





# Conference Report, 12 & 13 April 2019

# A SOUL FOR EUROPE Conference 2019

Towards a European Citizens' Convention

# DAY 1: 12 April 2019, Akademie der Künste, Berlin

Welcome & Introduction by Andreas Bock, A Soul for Europe

Project Presentation by Matthias von Hülsen, Director of Krzyżowa Music





### Krzyżowa Music. Music for Europe

Pablo Barragan, Karolina Errera, Alexander Kovalev, Olivier Robin, Lukas Stepp Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Clarinet Quintet A-Dur, KV 581, First Movement: Allegro, Second Movement: Larghetto, Third Movement: Menuetto, Trio I

– Trio II, Fourth Movement: Allegretto con Variazioni











#### **Evens Arts Prize Ceremony**

**Welcome by Monique Canto-Sperber**, Chairwoman of the Executive Committee, Evens Foundation

Award Introduction by Ernest Van Buynder, President of the Jury

Conversation with the Laureate Eszter Salamon and Cristina Grande, Head of

Performing Arts, Serralves Foundation, Porto, Jury Member of the Evens Arts Prize 2019



**Monique Canto-Sperber:** Our founders have always been sensitive to the power of art to question our certitudes and rethink the world. The Evens Art Prize was created precisely to engage with the world around us. Art cannot be reduced to a functionality – a social pacifier, or a political catalyst. And we know from the past that it can be dangerous to align it to a political agenda. But art has the power to be transformative – it shapes our perceptions, representations, and attitudes; it changes our vision of the world, thus it changes the world!

**Ernest Van Buynder:** The jury has acknowledged Eszter Salamon's ambitious and uncompromising work that explores contemporary issues touching upon what has been forgotten, excluded and repressed in western consciousness. Building on history to imagine a possible future, Salamon's œuvre embodies an immaterial inheritance of gestures, movements, and dances to reaffirm art's insight into the contemporary world.







# Europe in Dialogue - Panel Discussion

Pablo Barragan & Karolina Errera, Krzyżowa Music. Music for Europe

Noémi Kiss, Writer and Member of A Soul for Europe

Arne Lietz, Member of the European Parliament

**Christophe Slagmuylder,** Artistic Director Wiener Festwochen, Jury Member Evens Arts Prize 2019

André Wilkens, Director of the European Cultural Foundation

The panel was moderated by Hugo De Greef, A Soul for Europe



How do arts and culture contribute to the European development? How can we guarantee the independence of arts and still claim artists' social responsibility?

**Pablo Barragan** and **Karolina Errera** point out that musicians tend to live isolated from the rest of society. Artists should take more responsibility in becoming involved in societal challenges. However, the differences among musicians are much smaller because the love for music makes everyone equal.

For **Noémi Kiss** the cultural differences in thoughts, languages and emotions are the material for her writing. She fosters the idea of bringing culture to the political agenda and to reinforce the bridge between arts and citizens. It is not self-evident in all European countries that politics support the arts and that women participate in the political process. 30 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we have to create new enthusiasm, especially in the periphery of Europe.

**Christophe Slagmuylder** asks how we can share on a larger level the issues we work on in our cultural institutions. He proposes to rethink the institutions and invent new ones.







We need to address the question of relevance of the institutions according to whom they are reaching out. Mixing new spaces, formats and forms of education as well as bridging different fields of expertise is important: We need to exchange with politicians on cultural practices.

**André Wilkens** states that simple declarations do not help and that the artists have to start changing themselves. The latest developments also enabled new movements to arise from the bottom-up and new strategies to be developed. Greta Thunberg is a great example for that.

**Arne Lietz** takes the musicians of Krzyzowa-Music as the best example for being ambassadors of the European project among their peers. Interaction is important and culture can be a wake-up call: as an example, you can work much more intensive on climate issues with the means of improvised theatre.

Asked for concrete claims to the politicians, the panel came up with the following ideas:

- The periphery of Europe should invest more in education and infrastructure and provide access for the majority of their population.
- Implementing a European public sphere: We need an instrument for a European public sphere or it will be dominated by big companies like Google, Netflix etc.
- How can arts become part of the reality of the periphery? How can arts become relevant in a small village?
- Invite politicians to participate in networks such as A Soul for Europe
- Hold politicians accountable for how public money is spent (cultural budget compared to defense budget)
- Whatever you do how can you integrate arts and culture?

**Reception & Address of Welcome by HE Emil Hurezeanu,** Ambassador of Romania to the Federal Republic of Germany



We talk about Europe, but we often ignore the different identities of the EU Member States. To the frequently asked question about the most important ingredients of European identity, half of the responding EU citizens say that the central identity is the Euro currency. The other half responds that core identity elements are culture and history. No matter how different we are, we still need this common European identity.

The discourse on the breakdown of Europe is more active and more dominant today than the one on the chances of Europe. If we want to be together, this tendency should be reversed.

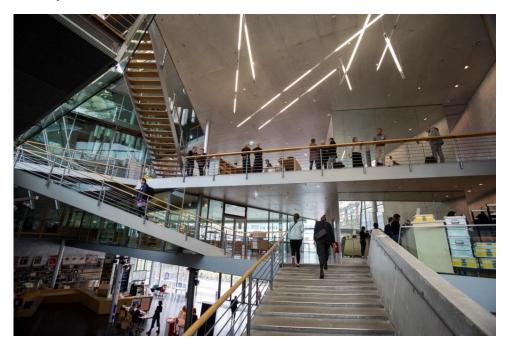
In order to stay together, we should recognise and strengthen the tendency for rationalism, democracy, individual rights and obligations, the rule of law, social union, and especially the understanding of history as an open, dynamic and progressive process, as elements of common definition.







# DAY 2: 13 April 2019, Akademie der Künste, Berlin



## Welcome by Jeanine Meerapfel, President of the Akademie der Künste



Art can change society by enlightening it, by creating spaces, places or objects through which we exchange different perspectives without entering the battle arena. This is where I see the role of art in shaping democratic coexistence in Europe and beyond. We want to consolidate cooperation at an institutional level for a common commitment to Europe.

In conjunction with other European art academies, we want to create stronger networks. Alliances are to be

forged. Our institutional structure is very special as an association of artists whose members are elected at the suggestion of their fellow artists and colleagues from six different artistic sections. So it will be important to examine to what extent we can find partners and friends in the other European academies.

#### Introduction by Nele Hertling, A Soul for Europe

In 2019, the year of the European elections, it is all the more important to use the forces of culture to actively strengthen the European process and assume joint responsibility. We at A Soul for Europe do not lobby for culture, we lobby for Europe with the means of culture.









#### **Presentations**

**Kathrin Deventer,** Secretary General of the European Festivals Association **Mike Downey,** Deputy Chairman of the European Film Academy **Rabea Porsch,** Participant of the Trans-European Theatre Project "europefiction"

Kathrin Deventer: The arts can have a fundamental contribution to our communities on community building. I realise that community building is not a one-dimensional exercise but has many ingredients: access to knowledge, awareness of your community, citizenship, forms of interaction.

The European Festivals Association as an organisation builds on the discourse of the value of arts festivals. An



informed, diverse expression of organised civil society always leads to improved dialogue and a voice in the decision-making process of a community. No single expression can replace this diverse alliance on its own. If there are no alliances to express a certain need in our societies, there is no possibility to come to an informed, democratic policy-making process. If EFA advocates for something, it is this alliance that contributes to the construction of 'Europe'.

**Mike Downey:** Film-making has per se a spirit of cooperation and networking, a sense of social and political responsibility that each of us practices. However, the question is: Why is the whole narrative only about the money? When was it that we stopped having a



conversation about art and culture? Movies touch our hearts and awaken our vision. They change the way we see things. They take us to other places, they open doors and minds. Movies are the memories of our lifetime; we have a moral duty to keep them alive.

As a filmmaker, I believe that we have a fundamental duty to ask questions. I'm not sure I have any answers but along with everything else, I know that moviemaking is a philosophical exploration and we invite the

audience to come on the journey and discover what they think and feel. As well as reaching out to our fellow film makers in the UK – I believe we have a duty as Europeans and as members of the European Film Academy to have joint vertically and horizontally integrated conversation and not one that is just about how much money we can get from Creative Europe or Eurimages or whatever the other Euro-Acronym du jour is.

Rabea Porsch: Europefiction is a trans-European theatre project that also addresses European topics. Rabea criticises the fact that although their group is composed of young, highly motivated people, some of them are not allowed to travel within Europe due to problems with their residence permit. She claims an expansion of travel lists for schools to extra-curricular youth projects.









## Panel Discussion - Towards the European Elections 2019





Damian Boeselager, Volt, Lead Candidate for the European Elections

Elmar Brok, MEP European People's Party

Tanja Dückers, Writer

Carl Grouwet, ALDE, Lead Candidate Berlin

Noémi Kiss, Writer and Member A Soul for Europe

Hannah Neumann, Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen, Candidate Berlin

Kathrin Röggla, Writer and Vice-President Akademie der Künste

Katja Sinko, Activist

Violeta Tomic, European Left, Lead Candidate for the European Elections

Yanis Varoufakis, DIEM25, Lead Candidate for the European Elections

Mia Florentine Weiss, Conceptual Artist

Interventions by **Volker Schlöndorff,** Film Director, and **Hannes Swoboda**, former MEP. The panel was moderated by **Volker Hassemer**, Chairman of Stiftung Zukunft Berlin, and **Farid Tabarki**, Member of A Soul for Europe

**Damian Boeselager:** What is the role of politics? It should provide access, platforms and funding whereas the role of the arts lie s in its independence and exchange.

**Elmar Brok:** There is a fundamental difference in how arts and politics work. We as politicians must find compromises and majorities, while artists work with their own individual potential.

**Katja Sinko**: Us activists are absolutely needed, because the problems we have can only be tackled together. The pro-Europeans need to forge alliances just like the populists do.

**Carl Grouwet:** We need an institutionalised dialogue between politicians and artists – more artists could become members of political parties, such as Günter Grass.

**Mia Florentine Weiss**: I adhere to the idea of ARTIVISM that includes arts, action and resistance to political and social injustices.

**Kathrin Röggla**: Arts and artists can be the motor for civic movements such as the alliance of cultural actors in Berlin "the many" (Die Vielen) that is organising demonstrations and events for diversity and against nationalism.

**Yanis Varoufakis**: We asked theatre groups, musicians, visual artists to come and produce pieces that are critical of us and make proposals for our cultural policy papers. It's only through this kind of dialogue that we are becoming better.





AKADEMIE DER KÜNSTE

**Noémi Kiss:** What do you do with countries where the minister of culture has never come into contact with the arts? In former socialist countries art used to be very important as "state art".

**Violeta Tomic**: We are not living in the same Europe. When I came to this conference from Ljubljana, it took me seven hours! We need better infrastructure so that the periphery of Europe does not feel suspended from the rest of Europe. The populists harvest the anger of the disappointed in the periphery – art is the only thing that can save Europe.

**Hannah Neumann:** To avoid the ongoing social division in Europe, we need minimum social standards in education and unemployment insurance.

**Tanja Dückers:** When we speak of a soul for Europe, we are referring to a European identity. But when we define it, would it not be exclusive?

**Hannah Neumann**: Each citizen can choose where to feel at home – there can be more than one place where you feel at home.

**Volker Schlöndorff:** After years of political activism, I am convinced that artists have the most important influence through their artistic work.

**Volker Hassemer:** No one is debating the significance of arts today. However we should think about a more binding and reliable way of exchange between artists and politicians.

**Hannes Swoboda:** What we do in politics is not innovative enough. "There is always an alternative" - that is what culture has to show. In politics you have to make compromises, but that doesn't mean you can't take up the alternatives of art and culture.















# Panel Discussion - Strenghtening European Identity through Culture and Education and how to manage it



Izabella Agardi, Historian

Steve Austen, Amsterdam-Maastricht Summer University, Member of A Soul for Europe Kathrin Deventer, Secretary General of the European Festivals Association Jody Jensen, Institute for Social & European Studies

Miguel Angel Martin Ramos, Member of A Soul for Europe

The panel was moderated by Farid Tabarki, Member of A Soul for Europe

How should the role of education, culture and identity be managed in the European context? As Steve Austen puts it, "without the citizens, you can't reach anything". But how to train them to reach a European mindset?

In the course of the discussion, the understanding deepens that it is precisely the task of the institutions in the fields of art, culture, and heritage to join forces with education in exposing the danger of nationalist identity politics and opening it for discussion. Moreover, they are able to create awareness among the citizens to feel the impact that culture and art have on their lives, adds Miguel Ramos. Coming from a background of festival organisation, Kathrin Deventer stresses the point that arts organisations and festivals will sooner or later have to change their organisational set-up and collaborate in the field of digitalisation in order to continue to draw audiences.

The MBA Culture, Heritage & Citizenship at Amsterdam-Maastricht Summer University (AMSU) combines the business skills from the regular MBA programmes with knowledge from culture, European studies, tangible and intangible heritage studies and citizenship education.







### Workshop Round 1

#### **Democracy Fitness**

Organised by: Advocate Europe

Active participant: Damian Boeselager, Volt

Democracy Fitness lead by Zakia Elvang from We Do Democracy (Denmark) and supported by Duygu Kaban and Jonas Teune from Advocate Europe.

This very interactive and energizing workshop drew a parallel between a working democracy and a functioning body and consisted of three interactive parts: in the introduction notions of democracy, including governance and structures were discussed. They are the "muscles" that



individuals can activate in order to create a healthier and better democracy (e.g. voting, empathy, opinion making, active listening). The second part of the workshop was a mindfulness exercise, similar to meditation, in which participants were asked to close their eyes and become aware of their breathing. In the third part, the participants were blindfolded and practiced active listening – one of their key muscles.

#### Spaces for Assemblies: Scripts / Protocols / Formats

Organised by: Evens Foundation | raumlaborberlin



As a first step, the participants were shown floor plans of parliaments or other organisation and then had to match the correct organisation or parliament. The workshop also demonstrated a variety of « assemblies » such as the gathering on Taksim square. It was interesting to learn about the logistics behind it such as info stands or sanitary installations.

Once different types of assemblies had been discussed the second part of the

workshop was a silent conversation about the topic "what is a good assembly?". Without talking the participants wrote down their ideas or thoughts on a piece of paper and passed it around in a circle, where the other people were able to add their comments or thoughts.

In order to get another idea of spaces and formats, the participants walked through the building to exchange their thoughts and feelings of the silent conversation. While some participants expected to gain a valid definition of a "good assembly", one of the outcomes was that the perceptions of what an assembly is and what makes it "good" varied a lot.







# Culture & Well-being - A Pragmatic Approach to Move between European and Local Politics through Culture

Organised by: Yves Mettler | A Soul for Europe (R. Zbranca, M. Namur, F. Meseeuw) Active participant: Arne Lietz, MEP





How can culture and arts contribute to the well-being of citizens and communities? This discussion took place within a context where the future of Europe urgently needs new ways to address citizenship, responsibility, urban development, difference, disability, or simply happiness or meaning for citizens. Beyond a more traditional 'health-driven' approach, it can provide meaning and help citizens to become active subjects, to improve their self-esteem and also to take new responsibilities in public spaces to improve community-building.

In order to do that, the discussions in Berlin intended to address specific questions:

- What do we mean by art and well-being? Should 'well-being' be seen as a 'by-product' of making sense of one's own life?
- What actions can be explored and what artistic strategies could be implemented?
- What sort of policy or institutional decisions would be needed?

#### Participants agreed on:

- Individual well-being: from the definition of well-being to the importance of having our basic needs covered first.
- Inclusive spaces: from challenges of access to specific spaces to the 'user' (creator) experience in spaces such as museums and other institutions.
- Resilience / sustainability: Building up individual empowerment and defining a new narrative through culture for living together, in line with the Sustainable Development Goals of the UN.
- Institutional political: one would need more comprehensive and integrated policies (make well-being transversal) and better look at art and well-being contributions to the quality of life. Most discussions agree on the need for a proper framework even moving towards 'cultural welfare' policies -, although the risk with such an approach could be in the potential instrumentalisation of culture.

The sustainability of the working group could be framed around the axes: fundamental research and understanding of art and well-being, understanding and mapping of art practices, raising policy attention, developing a think-tank, including events.







## Beyond "the others" - At home in Black Europe

Organised by: Polis180

Active participants: Moshtari Hilal, Artist | Johny Pitts, Afropean | Antje Scharenberg,

European Alternatives

What does being European or being "at home" in Europe mean? How can Europe be defined as a political community with, rather than against "other"?

Johny Pitts, founder of Afropean, is looking at concepts coming from transnational identification, using the idea of hybridation, investigating the idea of black Europe, marginalised people.



Moshtari Hilal, a visual artist, was exhibiting a self-portrait depicting her relation with Europe. Is Europe an exclusive community? For her, Europe is more than the European countries. There is culture, there is philosophy. Hilal is from Afghanistan, and she feels a burden when she goes home because she feels as if she was coming from "somewhere else". This problem of identity is widely spread, so what do we do with complex identities? Researching transnational activism, Antje Scharenberg, European Alternatives PhD candidate at Goldsmith University, London, advocated to rethink Europe from the bottom-up. How do we understand the European identity? Do we all have a common identity? A unifying history? Affected by the historical role of colonialism and Europe's current internal diversity, the big differences in the input and output dynamics need to be rethought.

With this diverse input, three groups worked on three different themes (Financing, Cultural Education & European history) to develop ideas for policy proposals in the policy atelier. Many suggestions were put forward such as the European financing for arts and culture through taxation or allocating some funds randomly to support valid but maybe not as effective projects. Regarding cultural education, financial support should be given to young people directly to go to cultural events, support development even after school and simplify the access to culture in the periphery. Concerning European history, the participants agreed that there needs to be improvement on the way history is taught in schools, to underline what unites us as Europeans.

#### **European Voting Campaigns**

Organised by: A Soul for Europe



Moderated by Hanna Wolff, Cities for Europe, several European voting campaigns (thistimeimvoting, Alliance4Europe, Die Vielen

e.V., Tracking Exposed European Elections, Nicht ohne Uns!, European May, Europa Machen, Pulse of Europe | Towards the European Elections) had the

opportunity to pitch their ideas of engagement with visual support and to get to know other campaigns' approaches.







AKADEMIE DER KÜNSTE

## Input by Klaus Lederer, Senator for Culture and Europe, Mayor of Berlin



In 2016, I deliberately fought for the two departments culture and Europe to be combined. Because they are so interwoven, and our common cultural heritage is both: local and European.

Politics can certainly learn from artists: in their work, artists are often able to think beyond borders, to think in new ways and to step off the beaten track. This is reflected in the way many artists view national borders as an outdated model; for them,

exchange across borders is what keeps culture alive.

Nevertheless, throughout Europe – right through the middle of European societies – we are seeing an increasing split between well-educated, academic and predominantly urban milieus, who move naturally between European metropolises and do not want to and can no longer imagine life with tangible intra-European borders, on the one hand.

And on the other hand, there are those for whom Europe above all means fierce competition for extremely scarce resources. They have lost confidence in the European Union and are retreating into the confines of nation-states, as is currently the case in Britain. Despite all the justified criticism of the institutions of the EU and its policy to date: national backwardness offers no solutions to current problems, it only aggravates the conflicts.

This is where I see the challenges and my tasks as the Senator for Europe in Berlin: to campaign more for Europe, to strengthen European democracy, Europe's social and environmental dimension, its economic development and the cohesion of Europe.

We must explain the European project better, communicate it and discuss it with our society.

#### Performance Theatre Company Image Aigue, L'Homme gui marche

The artistic trio Tomita Ayako, Gérald Lapalus and Frédéric Perigaud addressed topics such as envy, injustice and friendship in their performance.













## Workshop Round 2

## Can there be a European Culture of Remembrance?

Organised by: European Academy Berlin | Active participant: Michael Cramer, MEP

How we remember our past and how we cope with our history is an integral part of our culture and shapes our identity. A picture of the planned Monument to Freedom and Unity commemorating Germany's peaceful reunification and one of the House of European History in Brussels opened the discussion on national and transnational commemoration and controversies about remembrance: Do we need monuments? How to remember without trivializing history? Whom to honor? Whom to



mourn for? What to forget? Later on, the outcomes of the group work were presented and different aspects of a European culture of remembrance discussed: How to foster a European dimension in commemoration? What are possible means to remember the past besides monuments? How to encourage cross-border commemoration? And how can education be reformed so that European history plays a more important role at school?

# Importance of Women for European (Cultural) Policy on the Basis of their Presence in the European Parliament (Past, Present and Future)

Organised by: A Soul for Europe

Active participants: Pia Locatelli, former MEP | Abram de Swaan, Academy of Yuste | Ophélie Omnes, JEF Women | Diva Ricevuto, Associazione sulle Regole



How to increase women's consciousness about the importance of the next European elections? In the past 80 years, Prof. Abram de Swaan argued, women were able to prove themselves capable of reaching almost any achievement which provoked in many men a strong disapproval. In his opinion, the resistance of men against women is well visible in the actions of fundamentalist believers.

Pia Locatelli stressed the necessity to build a

cultural background. She affirmed the importance to make young generations aware of their past and not to take everything for granted. Ophelie Omnes stated that once she had discovered how the inequalities among men and women are still persistent, she realised that "you need to be a feminist, it is a matter of equality" and that it is a priority to "get men on board". Moreover, Diva Ricevuto recalled the force and the power of women: "Women are survivors". In particular she closed the panel by launching a proposal to create a sort of network of successful women who could help or give suggestions to young generations (girls as well as boys).





AKADEMIE DER KÜNSTE

### Squaring the Circle - How to unfold a European Media Sphere

Organised by: eurotopics | n-ost | Wir sind Europa

European societies democratic multiform media that are independent and trustworthy. More and more, their audiences expect them to engage themselves beyond national borders. A handful of grassroots transnational media organisations have taken the lead while national public broadcasters have been late to the debate and, with few exceptions, have yet to take meaningful action.



plenary debates and discussions the

participants identified the problem that when it comes to a European public sphere, the problem lies in the national member states not wanting the EU to deal with it despite the fact that similar issues such as housing problems are faced across borders. As a conclusion, this round of attendees called for a platform, where journalists from different countries work together from the beginning, a "network of networks" and even planned to co-work on something tangible for those who are willing to carry the discussion onwards to building a community and capacity towards a European media sphere. The investigative collective research on the Panama Papers serves as a best-practice example.

#### **Europe Talks & Europe Listens**

Organised by: Das Progressive Zentrum, ZEIT ONLINE

Active participant: Helmut Scholz, MEP





EUROPE LISTENS wants to make those voices heard that are often neglected in big urban debates. To this end, the project team of Das Progressive Zentrum organised 20 lowthreshold dialogue events on its journey through ten locations in Germany.

EUROPE TALKS, a project by ZEIT ONLINE and 15 other European media partners, brings thousands of Europeans into political one-on-one conversations via an online tool. 17,000 Europeans were matched with a European neighbour of different political opinions for an on- or offline meeting.

During the workshop, the project team offered their best-practice-examples on how to reach out to citizens that are critical towards the European Union and which formats are best suited to achieve a fruitful exchange.







# Cultural Policy from Below: Bottom-up Process for a European Cultural Governance

Organised by: Polis180

Active participants: Carl Grouwet, ALDE-Candidate Berlin | Hannes Swoboda, former MEP Sven Skoric, Goethe Institute Brussels

During the workshop, the 15 participants discussed cultural policy recommendations elaborated during previous workshops, reflected about the relevance of those and/or the issues they chose. Participants were also given "personas" in order to reflect about their own opinion and try to take a step aside and analyse the policy recommendations in a different light.

#### **EUROPEAN HISTORY**



- Until today we mostly learn history from the perspective of the nation state, focused on political history and wars. This tends to highlight the differences of national interests more than common ideas and connections through the different countries and cultures.
- A curriculum including European history as a common story might help raise awareness about our common past and our common values that make the European project outstanding.

#### **EUROPEAN EDUCATION AND ACCESS**



- Cultural access: There should be a cultural flatrate for young Europeans // free access to cultural institutions until 25 (student or not).
- If we are to take culture and diversity seriously, then we should also recognise and foster soft skills such as intercultural competencies and intercultural communication much stronger and earlier in the curriculum.

### **FUNDING OF ARTS AND CULTURE**



- The workshop participants claim for a Europe-wide tourist tax dedicated to fund cultural heritage preservation and provide a cultural flat rate for young European residents and...
- for random allocation of grants/funding for small projects to improve the equality of opportunity in European cultural funding.







# Future Perspectives & Closing Words, Ben Schofield, A Soul for Europe



I'm here to encourage us all to stay in touch, stay networked – and, following what has really been the key theme for our conference today and last night, to continue forging alliances with each other – and to start acting on those alliances.

I've had good reason to think about the significance of alliances recently: both their power, and their fragility, espeically over the past two years. Crucially, these alliances do not mean that we must all hold the same views. They do not mean that we must all agree, or that the autonomy of culture must he jepordised.

Instead, we have learned of events - but also methods

and practices – that help us with those acts of networking and communicating which are central to any alliance. We can be close allies - we can also be uneasy allies! - but what truly matters is that we remain allies, despite differences in view. Our alliances are attempts to find new spaces for collective action, and today we've heard of everything from new citizen assemblies, to new media formats. We have had vigorous debates about culture's role, perhaps even culture's responsibility for Europe. We have heard calls for cultural actors to be more willing and able to unite: to form alliances to purposefully influence the European process.





A Soul for Europe 2019

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