BIENNALOCENE
if the sea were soup

Corte delle Casette, Giudecca Venice
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curated by Marco Baravalle
based on an idea by Anna Rispoli
idea, research, dramaturgy and direction Marco Baravalle, Emanuele Braga, Gabriella Riccio, Anna Rispoli
graphics Emanuele Braga
with the participation of Federica Arcoraci, Emanuele Brocardo, Est Coulon, Valentina Pettosini, Enrico Pittalis, Davide Tolfo + 5 workers who prefer to remain anonymous
production Institute of Radical Imagination
in collaboration with Sale Docks
in the framework of Performing Architecture – a series of events run by the Goethe-Institut as program partner of the German Pavilion at the 18th International Architecture Exhibition La Biennale di Venezia.
Marco:
Hi, my name is Marco, a precarious researcher and VAT number.
As members of the collective Institute of Radical Imagination, together with Emanuele, Gabriella and Anna we are here because the German Pavilion has commissioned a work from us. As part of Sale Docks I've been participating in the struggles that span the art world and beyond, for years.

This is a performative inquiry into the working conditions of cultural workers. Being a militant investigation, it is not an end, in and of itself. On the contrary, we hope it will be the prefiguration of new alliances and paths…

We have invited eleven cultural workers to tell us their version of the glittering art world in Venice. Shall we go on a fast round of introductions?

Est:
Fine! Good evening. I am Es: artist, French, pronoun “him”. I'm the guide at Palazzo Grassi, indeed as they say here "the cultural mediator"... My income depends on how many hours they give me, and I always know it at the last moment. I'm curious to know the situation of others.
Federica:
Hi everyone, I'm Federica, "she".
I've been here in Venice since…let's say since 2012
and I have worked for various types of art institutions,
including the Biennale and the Giardini. (break)
How can I summarize the experience…?
Ahhh, the great world of cultural work!!
and then you find out that maybe it's not even paid! :)

Now for the bookshop in the Biennale I have been offered a
multi-service and cleaning contract
- which I didn't want to accept - because, damn, the contract
they're supposed to offer is Federculture!
But in the end I has to say yes to it.

Theresa:
My tun.
Teresa, 28 years old, recent IUAV graduate…
flat-rate VAT number…
Like Est, I too work as a guide.
I don't know about you (looks around) - but for me it's very
difficult to get a contract of any kind…

Enrico:
Yes, let's talk about contracts! I'm Enrico's alias
In Venice I saw bit of everything:
withholding tax, undeclared work, people forced to open a
VAT number just for a three-month job.
I have also accepted jobs in the dark, that is, without first seeing the contract, which is quite scary stuff!

**Valentina (calmly)**
This year I had my first experience with a contract in a well-known private cultural institution in Venice. When I opened the pay slip, I found only 5 euros an hour. Practically I found out that we were declared as warehouse guardians "simply waiting" instead of cultural mediators. We were treated like a guard… but also for preparing coffee, for changing toilet paper, from tidying-up-the-bathrooms, from raking-the-public-gardens, and all the rest… Ah, hello :) I'm Valentina, 24 years old, from Oristano.

**Gianna**
Hello, sorry, I'd like to step in for a moment. I would have liked to speak with my face uncovered. I had to ask for an alias instead, to avoid problems. Anyway, it seems they found a nice girl for my role.

**Est:**
Excuse me, but I don't understand… What's the story of the bags? I think nobody here wants to intimidate you, don’t they?
**Gianna:**
No way!!!
Here in Italy they are just waiting for you to speak to send you away.
I have to protect myself. So: bag on the head!
Well, I'm a middle aged woman, you can call me Gianna.
I have always worked in Venetian Civic Museums as a room attendant.
Up until about ten years ago I could have looked for something else,…
and then… nothing: after that it was too late to change.
The problems arose with Brugnaro.
Briefly, in Italy there is this boom in outsourcing
which are practically exploitation protected by law.
They only serve to outsource the mess:
to reduce staff, to lower wages, to divide workers
Your company even tells you that you have to be thankful
because they make you work eh!
Instead they are the ones who have to thank us,
because if we were employees of the Municipality we would
cost much less at the Museum!

**Mariana:**
Cooperatives make money on us!
They earn a lot, and the companies who propose lower wages always win.
Then they find all sorts of excuses when negotiating with us.
My job is cleaning for the Civic Museums, with a company
We are now in the tender. I don't know who will win.
How about you… why do you have a bag? Are you incognito too?

**Davide:** *(to Mariana, then to Gianna)*
No, it’s not for that. I'm the alias of Davide, my name is Marco.
Davide, lucky guy! He is working for Ocean Space at the moment.
He asked me to do him this favor. And since they give me 300 euros to do this performance, I said yes, you know how it is!
Anyway Gianna… I wanted to ask you how it works with the cooperatives?

**Gianna**
Ok… when you are part of a cooperative, you apply.
Let's say that, more than anything else, recruitment within cooperatives is due to nepotism.
Because you call your sister, friend, brother, they prefer it that way…

**Federica:**
Yes!

**Gianna:** *(continues the conversation without interrupting)*
…and it is also for this reason that a very strong unionization is impossible, because of this paternalistic relationship, let's say…with the managers.
Like…
In theory we should all be partners, employees at the most… instead the President commands and we are "his girls"!
That is, all this bullshit that cannot be scratched…
I've already heard people say "my President will save me" and stuff like that.

**Federica:**
Go to hell!

**Giorgi:**
Bye, bye, sorry….
I don't know if I can talk now…
maybe that's off topic...

**Mariana:**
Why so? Go on speaking!

**George:**
Okay. I'm Giorgi, I've been in Venice for about ten years above all I work setting up exhibitions and events.
No, nothing, I just wanted to say that for me the issue of shitty jobs in the cultural sector is more complicated than just salary.
As a technician I get a decent pay,
But the environment is harsh…
I found myself working with openly Nazi-fascist people!
These things are never questioned. It's not normal!
Federica:
Thank you for opening this topic
we are not only talking about economic conditions, but also
about harassment, mobbing….
There was this curator from Los Angeles who started flirting
with me.
I talked about it with my two colleagues and with the manager
who, instead of supporting me, started saying that I was
making up stories because I wanted to leave…
from day to night going to work had become a nightmare:
I was left alone, even by my colleagues, as if they were
competing with me….

(All taking at the same time, chaos):

Teresa:
Oh well! I know this dynamic of competition…
that was such an absurdity among us!
We all had a contract... but since we accumulated days of
work,
those who lost a day of work - for illness or something else -
them wanted teammates to return that work day....
several times we pointed out to the coordinators that it was
their job…
They replied that it was our fault,
We did nothing but make their job very difficult...
and then... with this precariousness
it is difficult to organize life hours and combine with other
possible jobs...
II
**Enrico:**
Among us the question was about unrecognized overtime, 23 days off the contract!....
we had to fight to get a full month out of nine!
The exhibition was still closed.
Our manager, who was not present at the office,
but was contacting us from Milan,
called us to say we were "little assholes, who play, who don't know shit".
So humiliating to be talked to like that by such a person!
II

**Davide:**
I was a museum attendant at the pavilion…
They had such an absolutely “military” idea of work.
In theory I was there as a mediator,
but if someone asked me for information, I was not allowed to answer.
I was told “remember that these ones are your enemies'
referring to teenagers,
yes… teenagers as potential agents of destruction of the works.
I was also asked to do cleaning, before and after the shift.
In short: there is no objective recognition of what a cultural mediator is,
no regulation and if you are not willing to accept those conditions,
there are three thousand other people lined up willing to take your place.
II
Mariana:
I also have a story…
Three months after my arrival in Italy I learned to speak
They threw me in a house with a pretty old lady who was
talking and talking. In Padova. They left me there…
After three months her niece came, and I could already speak
Italian.
She asked me how come I didn't know a word… Now what!
I had to, I had to!
Many of you wonder how quickly we learn. But we are forced
to!
If you go to England you must learn English immediately!
That’s the same also for us!

Anna:
(stopping the chaos after 30 ‘)
Excuse me, please… EXCUSE ME PLEASE!!
Sorry… it's all very important,
but like this we can't understand each other,
Can we talk one at a time please?
Thank you!

Est:
I don't know about you.. but I'm afraid my condition will
never improve…
in 10 years I will still work in withholding tax
unable to put aside money for retirement…

Valentina:
Oh well, helloooo!....
I can’t even think about retirement!

**Est:**
No, but elsewhere…
In France, a kind of civil war is breaking out for two more years of work to retirement
Why here in Italy you don’t even try?

*(silence, looking around for answers)*

**Teresa:**
This silence gives us an idea.
The fact is that what we find in our hands is always precarious:
I can only think in the short term,
six months then another six months.
I don't know…
I don't think I will have a family in the next 15 years…

**Federica:**
I say to myself
"I wait until I'm 30 and then, if I really can't find anything anymore, I'll change my sector"...
but I have to start realizing I've been working in this field for ten years
David:
…My fear is that everything ends up in voluntary work. Of course, for beautiful, wonderful projects but still… Volunteering!
I mean, NO THANK YOU!

Est:
Why do we continue to stay here in Venice?

Enrico:
Indeed, why? If Venice weren't so beautiful we would all have left earlier. Yes, ok I know diehards who go on for many, many, many years. But five years are already difficult to bear. Patience has a limit.

Federica:
Will you leave too?

Enrico:
I probably won't be able to find something worth staying for. This thing makes me anxious..

Davide:
Anxiety is there every day. Fear of missing your chance. For example: now I'm unemployed and I'm rushing into my doctoral research. In my spare time I write articles on philosophy and contemporary art…
Precarious again, because with 50 euros per article one can't get by.  
My typical day is studying and having anxiety attacks.  

**Enrico:**  
yes, I feel a sense of guilt just to spend an afternoon reading a book  
I realize it is so common here Venice... everyone has these anxieties about "today goes like this, tomorrow who knows?".

**Davide:**  
Free time as an unemployed person is a time of anxiety: you know you have to invest in yourself, but it doesn't necessarily work out.  
And then when you go back to work, you will no longer have time... to invest in yourself or to go on holiday.  
So: when would one’s time really be free?  

**Est :**  
One tries to put free time to good use to pay the rent.  

**Valentina**  
By the way, how much do you pay for your rent?

**Est**
Around 350 euros for a double

**Enrico:**
The vast majority of people I know spend between 50 and 70 percent of their income on rent

**Teresa:**
And they live in shitty houses…

**Valentina:**
Oh sure, there's nothing...

**Federica:**
The real estate system is rotten…
Now Airbnb is practically everywhere, ..

**Enrico:**
If you look around, the most common surname in Venice is "Tourist rental"

**Davide:**
True!
Let's do a little survey: who among us has a home here?

**Est, Federica, Teresa, Enrico, Valentina, Mariana (each with his own words)**
But no, imagine! And with what money?

**Giorgi:**
Bah…really…yes.
I mean, I have a home.
You know…a set of good alignments:
Banks collapsing… money needs to be moved fast, lucky strike…
there's a house for sale and poof!!! bought!
(almost apologizing) Anyway I've always shared it with friends,
and now with my partner, a researcher.

**Cento:**
Hello everyone!
Sorry for speaking late but I didn't want to interrupt the flow.
Anyway, I'm Emanuele, a forty year old born and raised here.
I would say that with Gianna we are the only Venetians in the group am I right?

**Gianna: (n Venetian)**
I think so….

**Cento:**
Anyway… I'm a technician for events
Right now I'm busy working, so the guy talking is an alias
As a technician I manage to have a more than decent income.
So I was able to access a mortgage
which in Venice is quite a bit lower than a rent,
My partner is a cognitarian, a researcher,
we are pretty much a mixed couple:
between the show business working class and a researcher.
Look, the real money in Venice is made by the owners of the walls:
restaurant owners work for the owners of the walls,
shop owners work for the owners of the walls.
The people who live here work for the owners of the walls, that is, the owners of the houses, but also of the spaces.

**Enrico:**
Practically real estate puts every centimeter to value for the cultural event industry.
I mean…. everywhere in Europe they are already realizing that emptying a city of its inhabitants is pure madness and are inverting the trend….
Here instead they do nothing and urban reorganization is left to the forces of the market.
Pure real estate speculation.

**Cento:**
I don't know, we should implement a rent cap, like they did in Barcelona..

**Anna:**
Hi, sorry, I'd like to make a short comment.
I think we are not considering here the voice of those who make the money:
and I must admit they see things differently from this assembly.

We interviewed an entrepreneur who organizes major events:
He told us that it is physiological for young people to be precarious…
That in cities as beautiful as Venice, it is impossible to find a decent home or an empty 500 sqm warehouse for low-income people?”.
He tells you that it is natural that only the rich live well in Venice,
that art, young people, artists, students (in short, the poor) are useful
for tourism and to increase the prices of the walls.
For the rich, the real problem with Venice is that it's too small and the walls to buy to make money out of, after a while run out!
He too realizes that
cities that revolve only around events, tourism and real estate interests,
After a while they get ugly, all the same, tasteless, like banks.
Our entrepreneur is sorry that the artists are leaving,
because without them, after a while, gentrification fades away.
He even told us that artists should be paid
to keep them in cities, even after they've been ruined.
to keep cities alive,
so they could continue to make more profit.
And it's not just in Venice…
That’s reality, my son, everywhere!

Teresa:
I'm sorry but what the fuck is he saying?
Basically that cities must be gentrified,
that culture can be used instrumentally to do so
Thanks,
that the only thing they offer is
maybe give a few more coins to artists
to make them stay in the gentrified neighborhoods
because otherwise...it's harder to sell.
But who is this?

Anna:
Eh, also he asked us to remain anonymous.
Though he repeated
that Venice doesn’t go only from Piazzale Roma to
Sant'Elena,
Venice is the entire Lagoon
“*Xe the most beautiful place in the world, the most
comfortable in the world, which costs nothing. Why not go there?*”.
A young artist from Tokyo spends three hours on the subway
to go from one place to another, even in Milan,
young people have time to stay on a boat for 30 minutes or
more…
The islands have great potential to be exploited
have the same degree of internationality
and are also well connected to the mainland.

Mariana:
But come on, please!
I get up at 4 in the morning to go to Mestre center to catch the bus.
Venetians have a love and hate relationship with ACTV.

**Gianna:**
Mee too… I think it takes me an hour and a half by ACTV even if it's only a 15, 14 kilometers trip…
If you have a family with children it's quite hard.
Among those who work for Civic Museums, there are some that take up to 2 hours to get home considering they might live I don't know, towards Vicenza.

**Mariana:**
Now that the Museums stay open until 11pm it would be better if those shifts were covered by those who live closer…
problem is we are almost all women, from Jordan, Senegal, Morocco, Moldova…
and all living on the mainland.

**Davide:**
It's not just the rent that is crazy, also the food!
Shopping I do it in the area of Vicenza, I carry my empty suitcase and fill it with groceries, or with vegetables from my parents' garden, so to save some money because to be honest here it is unsustainable, here one can only go to the Coop.
**Federica:**
The problem is that Venice
It is a city only fit for the Biennale, f
and for those who come to consume it.
One hypocrisy is it rises great themes
but assume no responsibility
for what happens within the art system in general,
It's pure rhetoric for its own sake!

**Cento:**
We make these beautiful exhibitions,
on gender diversity,
on social justice,
on the posthuman
but we end up enriching the worst exploiters
and the worst owners of the walls,
because at the end we rent the space from them,
thus contributing to increased income and wage gap.
Yes, because precisely in cases such as those of external pavilions…
they generate a significant amount of wealth.
A little story:
on the Giudecca there is a carpentry shop,
a big carpentry shop that works hard.. and well…
The guy decided to cut the space in two, to rented it out to exhibitions
Because in any case it is more profitable to rent to exhibitions
than to run a business.
Davide:
So we are under a blackmail.
because if so-and-so pavilion comes and pays triple the rent,
we get evicted.

Cento:
The Beinnale!
Biennale is the large factory
around which all related industries revolve.
It is the FIAT of Venice.
And mind you, I mean FIAT, not the OLIVETTI.
It is not a good factory.
In the sense that it captures and attracts many young people.
offering absolutely underpaid jobs.
Hardly anyone can hold on for ten or fifteen years,
even working crazy hours at a restaurant.
Maybe only those who don't need to work to live can make it.
It is the perpetuation of a class system.

Enrico:
I am afraid the Biennale is becoming the monster-system we
all fear.

Gianna:
Yet nothing changes.
Venice is like a person, pass me the literary metaphor, but it’s
like a drug addict, a drug addicted city, addicted to a drug that
will kill it.
**Davide:**
If Biennale is the heroine of Venice, then I am a drug-addict too,
because I need the economies that the Biennale circulates.
It's very difficult to change direction, isn't it?

**Teresa:**
Well, but at what cost?
I come from the south, from Catania
There is an underground panorama there, here we can only dream about!
Here the institutions eat up all available spaces
There is a lack of even small spaces…
A shared studio costs me 150 euros just to have a wall…
What could Venice learn from Catania?
To drop the anxiety for tourists… to get a little poorer.
Venice: let this city impoverish a bit!

**Cento:**
Many say Venice thrives on tourism;
So wrong: Venice does not live on tourism, it dies of tourism.

**Teresa:**
To those born here I would say
that in five generations they’ve come to fill this city with rubbish!
That’s how you treated this place over the years!!!
When I hear about turnstile and tickets to enter Rialto every time
There's a part of me that says: that’s Disneyland!
This idea of paying to enter a city with tickets and turnstiles is symbolically so wrong!
There is total exploitation of the city from all sides.

**Cento:**
All right, calm down for a moment…
It's not that just because you're Venetian,
you agree with what's happening in Venice, eh..

**Gianna:**
We're not all friends of Brugnaro..

**Davide:**
You are right, take the No Grandi Navi Committee for example.
It is made right by the residents against mass tourism.

**Mariana:**
First of all, it's the mayor's fault, isn't it?
And everyone around him! No?
*Manus manum lavat no?*
Politicians. These take the best part,
then the others are left with the crumbs....
I don't know about you, but I think pigeons, in Venice, have more crumbs than I do...Don’t they?
(does not interrupt on Giorgi, but continues)
**Enrico:**
...I believe that paradoxically most of those people who accumulate wealth by extracting it from Venice, they don't even live here. They come, they do the event, they post the picture and they leave.

**Gianna:**
I'm sorry to say this, but Venice will definitely die of deadly tourism.

**Valentina:**
Or maybe it will simply be submerged under water in less than forty years.

**Enrico (ironic):**
But no way, now there aren't even ships in the city anymore.

**Davide:**
Look Enrico, that the ships no longer pass through because the committee fought for eleven years for them to be expelled from Venice! Now they even want to make them return to the Lagoon.

**Enrico (to Davide).**
But yes, look I was joking....

Est (loud voice, regains the attention of all the distracted) Seriously: do you think Venice will survive climate change?
**Cento:**
Mmmmm...Yes and No.
I mean; if you ask me if the stones of Venice will survive climate change, yes.
They will do anything, they will put a dome on it, like Nathan Never.
They'll do anything, they'll make it float in the air.
Somehow the stones will be saved.
If you ask me if Venice, as a social fabric, will survive climate change, I don't think so, honestly.

**Mariana:**
I usually think positive,
but only if Russia doesn't drop some atomic bombs!

**Giorgi:**
They will do like Jakarta. A capital city that was displaced because of flooding? And a Veniceland next door....
Venice will be depopulated.
It will be apocalyptic!
We have already seen it with the Covid + high tide combo.
Total panic! no one wanted to come here anymore:
deserted squares, closed hotels..
I don't know...It will be total abandonment!
The humans will leave and the mullets will remain.
The mullets and the rats.

**Teresa:**
We are the last to experience Venice like this....
Venice will finally be an unfashionable place
Like a new Atlantis: everyone on the second floor, everyone with a boat....
It would be a good lesson!

**Est:**
I would like Venice to be like the NY of the 1970s....
That is, that from a condition of discomfort would be born ferment
and that spaces could be managed by communities of people....
Then we could really explore the Lido and other islands,
Of course, we should all learn to row.

**Giorgi:**
And maybe we'll finally stop using these drywall!
You can't make an exhibition if you don't use 'em fucking drywall!
But can't proper limitations be put in place?
How much does the white cube fucking cost me in terms of the planet?

**Mariana:**
During Covid you would arrive at San Marco at 6 a.m.
and there was no one there.
It was like being in a movie!
Yes. All for me!

**Cento:**
In the pandemic everything that depended on aggregation stopped.
The technicians suffered greatly at first. Then, we came together. In the entertainment world, Usually the technician contracts with the client for compensation individually. And basically this makes the working world atomized. Divide and conquer! In pandemic, however, for a moment, we all found ourselves in the common condition of not having gigs for a long time, all together, for the first time, EVER. We managed, collectively, to get a series of one-off measures. However, what seemed to be supposed to be our greatest achievement foundered, which was a constant welfare measure that would accompany us in our careers on the days when we were not working. A constant and general welfare measure for everyone: For freelancers, for those who work under contract, for those who work in cooperatives like me for example. Today, however, unemployment can only be claimed by one figure, namely the performing arts technician associated with cooperatives in northern Italy. Period! Outside the big cities in northern Italy, the situation is Wild West.

Gianna:
It will be the age,
it will be just this twenty plus years that we have had of great, how should I say, individualism and it will be the lack of strong moments of coming together, or it will be 'this bag on the head ... But today it's very difficult.... I mean I don't know why people don't protest.... It is true that I also asked you to maintain anonymity however....

**Enrico:**
But as a worker, if you don't object, you become complicit in this degradation. Unfortunately it is really difficult to organize because by the third meeting half the people are gone. That is: already they are gone from Venice. Already their replacements have arrived.

**Valentina:**
In my opinion, instead, there is an opportunity to come together
For collective action

**Teresa:**
Yes, However if you don't try, you won't get.

**Federica:**
Look, for 3 years I have been an activist of *Mi Riconosci*? And I'm telling you it's really salvation. Because it gives you the tools And you compare yourself with others. You can afford to say no to that Job
because you know there is a group,
you know you will be believed,
and it's nice because even if it is a bubble,
at least it's a bubble where you can breathe and feel supported.

Valentina:
We founded a group called "Non-mandatory Mediator" and
we were able to get results....
so you have to get organized!....
Start somewhere, move to concrete actions.

Giorgi:
Then there are concrete examples of mutual aid,
for example in my community we help each other
if one is facing expenses.
But if we are all in precariousness, isn’t it harder to help each other?

Gabriella:
We at Art for UBI -- which stands for Universal and
Unconditional Basic Income -- position ourselves to call for a
Universal and Unconditional Basic Income for all globally...
as a form of redistribution of resources

Emanuele:
UBI would allow us to say No to shitty jobs.

Federica:
And maybe it would discourage those who allow themselves to offer indecent contracts today.

*Mariana:*
With a Basic Income I could do the job I want, for example, working in a store.
I would like something I can physically do, because cleaning hurts me all over.
I would like to work with people, organize something, something that suits my character!

*David:*
Then it would also be the best way to free time from anxiety and paranoia.
If everyone had 1,200 euros a month, Venice.... the pavilions would probably be empty!

*Cento:*
Wait though. Around 2,000 a month per person would be needed.
If that were the case.
I certainly wouldn't do something like the *Ballo del Doge*, to say,
wouldn't even cross my mind....
Or the weddings of the rich.
You sell your soul to the devil when you do these type of things.

*Est:*
If there was UBI, maybe
the owners who stay on the mainland would come back
and the students could stay,
some businesses would fall into disuse
such as souvenir stores.
Then there would be no one left to clean the museums.

**Mariana:**
Precisely!

**Teresa:**
This city could become a city again,
rebuild a social fabric.
It would lower the hype a bit!

**Giorgi:**
On basic income though,
I see very easy for the market to adapt immediately.
More money for everyone? Rents skyrocketing, services
costing more, etc.
I was reading about Universal Basic Services, what is it
called?

**Someone:**
UBS!

**Emanuele:**
Eh indeed, By now, internationally, campaigns for basic
income are often side by side with campaigns for the
universality of basic services
also referred to as UBS
which then are: health, education, housing.

**Gianna**
Whatever, it's not like you can afford not to fight for jobs though!

**Emanuele**
No of course not, minimum wage we want it anyway!
For example, before we started producing this performance we inquired and found out that the German Pavilion applies the German law and therefore the minimum wage at 12 euros. There seems to be a bill to force the minimum wage in Europe, Maybe we should start aggregating around this request.

**Valentina:**
I am super in favor: We need to defend the welfare state and to that add the minimum wage.
Yes, but first of all we have to organize from below.
For example, create more moments like this. Talk to us directly, even after the performance.

**Marco:**
A performance can imagine, perhaps it can foreshadow, certainly materializes a presence, a presence that we cannot give away to some biennial, a presence that cannot fill the absence of movement. As someone said:
“The imagination is a linguistic gesture, hence a common gesture; the gesture which throws a web over the to-come so as to know it, construct it, organize it with power.”. So let's move, let's organize, let's row, all together! Who feels like continuing to discuss this together?