulation as the other of the most advanced and virtual mode of accumulation, increase in extraction processes, massive labour flows, different forms of forced migration, the crisis of the imperial mode of political unity and organisation, the decline of the liberal parliamentary model and the worldwide ascendancy of the executive, assertion of autonomies at every level of political society, expansion of dialogues, new forms of democracy making, and finally newer ways of state making characterise the global post-colonial predicament.

We have to realise, particularly after the financial crash of 2008, that it is not only the Global South that is bound by a post-colonial destiny, but that the post-colonial predicament is global; it faces Europe also. This predicament, to repeat, stems from histories of rampant capitalism (particularly the domina-

tion of financial capital), unbridled hegemony of the market, a framework of liberal rule that fails to understand popular aspirations from below, neo-colonial and imperial practices, and neglect of other social histories of growth, development, and the making of political societies. It is post-colonial, because it is marked by the realities of post-colonial capitalism, post-colonial politics, neo-colonial interventions by great powers of the West (in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and who knows, now in Syria) and the impact of these on the so-called metropolitan world as well. In today's world, a country may have been once a colonial power or once colonised, or it may have been post-colony long ago. But all are now in the post-colonial age, where old North-South distinctions are undergoing modifications, and the post-colony may be within the belly of Europe as well.

It seems to me that, like Europe, the post-colonial countries also often forget the histories I am referring to, their respective strengths and characteristics, and become eager to imitate the histories of Europe indiscriminately. I think the lessons of our anti-colonial past, our popular politics, the dialogic pluralities in our societies, even many aspects of our economic development, are immensely valuable and can lay the groundwork for a permanent workshop of ideas and ideals.

An awareness of the post-colonial reality will help to reshape dialogues between Europe and the post-colonial world, including India. It is imperative that we realise this more than ever, so that a federal vision based on the dialogic practices can be developed. And, all these call upon us – the post-colonial subjects of the Global South – also to look inwards: What kind of post-colonial future do we set for ourselves? I know on hearing my opinion it will be said in cities like Brussels that countries in Europe are already engaged in dialogues for more than a half-century and this is how they made the European Union. Likewise it will be said that, in post-colonial democracies such as India, there are immense social and political conversations going on.

But two things must be placed as caveats before one can say so assertively. First, the intra-European dialogues are overwhelmingly statist conversations leading to treaties, more treaties and regulations. 'We the people of Europe' is a far

cry. The official Europe is less of a dialogic space, and more of a constellation of financial centres in the form of cities like London and Frankfurt, scattered civil society groups, and bureaucratic power centres. It does not produce a general will from its so-called internal dialogues. Second, in countries such as India, the official dialogic situation is similarly constricted. The state is hard on its own people and soft on the global financial world outside. Political conversations and dialogues in a post-colonial society like India go on not so much through formal liberal democratic channels of the so-called public sphere, but through many spheres constituted by many publics, and the daily conversations that mark our semi-legal way of leading life. Indeed such conversations are marked by a sense of legal pluralism. There democracy is made daily, contingently, and in a contentious manner.

Such a situation calls for the development of our translating abilities – translation of ideas, histories, cultures and languages. Translation enhances a federal view of the world. Translation makes co-existence contingent on the material, but makes co-existence at the same time durable. For that we must discard the trap of the imagery of an orderly, homogeneous, market-centric existence produced assiduously by corporate capitalism and neoliberalism.



On 6 May 1990, the border between Romania and the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic along the river Prut was opened for the first time since World War II, and people were allowed to cross it freely. Exactly four years later, on 6 May 1994, the channel tunnel was inaugurated by French President François Mitterrand and Queen Elizabeth II. Both what has been termed the 'watery Berlin Wall' as well as the underwater physical connection between the European Union and its currently most contested island are recent symbols of Europe's flows of people, its ideologies and its still unsurmounted challenges. Above: photographs by Radu Chibzii.



THIRTEEN WAYS TO DRAW A BORDER

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MERVE BEDIR 2019

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
* DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
* MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
* EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

Merve Bedir is an architect and researcher whose work lies at the intersection of space, community and design. In 2015, she was one of 50 participants who attended the Foundation's Idea Camp in Botkyrka, and was subsequently awarded a research and development grant for her project 'Bostan: A Garden for All'. Asked to approach the topics of mobility and migration together for our publication, she could not help but write about borders, and how they "define the possibility of mobility, through time, space and material condition." In her contribution, she draws intriguing connections where, usually, all one can find are boundaries.

One concern regarding migration is about how the border offsets as physical space and as method, to enable or disable mobility. As philosopher Michel Feher points out, "with the transformation of the modern state and the instrumentalization of national borders, desirable people and goods are encouraged to travel, while others become disposable." Mobility refers to global movements of people, as well as to the expansion of urbanisation, and in this way transcends and disrupts deterministic ideas of society and the nation state. As scholars Bülent Diken and Niels Albertsen articulate further, power and freedom today is distributed through the possibility of mobility. "Mobility is relational; being a matter of choice for some, and fate for others. Mobility is paradoxical; differentiating the human condition rather than unifying it. Mobility of one's mind might exist in parallel to the immobility of their body."

Borders offset and define the possibility of mobility, through time, place and material condition. The offset is historical, but not necessarily linear; the offset is physical and digital; the offset is spatial and territorial. Several scales and levels of mobility regimes collapse on one another along the border. The border offset enables a transcendence of mobility. Several of the following stories portray the tragedy of borders as enablers or disablers of mobility, through the trajectories across and along borders, and the border offsets. The border is the representation of the trauma of, and mobility is the disruption to, the colonial, racial and ethnic identity politics of control and management by the nation state or a collection of them. The border is a continuous reminder of our responsibilities – as citizens, communities, countries – towards those whose mobility is restrained or even completely blocked by the very systems we have created.

1. Borders are never only the 'thickness' of their own.

In 'The Lawless Line', Eyal Weizman, Alessandro Petti and Sandi Hilal focus on the borders of the West Bank as established by the 1993 Oslo Accords. The border defines a zone of undefined law within the thickness of the line (that is the border), a legal limbo that intersects and swallows several physical spaces, institutions, organisations and individuals that operate within and around it. A similar situation is in place at the border between Turkey and Syria. As wide as 2km at times, it includes entire villages, minefields, rivers and concrete walls with barbed wire. (Screen capture: Google Earth)



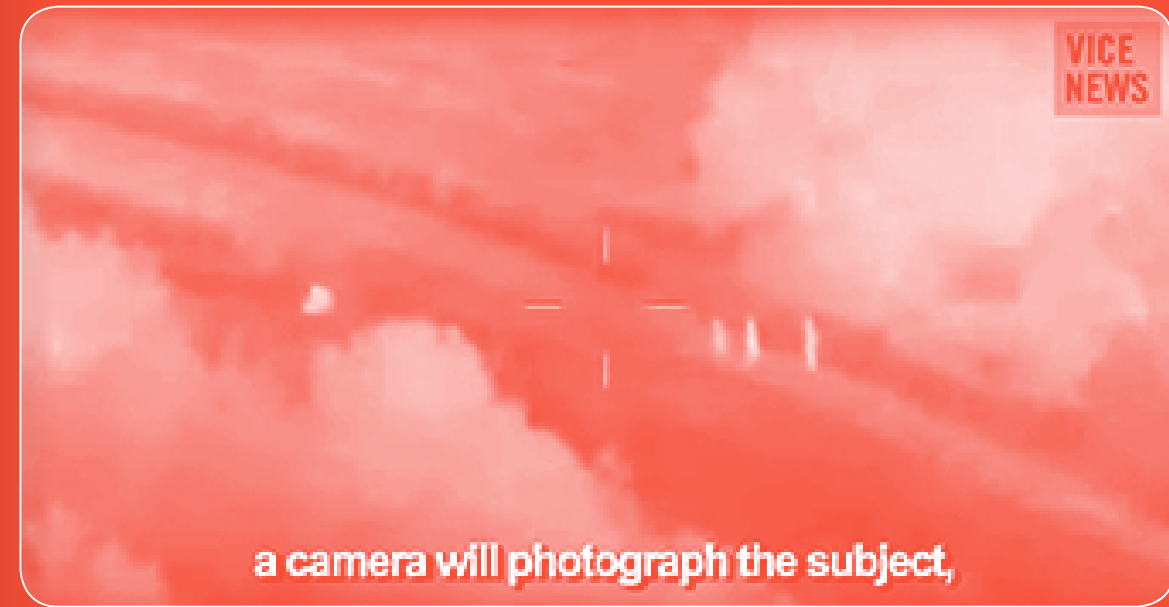
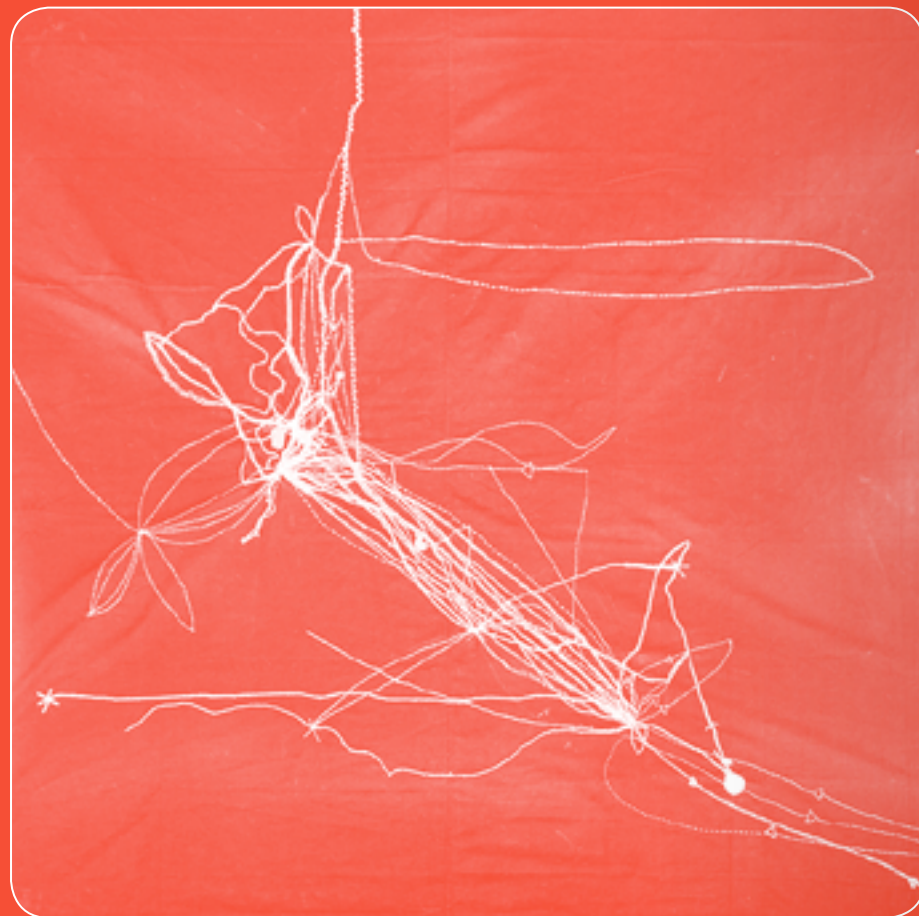


2. Tracing the line

Most of the migrants from Syria to Gaziantep come from Aleppo. Gaziantep was part of the 'Aleppo Vilayet', during the late period of the Ottoman Empire. The German-Ottoman railway from Berlin to Baghdad was still under construction leading to World War I. After the war, the railroad was dismantled and defined the approximate line of the national border between Turkey and Syria. When the war in Syria started in 2011, Gaziantep was the first destination for migrants from Aleppo; people were moving closer to their friends, extended families, relatives, business connections, and so on. (Railway map: Wikimedia commons)

3. Perceived time

Distances across the borders might seem equally measured on the map. However, the perceived distance can be very different when we consider people in movement. This is important because the time one spends in a place will increase the sense and experience of the space, hence the trauma of it, such as the border, the camp, the reception and/or detention room.

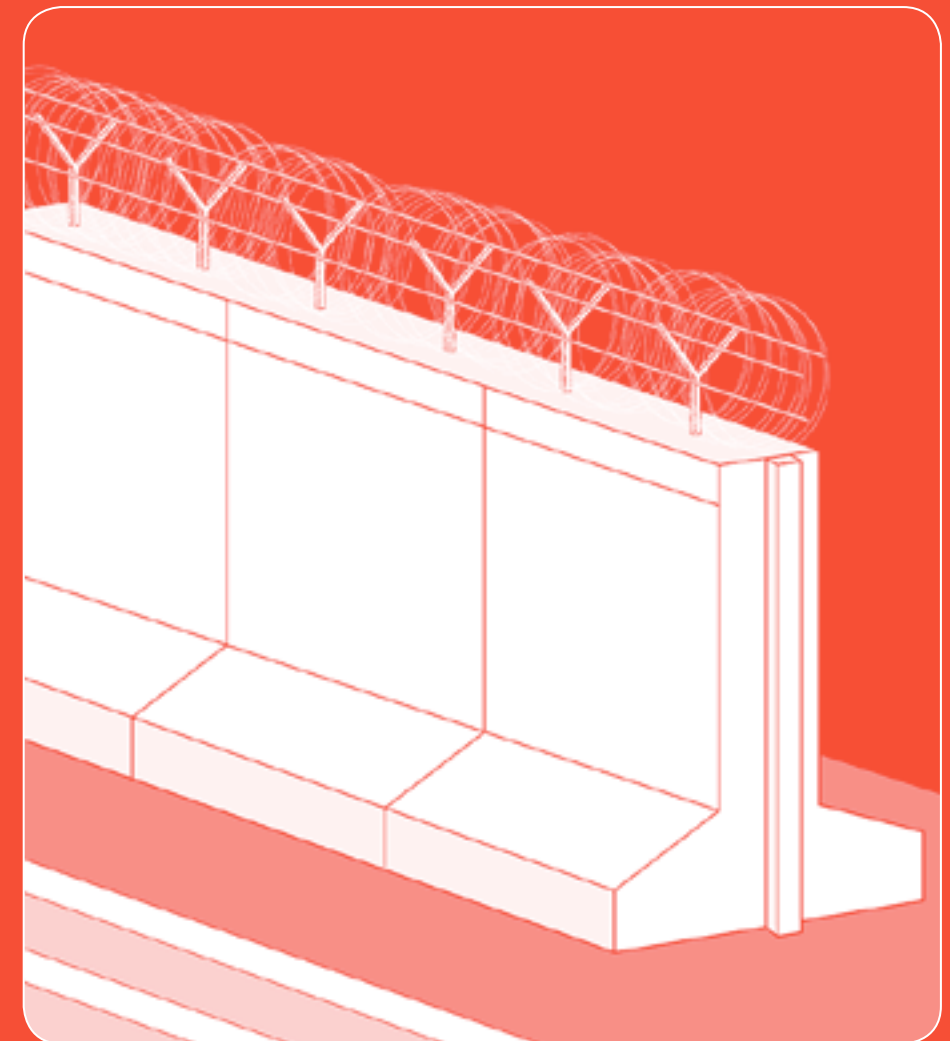


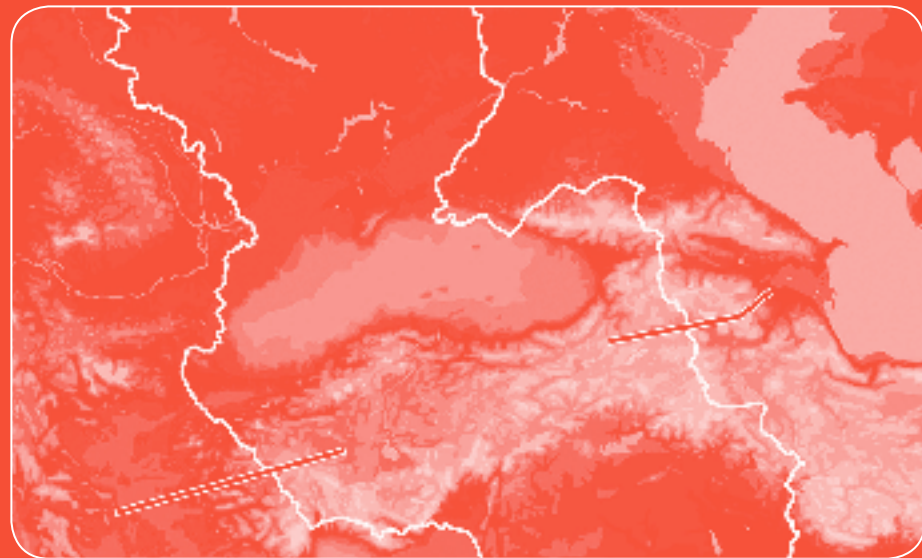
4. The resolution of the border

Maritsa river in high-tech border surveillance camera on the Bulgarian side, according to 'Europe or Die' video news by Vice Newsreport (2015).

5. The wall

A 764km concrete wall between Turkey and Syria was completed in 2018, with the aim of "increasing border security and combat(ing) smuggling." TOKI, the State Housing Administration of Turkey, and the governorates of the border provinces built the wall with 80 million Euros of financial support from the European Union, according to research by *Der Spiegel* and European Investigative Collaborations Network (2018). Modular concrete walls along the Turkey-Syria borderline constitute seven-ton mobile blocks, two metres wide and three metres high, topped with a one-metre-high razor wire. The wall is supported by patrol routes, manned and unmanned towers as well as passenger tracks. The physical wall overlaps with a digital one, consisting of wide area and close-up surveillance systems, thermal cameras, land surveillance radar for drone detection, laser destructive fibre-optic detection, jammers and sensor-triggered short distance lighting systems, remote-controlled weapons systems, command-and-control centres, line-length imaging systems and seismic and acoustic sensors. Fewer people die now in the Aegean Sea, where the number of boat crossings to Greece has decreased since 2016. Instead, people are now dying at the Syria-Turkey border.



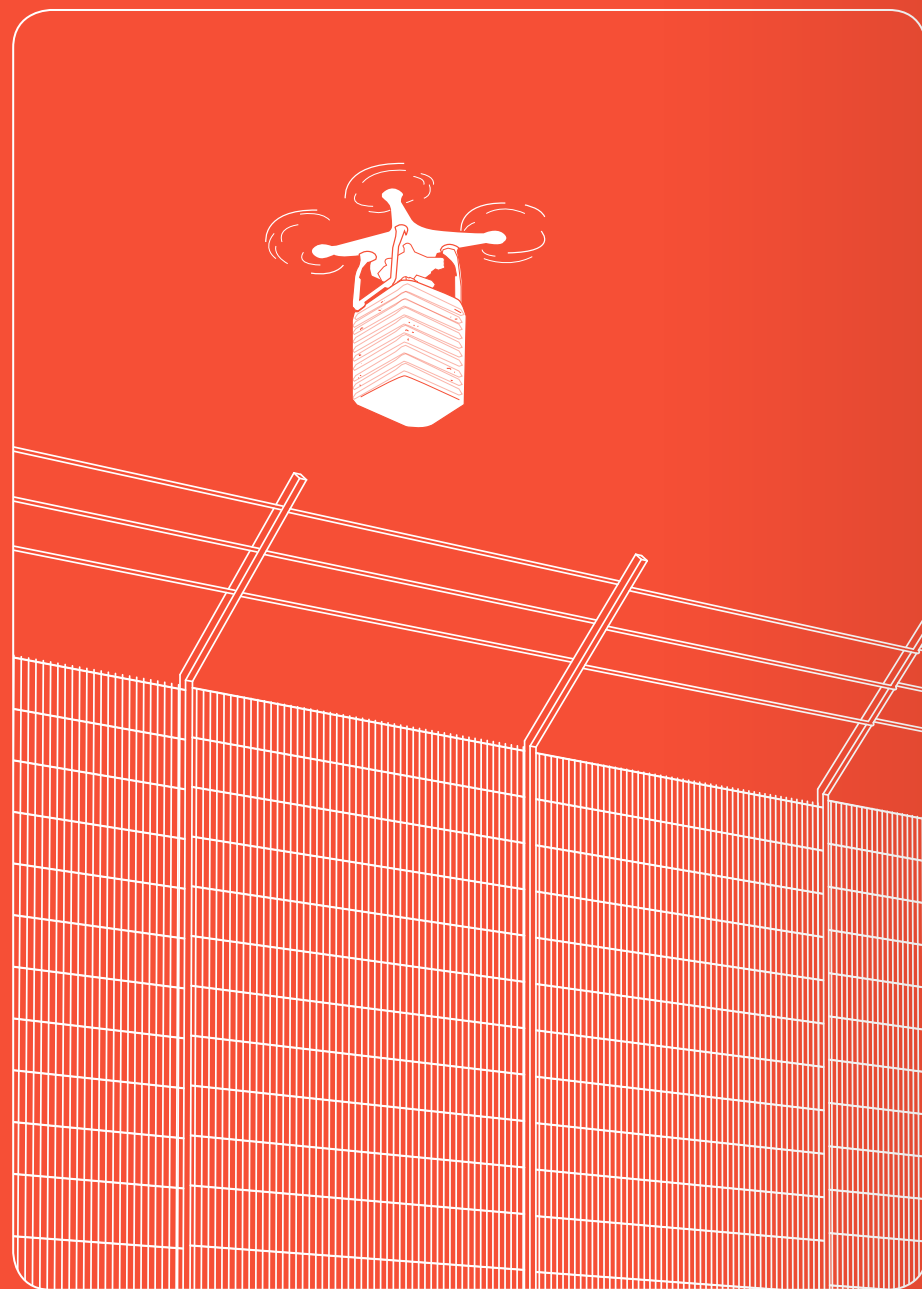


6. Risk of mobility

As the geographic risk increases, mobility decreases, but it is then cheaper to get smuggled across borders. As political risk increases, mobility does not necessarily change trends, but it is then more expensive to be smuggled.

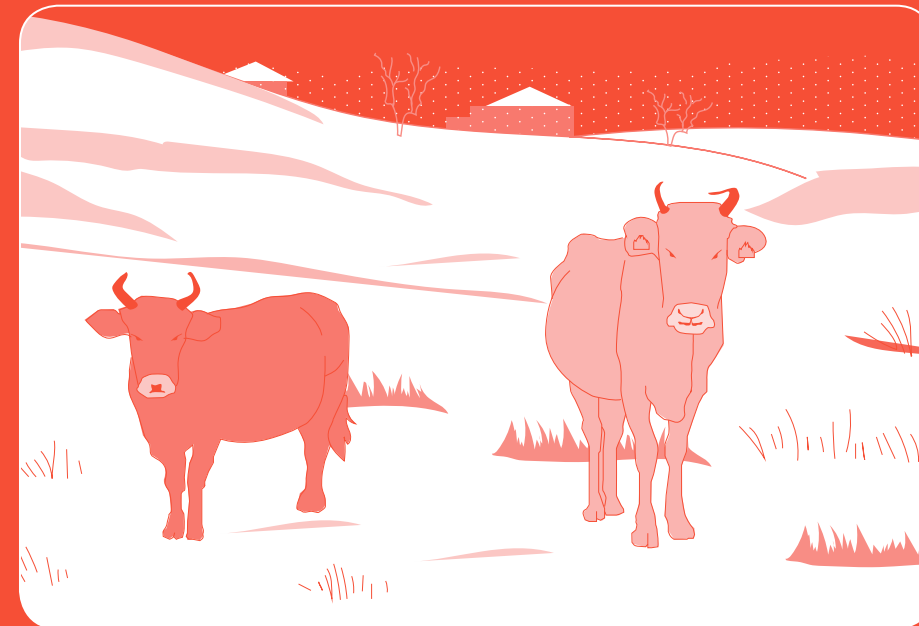
7. The vertical thickness of a transcending border

A common hexacopter can carry more than 13 pounds of dust. These nearly silent and incredibly stable drones can shoot aerial film and photography with smooth focus and ease. The hexacopter is customisable, and can withstand magnetic interference from metal structures, it flies up to 36 minutes at speeds of around 65km per hour. Its reliable engine can recover itself and safely land if a motor fails. This hexacopter can fly low enough to the ground to avoid detection by radar, one of the reasons why border patrols miss them. All of this is to describe a tactic used at the Mexico-US border, as well as the Turkey-Syria and Iraq-Iran borders. When ISIS claimed territory along part of the latter two borders, it disrupted the drone-drug operations. El Chapo, boss of the notorious Sinaloa Cartel in Mexico, has reportedly threatened ISIS militants via a furious email over the repeated destructions of his drug shipments to Middle East countries: "My men will destroy you. The world is not yours to dictate. I pity those who try to interfere with the business of the Sinaloa Cartel." (*News resources: Most Wanted Drug Smuggling Drones (2017), and Drug King El Chapo Guzman threatens ISIS, Forbes (2015)*)



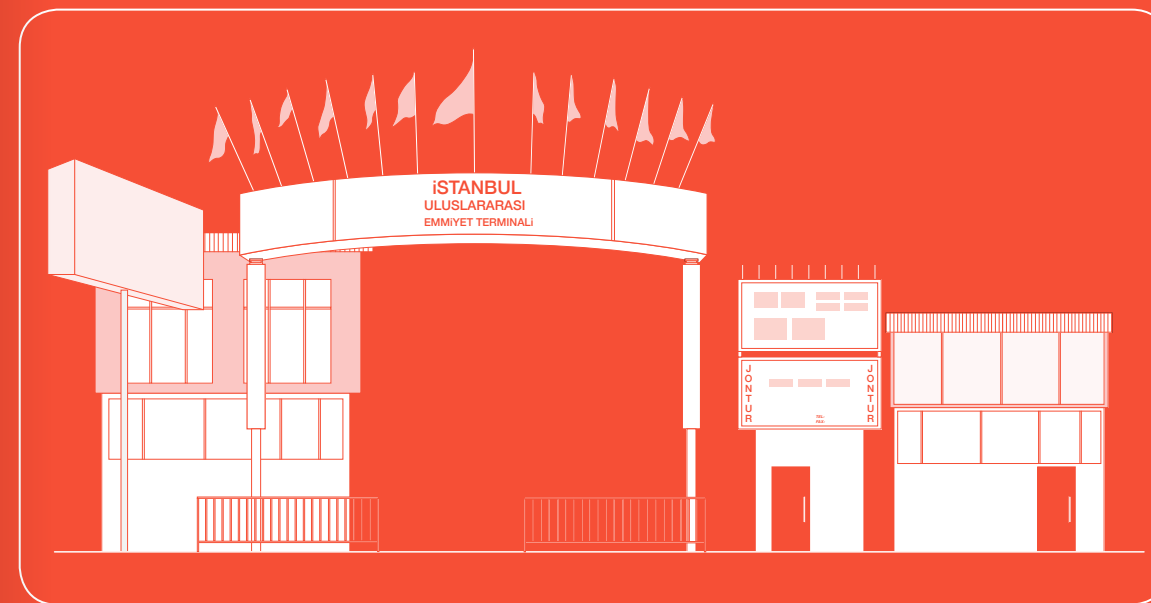
8. Borders for cows? aka. Are cows allowed to be EU citizens?

Penka is a red cow who went for a wander that took her out of the European Union, a few kilometres into the neighbouring, non-EU state of Serbia. Her border crossing was captured on camera, but Bulgarian police were unable to stop her. A Serbian farmer found her two weeks later near the town of Bosilegrad, and she was identified by her EU-standard ear tag. Police contacted Penka's owner, Ivan Haralampiev, and told him to come and get her. But on their way home, Haralampiev and Penka were held up at the border as they lacked the necessary EU documentation to authorise the cow's return. Bulgarian officials intervened to say the animal must be put down because of EU regulations, despite the clean bill of health she had received from vets in Serbia. A petition against her slaughter was collected with 27,000 signatures including that of ex-Beatles singer Paul McCartney and Petka's death sentence was suspended. (*Original news broadcast by Deutsche Welle, 2019*)



9. Bus terminal

Buses leave from the terminal in Kumkapi, Istanbul towards Romania, Bulgaria, Iraq, Iran, Dagestan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Kosovo, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Russia, Ukraine, Chechnya, Syria, Hungary and Serbia. The bus terminal is famous for undocumented trade, mostly of textiles, known as suitcase trade among the users. People bring with them only a suitcase that they can carry on a bus, and sell within those limits.



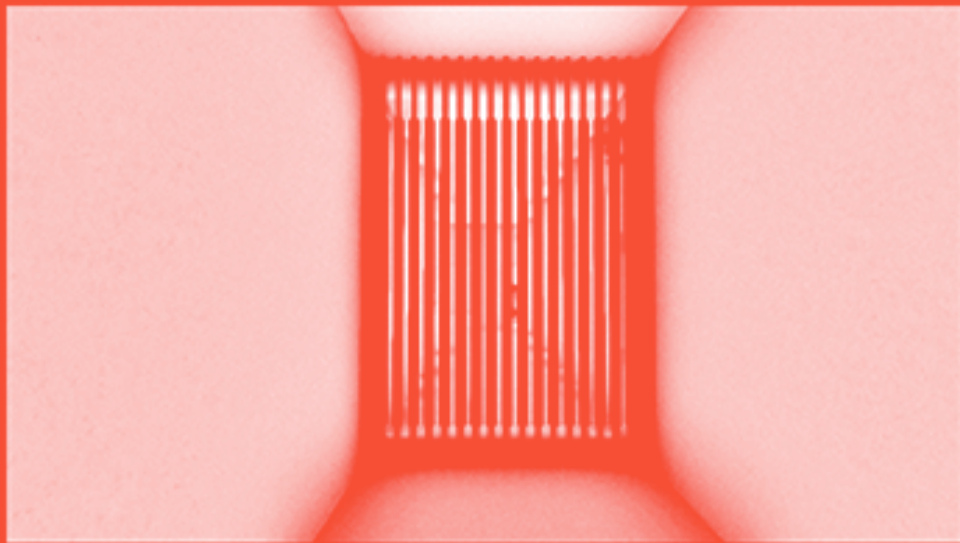
10. Second borders

National borders offset as secondary borders within territories. They create further exceptional zones for the sovereign state to operate within, for punishing those marginalised, criminalised, not perfect citizens, while also charming them with an imagination of 'common future' created and imposed by those very states.

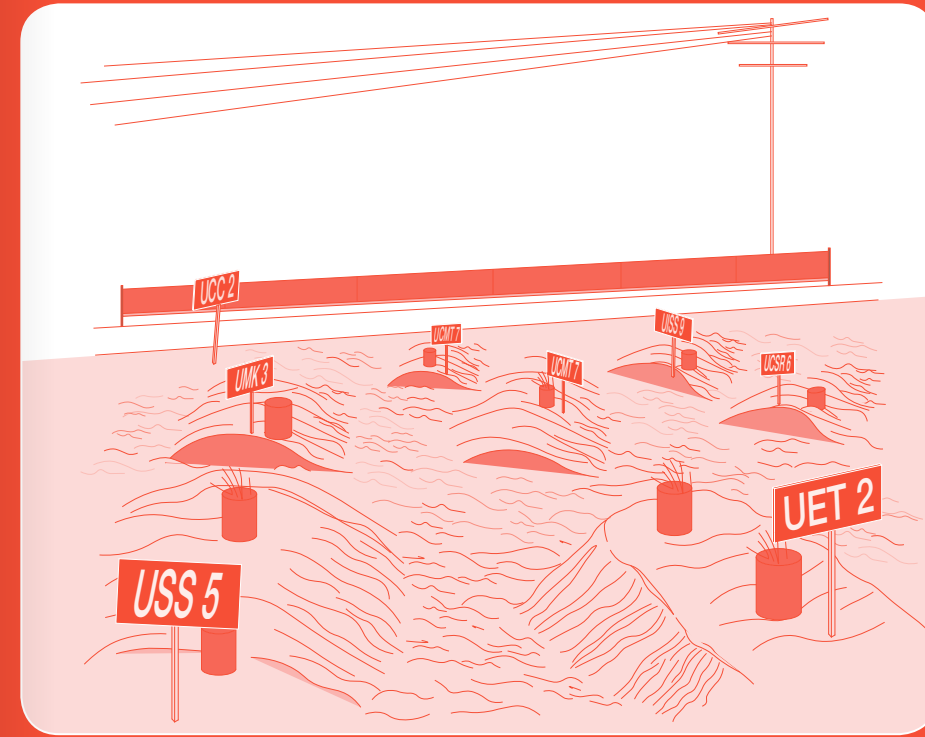


11. Detention centre

The detention centre is the last place migrants see before they get deported out of the country. Considering the human right to free movement, detention centres are the ultimate representations nation states denying this right, today.



Take off your shoes, take off all laces, leave all your belongings in the storage.



12. Refugee cemetery

Izmir Doğançay Cemetery lot 412 is spared for refugees who didn't manage to make it to the other side of the Aegean Sea. The bodies that are found and submitted to the jurisdiction by the coastguard are taken to the forensic medicine department for DNA investigation, and for potential visits from relatives of the dead who remained in Izmir. The cemetery imam keeps a list of the bodies. He performs a final ceremony for, and registers the reason for death, and the location of the grave. "The bottom of the Aegean Sea holds 330 deaths that we know of, and 136 bodies we buried without known identity. The list helps; Ismetullah, who came here last week, was able to identify his family among the bodies brought here." (Original news by Pınar Ögünç, Cumhuriyet, 2015)

13. Passport

"Cultural diversity is a threat to the stability and integrity of the nation state." – Eminov, 1999. (Bulgarian Passport image from Wikimedia commons)



Accompanying the series of photographs she submitted to the final edition of Images of Europe in 1998, photography student Barbara Ludman, then based at the University of Westminster in London, wrote a short piece in which she reflects on the notions of identity and identification.

AFFINITY

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BARBARA LUDMAN 1998

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DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
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The representation of identity as characterised by race, class, gender, sexuality, etc. is problematic, without the risk of enforcing stereotypes, therefore I depict a series of images that portray my own loosely knit, fragile, fragmented and partial sense of identity. I – the singular – represent many, but I choose not to tie myself to any group or stereotype, such as ‘woman’, ‘white’ or ‘emigrant’. Identity is about shifting positions, about different levels of identification. The confined grid of identity, that is stereotype, enforced by social dogma has somewhat eased in the 1990s, especially in the space of the city, where many cultural spheres co-exist. The post-modern individual has a certain degree of freedom to engage themselves in different levels of temporary identification. In my opinion a temporary identification of this kind takes place when I take a picture – which manifests itself in my choice of the subject matter and in the way I choose to represent it. My series of images are an example of this, all within the space of the city, where I chose to live.

Regarding identity, Donna Haraway talks about *affinity*. “Related not by blood, but by choice” (in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, p. 155). She says that “nature is constructed, and ‘truth’ is made, not found.” If nature is constructed, then perhaps identity is also constructed through identification. I see the person as a moulded psychological figure, who responds to his or her politically, economically and culturally shaped environment by adopting for her/himself different layers of identity. Perhaps it is a reciprocal relationship, where one is influenced by the environment, but also, the environment is transformed by the presence of the individual. Donna Haraway says that “truth is made, not found,” but I believe that there are degrees of ‘truth’ to be had. It is important that we recognise that the core of the psyche is unique and inherent to the individual – therefore the sense of self – yet at the same time acknowledging that the whole picture of ‘truth’ – or nature – is a cultural construct.

*

My sequence of images are encapsulated in real events. None of the pictures are contrived. There is a reciprocal relationship between myself and the subject. There is *affinity*. I identify through ‘choice, not by blood’!

On 12-14 April 1991, the European Cultural Foundation organised a conference at the Palais Pallavicini in Vienna focused on 'The Future of Cultural Collaborations between the Countries of Western, Central and Eastern Europe: The Role of Foundations'. The conference followed a gathering in Leningrad in September 1989, initiated in cooperation with the Cultural Foundation of the USSR, in which representatives of 22 Western and seven Eastern European foundations discussed potential future cooperation. The European Cultural Foundation was keen on playing a role in the transition from a divided to a united Europe before as well as after the fall of the Berlin Wall. But what were the right steps to take, to cross the border without overstepping some critical boundaries? In this context, Professor Timothy Garton Ash delivered a keynote speech that critically addresses the role of cultural cooperation in the emerging and enlarged European context. The following is an excerpt of the 1991 speech, which is followed by a contemporary response by the same author.

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A RETURN TO EUROPE?

TIMOTHY GARTON ASH
1991/2019

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As you know it used to be said that under Communism the future was certain, it was the past that was unpredictable. This has all changed now. Now we can, as a Hungarian populist once urged a colleague of mine, be more optimistic about the past, but the future is indeed open. Moreover the first freedom which the countries of Eastern and Central Europe have quite rightly taken is the freedom to be different, not only different from each other but also the individual parts of East European countries to be different from each other.

The first rather obvious generalisation I'd like to make is that if a year ago we were in a state of euphoria about Central and Eastern Europe, we are now in a state of dismay. From the exaggerated optimism of a year ago we have moved to the exaggerated pessimism of today. Yesterday 'Himmelhoch jauchzend' and today 'Zum Töde betrübt'.

I heard recently on Austrian radio a Slovenian aphorism: "Forty years ago we were at the beginning of socialism. Today we are the beginning of capitalism. Perhaps forty years from now we shall be at the beginning of feudalism."

Not all the countries of Central and Eastern European have even achieved freedom. We think particularly of the countries inside the Soviet Union, of the constituent parts of Yugoslavia, to some extent of Romania. Even in those countries which have achieved freedom, neither democracy, nor pluralism nor the rule of law, nor the market economy nor civil society are firmly or irrevocably established and the lack of one or more of those things can itself threaten the freedom achieved. There has been a similar swing in Western perceptions of the region – from enthusiasm to weariness, from wonder to consternation, from admiration to something which at times almost borders on contempt.

There are I think perhaps two dangers inherent in Western approaches and attitudes to this region: that of false humility and that of false arrogance. The false arrogance is well characterised in the German term the *Besserwessis* for those West Germans who have come across to East Germany as know-alls, knowing better about everything. But *Besserwessis* do not only exist in West Germany.

It would be for example a false humility to think that we could learn something from 40 years of socialist economies, that perhaps in workers' self-government there is a model. A false arrogance is to come in with the assumption that we ourselves have pure free market economies and that the only solution for these countries is to go straight for 100% market. Pin-striped know-alls from No. 10 Downing Street march into Warsaw to explain how they succeeded with Mrs. Thatcher in privatising 5% of British industry in ten years – to people who have to privatise 50% of Polish industry in one year. In much of Eastern Europe there is what has nicely been called 'advice fatigue'. Lech Wałęsa remarked to a banker friend of mine, "Please, we need help of every kind from you, but one thing we want no more of – please do not send us any more economists."

False humility in politics was to see in a figure like Václav Havel or Tadeus Mazowiecki or Adam Michnik a model of a new kind of politician for democracy. Havel is in the castle, could we not have Harold Pinter in No. 10 Downing Street, Günter Grass in the Bundeskanzleramt, perhaps Thomas Bernhard in the Hofburg? I am not sure that we would then

be better governed. A false arrogance is to speak as if we have the perfect patent model democracy, which has only to be copied wholesale. Let us not forget that not just in Spain or Greece or Portugal, but in one of the Motherlands of democracy, France, there was only 30 years ago something like approaching an attempted *coup d'état* and a president with very considerable powers.

When we speak of the danger of nationalism in Eastern Europe, let us not forget that whereas Václav Havel may be slightly manhandled by Slovak nationalists on the streets of Bratislava, on the streets of Belfast for 20 years people have been killing each other in a nationalist conflict. In other words, let us keep a certain sense of proportion and let us make a few important distinctions, between say a country like Yugoslavia, where nationality conflicts could indeed lead to civil war; a country like Czechoslovakia, where they produce an acute constitutional conflict; and one like Poland, where it is rather a problem of political culture.

Culture is one of the words in the title of the conference and to that I would like now to turn. In his *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture*, T.S. Eliot in 1948, gave a famously broad definition of culture. He said, "It includes all the characteristic activities and interests of a people: Derby Day, Henley regatta, Cowes, the 12th August, a cup Final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, 19th century gothic churches, and the music of Elgar." "The reader," he said generously, "can make his own list."

If we think of the culture of Central and Eastern Europe and of its individual countries, perhaps each of us could make his own list. One might for example say, "Demonstrations, scandal, coffee, chain-smoking, irony, stuffed cabbage, flirtation and being invaded by more powerful neighbours."

But more seriously, somewhere on that list would also feature poetry, books, arguments about ideas. I think it is the case that in East/Central Europe, culture has or has had an extraordinary significance. The great Central European poet Paul Celan once said of Czernowitz, before the holocaust that "it was a place where people and books lived." I think that is something one could say about Central Europe under Communism. It was an area where people and books lived, books and writers.

This was partly because, with the imposition of a totalitarian system, writers, intellectuals and artists were one of the few groups who could retain a certain independence, and partly because this system was built as much on organised lying as on the secret police or the armed forces and therefore the uncensored word had a special significance. "You have wronged the simple man, do not feel safe, the poet remembers," said Czesław Miłosz. And Miłosz's 'the poet remembers, Solzhenitshyn's 'one word of truth', Havel's 'the power of the powerless' were not only an extraordinary contribution to European culture as such, they were also a contribution of the first order to the political development of these countries.

As a result, one had once again Western misunderstanding. A false humility was perfectly exemplified with Jean-Paul Sartre coming to Prague and saying to Czech writers in the early 1960s, "How lucky you are. We in the West no

"As a result, one had once again Western misunderstanding. A false humility was perfectly exemplified with Jean-Paul Sartre coming to Prague and saying to Czech writers in the early 1960s, 'How lucky you are. We in the West no longer have real subjects, you have real subjects. We write and no-one locks us up in prison, if only someone would lock us up.' I have christened this curious attitude *Verfolgungsneid* (envy of the persecuted). In a more moderate version this attitude is nicely reflected in Philip Roth's splendid comment that, 'In the West everything goes and nothing matters, and in the East nothing goes and everything matters.'"

longer have real subjects, you have real subjects. We write and no-one locks us up in prison, if only someone would lock us up." I have christened this curious attitude *Verfolgungsneid* (envy of the persecuted). In a more moderate version this attitude is nicely reflected in Philip Roth's splendid comment that, "In the West everything goes and nothing matters, and in the East nothing goes and everything matters."

Now in this world in which culture had this extraordinary, abnormal significance, there was also an extraordinary and abnormal significance for efforts of cultural cooperation between East and West and there are of course very many people in this room who have done an enormous amount over nearly 30 years in this field. I would like, if you will permit me and she will forgive me, to mention only one, and that is Annette Laborey of the Fondation pour une Entraide Intellectuelle Européenne, who really is I think the unsung heroine of this particular field.

We also in Oxford, in the Central and East European Publishing Project, have tried to make our own modest contribution, sometimes also in unconventional ways. I remember one memorable application from an East European journal, which produced a very impressive budget with editorial expenses, translation expenses, administration expenses and then a laconic item *Schmuggel* [smuggling]. We then had a serious discussion, as other foundations discuss what is a reasonable percentage for administration costs, about what would be a reasonable percentage for *Schmuggel*. Would it be 20% or 25%?

And of course a few of us also indulged in a little *Schmuggel* ourselves, taking the latest volume by Friedrich von Hayek, Karl Popper or Hannah Arendt (it was almost always one of those three) under our coat we passed with trepidation through the GDR and so moved on to Warsaw and to Prague where, taking care not to telephone beforehand to make an appointment, one would visit a friend known only as Fidelius in his cellar where he was stoking his boiler and have an earnest discussion about the philosophy of Friedrich von Hayek. Or again, sitting in a corner of the park in Poznan, a discreet corner, with a lady reading out to me from a cigarette paper a series of requests for cultural cooperation and then popping the cigarette paper into her mouth and swallowing it, as a precaution. I have seen many people metaphorically eat their words, but this was the first time I have someone do it literally. Yet whether this was support for *samizdat* or translations, I have never been so certain that money was well spent.

Now, after the revolution, after the liberation, we are of course in a quite different situation, one in which the overall strategic goal of East/Central European politics is culturally defined. The return to Europe is a cultural goal, but its achievement depends on politics, on economics and law, and even the definition of the goal.

One may talk of a return to Europe, but already in political life it is only up to a point, only in some areas and in economic life perhaps only in Bohemia, Silesia, a few great cities. If Europe means Western modernity, then we are not necessarily talking about a return. We are talking rather of the latest in a long series of attempts by East Central Europe and Eastern Europe to catch up with the modernity

of the West; a series of attempts of which, in a perverted way, Communism was also one. This is therefore an extraordinary historic chance, the chances have become greater, but so have the risks. As an experienced observer, Misha Glenny, wrote laconically in a recent book "War is still quite likely in the Balkans."

What is the role of cultural cooperation in this area? I think that we must be careful not to exaggerate the possibilities of cultural cooperation. One might for example say that cultural cooperation is an obvious field in which to work against the tendencies towards national misunderstanding and national conflict, as has been done in the famous example of Franco-German cooperation.

The first danger in East/Central Europe at the moment is that culture, from having had an abnormal importance, threatens to fall into an abnormal insignificance, for a number of reasons. Firstly, at a stroke, culture loses all its *Ersatz* functions, novels no longer need to perform the function of newspapers, theatres no longer need to perform the function of parliaments. Secondly, because most of the intellectuals are now in politics, the Czech philosopher who last year was a stoker has not again become a philosopher, he has become an ambassador; the poet who last year was a window cleaner has not become a poet he has become a minister. Thirdly, and most importantly, because of the impact of the market. There is, it seems to me, a real danger that what 40 years of Communism did not succeed in destroying, four years of capitalism may yet destroy.

Whether one looks at publishing, academic life, theatre, museums painting, wherever one looks, there is in cultural life a picture of crisis. An over-used word but applicable in this case. This is partly of course because state budgets have been slashed. Secondly, publishers have to adjust as producers to a market reckoning in real prices. Thirdly, there is a real change it seems to me on the demand side as well as the supply side. There are other priorities, one is more interested in an electric shaver by Braun than in a play by Folker Braun, in a Miele rather than a Miłosz. And at the same time the main consumers and producers of that culture, this particular East European intelligentsia, is itself in a deep material crisis and a crisis of identity. In this area, as in other areas of economic and social life, Schumpeter's so-called entrepreneurial creative gale of destruction, threatens to destroy almost all the trees in the forest, leaving only a desert strewn with a few cook books and a little soft pornography.

It may seem a paradox that the arrival of the free market makes subsidies more not less necessary in this period of transition. In this field as in others the need paradoxically is for even more state intervention, so that at the end there should be less intervention. And this raises quite interesting questions about the role of the state and attitudes to the state, which seem to me at the moment curiously ambiguous. On the one hand there is a continued expectation of the state as a provider, on the other hand a deep mistrust of the state as an intervener.

That whereas up to 1989 Western initiatives had to go through the party state was in some sense an unfortunate necessity – one should ask the question whether now, after 1989 with a different state, it could not actually be a useful

function of a Western cultural policy to go through the state, to use the state, to give it a positive function, particularly in the case where the existing structure of support and subsidy are basically state ones and state budgets have been cut by 50%. This would have some of the functions that the Marshall Plan had in Western Europe in encouraging cooperation within states. It is a sad truth that often Ministers and certainly officials from Ministries in East European capitals meet more often in Vienna or Paris than they do in Prague or Warsaw. Such structures could encourage cooperation between different regions of individual states (*Länder* in the German sense) and between the states of this region.

Now we shall, no doubt, have in the course of this conference a great many eloquent accounts of particular needs of the region. Let me mention very briefly before concluding just three that lie close to my heart. The first is that of higher education as it relates particularly to the new political elites. If one looks around the East European landscape it seems to me the nearest thing one comes to a normal political party is a Hungarian party called Fidesz. I mean by a normal political party a group of people who are in politics because they want to be in politics, who think a party is a party and not a church, a civic movement or a philosophical seminar. It is a party that is there to compete by fair means or relatively foul (but the foul is within limits) by a systematic use of half truths for power through the democratic process. Such a party is Fidesz. It is abnormal only in one respect, certainly none of its members are older than about 23. This is perhaps a slight exaggeration, but they are very young indeed.

But the one point I wanted to make about these people was that virtually all of them as far as I could see, or certainly their outstanding figures, were all scholars funded by George Soros, at universities in the West in the mid to late 1980s. We could not have a discussion about cultural cooperation between East and Western Europe without at least once mentioning the name of George Soros. It seems to me the case that the concentration on a particular elite paid off very directly in the new post-Communist politics of Hungary.

The second field which is close to my heart is that of journalism. This is of course a field that was systematically poisoned and destroyed under Communism. As I mentioned earlier, through the occupation of language, the system of new-speak and organised lying, the general quality of journalism and newspapers in Eastern Europe is very low. There is much to be done in this field.

There is one other medium that is even more important and that is, of course, television. Television has an importance without parallel. The revolutions in East/Central Europe could almost be christened tele-revolutions. It was no accident that the revolution in Romania happened around the central television station and Jacek Kuron recounted an encounter at the Polish round table where the Interior Minister said to him, “Mr. Kuron, I must tell you, we would rather give you the Secret Police than the television.” And he was right. I don’t know exactly how Western assistance can be meaningfully applied in this field, but of all the media, this one medium has a capital importance.

Finally, the third field very close to my heart is that of history. We are experiencing in this part of Europe, the re-

turn of history, both in the sense of the return of historical conflicts and scenes from before 1945 and in the sense of the return of great debates about history. If one looks at the reconstruction of Western Germany after 1945, one of the great elements of that reconstruction was *Zeitgeschichte* (the study of contemporary history) and that was very substantially facilitated by the possibilities given to scholars at an early point to study in the West.

I think it is true to say that as before 1989 in the great days of *Schmuggel*, we shall have to look again for unconventional means and unconventional solutions in cultural exchange. Then as now we shall find that relatively small sums of money can go a long way, that then as now it will be in the first instance a matter of finding the right individual rather than the right institutions, and then as now it will be true that he who helps fast helps twice.

The great difference of course is in the scale of the historical opportunity that opens up before us. At the very end of his *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture*, published as I said in 1948, T.S. Eliot produced a very moving plea for the contribution of men of letters throughout Europe to preserving and recreating the cultural unity of Europe. It is a sad fact that over the last 40 years, with Europe under the sign of Yalta, the best we have been able to do is to defend fragments of that cultural unity. But now today, it seems to me we have the chance not only to restore the cultural unity of Europe, as Eliot pleaded in 1948, but to go beyond that, to create a social, a political and an economic unity of Europe to a degree that has never before been seen in European history. Nothing less is the task before us.

A 1991 speech revisited (2019)

It is always slightly alarming to be confronted with something one wrote nearly 30 years ago, yet on the whole this speech seems to me to hold up well. Paradoxically, the most encouraging thing about it is the statement that ‘we are now in a state of dismay’. Dismay? In spring 1991? Surely that was meant to be the high point of hubristic, ‘end of history’ liberal optimism? So this text is a reminder of how difficult the transition from Communism was, how many doubts and fears there were along the way.

Some of the problems we see in East Central Europe three decades later are already foreshadowed here. For example, there was the immense difficulty of the mass privatisation of an enormous part of your economy – for the essence of Communism, after all, was defined by Karl Marx as the abolition of private property. As I write these lines, I have just got back from Prague, where an oligarch, Andrej Babis, is now a populist Prime Minister. As with so many other post-Communist oligarchs, the foundations of his wealth were laid in the murky years of privatisation in the early 1990s. In this speech, too, is an urgent warning about the dangers of nationalism – pressed onto our minds in 1991 by events in the former Yugoslavia. And today, nationalism again stalks Central and Eastern Europe.

The most uncomfortable reading from today’s perspective is my praise of Fidesz as a ‘normal political party’, a party “which is set to compete by fair means or relatively foul (but the foul is within limits), by a systematic use of half-truths for power through the democratic process.” And I went on to comment admiringly that its leading figures had been supported by George Soros. Since 2010, the former Soros scholar Viktor Orbán and his Fidesz party have substantially dismantled the institutions of liberal democracy in Hungary, garnering popular support by a propaganda campaign – with anti-Semitic undertones – against none other than George Soros. I was not wrong about the political skills of Orbán and his colleagues, but what we never anticipated was that they would use those skills in such an anti-liberal, anti-European and ultimately anti-democratic direction.

As part of that anti-liberal campaign, Fidesz has effectively driven out of Hungary – at least for its core degree-granting activities – the best university in central Europe, the Central European University. ✱ [p.110] This brings me to the main subject of this speech, and of the European Cultural Foundation, namely culture. Culture had an exceptional, abnormal importance under Communism. It had to play roles that culture would not and should not have to play in a free, pluralistic, open society. Novels performed the function of newspapers, playwrights that of politicians, churches that of political assembly halls. The fear I expressed here was that, having played that abnormally large role, culture would now, under the shock of the transition, shrink to an abnormally small one.

Certainly, culture in East Central Europe went through a rough patch in the transition to a market economy. But 30 years on from 1989, there is again a flourishing cultural landscape – different but by no means necessarily worse. A few days ago I sat in the Gregor Samsa bookstore-cafe in

Prague, and talked to a publisher who told me that their print runs of high-quality literature are going up. There are again fascinating films, novels and essays coming out of the region. Unfortunately, too many of the most talented and energetic young people are coming out of the region too.

Here is another challenge that we did not fully anticipate. While populism in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia feeds off fears of immigration (especially Islamic immigration), the real issue in this region is *emigration*. One of the greatest benefits of the European Union is freedom of movement, and young, talented, energetic people from Central and Eastern Europe have used it in full measure. I have brilliant students from the region working with me in Oxford. That is a huge gain in individual freedom and life chances, and gives me satisfaction every time I see it. But alas, relatively few of them go back to their own countries. They are sorely missed at home.

The challenge with which I ended this speech in 1991 was for us to go beyond restoring the cultural unity of Europe “to create a social, a political and an economic unity of Europe to a degree that has never before been seen in European history.” Three decades on we have gone a long way to achieve that, farther than ever before in European history. But freedom’s battle is never finally won. The challenge then was to create a new level of unity and freedom; the challenge now is to defend that freedom and unity against new threats, several of which are the unintended consequences of 1989. Once again, there is around us much dismay. But the fact that we were dismayed before, and got through it to a better place, may offer a paradoxical message of hope.

SOMETHING LIKE BORDERS

1996/2019

A CONVERSATION WITH DEJAN VEKIC

In 1991, the European Cultural Foundation launched Images of Europe: a yearly photography contest opened to art students from across Europe. Each competition was focused on a theme, for instance 'Europe: A Multicultural Society' (1993), or 'Old and Young' (1995), and out of a few hundred submissions, a jury chose three winners who received a money prize and whose photographs were published in the Foundation's annual reports.

Many a keen photographer over the years had to be disappointed, and received the original submission back in their mailbox, with a consolation letter signed by a European Cultural Foundation employee containing a litany well-rehearsed by jury coordinators, and alas all too well-known by emerging artists: "Thank you for entering the competition / The quality of the photos was higher than in previous years / The jury had a very hard time / I am very sorry to say you were not selected." A few of these letters, alongside

the submitted images, resurfaced in our archive's boxes, its envelopes marked with a 'RETURN' stamp. One of those was dated 1996, the year in which Images of Europe launched its yearly competition under the theme 'Crossing Borders'. A then 22-year old photographer named Dejan Vekic, enrolled at the Academy of Arts in Sarajevo, submitted half a dozen photographs that captured our attention due to their strong and compelling character. They illustrated the Bosnian city in 1993 and 1994, and a few of the siege's everyday moments.

Dejan Vekic is now living in The Hague and agreed to meet in a café in Amsterdam on 30 April 2019, so we could give him his photographs back. With a smile he receives them, and among a few exclamations of surprise and wonder he finally mutters: "This is a bit like time travel." That time, for Dejan and for his fellow citizens of Sarajevo, was turbulent; a time of exception, sometimes hope, later sobering frustration.



FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
* EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

* WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
* EUROPE & ANXIETY
* IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE





Dejan Vekic, series of photographs taken during the siege of Sarajevo, from 1992 to 1995.

Lore Gablier Can you tell us more about the photographs that you submitted to the 1996 contest?

Dejan Vekic The photographs were part of my job, which I did in relation to war crimes. At the time, I was working as a photographer, collecting visual clues for the 'State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina'. When the war was over, it was almost 1995. I had an idea to apply to the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague. I wanted to make a video from the pictures, and I did it. I call this series *KaoSarajevo*. 'Kaos' in Bosnian means 'something like', but it also suggests the notion of 'chaos', which reflected the situation at the time. During the war, I was very often working in completely different parts of town from where I was living. Then I had to walk, and that is during these walks that I took these pictures. I was still a student at the academy, which never closed during the war.

LG The photo competition, Images of Europe, that the European Cultural Foundation organised in 1996 was focused on the theme 'Crossing Borders'. How did you understand the theme at the time?

DV I was not very sure that I was fitting the theme, actually. But I also believe that these photographs still hold relevance. It is unbelievable but 25 years after the war, in Bosnia, there are still the same problems. If you try to compare that time and today, you can see that there is not much change, unfortunately. Buildings are being repaired but in people's minds there are still borders. These borders are probably what I had in mind when I sent the photographs to the European Cultural Foundation. Today, instead of removing borders, they are building new ones. Yugoslavia was a wonderful country. It was probably destroyed on purpose. I am still sorry today. Now we have a lot of small countries and a lot of borders.

Sabrina Stallone Before you came to the Netherlands, you were involved in the Sarajevo art scene: Did you see borders as well within it, or was there some type of freedom of expression?

DV I would not say that it's a problem of freedom. There is freedom of speech. But in general, the main trouble is a mentality, which is still stuck with nationalist ideas that are kind of primitive.

LG Where do you see the role of Europe in relation to the rise of nationalism?

DV That's a very interesting question. In Bosnia, many people are asking themselves why the international community is not involved a little more seriously. In recent times, when I was still living in Sarajevo, I had the opportunity to work with different main European organisations such as the Office of the High Representative (OHR) or the EU Special Representatives (EUSR), which are operating in Bosnia. To be honest, I have the feeling that they are only scanning what's going on, but are not ready to do anything that would propel change. In Bosnia, we have the feeling that the international community and the European Union, if they wanted it, could change things very quickly. We are stuck at the moment because of political reasons. If we, the European Union, would include Bosnia now and unconditionally, this

would give the opportunity to change rules and laws in Bosnia, and would impeach the criminals that are running the country. For Europe, nothing special would happen. There are only 3 millions inhabitants in Bosnia...

LG What about the role of culture? Before the war, Sarajevo was a prime example of multiculturalism.

DV When you say culture, I think of the arts and sports, which too are cultural. During the war, culture helped us to survive. And it helped us as well after the war. I could say that Europe and the rest of the world helped us a lot to rebuild in the field of culture. It was not just about rebuilding physically, but also about rebuilding museums and monuments, and bringing back an art scene. They helped us much more in this field than politically.

LG What, in your opinion, would be today a relevant theme for a photo competition? If the European Cultural Foundation was to launch Images of Europe again, which urgent issue should it address?

DV I'm very sure that an urgent issue would be connected to migrants. As an artist, I think that it is an important problem for years already. It could be interesting to get some answers to this question: How to stop the crisis that produces migrants? In my opinion, the focus should not be on solving the problems of migration but on addressing its root causes.

LG With the theme 'Crossing Borders', the competition launched by the Foundation in 1996 was the one that received the largest number of applications. Borders were understood in manifold ways: not only as physical borders but also as psychological ones. It was a beautiful way to understand on a more personal level how abstract issues meet personal stories and personal struggles.

DV I think that mental borders are more important than physical borders. People are thinking that they will get some benefits by building borders. And this is not only a problem specific to ex-Yugoslavia: it's universal.

LG To conclude, would you like to tell us something about one of the pictures that you submitted back in 1996?

DV Let's take one randomly... This was actually a school yard. And as you can see, it has been bombed. The graphics are mostly names of the kids. And 'Bad Religion' is the name of a punk band... The picture is telling more than I can say. This yard is still used as school playground but during the summer, it is used by the Sarajevo Film Festival as an outdoor screening location.

BALKANS, MY BALKANS

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DUBRAVKA UGREŠIĆ 2003

This essay, rich in cultural references and wit, was written by Croatian novelist Dubravka Ugrešić in 2003 on the occasion of the seminar ‘Crossing Perspectives: Cultural Cooperation with South East Europe’, organised by the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam. The seminar was the first to take place within the thematic focus ‘Enlargement of Minds’, and looked to discuss the opportunities and challenges the impending EU enlargement would present for Balkan countries.

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“Balkane, Balkane moj,
Budi mi si/an i dobro mi stoj.”
Johnny Štulić

Images

The old pop song *Balkan* by the Croatian singer Johnny Štulić popped back out of oblivion and now circulates among young ex-Yugoslavs. Why have young people spontaneously resurrected this particular fragment of a past pop culture? Perhaps the lines *Balkan, my Balkan/Be mighty and stand strong; and We are Gypsy people, cursed by fate* have something to do with this sudden identification. Perhaps these lines express the complicated ex-Yugoslav, Balkan, collective ‘psyche’ better than long-winded elaborations.

The line *Balkan, my Balkan, be mighty and stand strong* has different echoes. One is of that ‘little land on the hilly Balkans’ and the time when Yugoslavs didn’t refuse to be placed in the Balkans. The other echo is of the Communist ideology of heroism, with a hidden irony in the phrase ‘dobro mi stoj’. In the local slang the phrase means simply ‘take care’, but it also implies a potent male sexuality.

‘Balkan’ – as a set of popular, mostly negative, and amazingly stubborn stereotypes – has a long history. For decades the Balkans proved to be the most favourable West European spot for exercising West European colonial imagination. Ever since Anthony Hope’s popular novel *The Prisoner of Zenda*, situated in imaginary Ruritania, the Balkans have served as a projection screen for West European romantic fantasies. The Balkans had everything that Western Europe didn’t have. It was also a territory convenient for lazy colonialism, the kind that didn’t require a long journey, even if it was imaginary.

Many ‘textual colonisers’ (as Vesna Goldsworthy so rightly put it) visited imaginary lands somewhere in the Balkans: Ruritania, Carpathia, Kravonia, Silaria, Moesia, Selovnia, Pottibakia, Evarchia, Erewhon, Slaka. Many visited non-existent places with such exotic names as Slavna, Demlin, Mlavia, Danubia, Djakowar. Along their way, these textual colonisers encountered brainless regents and arrogant kings, spies, vagabonds, military idiots, stupid and servile inhabitants of dictatorships, informers, murderers, bloodthirsty dictators, wild people, Draculas and Draculaesque mutants.

At the same time, people from the Balkans rarely travelled to Western Europe. Aleko Konstantinov’s literary creation, Bay Ganyo, managed to. But, by denouncing Bay Ganyo as a racist (he was something like a bad collective set of behaviours), Bulgarian postcolonial thinkers got rid of him.

Yes, some would manage to reach even New York, but only as Balkan morphs, as in Jacques Tournier’s old film *Cat People*. A good American guy falls in love with a beautiful Serbian woman who is in the habit of transforming herself into a panther whenever she gets angry. In a moment of desperation, the American guy says: “God, what is with me? I was such a normal, happy guy.” Which means: any involvement with Otherness that stems from the Balkans will get one into trouble.

Then Communism came to power, and that added new fuel to the fire of West European imagination. Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* has been resurrected in the characters of Communist dictators many times. Sometimes characters overlap, as in the latest version of the famous film *The Prince and the Showgirl*. In the film a simple hairdresser from Queens manages to melt the iron heart of some Romanian or Bulgarian communist dictator.

Malcolm Bradbury’s novel *Rates of Exchange*, with its sequel *Why Come to Slaka?*, is probably the last in a long series of Cold War products connected with the Balkans. After the fall of the Wall, post-Cold-War products appeared, among them films which were (and still are) populated by wild ex-Yugoslav and Ukrainian uranium dealers.

Many great people have left their mark on the imaginary map of the Balkans. Among them were such writers as Lawrence Durrell, Malcolm Bradbury, George Bernard Shaw, E.M. Forster, Agatha Christie, Rebecca West, Saul Bellow, Julian Barnes and a wide variety of journalists, actors, film directors, political thinkers and politicians. The imaginary Balkans was modelled and remodelled, shaped and reshaped, constructed and reconstructed. At a time when hundreds of thousands of refugees from former Yugoslavia were landing on West European shores, a new name popped out of the imagination of Goran Stefanovski. From ‘Casablanca’ and ‘Balkan’ he coined the word ‘Casabalkan’.

The war in former Yugoslavia put the Balkans on the world map once more.

A mountain of journalistic, autobiographical, film and literary products have been produced since then.

Thanks to the contributions of ex-Yugoslavs, the reality of the Balkans matched its dark image more than ever. Once again the Balkans became a favourite West European hunting ground for strong feelings, thrilling political speculations, moral recuperation and real political engagement.

The Balkan stigma circulated within the Balkans too, and there, nobody wanted to admit any DNA connections. The Slovenians saw themselves as a European protection shield against 'balkanisation'; the Croats thought the same about themselves, and still do; the Serbs didn't mind shopping in Sofia, Istanbul or Thessalonica, but left 'the Balkans' to Bulgarians. Bulgarians didn't have a way out. They could not move their Balkan mountain any further – over the Black Sea, to Russia, say. After the disappearance of Communist leaders with artistic aspirations, such projects were no longer possible. So, who lives in the Balkans now? The Bulgarians do.

Štulić's line *Balkan, my Balkan, be mighty and stand strong*, and its sudden resurrection, could be read as the young's reconciliation with Balkan identity; as a post-modern acceptance of the image, which is, just like any other image, a matter of fashion. It could also be read as a protest against oppressive nationalistic brainwashing. It was only a few years ago that, during Tadjman's regime, a strange paragraph prohibiting any future associations between Croatia and the Balkan states was almost added to the Croatian constitution.

The line *We are Gypsy people, cursed by fate*, demonstrates (besides self-pity and a hidden racism) an awareness that Roma people, badly discriminated by Croats, Serbs, Albanians, Romanians, Bulgarians and others, are, in fact, the most stigmatised ethnic population in Europe. Employing a strategy of self-stigmatisation, combined with unavoidable self-pity, the line is a quick and sharp response to the Balkan stigma, as well as being highly commercial. Many of the cultural products coming from the Balkans – films (by Emir Kusturica, Goran Paskaljević and others), plays and pop-music – use this ambivalent strategy. In other words, if the whole world

sees us, 'Gypsy people', as primitive and wild people, we're going to play that part. And the world takes it as truth.

Hard work

A lot of work has to be done in order to establish cultural cooperation within Europe. The Balkan people, ex-Yugoslavs above all, have a tough job ahead of them re-thinking, re-evaluating and articulating their recent past and their involvement in recent events. In other words, the people of the Balkans have some real 'soul-searching' to do. They will have to deconstruct the familiar patterns of self-stigmatisation, self-pity and discrimination, or denial that 'there is something wrong', as well as an arrogance that is based on the shaky foundations of national identity or the 'otherness' pride.

West Europeans are expected to do the same. Over the last few years Europe has undergone a rapid transition, marked by such important events as the fall of the Wall, the unification of Germany and the introduction of a common currency. Europe is also expanding and will continue to do so in the future. But, above all, Europe is experiencing a demographic change. Today's Europe is, more than ever before (demographers claim that there is no comparison in history), populated by non-European immigrants. The human landscape of Europe has changed radically over the last 30 or so years. Therefore West Europeans should re-evaluate the ideological set of ideas that has upheld their West European pride, such as democracy, human rights, tolerance and so forth.

One of Europe's ideological 'darlings' is multiculturalism. However, this idea of multiculturalism is, in practice, nothing more than shopping for vegetables at the Turkish shop and having dinner in an Indonesian restaurant. Ethnic and racial incidents are rife and part of everyday life in Europe. Using a definition of contemporary society as a 'risk society characterised by global reflexivity', Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek concludes that racism itself is becoming reflexive. "Today's reflexive racism is paradoxically able to articulate itself in terms of direct respect for the other's culture," according to Žižek. European multiculturalism is, as practised today, more than ever just a politically correct disguise for

“One of Europe's ideological 'darlings' is multiculturalism. However, this idea of multiculturalism is, in practice, nothing more than shopping for vegetables at the Turkish shop and having dinner in an Indonesian restaurant. Ethnic and racial incidents are rife and part of everyday life in Europe.”

indifference, for lack of contact between different ethnic groups, for politically acceptable racism.

In such a complex context, it is not easy to reflect upon cultural cooperation in Europe. There are many questions to be asked and answered before we undertake such an ambitious enterprise: for instance, how we see and define culture. In cultural cooperation – which is today commonly understood as an exchange of cultural products – I see three major scenarios bearing major dangers.

The first possible scenario is the already existing one, based on the idea of European multiculturalism. It is a 'Eurovision song contest' scenario. This major European mass-cultural performance, which emotionally involves millions of European TV viewers, is the most explicit and vulgar metaphor of European cultural cooperation. This year's winner, a Turkish pop group, is a perfect mass cultural product of European multicultural ideology. The judges' choice reinforces the stereotype (semibelly-dance, semi-oriental music), breaks with it (blond Turkish daughters born in Switzerland), simultaneously expresses and frees itself of 'national identity'. With this example in mind, we can easily imagine a European poetry, art or theatre festival based on the same idea of culture and cultural cooperation.

The second possible scenario of cultural cooperation in Europe is one based on defending high European cultural standards, meant to be a defence against the American mass culture that dominates the European market. There were some attempts to protect European cultural products against American 'cultural imperialism'. There is, however, another imaginary 'threat' – one that comes from the inside, from non-European Europeans. The West European cultural canon, having dominated for centuries, no longer plays a major role in today's global culture. A cultural policy based on a fear of 'Islamisation' from within and 'Americanisation' from without could produce a scenario based on exclusion, in which Europe's culture would define itself as the 'defender' or 'museum curator' of the highest 'European' cultural values. The third danger is hidden in the term 'advocacy for culture'. Cultural policy experts, cultural operators, cultural managers, cultural facility providers might

in some near future outnumber writers, artists, filmmakers, composers. If such a scenario came about, then cultural cooperation in Europe would simply mean cultural cooperation between cultural policymakers. The idea of culture as a service would prevail. Culture would serve the idea of unification, of a united Europe; it could serve as an ambassador, a diplomat, an escort service. In that case, culture would falsely transform itself in order to become a most pleasant representative of the national state, to keep the *status quo* in other words.

And then there is the market and overproduction. As Jean Baudrillard said: "Art died not because there was not any, but because there was too much."

Test & toast

Cultural dynamics – constant and lively exchanges – happen on their own, mostly without much reflection. Ideas, influences, interactions happen indirectly, incidentally and often by mistake. It's difficult to control these dynamics, to follow their paths, and to understand them easily.

The real 'language of culture' today could be called *smurfentaal*. That's what young urban people in Netherlands call their slang, which is peppered with Moroccan, Turkish, Antillean words and English words, and many gestures. The name *smurfentaal* derives from popular culture (Smurfs are little blue cartoon people). In other words, the language of culture is a mixture of many cultural languages and is constantly in flux. It is a language influenced by global culture and spoken globally; a language of a constant inclusion, and not exclusion.

Great works of art also happen on their own. More often than not their authors are not representatives of national cultures, but the opposite: outsiders, rebels, exiles, lonely individuals. James Joyce, an Irish rebel, abandoned Ireland, his home, his church, the existing values and norms, the norms of language and of literary tradition. He linked himself to the Homeric story, creating the biggest literary monument of European modernism with his novel *Ulysses*.

Let us try to imagine Mr. Joyce today. He would need seven years to complete *Ulysses*, and 17 years not to complete *Finnegan's Wake*. At the moment, Mr. Joyce is in Trieste, he is poor and un-

known, he is going to teach English language in the Croatian town of Pula. Just for a few months. Later he will move to Paris. Here I will give you some homework. Imagine Nora telling James: "We are so poor, Jimmy, you should apply for some grant with some of those projects of yours!" Would today's wealth of cultural institutions and cultural facilities be able to help Mr. Joyce? Would our cultural managers be able to recognise his genius? Or would they, following the rules, advise Mr. Joyce to seek a stipend from some Irish cultural institution? Or would they advise him to try some Greek cultural foundation, concerning that 'Greek link' of his project? Perhaps the answers to these questions will help a bit in building a vision for a new European cultural policy.

My message is simple, as are my fears. 'Workers', 'cultural proletarians' should not serve to facilitate cultural institutions, but cultural institutions should serve to facilitate 'cultural proletarians'. As I am supposed to open this seminar, let me go back and use a quote from Malcolm Bradbury for this purpose. These words in broken English belong to Comrade-General I. Vulcani, head of the Slakan State: "In Slaka, when we drink, we like to make toast. Our favourite toast is 'to dialogi'. With 'dialogi' we mean many things. 'Dialogi' is the friendship of all peace-loving fraternal peoples. 'Dialogi' is the great spirit of amity and concord. 'Dialogi' means desire for true intercourse – an intercourse where each partner is an equal and no one is on top."

EUROPE IS COMPLEX, CULTURE IS COMPLEX, THE EUROPEAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION IS COMPLEX, BUT IT IS A FASCINATING PIECE OF HISTORY, AND FUTURE

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A CONVERSATION WITH GOTTFRIED WAGNER 2019

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
* WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
* MOBILITY & MIGRATION

* WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

The following conversation with Gottfried Wagner, former director of the Foundation, took place on 20 June 2019. In our phone call with him that day, we tackled issues from the early 2000s 'clash of civilisations' discourse in the Netherlands and beyond, to the achievements of the Foundation in the realm of European cultural policy.

Gottfried Wagner When I joined the European Cultural Foundation at the end of 2001, it was a very solid foundation, but I thought it was much too modest. The challenges in Europe and in the world were so big. After 9/11, the 'clash of civilisation' myth exploded, the crisis of what is called Islamophobia started to become very nasty. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, terrorism in our cities. Almost all of a sudden, in Europe, there was a completely different atmosphere. Even in my beloved liberal Netherlands, we had very difficult events and debates around diversity, in particular referring to Muslim culture, and around Europe.

In these years the European Cultural Foundation, a firm supporter of cultural cooperation in Europe, was very determined, too, to strengthen and develop further programmes with artists and cultural operators from the Maghreb, Mashriq and the Middle East. We tried to counter the mood of closing minds and borders and Europe becoming a fortress. We invested a lot – in terms of resources and people and open debate. Odile Chenal, the Deputy Director at the time, was especially brilliant in linking Europe with the region, and in spreading knowledge about its cultural and artistic richness.

In 2004, with the EU enlargement with many countries from the former 'East', Europe, became a different continent, again. People had growing troubles in understanding what had changed; labour migration from the East to the West, for example. Yet, it was not just an economic or political challenge, but a cultural one as well, and probably

foremost. So we decided to invest into this process of enlargement and beyond the new borders to the East and Southeast.

The main programme then was called Enlargement of Minds. We believed it was important to look at what had changed in the minds of people: what they thought, how they felt, their fears. Paradoxically, and proactively daring, we launched a programme that was including also those who were not part of that membership process in 2004: the Southern Mediterranean region, the troubled European Balkans, and the Eastern neighbourhoods. We invested in grants and capacity-building as well as mobility programmes, such as STEP Beyond, which was a very important tool in these days. Capacity building meant helping our fellow organisations in the East, South and the Balkans – I recall the Balkan Funds for Arts and Culture, a unique tool, under the umbrella of our Chair of the Board Wolfgang Petritsch, one of THE experts in Balkans diplomacy – to live up to the challenges of suddenly being and working in a completely different political-cultural environment.

At the same time, and that was another most confusing enigma for the citizens of Europe: The 'ever closer' political and economic – just remember, we had the Euro! – Union was at stake. The EU needed to become stronger, in tricky times, so politicians were trying to draft a 'constitution' for this new Europe. It started with the Treaty of Nice, and then, they agreed in principle on the 'Constitution' in Rome. But a majority of citizens in France and the Nether-

lands rejected it in their respective Referenda. And, sadly, it all failed.

The whole process of having a constitutional debate, e.g. in the European Convent, and a founding document for the 'Union', which was meant to create a new spirit for Europe, failed because of politics of fear and growing populist agendas and propaganda. This was a deep crisis. I remember giving a speech at the European Foundation Centre's meeting at the parliament in Budapest just after the Referendum. I think that was my biggest challenge to address decisionmakers and the feelings of the critical as well as enthusiastic young generation; the question was how to create a radically new atmosphere for frank debates on the idea of Europe and the European Union, moving away from ultra-liberalism, sheer bureaucracy and 'traditional' policymaking.

Actually, that failure of one of the most important political ideas – a post-national democratic entity – and how to overcome this crisis, was not only a socio-political or economic challenge, but, really, a cultural project of a considerable scale as well. Europe as a cultural project.

Therefore, the European Cultural Foundation invested in 'reflection' with a group of leading European intellectuals, which led to public European debates and publications; we encouraged artists to imagine change; and we celebrated the Foundation's 50th anniversary in 2004 with the famous Rotterdam conference on 'Sharing Cultures'. It became clear that we had to invent experimental formats to engage the next generations. To push this forward,

the 'One-minute Movies' competition, for instance, was launched later and led to a big festival called – on purpose – StrangerFestival. We simply had to deal with estrangement in society, to face reality, and to work with it. That project centred on the imaginary notion of intercultural dialogue, and together with those responsible in Brussels, we invited civil society to contribute to major actions in the respect.

Finally, in 2008, paradoxically again the year of the financial meltdown and the beginning of the Euro-crisis, the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue was launched. The Foundation tried to be at the forefront of these developments. We set up, for instance, the Princess Margriet Award for Intercultural Dialogue, initially called 'Routes and Roots'. One of the first laureates was Professor Stuart Hall, the father of post-colonial and cultural studies: a person of colour from the Caribbean, and a very respected scholar with a huge impact on young people (among them Shreela Ghosh who then became a Board Member of the European Cultural Foundation). He was quite old already at that time, and it was very moving to see Princess Margriet and the Professor discuss the main challenges of diverse Europe in the midst of globalisation. At the same ceremony, the two other laureates, French dancer Jérôme Bel and Thai dancer Pichet Klunchun, tried to explain to each other – by moving – the languages of Asian and European dance.

The Princess Margriet Award was the most visible pinnacle of our work, but underneath, we had a great number of projects and programmes to support people to encounter, cooperate and coproduce together. And we questioned our own diversity within the foundation.

Another dramatic thread was the technological paradigm shifts that speeded up. Back in 2004, Facebook was going public. That was the beginning of a revolutionary transformation in information society and social media. We asked ourselves how we could utilise and support digitalisation in arts and culture coopera-

tion. We invested a lot of immaterial and material resources – thanks to the generous support of befriended foundations in Europe and other partners for what was called the experimental 'LabforCulture', intended as a single European portal for cultural cooperation. In the end, like other, often much bigger public endeavours, it 'failed' in a way as a single portal, because the 'market' and decentralised uptake were much stronger. However, many important initiatives emerged from that development, e.g. by partners of the European Cultural Foundation like the German Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, which set up the internet-based multilingual daily European comparative newspaper-news platform Eurotopics; or our succeeding initiatives and 'labs' on hubs for knowledge production and sharing and the importance of commons.

Lore Gablier How would you define the vision you have had for the European Cultural Foundation?

GW Europe is our common and civic home, and we wanted to make sure that Europe changed its attitude and entered a stage of meaningful partnership with civil society. What we missed at the time was a platform where people would not only have their national debates but European debates as well: a public European space. The most important tool that we thought we should use was to develop cultural policies at a European level, a cultural strategy and practice of Europe. When we started to speak of cultural policies of the EU, politicians would argue: "We are not allowed to do that, it's an issue of the Member States. The Maastricht Treaty only allows us to support the Member States." But we were very stubborn in, step by step, campaigning for Europe as a cultural project, which, by the way, also needed a substantially increased budget.

In the end, the European Cultural Foundation, together with very important civic partners, and enlightened public partners in Member States, helped to develop the two main pillars of cultural policy: A EU-internal cultural cooperation strategy and

policy; and culture in EU external relations. If Europe wants to play a role in the world, to shape globalisation instead of being subdued by it, then we need a strong external policy and that needs to have a sophisticated cultural component, free and 'at arm's length'. The then Chair of the Board, Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh, formerly Goethe-Institut, played a very important role in that.

The European Cultural Foundation can be very proud of this knowledge based civic advocacy, and its outcomes. Today the EU is a much more significant internal and external cultural player. We were, for example, at the cradle of launching 'More Europe – culture in external relations', a public-civic alliance hosted by the Goethe-Institut Brussels, supported by some Member States' cultural institutes and some private actors like foundations, a 'speed boat', faster than much larger platforms of all Member States, which played a crucial role in engineering Brussels' alliances for change and action – parliament, commission, think tanks, Member States, international networks. It helped to create external cultural policies and new serious tools. I think, it is one of the big achievements of the Foundation, which had started the whole process with research already ten years before that breakthrough, and demonstrates its capacity and unique position as a civic organisation with a true European mandate, being very critical towards the institutions but also very loyal in helping them and Europe to flourish.

LG Earlier on, you emphasised the role that STEP Beyond ✪ [p.140] played in the context of the enlargement of Europe. Indeed, access to mobility is instrumental in bringing people together and eventually reaching a common culture. Over time, however, a distinction grew between issues of mobility and migration, making the movement of people no longer a fundamental right and core European value, but more and more a source of fear and inward-looking. How do you understand these two notions of mobility and migration, and their conundrum, in respect to your experience at the European Cultural Founda-



Jérôme Bel and Pichet Klunchun during the ECF Princess Margriet Award for Culture ceremony held in Les Halles de Schaerbeek in Brussels on 9 December 2008. Photo: Maarten van Haaff.

dation and to the changes in Europe at the time?

GW When I recall the origin of the Danish, Austrian or Dutch debates on migration and multicultural issues, an essay by Paul Scheffer called 'Het multiculturele drama' ['The multicultural drama'] comes to mind. In the essay, he pleads for a rational debate on migration without taboos. He anticipated the debate that we have now, 19 years later. He said that the left made a big mistake by idealising the power of mobility. Actually, people were overwhelmed by differences and strangeness. Yet, the way he put it was very disturbing for me, implicitly paving the way for the increasing focus on fears and emotions rather than on hope. I later called that 'other drama', 'the politics of fear'. These politics of fear have made right-wing parties much bigger. However, they also crept into the centre of many parties, even social democrats like in old-liberal Denmark.

Another very famous Dutch author called Geert Mak wrote a book called *De eeuw van mijn vader* [My Father's Century]. Almost everybody in the Netherlands seemed to have read it. It is a brilliant book that deals with the end of colonisation, and with Dutchness in its best sense. Mak

was so wise, making continuously offers of hope for those who were afraid; that we can deal productively with difference. This was the other side of the story.

I always thought that the Foundation had to invest in both: in open debate, not accept taboos just because there are taboos. At the same time it needed to be progressive in terms of making a courageous contribution to contemporary multitude and not a fearful one. And, paradoxically, insisting as a cultural foundation, that it is not always about cultural conflicts, but about social change, 'culturalisation' disguises the root-causes of conflicts, instrumentalises fears, e.g. when it comes to migration and mobility. I think that the neoliberal interpretation of global capitalism has to be addressed – in our case through arts and culture – when people feel a deep 'loss of control' in nation states and the EU alike.

Of course there are limits to what a foundation like the European Cultural Foundation can do, not being a political or social foundation: it is a cultural one. Yet, making the connection between arts and culture and those debates productive can help to rationalise the discussion. Making the voices of artists and cultural operators heard, in our case

through programmes and grants, e.g. when the Foundation supported the first ever Roma Pavilion at the 52th Venice Biennale in 2007, is an important contribution to optimism and courage. Then we can see what we can gain from mobility and co-operation in many respects.

LG That somehow echoes another conundrum, which brings together questions related to education and the elite. You mentioned earlier the failure of the left, which may represent part of the elite that had to be formed in the early days of post-war Europe, and whose task was precisely to promote this new area of cooperation, not only economic but also cultural, that the European Union represented. Nowadays, the elite is very much targeted by populists.

GW Here I have a somewhat 'orthodox-optimistic' conviction. Never before in the history of mankind did we have so many well-educated, enlightened and caring young people, new responsible and 'free' elites. For me, this is paradoxical when we look at the criticism of populists. But I know through my life experience, massive investment in education paid off. The generation of my children, the way they are and move through the world, is so heart-warming. Education paid off. Having said that, very clearly we need more chances and participation for people who are deprived of these chances.

I am not afraid of elites, not at all, and they are embedded in democracy, aware of the 'culture of justice', which is missing. These many brilliant people out there, growing in numbers, are clever enough to see the need for deep change, change to the mode of socio-economic functioning and its cultural dimensions. Of course, engagement is different today: not so much through the channel of 'representation' only, not so much through classic party politics, more of an ad hoc mobilisation and still a bit uncertain about how to aggregate power democratically for deeply needed change...

So it's not this constant political engagement. But I think we are again close to finding ways to form a federation of citizens' interests to cre-

ate a good cultural, ecologic, economic and social environment which includes 'free' engagement that is, however, not limited to one's own interests. It is about regaining the interests of other perspectives. It's less about individualism only, and more about mutual responsibility. That might be the solution to address those successfully who are using the fears of the disadvantaged people and of those fearful to become disadvantaged. We must end the hegemony of those who shamelessly instrumentalise those fears without actually changing the conditions of these people. In order to change that, we need to bridge the gap between the best educated and those with the fewest chances at a good education.

The European Cultural Foundation has played a strong role in creating ideas and 'labs' of a new political culture, and in order to successfully build alliances we were quite successful in forging cultural policies of our trans-national home, Europe, which still is among the very best inventions of mankind.



“At the start of any meeting like the one that took place in Ljubljana, proximity produces both a tension and a void, both of them conspicuous. The tension has to do with the fact that each participant is thinking about his or her proper place in the encounter, and the sense of his or her presence. The void, always relative, but always perceptible, has to be physically and mentally occupied if any sharing is to take place. It is a resonance, first and foremost. Often materialising around a conference table, it ritualises the encounter and proposes a horizon. In Ljubljana, it took some time for a void to form, and to begin vibrating. It was necessary, first of all, to get past the paralysing distance that was inherent in the risk of speaking. And speaking is impossible if those with whom one is trying to communicate do not adopt a position of anticipating the speaker's discourse, or indeed eliciting it. The last session in Ljubljana, with its agenda of division, war, objective walls and subjective frontiers, was a memorable moment of discursive movement towards gravity and profundity, towards the truth of engagement. It was an occasion when proximity created connections. The departure of the first participant felt like a loss, but we went our separate ways with a sense that the void had been occupied, and that we ourselves were now inhabited by a part of it, a certain absence, and also something of the walls that had been raised up to confine diversity.”

A SHORT MONOLOGUE IN A LENGTHY DIALOGUE

BASMA EL HUSSEINY 2008

Basma El Hussein is an arts manager and cultural activist who served as advisor for the Mediterranean Reflection Group meetings, organised by the European Cultural Foundation between 2006 and 2008. The quote that precedes this piece refers to one of the meetings that took place in Ljubljana and provided an opportunity for cultural operators from the Balkans and the Southern Mediterranean to exchange. The following thinkpiece, published in the European Cultural Foundation's *An Alternative Gaze* booklet in 2008, is a critical consideration of 'intercultural dialogue' from her perspective as an Egyptian activist in varied cultural sectors of North Africa and the Middle East.

The other day, during and after the last meeting of the Euro-Mediterranean Reflection Group, I found myself wondering why it is that I feel uncomfortable every time I hear of a project or a programme which aims to 'promote intercultural dialogue'. Such a feeling is surely unjustified if you take into consideration that I, and most people like me (i.e. those who work in arts and culture in Arab countries and who are not associated with official organisations), do believe that people of different cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds can not only communicate, but work together to achieve goals that concern humanity in general.

Is it that my specific cultural background (Arab, African, underdeveloped and secular) is weighed down by distrust and disappointment? Distrust in the 'Other' that on the one hand is humane, open minded and compassionate and yet on the other hand freely elects governments that deploy troops armed with the most advanced devices to countries in our regions causing mass destruction and misery. And disappointment in ourselves as we repeatedly fail in our attempts to meaningfully contribute to the advancement of human knowledge and creativity and stumble in futile efforts to break away from social and political norms that are oppressive, exploitative and ethically devoid. Is it that my specific cultural background is in fact the reason why I, and many others, cannot believe or engage in 'intercultural dialogue', or to put the question differently: do I need to step outside my culture to be able to engage with people from other cultures?

Or else does this feeling of unease come from a simple and more mundane reason? Maybe it is because similar

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actions in the past have not resulted in improving intercultural understanding in any evident way. Take for example the actions that came after the Barcelona Process. Large well-funded programmes were rushed on both sides of the Mediterranean, with non-governmental organisations here and there seizing the opportunity and designing activities that link directly to the wording of the official documents that came out of this process. It might be too harsh to say that all this came to nothing, since there are always benefits that surpass the limitations of a collaborative project, but what has actually resulted from these projects? And, why are we now designing a new plan of action (and using millions of Euros), without looking back and analysing what was achieved in the not too distant past?

But whatever the answer, if I follow this line of logic in my mind, it seems to me that what I find most uncomfortable about 'intercultural dialogue' is the fact that I (we) took no part in initiating it. Once again, the invitation comes from Europe (also known as the West and the North). Why didn't we think of it first? Are we not interested in communicating with other cultures? Do we know all that we need to know about them? Are we so immersed in our problems that we have lost the perspective of our culture being part of a universal dynamic? This is possibly true, but again I'm not fully convinced simply because as individuals: artists, intellectuals, cultural operators, etc., we are very interested in Europe. Most of us have a clear idea of what we want and expect to receive from Europe.

Primarily, we want recognition. Being acknowledged as an artist or a writer in Europe not only brings fame there,

but directly impacts on one's recognition back at home. Money is also something Europe can give us, since in our countries most independent artists and cultural operators struggle to survive with no access to public funding and there is no capacity for the private subsidy of culture in the national budgets. We also want knowledge produced or processed in Europe, especially technical knowledge in order to cope with the relentless progress in artistic technology.

So, without doubt, our passive role in 'intercultural dialogue' is hard to explain. Why do we sit still waiting to be invited to a dialogue we did not initiate, or take an active part in conceiving? My feeling is that there is only one reason: the absence of true mutuality. While we know exactly what we want from Europe, we don't have a clue as to what Europe wants from us. This might sound like a generalisation, but Europe seems to be too eager to give us all that we want and more and we sometimes struggle to cope with all that is offered; and hastily rush to change our working modes and our legal and political systems in order to be able to 'receive'. More importantly, we don't know what we can offer Europe. It is not sufficient to keep telling ourselves that in the past the Arabs produced knowledge that helped Europe, and the West in general, to build its civilisation, because if the past were enough to sustain the present and the future, we would be in a much better situation than we are now. The past was good enough for the past, but what about today and tomorrow: what can we offer? It is difficult to have a good relationship, when deep inside you feel that you have nothing to give to the other party in this relationship; am I right?

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EUROPE 2000:

BETWEEN HOPE AND ANXIETY

1994

When Plan Europe 2000 * [p.135] was launched, it opened with an aphorism by Paul Valéry: the continent seems to be entering the future backwards. The project team, led by George Sluizer, stated that “Europe has no idea where it’s going but it’s going there fast.” It was acknowledged in the same breath that these statements could be read to be anxiety-ridden; indeed, they argued that “anxiety about the future, anxiety about the unknown are at the root of the present crisis of our society”. At the same time, they also saw in anxiety a creative force “provided we have the courage to analyse lucidly its causes and to transform it into tangible proposals for action.”

So when three decades later the European Cultural Foundation celebrated its 40th anniversary with a public debate on Europe’s future, it was fittingly given the title ‘Europe 2000: Between Hope & Anxiety’. Held at the Olofskapel in Amsterdam on 5 November 1994, the debate concluded a series of three meetings held during the year as part of the ‘Plan Europe 2000 Revisited’ project.

*

Prior to the meeting, the Foundation invited a number of public figures (politicians, academics, artists, foundation representatives, etc.) and citizens to contribute a short written statement in which they expressed their hope and anxiety for the future of Europe. In total, over 120 statements were received, which are striking by the way they express the *Zeitgeist* of the time in a very personal manner, while also giving a sense of the political and societal landscape of the time.

The statements, a selection of which are included in the following, were exhibited at the Olofskapel on the same date as the debate in what was called ‘Cabinet de Lecture’. The visitors, wearing white gloves, were invited to leaf through the various reflections received from all over the world.

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Mrs. Sadako Ogata, UNHCR High Commissioner
Mrs. Sadako Ogata, UNHCR High Commissioner
PHOTO: UNHCR/21000

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HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR REFUGEES**



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POUR LES RÉFUGIÉS**

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Our ref.: HQ/94/212-06/1
Your ref.:

NL - 2817 HZ The Hague,
Stadhouderslaan 28

17 October 1994

H.R.H. Princess Margriet of The Netherlands
European Cultural Foundation
Fondation Européenne de la Culture
Jan van Goyenkade 5
1075 HN Amsterdam

Your Highness,

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Madam Sadako Ogata, has asked me to convey to you her reply and contribution to the debate "Plan Europe 2000 Revisited: Between Hope and Anxiety".

The High Commissioner's hope and anxiety are as follows:

HOPE: that millions of refugees and displaced persons, uprooted by war, ethnic tensions, political and religious intolerance will be able to return home in safety and dignity, rebuild their lives and provide a future for their children.

ANXIETY: as ethnic conflicts spread and political solutions become more elusive, there is a risk that humanitarian operations could become prolonged, draining limited resources and causing untold suffering.

An authorized black and white photograph of the High Commissioner is hereto attached.

We have thought that the debate of the European Cultural Foundation would certainly include the question of refugees, and the attached "information paper" may be found useful in this respect. This Liaison Office is ready to provide more information on the topic, if needed.

We thank your Highness for her interest in UNHCR's endeavours all over the world.

Respectfully yours,

J.C. Concolato
Head UNHCR Liaison Office
in The Netherlands
J.C. Concolato

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

FRANKLIN A. THOMAS
PRESIDENT

September 19, 1994

Your Royal Highness:

Below is my statement for inclusion in the European Cultural Foundation's public exhibition, "Plan Europe 2000 Revisited: Between Hope and Anxiety", on the future of Europe to be held on November 5, 1994. I have also enclosed a black and white photograph as you requested.

Hope: That Europe will be an example of economic, social and political strength through uniting diverse national and sub-national groups.

Europe must recognize that the absence of disputes is not a reasonable objective, rather it is the peaceful resolution of disputes which assures human progress.

With best wishes for a stimulating debate.

Sincerely,



Enclosure

H.R.H. Princess Margriet of the Netherlands
c/o European Cultural Foundation
Jan Van Goyenkade 5
NL-1075 HN Amsterdam
The Netherlands/Pays-Bas



МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ
ЦЕНТР СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИХ И
ПОЛИТОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ
(ГОРБАЧЕВ - ФОНД)



THE INTERNATIONAL
FOUNDATION FOR SOCIO-EC
POLITICAL STUDI
(THE GORBACHEV FOUN

№ _____

Чидерландской

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Unofficial translation

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Her Royal Highness Princess Margriet of the Netherlands
It is a great pleasure for me to comply with your request. I think that the discussion devoted to the future of our continent organized by the European Cultural Center headed by you will give an impetus to further serious consideration of this subject - it really deserves much attention.

Below follow the answers to your questions.

What hopes do I connect with the future of Europe? What is of serious concern to me?

In my opinion, now that the Cold War is over, we can hope that better conditions can be formed for collaboration between all European countries and for the creation of a Great Europe - a Europe of the XXI century.

Culture plays a special role in this process. I see the future of Europe and of a new civilization, which, I am sure, will replace the "old" civilization existing now, in a variety of cultures and a permanent dialogue of cultures that enables different nations to hear and understand one another. The interrelation between different cultures is our common priceless value.

I feel concerned that despite all the necessary conditions which seem to have been created in recent years for the common European process, it is clearly slowing down and even is about to stop. Ideas are put into circulation about new dividing contours in the continent which threatens a new split. It is important to prevent a new round of distancing and alienation between the European states and - what is more important - their nations.

We should view the current developments in the Eastern part of the continent - with all their faults and dangers - as a challenge by history. To meet this challenge with dignity we should have the courage of first discoverers which has made Europe what it is today.

Sincerely Yours,

Mikhail Gorbachov

30 September 1994



Mevrouw,

Ik heb uw
Europe 200
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Van harte
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Gelieve
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HOPE :

Peace and security ; prosperity and employment ; a livable, just and solidary society and a clean environment : the goals to pursue are self-evident.

In an increasingly 'globalised' world, the approach should become ever more international. This might seem obvious for the preservation of peace and security. But the other problems as well are going beyond the frontiers.

Against this background, it is a must for Europe to join forces. The European model, relying on a market economy with a social dimension and based on tolerance within diversity most certainly is worth defending and developing, also in the century to come.

ANXIETY :

Nationalist differences. They have brought Europe two times on the brink of the precipice. History may repeat itself earlier than is thought possible.



Prof.em. Dr. Rainer Mackensen
Sociology, Technical University, Berlin

What gives me hope and what makes me anxious for Europe's future

What makes me hopeful is the observation that people learn, and become self-conscious instead of just following the rules imposed upon them by parents, teachers, masters, media, politicians and institutions. People do not always have the chance to learn, for reasons of their being formed deeply by other people, which is being done often in the interest by those others. Indeed I believe that very many people have never had the chance to learn what they really want; but I do also believe that people try again and again, and that chances have improved, and will further improve.

What makes me anxious is the influence of the media on the thinking of people. The problem is that people have too little opportunity at present to learn on their own, by experience - of other people, of cultural and technical possibilities and alternatives, of nature and other cultures. If they might become more self-content, they may also develop more respect for others, to take their own risks and to calculate their chances on own judgement. They may then learn that life has more chances than just consumption. That there is so little of this kind of resting in ones self: this makes me anxious.

Sincerely yours,

FARRUGIA, GATT & FALZON

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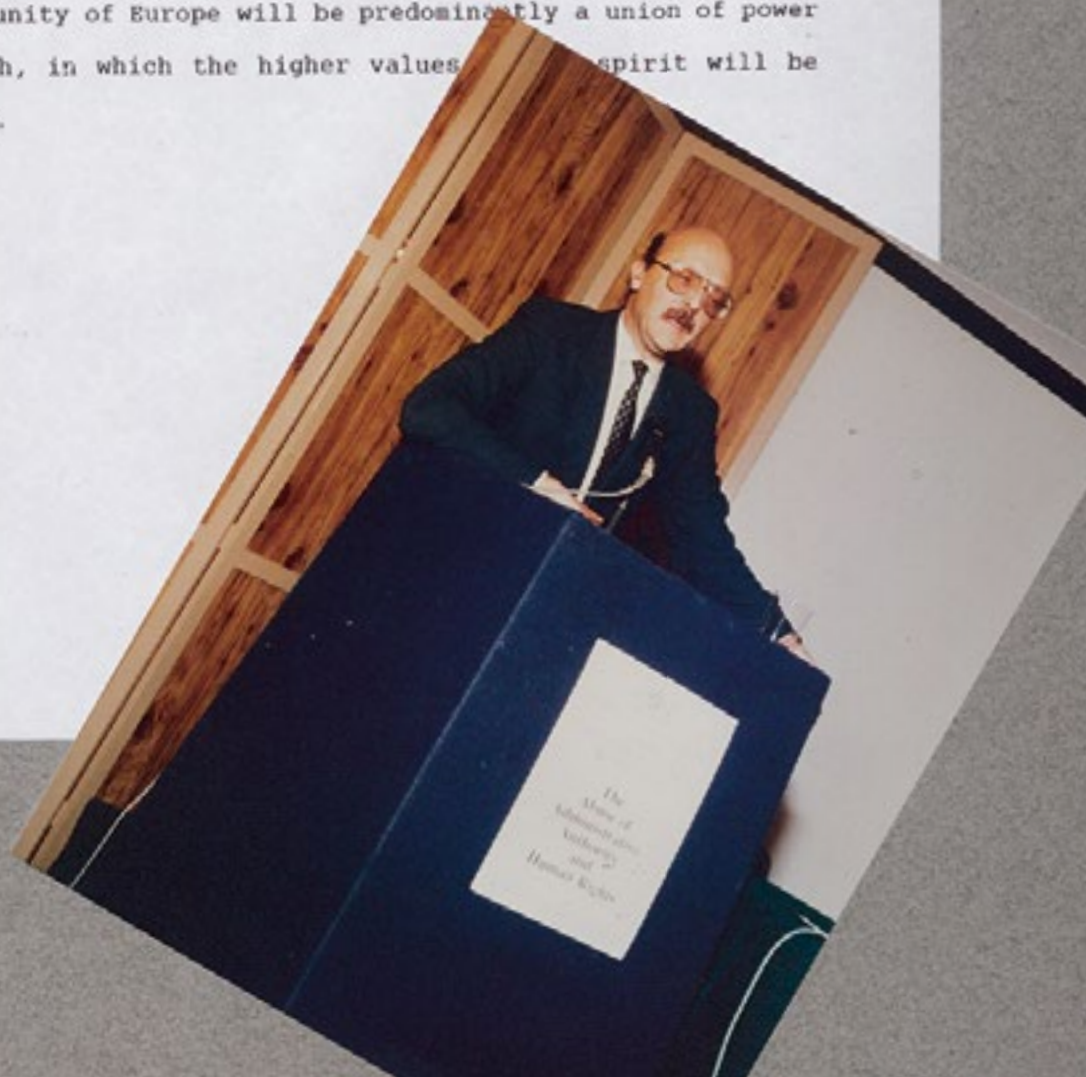
30th September, 1994.

H O P E :

In 1592 Heinrich Bunting had a dream of the countries of Europe united as one physical human body. He published his famous map in which the geographical outlines of the continent together take the coherent shape of a majestic woman. Four hundred years later, I hope to see his dream translated into my reality.

A N X I E T Y :

That the unity of Europe will be predominantly a union of power and wealth, in which the higher values and spirit will be faded out.



DAGENS NYHETER.



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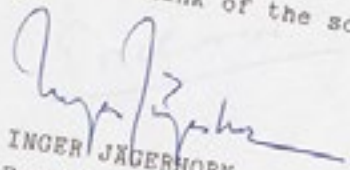
PLAN EUROPE 2000 REVISITED: BETWEEN HOPE AND ANXIETY

HOPE:

Economy and technology alone cannot put the world on the right track. Something else is needed. Change of attitudes is my hope. Europe is the cradle of democracy with a traditional interaction between cultures. This is a solid basis for personal responsibility and a deeper awareness. Awareness is what creates change of attitudes.

ANXIETY:

As a journalist, I am sick and tired of the problems. We all know them too well: unemployment, criminality, threats to environment, xenophobia, drugs, violence, ethnical conflicts. Let's think of the solutions. Rethink - or vanish!


INGER JÄGERHORN
European Correspondent
Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm

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Telephone: +46 8 738 10 00. Telegram: dagsnyheter. Telex: 104 50 dnstlm s. Telefax: +46 8 619 08 11.

Lennaart van Oldenborgh

H.R.H. Princess Margriet of the Netherlands
European Cultural Foundation
Jan van Goyenkade 5
NL - 1075 HN Amsterdam

11 October 1994

Your Highness,

my hopes and anxieties for Europe all revolve around the same issue: xenophobia. Now that all the major political doctrines have failed to deliver the utopias they once envisioned, and now that ideology is no longer a basis for individual and social identification, the obvious way to fill this "identity vacuum" is through various kinds of nationalism and ethnocentrism. Mind you, I do think this is a new phenomenon, without the utopian fascination with technology that fascism exhibited in the 1930's. Granted, it shares with fascism a doctrine based on 'Blut und Boden', and a certain justification of violent means, but in contrast to the ambitious, forwardlooking ideologies of the 20's and 30's, this new xenophobia seems predominantly nostalgic, and regressive.

The alternative of a federal Europe does not look very attractive for the moment: power politics in the European Union is conducted in the typically continental secrecy of consensus politics. At the same time many visions about Europe still apply the same old rigid, and isolationist, nationalist principles - only to a larger state.

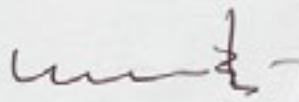
However, I do believe the road to integration is the only way forward. It will be a matter of influencing the shape for that Europe that will be of crucial importance to its citizens in the upcoming decades. I therefore hope that all Europeans (of all colours and ethnic origins) will rally around new ideologies, based on new visions for Europe as a whole, and make their voices heard to the representatives of the old nation states.

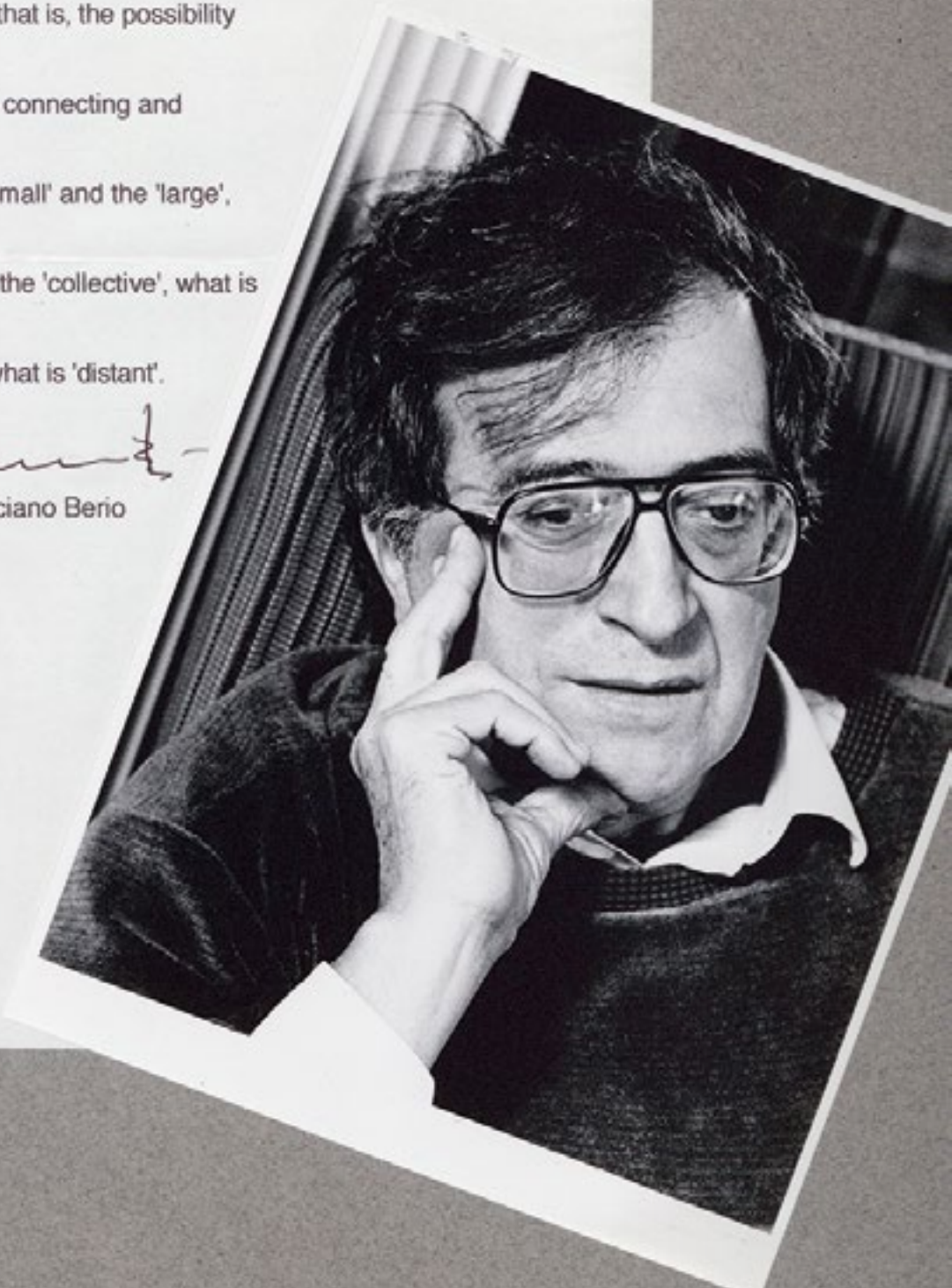
Yours sincerely,

LENNAART VAN OLDENBORGH



My hopes and my anxieties are made of the same stuff: that is, the possibility and the difficulty of connecting and harmonizing the 'small' and the 'large', the 'individual' and the 'collective', what is 'close' to us with what is 'distant'.


Luciano Berio

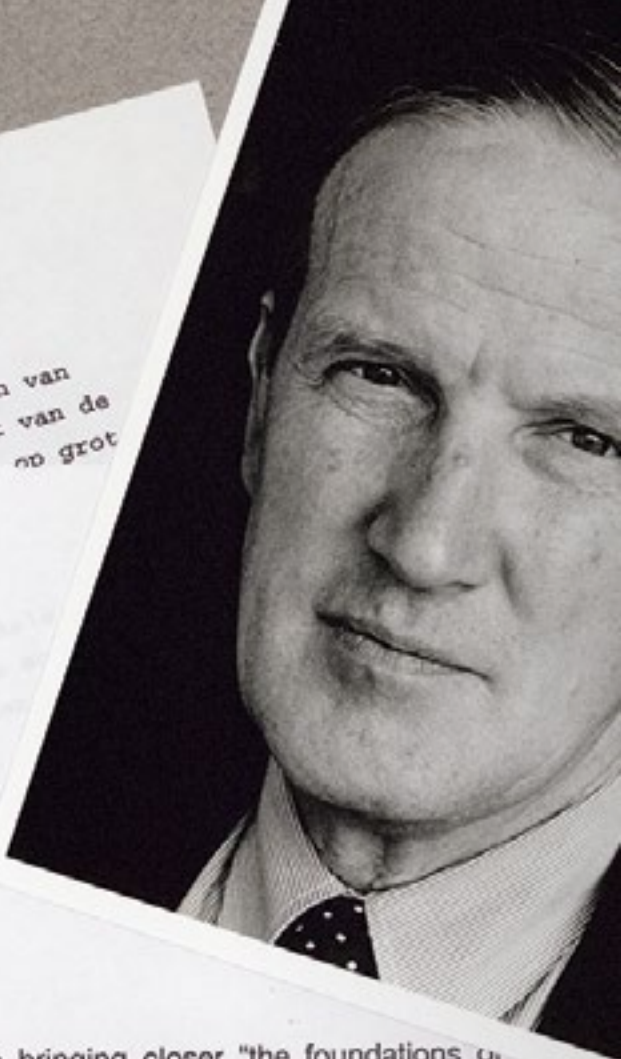


Hoop: dat de
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Hope: That mankind succeeds in bringing closer "the foundations of human existence" on a grand scale, as voiced in the Charter of the United Nations and other universal declarations.

Anxiety: That, after two world wars and numerous local conflicts in the twentieth century, wars and violent military intervention will also remain accepted means of solving political problems in the twenty-first century.



Jack LANG

Ministre de la Culture
du Président François Mitterrand (1981-1995)
Ministre d'Etat, Ministre de l'Education Nationale
du Président François Mitterrand (1981-1985)
Député Européen
Maire de Blois

Hon. de Vus - 41002 Blois
Téléphone : 54 44 50 12 - Télécopie : 54 74 82 80

Paris, le 18 octobre 1994

Madame,

Vous avez eu l'amabilité de me demander quelles étaient mes souhaits et mes craintes pour l'avenir de l'Europe en vue de la préparation du colloque que vous organisez le 5 novembre prochain.

J'ai été très touché par votre demande, et c'est avec plaisir que je vous livre ces réflexions :

Mon vœu le plus cher : que l'Europe apprenne enfin à parler aux jeunes et à mobiliser leurs énergies et leurs enthousiasmes.

Ma crainte : que l'Europe perde la confiance populaire si elle ne réussit pas à associer concrètement les peuples à son action.

En espérant vous avoir été agréable, je vous prie de croire, Madame, en l'expression de mes hommages respectueux.

Jack LANG

HRH Princess Margriet of the Netherlands
European Cultural Foundation
Jan Van Goyenkade 5
1075 HN Amsterdam



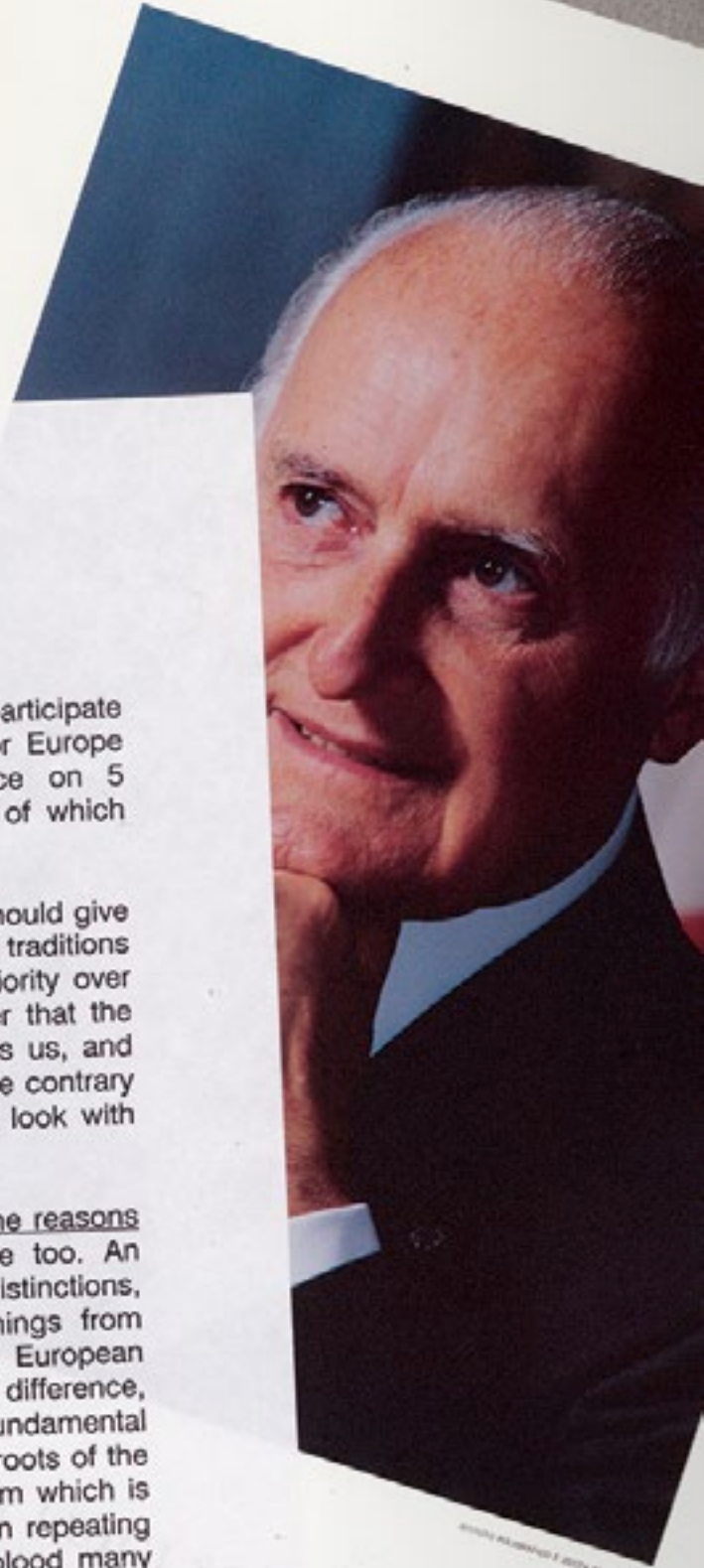
Gemeente Amsterdam
Kabinet Burgemeester
Stadhuis, Amstel 1
1011 CA Amsterdam
Téléphone (020) 552 2000/2200
Fax (020) 552 3100

Schelto Patijn
Mayor of Amsterdam

Hierbij zend ik u een bijdrage van
Dm Patijn voor de tentoonstelling
in de Olafskapel.
-Dierk
se

Presidente della Repubblica Italiana

UFFICIO DEL PRESIDENTE DELLA REPUBBLICA AL CONVEGNO
"RICONSIDERAZIONE DEL PIANO EUROPA 2000:
FRA SPERANZA E PREOCCUPAZIONE"
4 novembre 1994)



Statement from President Scalfaro (unofficial translation)

Your Royal Highness

It is with great pleasure that I answer your kind invitation to participate in the public debate by sending you two short reflections for Europe 2000: Between Hope and Anxiety, which is taking place on 5 November, organized by the European Cultural Foundation of which you are President.

I would like first of all to refer to my motives of hope, which should give openness to Europeans of today: the consciousness that the traditions and cultural, social and religious habits deserve absolute priority over reasons for diversity and separation. If we always remember that the thing that unites us is stronger than the thing that separates us, and that differences do not represent a negative burden but on the contrary a reason for enormous wealth, then we could not help but look with optimism at the future of the Old Continent.

I cannot and I do not want, though, to remain quiet about the reasons to be concerned. It is right to pay attention to that side too. An insidious tendency towards making ethnical and religious distinctions, to intolerance of the fact that different people look at things from different sides, thus making our rich and varied common European "culture", should be treated with firmness. The intolerance of difference, therefore, of which I am warning, is a denial of those fundamental values of brotherhood and solidarity that reach down to the roots of the essence of mankind. Violating these values results in egoism which is the worst thing for people and mankind. It will only result in repeating the tragedies that have covered European territories with blood many times.

I thus hope with all my heart that this initiative of common reflection could contribute to make new, and make stronger, the faith of all Europeans in the future of our beloved continent.

SCALFARO
REPUBLICA



EUROPEAN CULTURAL
FOUNDATION EUROPE

Hopes

* Que le nom d'Europe continue de nous intriguer, nous donne le sens de l'histoire, c'est à-dire de la aventure.

Anxieties

* Que nous ne sachions accomplir avant la fin du redéfinition du travail et de son partage, révo déséquilibres économiques les plus insupportabl

* Que nous oublions que les identités se con dent, que les cultures sont vivantes et perm poètes sont aussi indispensables à la survie d et les économistes.

Hopes

* That we continue to be intrigued, questioned by the name of Europe; that it gives us the sense of history, i.e. sense of modesty, of mingling and of adventure.

Anxieties

* That we fail to accomplish the essential changes before the end of the century: the redefinition of labour and the share of it, the ecological revolution, the reduction of the most unbearable economic imbalances.

* That we forget that identities are to be built rather than defended, that we forget that cultures are living and permeable, that we forget that poets and philosophers are as necessary for the survival of mankind as economists and physicists.

Odile Chenal
Director, Programmes and Information

A NETWORK FOR EUROPE / UN RESEAU POUR L'EUROPE

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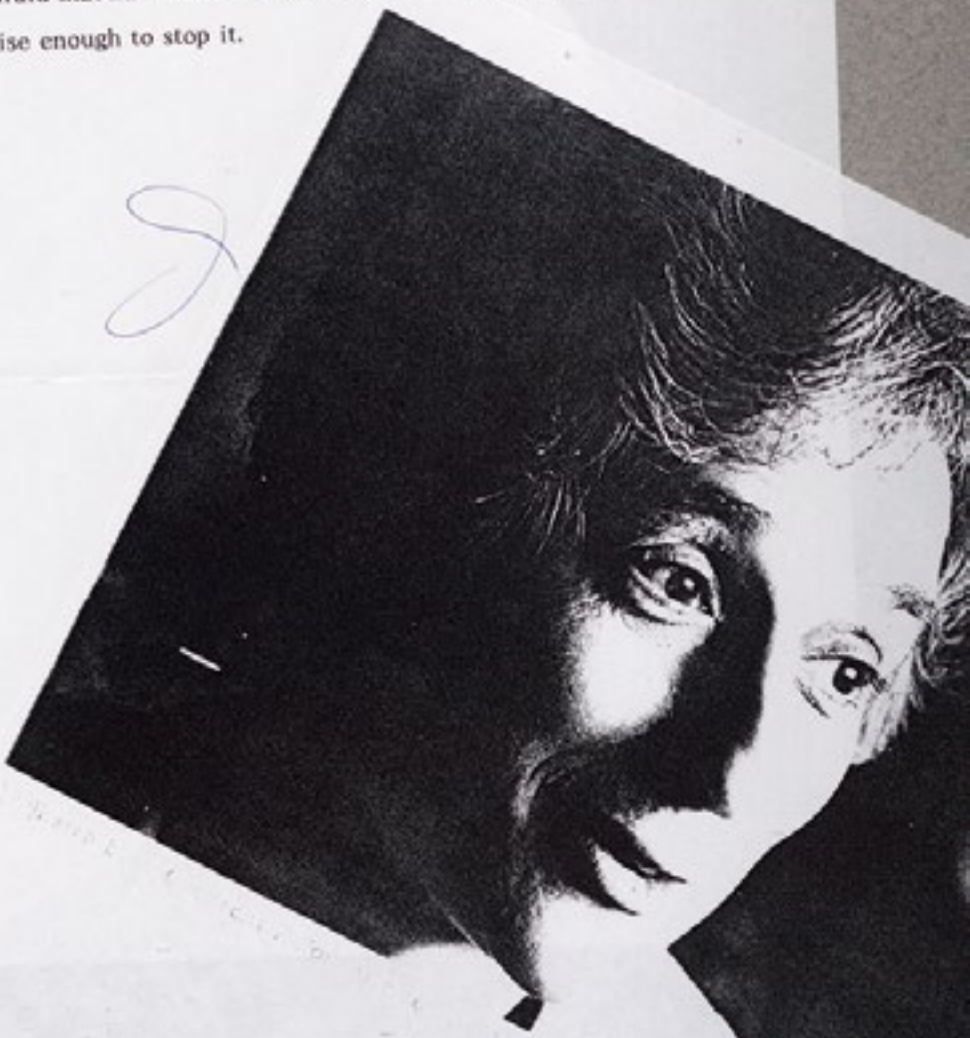
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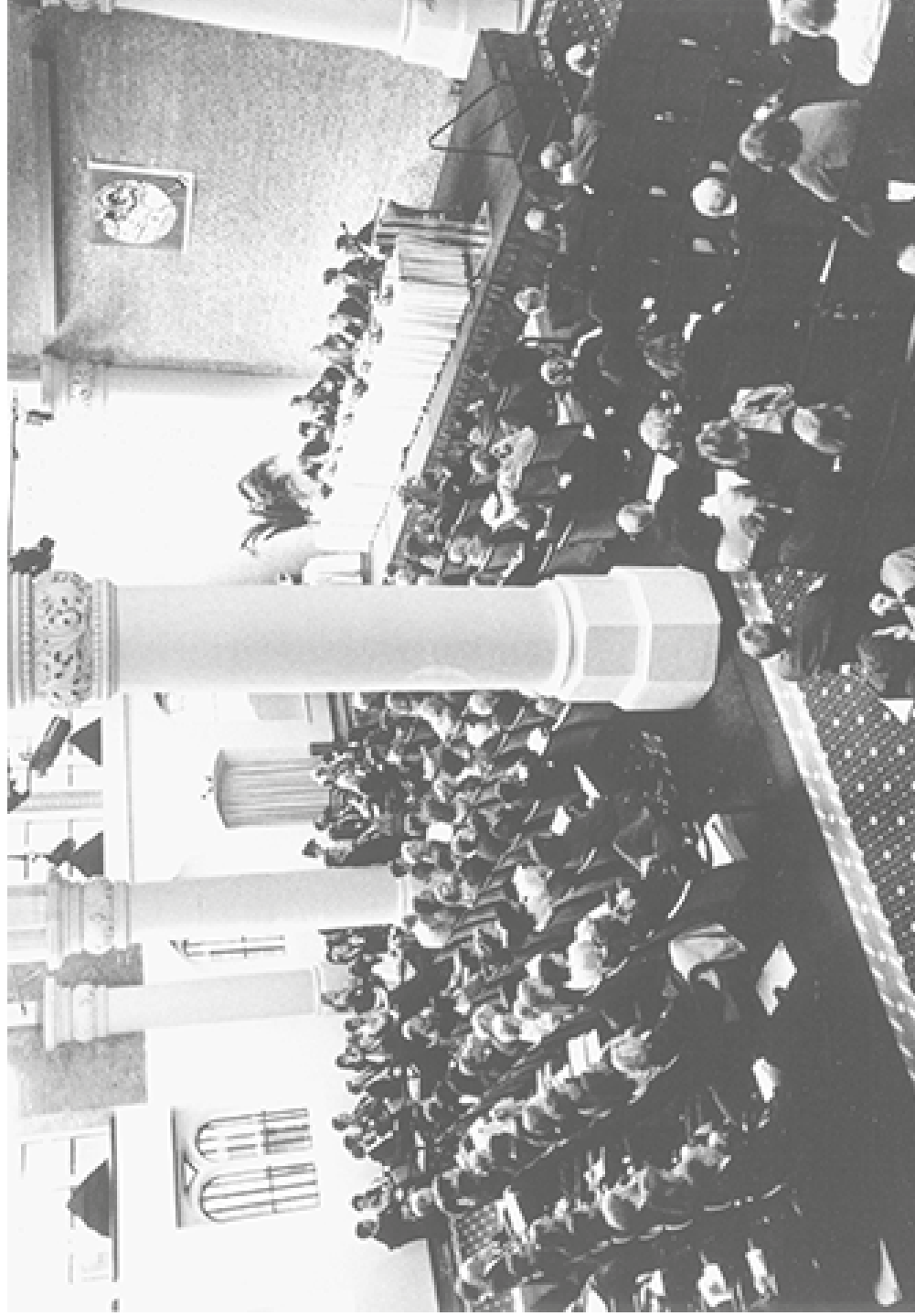
STATEMENT OF IRINA GRIVNINA, writer

Hope: let there be no more war, in Europe at least, so that our children may grow up free from danger, in a kind world.

Anxiety: I'm afraid that nationalism is on the rise and people will not be wise enough to stop it.



Attendees to the public debate 'Between Hope and Anxiety' organised at the Olofskapel in Amsterdam on 5 November 1994.



*

ONE DAY IN EUROPE 2000

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This text was initially published in Chapter 11 of Plan Europe 2000 * [p.135], a book edited by Peter Hall, which brings together the findings of the project. As an exercise in speculative futurology, meshing together ideas and results formulated by Plan Europe 2000's researchers to envision unexpected prognoses and solutions, the text by Peter Hall republished here is exemplary of this approach, although it takes up a slightly more playful and daring note than most material of the book. In Hall's words, it should be read as a 'caricature that stresses change'.

PETER HALL 1977

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

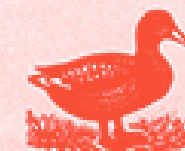
WHO'S IN CHARGE?
* DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
* EUROPE & ANXIETY
* IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

EUROPE 2000

Report on
the European Cultural Foundation's
'Plan Europe 2000'

Edited by Peter Hall



Duckworth

There will be no typical European family of the year 2000, because the European economy and European society will be in a state of transition. Many Europeans in the year 2000 will lead lives very much like the lives of 1976: one has only to compare the lifestyles of 1952 with those of 1976 to see that. The chief difference between those two dates, 24 years apart, has been one of material affluence. A few more or less new technologies have appeared – the computer for instance. But most of the story is the diffusion of material goods, already invented and available by 1952, from the richest members of society to the less rich. Accompanying that diffusion has been a spread of mass education and a marked increase in expectations. Everywhere, the net result has been a more egalitarian society based on mass consumerism. But for most people the change has been fairly imperceptible.

We expect the same to be true of the 24 years from 1976 to 2000. No cataclysm will occur. Many people will find their lives changed subtly and imperceptibly. Having already identified the key changes, we should now stress change in what follows. But in doing this, we should again repeat that for many the transition will bring more of what has already been occurring to them in 1976.

One typical European family of the year 2000 – we can call them the Dumills or the Deuxmilles or the Zweitausends – live in a converted eighteenth-century farmhouse on the edge of a hill area between 70 and 150 kilometres from a major city: we can imagine them in the Peak District or the Pentlands, or the Ardennes or the Eifel or the Monts de Morvan or the Sierra de Guadarrama. Built in an energy-conscious age, this farmhouse has properties of insulation which make it very apposite to a new age of conservation. But, with the aid of a government grant under the EEC Energy Conservation Act 1982, our family have converted it into a Low Energy Living Unit (LELU). They have further insulated it to reduce heat loss. They have installed a windmill for electric power, though they can still draw from the electric grid. They recycle farm refuse for fuel. And in summer they can draw on solar energy.

The farm is one of a group forming a small rural hamlet. It is occupied by a number of families that moved into them and reoccupied them after they were abandoned in the late 1950s, during the great age of European agricultural depopulation. Lower down the valley are other such family groups, forming a loose cluster of about 50 nuclear families or about 200 people. Together with other such clusters and the nearest village they form a sufficiently large group to support a village primary school and community centre.

To speak of families, though, gives a wrong impression. Many of the children have broken away during adolescence and have joined other groupings, sometimes with other adults, sometimes with each other. The main point is that each person has a number of primary affinities: with a blood-related group, with a work-group, with one or more groups of like-minded people. He or she may shift groups from time to time, depending on individual needs and on personal development.

During the day almost every member of every living group is involved in some kind of work: this applies to the

youngest and to the oldest in the community. The young may be involved in a pre-school group in the care of an adult, who may perform that role only one or two days a week. The old may be indeed performing that very role, or doing ancillary work in shops or offices. Some very old people are still employed in positions of responsibility, as are some surprisingly young people – for age has less significance in this society, where retirement has been abolished. The critical point about these groups, and about the whole society, is the extreme flexibility of the roles. People do not follow lifetime careers. Very few do just one job from nine to five. Instead, people mix different roles. They may be postmen or milkmen in the mornings, students in the afternoon and entertainers in the evening. Similarly, they may be managers at 25, students again at 35, and craftsmen at 45.

Consequently, this is even less of a stratified society than was the European society of 1976. Not only have traditional barriers like middle-class/working-class or white-collar/blue-collar been broken down; traditional skill categories have gone too, because the emphasis is on adaptability and free entry. Anyone who chooses, provided he or she has the talent, can aspire at any time to become a craftsman or a master chef, a professor or a long-distance truck driver. And, consequently, not only the prestige but also the differential payments for different jobs have been largely eroded. The differentials are related only to the disagreeability of the job on the one hand, the length of training required on the other. So, over a lifetime, given that everyone shares the more and the less agreeable jobs, earnings are roughly equalised. So are prestige and interest; and in this way, alienation is sharply diminished.

Most of these jobs can be done locally. There are a couple of distinguished restaurants that employ a score of chefs; there is a research institute serving as an input channel to the Open University of Europe; there are a great variety of small craft workshops that work up wool, leather, locally smelted metals and a variety of other indigenous materials. But one critical point is that most activities are now freed from locational constraints. The two restaurants serve some diners directly; they serve many more by exporting their deep-frozen gourmet meals, which are famous across Europe and beyond. And their boast is that they largely depend on locally-produced farm materials. The university teachers write course material in their own homes; they broadcast from the local television studio; and they conduct seminars and tutorials by conference phone and videophone. All of them can communicate directly from home with the Eurodata network, which can supply them with microfiche facsimiles of any book or paper within seconds. Similarly the craftsmen get technical information from the same source, and can communicate with the National Crafts Centre when they want advice. The master chefs write textbooks in their spare time, and similarly broadcast cookery lessons both to the general public and to apprentice chefs in schools all over Europe. And all this without leaving the local community.

This is thus a more service-oriented economy than the Europe of 1976. But it still contains a considerable volume of manufacturing. However, much of this work is carried out in a radically different way. Because of increasing discontent

in big urban factories in the 1970s and early 1980s, expressing itself in strikes and disruptions and poor quality, the big multinational companies have decentralised many of their operations to small workshop units consisting of between ten to 50 people, which are given a great deal of autonomy; in many ways they represent a return to the domestic system of industry characteristic of the age before the Industrial Revolution. Many of these workshops are in the new rural communes, where they employ a variety of people – students taking time out, women with small children seeking part-time employment, older people, people who want a holiday from urban life and who are combining farming and factory life. Many of the workshops are indeed parts of farm communities. Most of them produce goods of high quality and great durability which indeed is a requirement for European industry under the EEC Industrial Quality Law of 1992. They have varying degrees of freedom to buy their own materials from sources outside the organisation. Some, indeed, have been given virtual independence, and produce their goods simply to the specifications of the manufacturers – specifications which come from Eurodata via the microfiche system – selling them to the main manufacturers in competition with many other small rural works. Most of the components for the car industry, for instance, are now made in this way. And in this particular commune there are assembly plants which produce Fords and Volkswagens by craft methods. The final products, known as Craft Cars, cost more than the factory-made product but are preferred by many customers on the ground of their reliability. Because they have exceptionally long life, these cars are given preferential tax concessions under the Materials Conservation Act 1988.

Most members of the community do some work on the farms, especially at peak periods such as harvest, when there is a general custom that other work stops. Farming in an area like this is necessarily mixed farming and it is quite labour-intensive, so that overall more people work on farms in the year 2000 than in 1976. Further, as with industry, farmers must now have regard to the wider consequences of their work. The use of pesticides and other chemical aids is carefully regulated, and there are incentives for farming methods that maintain or restore the ecological balance. Under these regulations there has been a strong emphasis on natural farming methods and on reforestation, for instance. And these farmers meet more of their own needs and those of their neighbours than did the farmers of the area in 1976.

Such a dispersed rural pattern of life, it might be thought, must place big demands on resources for transportation. But those demands have been limited in a number of ways. First, because of the varied character of the rural population it is able to satisfy so many more of its social and cultural needs locally. Secondly, the development of information technology has been so rapid that many needs are met in this way without having to travel at all. (And because the new technology is two-way, the people have much greater control over the information they receive than the less information-rich society of the 1970s). Thirdly, because the age of expensive energy has created its own response in

“Many of these workshops are in the new rural communes, where they employ a variety of people – students taking time out, women with small children seeking part-time employment, older people, people who want a holiday from urban life and who are combining farming and factory life.”

the form of more energy – conserving vehicles and organisational arrangements. To move about locally, most villagers use small mopeds in which the motor is used only as a supplementary device. To move longer distances, they rely on a system of shared rides whereby anyone leaving the village is under an obligation to offer seats in his car, truck or van. In return, he receives tickets for a national lottery – a system developed in Poland as long ago as in the 1970s. In this way, Europe 2000 actually manages to generate rather more person-kilometres of travel than the Europe of 1976 with fewer energy demands.

Perhaps the most striking change about this society is that it marks a partial return to the extended family, or caring group, of earlier ages. It is in a real sense a community. Within it, very many more tasks are performed by people simply as members of the community, often on a part-time basis, without the need for an exclusive professionalism. There are many more people in this society who can be a teacher, a nurse, a policeman if the need arises. Roles are less well-defined; people are again generalists rather than specialists. And nowhere is this more important than in the division of responsibilities between the sexes. Women and men share the task of child-rearing to a much greater degree than today – and this involves not merely the immediate parents, but a great variety of other helpers of all ages. Indeed, this becomes a most important responsibility for the older members of the community.

Half an hour or an hour's drive away by shared taxi or truck, life in the city continues on a more traditional track. But here, too, the tendency is to stress much more the local neighbourhood and the group. The urban economy, too, has been deeply infused with the idea of small, autonomous, self-directing production units. People are organising their urban lives round the local ward or commune. Physically, the city has seen much less change in the last quarter of the twentieth century than in the period 1950-1975. The slower population growth, the emphasis on qualitative growth of the economy, the new concern for ecological impact and for conservation of the urban fabric have all tended to restrict the amount of urban destruction and reconstruction. That means that the city feels like an older place than in the 1960s and 1970s. It could in consequence be a drabber and a more dilapidated place – unless positive attempts were made to restore its fabric.

Many trends, in fact, have worked to the city's disadvantage in the last quarter century. Transportation costs, especially by public transport, have risen. Housing costs and pressures have not greatly diminished, due to the tendency of the population to split into smaller households. Above all, terrorism and guerrilla warfare have caused gradual demoralisation causing many people and businesses to flee the city. Among those who remain, there is a disproportionate concentration of dysfunctional groups, some of whom present acute social problems in the form of unemployment and crime. So many have left the city, taking their work with them. The difference is that they have no longer gone to nearby suburbs of the city; they have fled into the countryside. Some, as we just saw, have gone right outside the city's sphere of influence. Even headquarters offices have

begun to decentralise to small country towns within easy reach of the white-collar workers who prefer to live in such places. Others have migrated shorter distances, to smaller towns still within the city's sphere of influence. There they live in what are, in effect, poly-nuclear urban clusters of towns, very much on the model that Ebenezer Howard suggested in his pioneer book on *Garden Cities* (Howard 1946, 1898). So, within every European country – the south following a trend set earlier by the north – large cities have lost people and jobs relative to medium sized and small towns.

These people live in European nation-states that are for the most part recognisable from the Europe of the 1970s. But there may well be some significant changes in the political map, formed by newly-independent states in the peripheral frontier zones of Europe. An independent Scotland or Pays Basque or Corsica is by no means an impossibility. Each will be led by a highly nationalistic government representing a former set of freedom fighters; and some at least are likely to be strongly left-wing in composition. The same applies to several of the countries of southern Europe. These countries are by no means automatically likely to line up with the Eastern bloc – which by then is likely to be considerably more fragmented. Rather, they may well be neutral in a strategic sense, aligned with a wider EEC in an economic sense. For almost certainly, all European countries – both old and new – will find it necessary, in order to preserve their competitive stance in a difficult world, to surrender even more of their power to supranational institutions. So it is by no means inconceivable that by the year 2000 we could find a neutralist left-wing Scottish government next door to an English government still aligned to NATO; or a Communist Italian government as a member of EEC.

This picture, we stress, is a caricature that stresses change; it underplays the elements of continuity. Not everyone will live like that; this is a society only some way along a certain path. There will still be industrial mass-production, mechanised agriculture, streams of traffic on multi-lane highways, big cities, elements of the candy-floss society. Indeed, some of the quantitative indicators by the year 2000 may well be higher than those of 1975 – though we would expect many to be already lower. Change in society, even fundamental change, is always a matter of degree.

The cultural rationality which we have posited as a desirable response to the needs of our society may, almost certainly will, experience difficulty in asserting itself. Internal politics – a majority may not want it – and external opposition from nations still adhering to economic rationality which may therefore be more efficient will ensure that. The political dimension could be decisive: organised working class governments – the Labour Party in Britain, the Communist Party in Italy – may very well be insensitive to the demands of cultural rationality and in fact resist them.

But, just as there was no one day when feudal society gave way to capitalist or when an aristocratic order gave way to a liberal-democratic, so there will be no one red-letter day marking the end of the era we live in and the start of another.

Yet since millennia are always intrinsically memorable, the year 2000 may well prove to be the historian's closest approximation to it.

URBAN CULTURES: HOW TO SURVIVE THE CITY

MARIUJZ R. FILIPOWICZ
1998

This short story accompanied a set of 12 photographs that were submitted in 1998 by Mariujz R. Filipowicz to the photo competition Images of Europe, which was organised on the theme 'Urban Cultures: How to survive the city'.

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
* EUROPE & ANXIETY
IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

My name is Roman. I moved to my parents' old nineteenth century tenement house in an unstylish and neglected part of Warsaw. In my spare time I played soccer with other boys (the ball was made from old rags). In the house there were 40 families, 8 bigots, 100 cats, a smell from cooking and not even one green tree * I didn't pay any attention to Julka, who was living next door, until she got breasts * Our parents didn't like each other, but we were going to movie theatres secretly, and that's how we started. Later she started working and I passed the exams to the Academy of Fine Arts * Suddenly and unexpectedly capitalism showed up in Poland and one day instead of the old house across the street they built McDonald's and my house got brand new smells. Julka was pregnant, so we got married without our parents' knowledge, and our child was born. Lately we received keys to a small new apartment in the new house surrounded with greens * I'm in my fourth year of studying graphics and photography and that is it. By the way, lately I've read the works of Shakespeare.

The first McDonald's in Europe opened in Zaandam (The Netherlands) on 1 August 1971 on Vermiljoenweg; shortly after, the pictured location on Zaandam's Ankersmidplein followed suit. Courtesy of Zaanstad Archief.



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In an attempt to diversify the participating demographic of the 'Between Hope & Anxiety' letter project (as seen on previous pages), some of the Foundation's team members asked their children to provide a contribution. Maria, re-formulating the task, drew a picture of a satellite projecting onto the Eiffel Tower in Paris and the Atomium in Brussels. She hoped her parents could have operationalised it at their place of work. She wrote: "This is a satellite that maybe you could really make. The purpose of it is that it sees things in other countries, and it works in a way that also makes you feel the temperature."



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THE DEATH OF DYSTOPIA

Giuseppe Porcaro is a political geographer and science fiction novelist based in Brussels. In his novel *Disco Sour*, as well as in his podcast *Europarama*, he explores alternative futures for Europe. For his piece 'The Death of Dystopia', he picks up some of the Foundation's seminal interrogations of the future to then imagine his very own 'Europe 2158', fuelled by multiple, rhizomatic imaginaries for a European tomorrow.

GIUSEPPE PORCARO 2019

FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
EDUCATION & THE ELITE

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MOBILITY & MIGRATION

WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
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* IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

ECSC's pavilion during the Brussels World's Fair in 1958. Courtesy of Communautés Européennes.



*

I have always been fascinated by the architecture of international exhibitions of the past. They represent the closest we can get to a time-machine. We experience, touch, smell that specific version of the future a society had in a given moment. That is why, during sunny days, I often like to wander around the former site of the Universal Exhibition of 1958 in Brussels. What intrigues me, more than the massive size of the still-standing Atomium, are sparse relics of the ephemeral pavilions. Sitting on the grass where they used to stand, I imagine what they looked like.

Once I discovered the site where the pavilion of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) used to stand. Nothing stands there anymore, but it was the first-ever mass-culture display of the European 'community' to the world. I got curious. It was a palace built out of glass, with the ceiling and the façade suspended by six powerful steel columns which looked like gigantic levers. It was built to symbolise the new concept of *supranationality*, which was going to be the impulse for a new prosperity and a common European future.



Roman Ondak, *SK Parking* (2001). Slovakian Škodas were parked behind the Secession building in Vienna for two months. Event and installation at Secession, Vienna. Detail from a series of five colour photographs. Courtesy of Galerie Martin Janda, Vienna.

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Plan Europe 2000 brochures, 1968-1975.



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Archeology of the future

The pavilion was evidence for the faith that the newly born community had in the future, and a testimony to the unwavering conviction that only through the solidarity and the union of the European peoples would they be able to ensure and maintain peace, civil liberties, the well-being of its people, its prestige and influence in the world. It was not just architecture. It was a statement for a utopian political programme.

In this period, political scientists, philosophers, social scientists had all such a programmatic approach. During the same year of the Brussels Expo, the European Cultural Foundation commissioned Fred Polak, one of the fathers of future studies, to draft a working plan for the future of European culture. Similar to the steel columns of the ECSC pavilion, Polak sketched pillars and criteria to prepare the transition from the present and restore a constructive belief in the future. We were just after the World War II. The past was a source of anxiety, but the future was a blank sheet. Atomic energy and a new humanity would have saved Europe, and the world.

But universal expos were discontinued in the 1970s for two decades; Osaka in 1970 staged a Cold War-infused swan song to space era optimism. The future started to be doomed. *Soylent Green*, the movie from 1973, showed a gigantic corporation owning the only source of affordable food, in a classic dystopian formula mixing environmental catastrophe and political dystopia. The remake of *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1978) reinforced psychological paranoia. *Silent Running* (1972) displayed a spaceship carrying the remainders of our environmentally destroyed planet's botanical life. And the coloured future of the Expo 58 became a faded brochure sitting in a dusty old Volkswagen left in an abandoned modernist parking lot because of the oil crisis.

The consciousness of the limits to progress bound by the depletion of natural resources and financial mess, gave space to ecological and post-apocalyptic imaginations. Social movements and protests revealed that fragmentation could completely shatter the social order and the linear evolution that previous futuristic representations had in common.

The Europe of the 2000s sketched for the European Cultural Foundation by Peter Hall in 1977, in the book *Europe 2000*, balanced out visions of the future with the complexity of social and environmental challenges. He would look at the past, noting that “just as to the bourgeoisie of Europe of the years immediately before 1914 seemed a golden age, so the wide strata of society may come to regard the 1960s as the apogee of a certain kind of civilization.” I judge that statement is more revealing than any of his predictions. There is a seed of an epochal switch. From the idea that the future can be planned, to powerlessness towards shaping the world to come. And a prophetic hint of the current political idealisation of the past.

Fast forward to the 1990s, the fall of the Berlin Wall led to the unification of Europe, but also to theories that posited the end of history. The ‘no future’ narrative spread also to the political elites that once were pushing for a bright and brave new world. In 1994, for its 40th Anniversary, the European Cultural Foundation asked 140 public figures to express their hopes and anxiety for Europe. * [p.194] And some statements struck me for their realism, yet pessimism. Karla Peijs, a Dutch politician at the time, wrote, “the cohesion in our European Union will fall apart as a consequence of the fact that we seem to be unable to give to each citizen a feeling that he or she is responsible for society.” Miriam Hederman O’Brien, an Irish academic, stated, “Democracy will become so discredited in the minds of our people that it will lose their allegiance and other, more intolerant political cultures will fill the vacuum.”

And those are just a few examples of the mood of the day. The list could easily go on up to the present. Europe seems to be breathing an environment where dystopia is a component of everyday life, intellectual cynicism characterises critical thinking, and the only future that we seem to be able to imagine, is an extension of the present. But worse. As Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi has pointed out, the idea of a non-existent future has become a condition of thought.

If this writing would be the script of a science fiction novel, the anti-climax to the opening of the pavilion of the European Coal and Steel Community at Expo

58 would be a random polling station in the centre of Cambrai, North *departement*, France. Here, on 29 May 2005, more than 70% of the voters turned down the idea of a Constitution for the European Union. The last ambitious attempt to inject a dose of utopia into the European project. From there on, I have the impression that all that Europe has been able to dream of, in order to survive, has been to lock itself into an everlasting present.

Europe needs imagination

Do we need to resign ourselves to the idea that our continent has no future, a dystopic one, or that at best it will keep its *status quo*? If intellectuals and politicians alike seem to be torn between critical cynicism and populist celebrations of the past, then culture, and specifically fiction, can help to revive the imagination about Europe's future.

I have been flirting with the idea that science fiction can help to explore multiple narratives for the future of Europe and that storytelling is a tool to recreate spaces for a 'European' imagination. Despite an archeology of the future that reads almost like an RIP memorial, I strongly believe that the future of the continent is not a one-way direction. And that our own choices in the present will still determine our future.

Even if Europe has a longstanding tradition when it comes to speculative and science fiction, both in the West and in the East, we rarely find 'Europe' as a setting in mainstream books, movies and pop culture, Eurovision song contest and champions' league set aside, obviously. The discourse about Europe and its future seem to have been mainly connected to the domain of the political and the academic reflection.

Seen in this light, I consider science fiction as a political activism tool. And I don't refer to 'political' to steer towards a specific party line, but to re-engage with the concept of future as a reflection of the political action in the present. That is why I embarked on a journey, speaking with dozens of writers, artists, and science fiction geeks from everywhere in Europe with the objective to pull off a collection of European futures.

Stitching several conversations, mixing them in an improbable smoothie of imaginative elements that may or may

not happen, what will those possible Europe's futures, let's say in a hundred years or more, look like?

A patchwork

Utopia and dystopia holding hands. Because as Margaret Atwood said once, "better never means better for everyone... It always means worse, for some." One thing is certain, if you were hoping for a 'Back to the Future' scenario, you might be disappointed. There will be no flying cars (well perhaps flying drones delivering products, which is happening already).

The cities, the apartment blocks, the schools and the offices will all smell the resins of the living trees they would be built of. A new source of clean energy will be discovered by the European Energy Agency, saving the planet from global warming. But social unrest will follow, as part of a reaction for the loss of many jobs, before the era of robots will be fully implemented and people won't have to work anymore. Almost a Star Trek like post-scarcity scenario. We would enter a world where we would have a more intimate relation with computers, getting rid of interfaces and algorithms. The end of the internet as we know it. The European capital would move to the East. Budapest will be the new Brussels, and Brussels becomes the hell-hole of Europe. The place where, if you still want to use a polluting car you would settle, but you would never be able to come out of the gigantic traffic jam around its ring road, which would very much look like Dante's Inferno. And we will go to the moon again, from the rocket launch base of Valletta, Malta. And there will be colonies on outer space, privately owned by the remainder of the royal families of Europe. And so on.

The scientific plausibility of such exercises is not as important as for the futurists' attempts included in the planning exercises of the 20th century. Fiction is not prediction, but it can make people free to imagine again alternative futures. Also, it allows satire of the current situation, which links it up directly to the tradition of utopian writing from Thomas More onwards.

But perhaps, the most interesting thing in using storytelling as a tool, compared to the programmatic approach of the past, is that here the futures are described in the plural, are open ended

"Europe seems to be breathing an environment where dystopia is a component of everyday life, intellectual cynicism characterises critical thinking, and the only future that we seem to be able to imagine, is an extension of the present."

and contingent. The need to multiply our visions for the future is more than a circumstantial exercise and should involve the wider citizenry. It's a call to work on the very essence of our European imagination, including its emotional appeal.

Europe 2158

If fiction can be used as a tool to allow Europeans to re-appropriate their futures within storytelling, utopia can be the method to spread these to the rest of society. I like the idea of utopia as something that is born from the lack of an ideal situation. As we are not in an ideal situation, I believe we very much need utopias to free us from the vicious circle of 'no future'. But it's a different approach than the utopianism of the members of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community back in 1958.

Ernst Bloch saw utopian thinking as governing everything future-oriented in life and culture. This differs from seeing utopia as a programme, which relates to a totality, and can be implemented only through a closed system that can easily slip into absolutism. Bloch urged us to see utopia as an impulse, an allegorical process in which various utopian figures seep into the daily life of things and people.

With such an impulse re-starting from fictional imaginations, I would like to attempt to understand the way our possible futures could grow and unfold. People who do a lot of gardening probably know what 'rhizome' is in botanical terms. It is a kind of plant that pops out of the ground over an expanding area, giving the impression that many separate plants are emerging in close proximity to one another, but in fact these ostensibly individual 'plants' are parts of one big plant, and are interconnected under the ground. It has a distinct philosophical meaning, too, which is associated with the famous French duo, Félix Guattari and Gilles Deleuze.

In Deleuze and Guattari's work 'rhizome' is roughly the philosophical counterpart of the botanical term, suggesting that many things in the world are rhizomes, or rhizomatically interconnected, although such connections are not always visible. Animals or insects that live symbiotically appear to be an obvious example, such as the little birds that

clean crocodiles' teeth when these reptiles bask in the sun with their huge jaws open: instead of eating the birds, the crocodiles let them feed on the bits of meat, etc., between their teeth – their teeth are cleaned, and the birds are fed, in this way forming a rhizome. After all, when one sees them separately, few people would guess that their species-economy is rhizomatically conjoined.

I would like to imagine a Europe in 2158 like a beautiful and coloured rhizome flower, where traditions, instead of nations are interconnected, where binary definitions are not able to explain connections within diversity, where various different futures may continue to unfold unpredictably. And I want to officially declare the death of dystopia.

*I would like to thank all the authors that took part to the podcast *Europarama*. Especially Sabrina Calvo, Emmi Itäranta, Andrei Ivanov, Joost Vandecasteele and Lorraine Vella. They have helped to shape the images of the future Europe that I have been writing about here.*

THE AMSTERDAM MANIFESTO

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FOUNDING FOUNDATIONS
WHO'S AFRAID OF CULTURE?
* EDUCATION & THE ELITE

WHO'S IN CHARGE?
DEMOCRACY & SUSTAINABILITY
MOBILITY & MIGRATION

* WHERE IS ELSEWHERE?
* EUROPE & ANXIETY
* IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE

In the Amsterdam Manifesto, André Wilkens reveals the main lines of the programme that the European Cultural Foundation will be developing from 2020 onwards. The Manifesto was informed by a series of discussions organised across Europe, addressing two simple yet pivotal questions: What can culture do? * ^[p.064] And what can philanthropy do?

The Amsterdam Manifesto was first presented on 2 October 2019 to the audience of the Princess Margriet Award for Culture ceremony, whose laureates were the writer and activist Ahdaf Soueif and City of Women Festival, an international arts festival in Slovenia that offers a unique platform for women artists to present their work. The publication you hold in your hands was launched on the same occasion.

ANDRÉ WILKENS 2019

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Find the insert here



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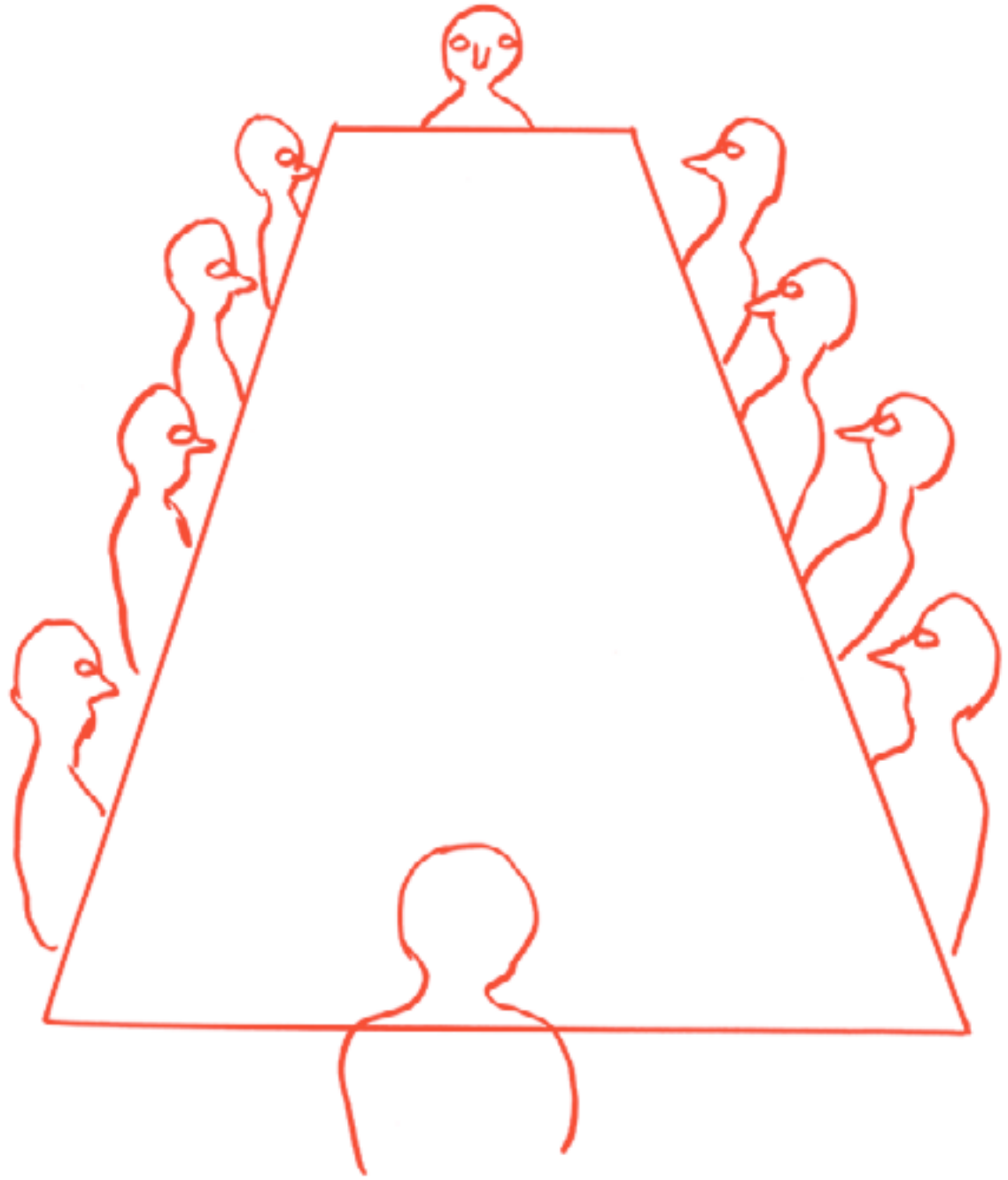
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MEETING TO DECIDE THE FUTURE



David Shrigley, *Meeting to Decide the Future*, published in his book *Fully Coherent Plan for a New and Better Society* (Canongate Books: 2018). Courtesy of Stephen Friedman Gallery, London.

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