

This paper is published and written by a diverse group of so-called refugees who choose not to accept their disenfranchisement by the German state. Together with local supporters we look to inform and invite as many people as possible to break the isolation and to get in contact with us.

این کاغذ توسط گروه متنوعی از افراد به اصطلاح -پناهنه نوشته و منتشر میشود که سیاست ضد انسانی دولت آلمان را قبول نداریم. با همکاری گروهی از افراد محلی ما به دنبال اطلاع رسانی و دعوت کردن از شما هستیم تا از توای خود را در کمپ بشکنید و به ما پیوندید.

Ce dossier est publié et rédigé par un groupe hétérogène de soi-disant "réfugiés" qui n'acceptent pas la privation et l'interdiction des droits civiques par l'État allemand. Avec des sympathisants locaux, nous voulons informer et inviter autant de personnes que possible pour briser l'isolement et créer un contact avec nous.

هذه الصحيفة نشرت و كتبت من قبل مجموعة متعددة من ما يدعى «الاجئين» الذين لم يقبلوا الحرمان من الحكومة الألمانية، معًا مع داعمين محليين نجحنا في الخبر و ندعو أكثراً عدد ممكناً من الأشخاص لنكسر العزلة و يتواصلوا معاً.

Novine pred vama pišu i objavljaju različite grupe takozvanih "izbeglica" koje ne prihvataju stanje obespravljenosti koje im nemačka država nameće. Zajedno se podrškom ljudi iz našeg neposrednog okruženja, želimo da vas informišemo i pozovemo da u velikom broju uspostavite sa nama kontakt i razbijete izolaciju kojoj smo izloženi.



DAILY RESISTANCE



"For me it was amazing, most especially to see that we took the power by ourselves, this is the most important thing I remember." Bino; excerpt from the conversation 'Oranienplatz is not the place, but the people'; Foto: Christina Palitzsch / Umbruch Bildarchiv

"Oranienplatz is not the place, but the people"

A conversation with activists from the Refugee Movement 10 years after the O-Platz occupation

The talk took place in the studio of Wearebornfree! Empowerment Radio in Kreuzberg on July 1, 2022. The full version you can read here: <https://oplatz.net/oranienplatz-is-not-the-place-but-the-people/>; Listen to the full show here: https://www.mixcloud.com/wabf_Empowerment_Radio

J: Dear listeners, this is Daily Resistance hosted by Wearebornfree! Radio. Thank you for having us here. I am Johann from Daily Resistance.

E: And I am Erdem, and I am in the editorial team since 3 years.

J: We gonna moderate a special program for you this afternoon. We gonna devote this program to the 10th anniversary occupation of Oranienplatz. And for this we have invited activists that squatted Oranienplatz 10 years ago, exactly 6th October 2012. Activists that resided and lived there and also supporters. Before we talk more generally about the occupation of O-Platz, the demands of the movement, how the occupation came about, how it ended, we wanted to start the conversation with the personal memories and experiences our guests here in the studio. Maybe each of you can shortly introduce yourselves and tell us, what you remember most about that time, about the occupation but also about time being in O-Platz. Maybe there is special piece in your memory, or a special image that you connect most

with Oranienplatz or to the movement in general.

A: OK, I am Adam Bahar. About the question image that is in my mind the image of marching in the street where you see people by themselves for their demand walking to Berlin. This was a real empowerment movement for me. In

Oranienplatz there was the first demonstration on the 13 or 16 October with more than 5.000 people on the streets. It was the biggest demo in Berlin at that time only with the demands of the refugees. That was also something very powerful to see the solidarity of Berlin. After the end of Oranienplatz still I have this image of resisting on the tree from Napoli. But also showing that movement can continue and do politics.

Continued on next page



Napoli resisted 5 days against the evacuation of Oranienplatz by refusing to climb down a tree. The demands of the refugee movement were the abolishment of discriminating special laws, such as the Residenzpflicht, work ban, the Dublin regulation, ... and the abolishment of all Lagers. Photo: Andrea Linss / Umbruch Bildarchiv

برافتادن حجاب از چهره‌ی مطالبات مردمی

از بهرام قدیمی - شکوفه محمدی

۲۱ سپتامبر ۲۰۲۲ رئیس جمهور ایران در مجمع عمومی سازمان ملل سخنرانی را بیک آیه قرآن شروع کرد تا مانند اغلب فمایندگان دولت سرمایه داری بی‌شمارانه به مردم جهان دروغ بگوید. در همان حال در خیابان‌های تهران

خشم ۴۴ ساله به آتش و بدл می‌شد تا دختران و پسران جوان دست در دست یکدیگر به پایکوبی پیروز شوند و جشن حجاب سوزان

از سر کرند. از سالها پیش اشاره کوناکون در ایران خیابانها را به اشغال خود در می‌اورند

تا صدای اعتراضان را گوش شنوابی باشد، کارگران بخش‌های مختلف دست به اعتراض می‌زنند و هر بار سرکوب می‌شون، خلق‌های ایران همیشه مورد تعریض رژیم بوده‌اند: خلق

ترکمن، خلق عرب، خلق کرد و خلق بلوج در طول تاریخ جمهوری اسلامی نه تنها هیچ کدام از حقوق انسانی و دموکراتیک خود برخودار

نیووند، بلکه هر یک به نوبه خود مورد حمله نیروهای نظامی رژیم فرار گرفته و همباران و قتل عام شدند؛ کردستان ساله‌است که هر یک پادگان نظامی شیاهت دارد، زحمت کشان بلوج

هر روزه مجبورند زیر گلوه های پاسداران لقمه نانی به دست بیاورند، کارگران ایران به خاطر مطالبه حقوق عقب افراحت و تشکیل سندیکا

به عنوان دشمنان نظام محاکمه و زندانی می‌شوند؛ اگر فمایندگان کارگران اتوبوسرانی تهران در زندان به سر می‌برند، سخنگوی کارگران نیشکر هفت تپه از کار محروم می‌شوند و کارگر

فولاد اهواز باید به تبعید اجباری تن بدند. قیام‌های سال‌های ۲۰۱۷، ۲۰۱۹، ۲۰۲۱ در میدان

را هر بار برای مبارزه‌های گستردگی تر آب دیده کرده است. در روز شنبه ۳ سپتامبر ۲۰۲۲

زهرا صدیقی و الهام چوبیدار به جرم دفاع از همجنسگرایی در دادگاه ای در همدان به اعدام محکوم شدند؛ هنوز جوهر امضای حکم اعدام

این دو نفر خشک نشده بودند تر آب ۲۲ ساله که از کردستان به تهران سفر کرده بود

توسط مامورین گشت ارشاد دستگیر شده، مورد ضرب و شتم قرار می‌گیرد. به طوریکه مجبور می‌شوند او را که به شغل کما رفته بود به بیمارستان منتقل کنند.

از همان لحظه‌ای که خبر بستری شدن او در بیمارستان پخش شد، عده زیادی از جمله اعضای خانواده‌های کسانی که در قام‌های قبلی کشته شده بودند در همبستگی با

خانواده مهسا امینی، در مقابل در بیمارستان اجتماع کردند.

مرگ مهسا مانند جرقه‌ای بود که بوته های خشم مردم را در سراسر ایران به شعله های قیام بدل کرد.

به سرعت تمام مطالبات چهل ساله اشاره مختلف مردم ایران در شعار "ژین، زیان، آزادی

انعکاس یافت.

این شعار که زنان روزمنده روزوا آن را علیه سیستم مرسالاری و در دفاع از زندگی ابداع کرده اند، اینک در ایران به فریاد زنان و مردانی

بدل شده است که فقط خواهان از میان برداشت حجاب اجباری نیستند، بلکه همان طور که خودشان می‌گویند، "هدف کل نظام است".

آری هدف کل نظامی است که بر پایه سرمایه داری استوار است و سود مذهبی آن... مبارزات بی امان مردم کار را برای رژیم آنقدر سخت کرده است که ما شاهد هستیم که

جمهوری اسلامی حتی از کودک - سربازان نیز

O-Platz wird 10

Baustelle Migration Come to O-Platz!



Let us raise our solidarity and resistance as refugees and oppressed people of the world against war, exploitation and rising racism.

Başmakale

en > 8
Turgay Ulu

Daily Resistance gazetemizin bu sayisi O-Platz isgalimizin 10.yıldönümüne denk geldi. Bu nedenle oplatz hareketiyle ilgili cesitli röportaj ve yazilar bu sayinin agirlikli konusunu olusturuyor.

5 Ekim ile 9 Ekim tarihleri arasinda Oranienplatz parkinda cadirlar acip, sahne kuracagiz ve direnisimizin deneyimini olusturan arsivlerimizi sergileyecegiz. Cesitli musik, seminar, sergi ve konusma olacak.

O-Platz direnisinin 10. yıldönümüne girerken öncesinde de haftalar boyunca Oranienplatz parkinda cadir kurup etkinlikler gerçeklestirdik. Özellikle yeni gelen mültecilere söz verdik. Afrika ya da Ortadogu ülkerinden kacip Ukrania üzerinden gelen mülteciler ne tür irkci ve ayrimci yaklasimlara maruz kaldıklarini kamuoyuna duyurma sansi yakalamis oldular. O-Platz direnisinin icinde dogmus olan cocuklar sarkilarıyla ve sloganla riyile yeni gelen mültecilerin eylemlerine destek verdiler.

Tümisci ve emekcileri zorlu bir kis mevsimi bekliyor. Emperialistler arasında süren savaslar ezilenlerin yasam kosullarını zora sokuyor, tüm faturalar bizim sirtimiza yükleniyor. Sürekli sen kriz ve savaslar mülteci aikinlarini da süreklileştiriyor.

Savas, sümürü ve yükselen ırkçılığa karşı dünyanın tüm mültecileri ve ezilenleri olarak dayanisma ve direnisimizi yükselteilim. Yasasin İnsanlaşma Ve Ortaklaşma Mucadelemizç.

Please contact us with your ideas and criticism. Send us your texts!

Contact us through the person who brought you this newspaper or visit us at www.oplatz.net or write an E-mail to: dailyresistance@systemli.org

Languages in this issue:

فارسی > 1

en > 1 7 8 9 12 13

tr > 1 fr > 16

de > 8 9 10 es > 13

ادامه در صفحه بعد

Continuation from previous page

Something that will not move easily from my mind. Also, the squatting of the school that showed that the movement can be in different places. We are marching through Germany, we are in Oranienplatz on the streets, we are at the school in Ohlauer Straße, some of us were on the trees. All of this was so amazing and powerful, these new forms of resistance that were created in Berlin.

T: Ich bin Turgay Ulu. Mein Gefühl zu der Zeit war, wir haben uns aus der Isolation selbst freigelassen. Das war mein Gefühl auf der Straße. Mit den anderen Leuten, die den gleichen Hintergrund haben, die von der Ausbeutung, Isolation, von dem Krieg geflüchtet sind, haben wir uns getroffen. Gemeinsam und kollektiv haben wir das geschafft und für unsere Rechte weitergekämpft mit verschiedenen Farben, Sprachen, Traditionen. Das war ein wichtiger Punkt für mich.

Wir sind nicht einfach in der Isolation geblieben, sondern sind auf die Straße gegangen, um für unsere Rechte zu kämpfen. Unser Kopf war frei.

N: I am Napuli and what I remember from 2012 was Adam from the bus, from the beginning. And this place here, *We are born free Radio*, also is Oranienplatz legacy. I remember when the eviction was coming, we were running around like dogs to find out, how we can put out our hands together. This Radio is one of them, the school and the Oranienplatz itself. And Turgay, we met in asylum. I remember everybody here and Patrick, he was sitting under the tree and talking alone. I went there and said: 'Who are you?', he was angry with himself and I found out that he is not fine with people sitting like that, we have to do something.

For me Oranienplatz is not the place, but the people are still here, we are Oranienplatz ourselves. We fought, did, succeeded and failed a lot, and we got tired a lot. I always say that the movement is like a river, who is flowing all the time, some people come and go.

F: Hello, I am Fazila. Thank you very much *Daily Resistance* for moderating this show, I think it is very important. I came towards the end of Oranienplatz, shortly before it got evicted. I remember the eviction, I think it was brutal, I remember the fights with the police. For me some of the slogans like 'Break Isolation', 'We are here because you were there' were very special and became a part of Oranienplatz. And of course, I remember the people most, Adam Bahar, Napuli, Turgay became a household name, "taz" was quoting their names almost on a daily basis at that time. So, it is impossible to forget, Bino also, especially. We became good friends, that is something very special out of Oranienplatz. 10 years on we are still together. As Napuli said: Oranienplatz is still thriving despite the eviction.

B: I am very happy to talk about Oranienplatz and recalling all of those memories. It was very amazing moment for me. Living in the refugee camp 2 years and waiting the Germanic god to come and save me. I ended up being disappointed and waiting for the god of Germany to come and liberate me from Residenzpflicht, Lagerpflicht. The right to have asylum, the right to study, the right to work did not anymore work out. So, revolution started with refugees living in tents! It



"Das Protestcamp am Oranienplatz war Endpunkt des selbstorganisierten Flüchtlingsprotestmarschs von Würzburg nach Berlin im September 2012. Ausdruck der Entschlossenheit und Verzweiflung waren Hungerstreiks der Flüchtlinge am Brandenburger Tor im Oktober/November 2012 und im Oktober 2013." (http://www.fluechtlingsinfo-berlin.de/fr/pdf/Chronologie_Oranienplatz.html) Fotos: left top: Christina Palitzsch; center top: Andrea Linss; bottom: Umbruch Bildarchiv; right top: scan of a poster demanding the application of §23 Residence Law which grants residence permit for a group of people under certain political circumstances.

gave me the life back and that's why I said I gonna be in the front, not behind. We made it together. So, I got to know many people, especially Turgay, Ashkan, Alash, Omid, Mohammad and others I don't remember now. That's why I am here and I am happy to be connected and talk with other comrades, who were part of this struggle.

E: *What impact had the happenings, the walk, the occupations on you? In which way changed it your perception, yourself politically or emotionally?*

B: Changed me everything. Politically, it was a new revelation in my life. I started to think more. And not about just my rights, me, but to ask why people are refugees. Me, I wanted to study, but it didn't work out. Someone, he or she, ran away because of sexual orientation, or domestic violence, or religious affiliation he or she is not comfortable at the place where they were. All this propaganda, Europe is so democratic, Germany is heaven – people are coming here, expecting all this. When I became politically active, I started to reflect on this, that's how I connected with other struggles. In the refugee camp I was almost getting traumatized,

getting aggressive, was ready to fight, but for what reason? Because I was not seeing the future in me.

Always on stress, running always to postbox, maybe I've got the reply. But in the protest, I didn't think about all this shit anymore. I saw the protest to my new way to live.

N: I remember one time Turgay and me and Patrick, we went to a workshop. We were given 2 hours to talk and Patrick came to me and said: 'Napuli what we are going to do in these 2 hours? I can talk 3 minutes!', and I was like 'calm down, let's see.' And when were there the second time, he was the one, who mostly occupied those 2 hours. Oranienplatz teaches us how to talk. Now we became talkative, because we have to talk all the time to different people, politicians, to ourselves.

In Germany there is 'Law and Order', but we shocked the government of Germany, by coming, walking, bus tour and until we broke the Residenzpflicht by ourselves. When they broke it on 2013, it was already broken by us. That was the lesson to everyone of us that we can do it!



"Through different kinds of direct action, such as civil disobedience, occupations and blockades we made clear that we will not cease to fight for our rights. We also connected our protest with other struggles and groups like anti-gentrification and antifa-groups, workers, students and artists." (source: oplatz.net/about) Photo: Umbruch Bildarchiv

And that was also motivation to us, if we can do it, others can do also. In 2013 I went to other countries like Belgium, France, Italy by breaking the big borders. Also people were not given money but Gutschein, people were not allowed to have bank accounts, anyway we were not allowed to have money, because we had only Gutscheins. And later Gutschein was also abolished. That was the effect, motivation and power that we had. The government would not give us a part on the round table, if we didn't have the power, that's why they asked a negotiation, that was also powerful for us. The radio here is power, and it is still going on.

T: Für mich war die Bewegung eine Uni, eine Schule. Ich habe viel von der Bewegung gelernt.

Früher, als ich in einem Lager in Deutschland war, war mein Gefühl, dass das Lager wie ein Gefängnis war. Wie kann man hier organisieren – wegen der Sprache war es sehr schwierig. Aber es hatte Potenzial. Mit jedem Geflüchteten, mit dem ich gesprochen habe, teilte ich die Wut und den Mut gegen die Isolation. Ein wichtiges Wort war, wir müssen immer warten. Warten bis wann? Niemand weiß das. Warten auf die Antwort von Ausländerbehörde, warten auf der Schlange vor der Ausländerbehörde, in der Küche, Essenschlange. Wir mussten immer warten. Ich habe etwas gelernt, dass es immer möglich ist, was zu machen, auch ohne gemeinsame Sprache, Tradition oder Hintergrund. Zu der Zeit hatte ich einen Text geschrieben, der Titel war 'Unsere Fuß ist kaputt, aber unsere Kopf ist frei', weil wir nicht warten auf Ausländerbehörde oder Gesetze. Einfach brechen, uns befreien, das habe ich gelernt.

A: The effect of the movement politically, for me was really a great time to see practically how the colonial history works in Europe. It is interesting that we are from different countries, that were being colonized by Europe. And when we

برای سرکوب مردم استفاده می کند. آنها برای حمل و نقل نیروهایشان با زیرپا گذاشتند. قام نرم های بین المللی، از آموالانشها استفاده می کنند...

اما جالب است به پیشمری احزاب و دولت آلمان که در تمام طول عمر جمهوری

اسلامی از بهترین روابط اقتصادی و سیاسی خود با آن سود میرد، ناگاهان و در پی نزدیک شدن ایران به بیمان شانگهای، به تزویر خود را با زنان و مردان ایران همیسته نشان دهد، تا از آن به عنوان نیروی فشار به نفع خود استفاده کند.

دیگر فقط حزب جنگ طلب سیزده نیست که به دروغ از حقوق بشر حرف میزنند، بلکه بقیه احزاب آلمانی هم در این غایبی شرکت می کنند.

اخیراً تعدادی از زنان س د او به وسیله یک عکس به اصطلاح با زنان ایران همدردی می کنند. همان حزبی که همیشه خواهان اخراج پناهجویان افغانستانی به کشور تحت سلطه طالبان است... کافیست به درصد زنان در میان نمایندگان خود این حزب در مجلس نگاه کنیم تا بفهمیم که برابری طلب آنان برای زنان در ایران دروغی بیش نیست...

به زودی، زنان و مردان ایران، دوش به دوش خواهارند و برادرانشان در سراسر جهان، همبستگی واقعی را به عمل در خواهند آورد و تأمیم این طوبیه های اوچیاس را، هر کجا جهان که باشد، خواهند رویید...
ژین، ژیان، آزادی

come here, we have the image that there is democracy, freedom. So, the first shock was to see, how the colonialism is still working in practice, like putting people in Lager, not letting them go to school to learn the language, just breaking their freedom. Especially for the people coming from Sudan like me. Because in Sudan, in colonial times, we had the law of 'Closed law area' from England, which was in practice in South and North Sudan. If we are sitting in this room now, me and Napuli would never say that we are coming from South or North Sudan. Because when I left Sudan, it was one country, all was happening after that. But this law was in practice by European government in Sudan to make people not to have connection. Outcome of that was war that lasted for 20 years and ended up as 2 countries. We can see the same law here, given another name, dividing the people and seeing refugees as if they are from another society. Political class that I had in Oranienplatz made me think bigger than the rights of the refugees.

A colonial continuity is going on. Emotionally not only for me, for all people who were there, daily living as refugees is hard, because they are fighting every day to survive. That also changed when we were in political space, you could also meet with other people, share your experience, built something.

Turgay also mentioned, there was anger and by this place people had the chance to put this anger together and build something out of it. As Napuli said we got tired, fought, learned a lot and they are also all emotional. First we had the idea that in Europe there is democracy, freedom – the march and the movement gave us the chance to see the reality. If we wouldn't have gone through this experience, we wouldn't perceive political and social problems in this country in this way. We had different people from different countries, experiences, languages, we had a space for everyone to talk about a lot of things, about what is going on. This changed the view of how we see things.

Continued on next page



F: For me it was amazing to learn about the lager system in Germany, it was the biggest impact. Because prior to Berlin I had experience working with migrants in different countries, in Pakistan, in US, in Britain – there is no such lager system in any of these countries, which really segregates migrants and refugees from German society here. So it is very much colonial system rooted in imperialism. It had a powerful impact on me. The positive side is to see the visibility of strength, agency of migrants who experienced the lagers and broke free from it, set up tents, raise up voices, writing about it. Only regret is, I was not able to join earlier.

J: How did the occupation came about? What happened before? Do you remember 6th of October 2012, what kind of day it was? How did it all start in Berlin, when you've arrived after the march?

A: In that time we lived in Bramsche, a small city near Osnabrück. We joined the meeting there, some of the people were Araj, Ashkan. We discussed different ideas, people came out with the idea of organizing a bus tour, to go through the other side of the march. So we organized this tour to go to different lagers, where refugees live, give them flyers, talk to them, trying to ask them to join the bus tour. In the end we were around 40 people, we moved through whole Germany and met with the march in Potsdam and walked together. Then came 6th of October, arriving at Oranienplatz – in the beginning the idea was to make it in Mariannenplatz, with info places with tents. But there were a lot of people marching and there was not enough space.

Then there was the idea of coming to Oranienplatz and squatting. Also because Oranienplatz has a long history of movement, demos, political things started from there.

The movement, as Napuli said before, is kind of a river and all the time can go and change. Before all that, there was the suicide of Mohammad, a guy from Iran, who got a letter from Ausländerbehörde to be deported and he committed suicide. Then people realized, we are on the list and it will come to us, that's why people got out to the streets. In Würzburg, people got outside and said we don't live in the lager anymore, and started to do actions. Bino and other people in Passau

did the same thing. For some people who just arrived in Berlin on 6th of October can be a biggest time, for me it was starting with the bus tour. For the people in the lager, for them the starting point was Mohammad killing himself. It is the diversity of the movement, everyone sees from her/his point of view, and this also makes the movement powerful.

T: Für uns war der Selbstmord von Mohammad Rahsepar ein Alarm, den gemeinsamen Protest zu starten, das war ein Notfallalarm.

Früher gab es schon immer Protest. Ich war z. B. in Bramsche, da hatten wir organisiert, in Passau, Düsseldorf, kleine Zelte, Hungerstreik usw. Aber war alles lokal und klein. Nach diesem Selbstmord haben wir gedacht: Das reicht nicht. Wenn wir so warten, sterben wir alle wie Mohammad Rahsepar. Dann haben wir ein für eine oder zwei Wochen lang gemeinsames Treffen in Erfurt organisiert. Alle Leute wurden bundesweit eingeladen. Das war Ende 2011/Anfang 2012. Da haben wir die Bayern-nach-Berlin-Marsch-Idee vorgeschnallt. Wir haben entschieden, dass wir das machen müssen. Am 6. Oktober zeigte sich, dass Isolation, Kolonialismus, Diskriminierung versteckt und unsichtbar war. Aber O-Platz hat diese Unschärfe gebrochen. Wir haben diese Diskriminierung, Isolation, Krieg sichtbar gemacht. Die Geflüchteten, die Bewegung ist von der Seite der Gesellschaft sichtbar geworden. Das war eine wichtige Erinnerung für mich.

N: It is exactly the bone of the memory. First of all I know Turgay before Adam in Hannover, where I was jumping through male Heim, where you were there. He was busy all the time, and I was asking what is this man doing? He was among the black people most of the time actually. Somebody was saying 'No, he is racist!', and I asked 'How do you know that he is racist?', and the answer like 'He is always sitting there and doing always such things!'. My association 'Blacks and Whites Together for Human Rights' supposed to start at that time. When I got to know Turgay, it was before I sought asylum. When I was trying to register the association, it was not possible because I was going to drop my papers, my visa was going to finish. I had to go to Braunschweig and there I met you, from there I got to know first people like Adam. They were cooking for me and I was occupying Adam's room! They were thinking, it is something going on



Sista Mimi († 2015), O-Platz activist and squatter at Gerhart-Hauptmann (O-Platz) school
"We have built a community and this community belongs to Kreuzberg. You can not deny our existence and our will to stay where we feel at home." (from a speech against the eviction of Gerhart-Hauptmann school, <https://oplatz.net/remembering-sista-mimi/>) Photo: Oliver Feldhaus / Umbruch Bildarchiv

between Adam and me, which was not true and I remember all these things! Then they moved to Bramsche, they called me, and said we are doing this and that. I started to join and our friend Walid was saying 'Napoli, you can't join it, you are the only woman here!'. And I was like 'No, we go together!'. This is where it started, and still Sudanese were alone, with Ashgan. 6th of October was not the beginning but the end of all those collections. As Turgay said when Mohammad Rahsepar committed suicide, 10 people came out and one of them was Ashgan. They were making meetings, tours etc. Bramsche was also a big support place, a big lager. That's why he also went there because activists were there. The march, the tour met in Potsdam, 2 nights we spent in Potsdam, because there were still people coming.

From Potsdam we arrived in Berlin in 6th of October and it was amazing, people were coming around, asking. It was raining and people were giving us umbrellas, just like that! I was amazed, people were there! And I saw the solidarity from that moment.

Then we slept there, first day was very cold and freezing. We were given some sleeping bags, but me and another supporter we were in one sleeping bag, was horrible for me! And after the second day of Oranienplatz we were given a room for 4 of us, including Adam, somewhere near Hermannplatz. After that we decided, we had to be on

the spot, we have to fight there. We need to experience it, all those cold was experience. If we are not sleeping there, then we would miss some experience. That's why we came back and stayed at Oranienplatz until we occupied the School. In the end, we were having problems with Lampedusa, because Lampedusa was taken by Kreuzberg district. And Adam I think also moved to the School. This is how I remember the resistance and the hot times.

B: For me it was amazing, most especially to see that we took the power by ourselves. I was used to go on demonstrations, organized by friends, refugees, migrants in Passau, in Munich, even here in Berlin, I was here in 2011. I was invited by activists from Passau to come and join the demo. I was invited to go to Wuppertal, actually it was for me the first time to meet Osaren, Rex, and also other activists. That time there was Karawane, Voice, Bündnis München, Bündnis Passau. All these were motivations for me. But when we took the tents and went out from refugee camps, went to protest march, came to Berlin and occupied the Oranienplatz, for me it was very empowering. I thought there is no one going to come and stay with us. October 2012 it was a really crazy winter. But we were welcomed well, especially by leftist activists, it was really amazing. It gave me a good feeling that you are at home and you are fighting for the true cause. For me, it was moment of getting to do something by myself and connecting to the others. It was the moment of getting active. In the Lager I was just eating chicken, sleeping and getting more crazy. When it came to the revolution, to take my power, there were no more sleep. It was even part of our slogan, 'No more sleep!'.

In the middle of night we were writing flyers, having meetings! Every issue concerning the protest, we had to be there. You would find one of us in Humboldt University, one in Freie University, a café around, in one event talking. There was no more rest, no more sleeping.

If I was off from talking, then you could find me cleaning the camp, because for me it was my home. A person coming all the way from Africa - they call it Africa -, a person that grew up without parents, I was trained to work. That's why you could see me everywhere, which other people mistakenly asking 'Are you the leader here?!'. I was saying: I am the leader of my own struggle. We were struggling, where we gonna get the money for the food for to-

morrow, even the evening, where we gonna get the money for the tickets to get the letters from the camps. Everyone had something to do. We were on the right course. Not only we were talking about Uganda, Sudan, Nigeria – but about our universal rights.

J: How did O-Platz ended and was evicted. If I am not mistaken, it was 8th April 2014, after 1,5 years of resistance. What kind of memories do you have around it, how do you see the role of political players, political parties, NGO's, media in it?

T: Das war interessant. Das deutsche Regime hat richtige kolonialistische Taktik für die Räumung vom Oranienplatz gebaut. Oranienplatz war von draußen wie eine Kolonie, wie eine Karikatur, wie in Afrika oder eine andere Kolonie.

Das deutsche System hat erst mal ein bisschen Zucker gezeigt: Wenn wir den Oranienplatz freiwillig räumen, haben die dann gesagt, dass die den Aufenthalt für die Aktivist*innen geben. Wir sind nicht dumm. Wir kennen die deutsche kolonialistische Geschichte. Sie lügen immer. Das war eine Räumungsprojekt.

Ein Teil unserer Bewegung hat diesen Vorschlag teilweise geglaubt und akzeptiert. Aber unser Team hat dem Senat gesagt: Ohne Stempel vom Innenministerium – wie kann man das garantieren? Die Person vom Senat war Dilek Kolat, sie sagte: 'Warum glauben Sie nicht dem großen Parlament?'. Wir haben geantwortet: 'Kennen Sie nicht die parlamentarische Geschichte, die lügen immer.' Ja, sie haben geräumt, aber wir haben nicht umsonst gegeben. Am Ende haben wir Kette gemacht, gekämpft, nicht freiwillig gegeben. In der Nacht um 3 Uhr von den Parlamentarier*innen CDU, SPD und Grünen, und ein Teil der Geflüchteten waren da. Mit Schlagstock, Messer haben die gegen uns auch geschlagen. Wir haben Widerstand organisiert, und das hat einen Tag gedauert, es gab viele Unterstützer*innen. Das war eine kolonialistische Taktik, haben wir am Ende verstanden, dass es ein Räumungsprojekt war. Aber leider hat ein Teil unserer Bewegung das nicht verstanden.

N: From the supporter side, they were thinking, they will last there forever. But we knew that we were not going to last forever. As soon as we get our demands, we will go, and we will not fight at that spot. It was a provocation from the government, because they don't want to listen to us. But we said, we will stay here until you get to listen to us. And this is where they got to listen to us. At the end, they came with the policy of divide and rule. Because we resisted the first eviction by Monika Herrmann, after that SPD took over. They were very strong, they could just come and crush us, but we were stronger, because we were politically strong. They could carry me, they could carry Adam, but what Adam has in his mind, that made Oranienplatz very strong. There were two demands: "Abolish the Lager," "Abolish the Residenzpflicht," which was abolished at that time already, and "Stop Deportation." And they called us that we are 'radical', we don't want to listen to them. So, the soft part, people from the Lampedusa, who has the papers for 1 or 2 years. But they didn't have shelters, they demanded permission to stay and work. And



The eviction of O-Platz was partly conducted by the Berlin police, partly by some inhabitants of O-Platz themselves. „Das deutsche Regime hat richtige kolonialistische Taktik für die Räumung vom Oranienplatz gebaut.“ Turgay; excerpt from the conversation 'Oranienplatz is not the place, but people'; Photo: Oliver Feldhaus / Umbruch Bildarchiv

Continued on next page



they thought that they can negotiate with them. And they were told, if you go out from Oranienplatz, we will give permission to stay etc., this kind of empty promises. Lampedusa people trusted the government, we became the enemy, because we didn't want to go out from Oranienplatz. For example, 3 months shelter that they were given, it was for homeless people, it was cold. It was not in any way given to them. But we could not also fight our friends, though we were struggling. And it this period I was outside because of anger, why the politicians were doing that again. I came around 2 o'clock, I saw Adam was sitting on the information point, it was not anymore an information point, it was a small container. People were trying to take him away, he was struggling there. I was looking around with anger. For me where people sleep, where I sleep can be taken away, but the political places not. I thought that time, the politicians are trying to take our movement. And people would not understand, they would think 'the black people are fighting'. But Patrick was resisting, taking other people. At that time I was climbing the tree and I told myself, 'Napoli, protest up there!'. This was how we got our Oranienplatz back, Adam, I, Patrick and other people were there. We shifted that to hunger strike. So it was not the end, but it was shifting to another direction.

A: We had the demands 'Abolish the Lager', 'Stop Deportation' and 'Stop Residenzpflicht'. This movement started by Asylum seekers who are living Germany. After the tragedy of Lampedusa, 2013 or 2014, people from Lampedusa came to Berlin. We welcomed them and all refugees came to us. We had the discussion and we brought also their demands, like right to stay, study and work. Politicians used the strategy of giving right to study and work to them, because it was easier to give. And by that they could have residence, so they would not be deported to their home country or Italy. They would have right to come back all the time. And with the demand to access to work and study the government tried to divide and rule us.

Oranienplatz was not finished by the action of the police as people think. Because after the action of the police, Napoli was on the tree. Turgay, Bino and other people were doing hunger strike on the other side. And there was the school, we were 9 days on the roof, resisting. A new form of resisting, taking attention from whole Germany and Europe. And the place we sit now, for me it is part of the movement.

Because it was before a place for the people to meet, make flyers. Later on, it developed into a radio. Also *Daily Resistance*, who is organizing and hosting the event with the radio, is part of new way of resistance to document history and give people platform to write their stories and articles. Another group called Schlafplatzorga also until now exists. Migrants or refugees who are homeless, can ask from them a place to stay for 1 week or 3 days. A group called Lager Mobilization was also existing until recently, they were visiting lagers and organizing events. Maybe they are not so visible, but these structures are still existing in the city, you can still see the people who are part of the movement in those structures. So the movement is shifting just from place to another



"Also the aspect of taking spaces in this very white country is very important, because we want to be visible." Jennifer; excerpt from the conversation 'Oranienplatz is not the place, but the people'; Photo: Denise Garcia Berg / Umbruch Bildarchiv

er place. We were evicted from the street, that's why we are not present, but we are still here. So, Bino in the Radio, *Daily Resistance* people in the newspaper they are surviving to think 'the black people are fighting'. But Patrick was resisting, taking other people. At that time I was climbing the tree and I told myself, 'Napoli, protest up there!'. This was how we got our Oranienplatz back, Adam, I, Patrick and other people were there. We shifted that to hunger strike. So it was not the end, but it was shifting to another direction.

J: You can't evict the movement'. It was the main slogan of the time. Bino, Fazila you still want to add something?

F: Before, I said that I came to the end, but maybe I didn't come to the end. I should take my words back; I came to the beginning of Oranienplatz in 2013. Like other people told, it was just a spring board to other structures. We are born free! radio, *Daily Resistance* Newspaper, Turgay's café, Schlafplatzorga, No Border Assembly, Welcome United, International Women Space who occupied the 3rd floor of the School, the list goes on and on. Oranienplatz was a spring board for so many structures, so many different forms of resistance. I was feeling shocked, maybe I shouldn't have felt shocked because I am coming from a country that was colonized for 200 years by British. Divide and rule is very colonial tactic. So, it was very tragic that they tried to control Oranienplatz with this method, which in the end it didn't work, because we are still here in different ways, in different forms, doing different things and fighting on.

B: We expected that there would be violence from Babylon system. We were always saying the 'colonial system is still alive'. As my friends told, it was really the same thing that was applied. It was a clear symbol that German imperialism, colonialism and all atrocities like divide and rule are ongoing practices. When they decided, not to listen to the asylum seekers, who have been outside almost 2 years, protesting and demanding just simple rights, obeying everything, and not destroying anything.

We were peaceful demonstrators. Just showing anger, as my friend said, showing our disappointment with so-called democracy. But they resorted to plant violence within us. As Napoli said, by giving empty promises to our friends. We were all the time together, but when those empty promises came in, they turned against us, they were saying 'you don't wish us the good'.

The district and the senate played and called as a dialogue between them and the protest camp. The dialogue was to identify people, who can do the right job for them. For them, it was clear not to listen to asylum seekers in Germany. And behind us, behind our delegates



"The resistance that started with a small number of people had become a broad movement by 2013. More and more refugees in different regions of Germany organize themselves and protest against the discriminative asylum system." (source: oplatz.net/about); Photo: Oliver Feldhaus / Umbruch Bildarchiv

they started to have meetings with the friends from Lampedusa. They ignored our delegates completely. In this way they had the clear strategy to convince, assure this group among us to clear the camp. They gave conditions on empty promises. I am still holding the anger how violently the camp was evicted. We struggled, we kept our resistance high, but still it was violently evicted by ourselves. But maybe we should think from the other side of how we can make dialogue or a meeting with them, to forgive one another, find another way forward. The eve before the eviction of Oranienplatz, they bribed our comrades to demolish the camp. They gave, I think, 100 Euros, which we got the information later that they fought about it. Because 2 guys wanted to take all the money! They were bribed to use possible means to take over the camp. And German institution armed them with pangas, knives, logs to beat anyone who could resist. But struggle continues, as my friends said before, we are here, and the International Women Space on the other side, we have Kiez Kantine, Schlafplatzorga, Bethanien, Karanfil.

E: How does your political work look like now? And how do you relate to key demands of O-Platz? Are they still reflected in your current work?

B: They are here! (Pointing at a poster) Right to stay, Stop Deportation, Freedom of Movement, No Residenzpflicht, Right to work and study, Close all Lagers and Refugee Camps, Free Choice of Residence, Stop Discrimination! Actually where we are sitting, is a living archive of O-Platz. My right is your right. The poster that read out was a

sad, that these rights are accorded to some people. This is the biggest challenge, in terms of trying to bring all these fights together, because it is all about migration.

J: Can you talk about more about the work of International Women Space? How it started, what kind of political means and tools did you use? What tools are still in place?

J: International Women Space is all from Oranienplatz movement and it came from this aspect of women from former colonized countries coming together to challenge some things that were very critical in this dimension of O-Platz. Of course confronting the sexism within O-Platz movement and white feminism, which was the key point of positioning ourselves as women from former colonized countries. We were demanding an anti-colonial type of feminism. And the main tool that we have used is building a community, because we came here as single persons, we were isolated by the system, we were isolated because of the language. The biggest thing that we wanted to create was to build a community. Building a community is something very important, because from that we organized ourselves from the strength we have. We complement the work of the other, experience and knowledge that we have. We form a self-organized women-only group.

Also the aspect of taking spaces in this very white country is very important, because we want to be visible. We make sure that for example the media is not talking on our behalf, that's why we have publications, podcasts, resource center for documentation of our struggle. That's our strength.

Because then, even years after, we can go back and see where we started and how we continue. Documentation is our biggest strength at the moment. With this knowledge, we are able to pass from what we learn, what we continue to do. People can learn from us, for example, now we have BIPOC students from Ukraine. We had a meeting yesterday with people from Oranienplatz, Legalisierung came, the Respect group and now the Ukrainian students. That shows the continuation of the struggles of people of color in this country. To have civil rights and civic power, this is what we are organizing towards.

J: Can you also talk about 'Break Isolation' group? And your demands and next steps you are striving for.

J: The 'Break Isolation' is a group of refugee women only, who are displaced in different parts in Brandenburg. This group was initiated in 2019, because, again, the topic of refugees and women is very broad that we thought it is important to have own space within the bigger context of IWS. It was so important to start this group, because we have done a mapping in Brandenburg and other parts of Germany, where Asylum Homes are and what is happening exactly in those Asylum Homes, especially in the times of Corona. We started to have audio reports in almost 10 districts in Brandenburg. In this way, we are able to have a very clear analysis of what's happening in these Heims. The Break Isolation Group still continues to work in terms of empowering, organizing for workshops, learning from the history that has been here for a

Continued on next page



long time. Now even they are having a programme of feeding homeless people. Each woman in the group has her own project running to enable the women to find and connect to what they like to do in terms of one's positioning themselves in this country, that they understand I am good in this and when my situation changes, I can already begin. Focus on this line of what I like to do. It's our own understanding and design of inter-creating.

Now we are demanding for an antiracist and decolonized asylum system. We have also been demanding like Women in exile have been doing, "Close down the lagers." We have been talking about the borders that have been constructed. Not only the physical borders, but the borders between ourselves, even by the topic of racism itself.

And we are making very many campaigns, now we have a campaign on the Istanbul Convention, which closes out the possibility of refugee women to initialize on this topic, it excludes them.

J: Let us continue here and talk about the presence: Where are you active right now, and how is the experience of O-Platz and the refugee movement reflected in your struggle?

A: First, it is clear that this movement of Oranienplatz has big effect on my whole political work, since then and until now, because I think the discussion about making this campaign of „My right is your right“ was going on since then – I was some times there and then I left. But I also would like to take the chance here to say to our other activists, who were part of Oranienplatz, and might still be in Berlin, to greet them, because my political resistance continued with the people of Alarm Phone, this time of 2014/2015, when a lot of people coming to Germany, especially refugees from Syria, and in that time people were asking for Arabic translation, and I say I am coming from Sudan, I can do that and I do this job for them sometimes. Then I continue to work with my commu-



"This protest camp has soon become our center of resistance, the place where we made our political demands visible." (source: oplatz.net/about); Photo: Umbruch Bildarchiv

nity for more than two years – it was this revolution in Sudan happening and we started as a group of people from Sudan here in Germany to support the revolution. We started creating a network with other people, and we had this group „Sudan Uprising Germany“ that also continues similar demands, because for me Freedom of Movement is part of this struggle we also doing it now, because you cannot see it outside of this context of migration. The regime in Sudan was dictatorship for more than 30 years, but it is still working with Germany, Germany was supporting this dictatorship by also controlling migration on refugees, there was this Khartoum process, it is the biggest deal, 2014 made from European Union and especially German with African countries, one of them is Sudan, and Egypt and Ethiopia and Eritrea and Khartoum is the capital of Sudan, and this process is called Khartoum process. It was clearly the work between the dictatorship in Sudan and Europe to stop immigration. It cannot be continued like this, also this part of colonial, postcolonial ideologies: They keep us here, all the peo-

ple that are running from this war here, and then give them the right, but in the same time they support the dictatorships and talk about democracy. So, we had this group to support the revolution and in the same time to focus on this kind of demand, because we cannot see the problem of migration and freedom of movement outside of this box, because they talk about the Fluchtursachen, the cause or the reason of flying, and I think the cause of flying is also war and dictatorship. That's why we have this group and we are continue working with it until now. This is our website: sudanuprising.de, we have a facebook page and we do a lot of different other things. We had the last days again a demo in front of the embassy in Sudan, we have been also in Brandenburger Tor yesterday, because people in Sudan until today, until now, they are in the streets, just from yesterday until now more than 10 people get killed in the streets, the people are struggling in the streets, they are resisting in the streets, they making sitplaces inside the city of Khartoum, and struggling against dictatorship, against this coup and this is happening now, like people since yesterday dying in the street. Our struggle is continuing here in Germany, as migrants you need to be resist all the time. Our presence in the streets here in Germany is resistance, because we cannot close this out without talking about racism. **We face daily racism, when you are walking on the street, when you are sitting in the U-Bahn, when you are this presence of black, or non-white person in the street is kind of resistance, and that's why we think that it cannot be, if you are migrants or refugees, cannot be in this country without being active.**

For me the question itself has to be a question behind it, because in the structure of racism this is really important to also empower the people to tell them: If you get a way to be in community, to be together in political group and fight – that's a good fight, but it's also if you are just moving around the streets and make yourself visible in this country where the white racism is majority, you are resisting, Oranienplatz achieved a lot of things. One of the things that you can see now if we talk about the current situations, refugees who are coming from Ukraine, you see that people get just

the right to stay here one year and everything – this is all because of racism –, but you can see that things can be done, if there is a will to do it from politicians. In 2012 we talked about – we are in 2022, ten years ago –, these are simple demands, we also demanded them, but they never did it then, because they say in law in Germany you cannot do it. So, for me this is crazy to see that after ten years it is possible to do it. That's why I think, we have to take this moment now and think about new activity of Oranienplatz, to say, these things were ten years not possible, but now it's possible and from this we build new kind of resistance. I think, it is really important for me to reflect about that, and we need to put this point of history of Germany to say, after ten years is possible that the demand was here, ten years ago it was not possible. It is really important to create space of resistance behind this, because if not, we will forget it after some years. What I mean by putting resistance of movement behind this, is to put new demands that all people, who are coming to this country because of war for example, have the right to get the resident, to stay and work and also abolishing Lager. As a lot of refugees from Ukraine now they have a right to go in houses, and being welcome in Wohnung in Germany without being sent to Lager. This was law then, but this law also now it does not exist. I will be happy, if I get some people who trying to meet, to think about this and build something with it, because we can also use different ways, people can resist in the streets and make demands, people can also go to court. **For example, a lot of people who are coming from Syria now, coming from war and the war also has Putin and Russia as part of it, but still they don't have the right to get one year, and I think we can also go collectively to court, make a platform for all this people, and put this in the history of the German system that these things are happening and that there are two classes of refugees.**

I think this is really important to also think about reflecting this history of Oranienplatz and the present of what is going on and from there continue to make something. We are a lot of people with this experience, but we are not coming together to put this together. This is also one of my thought that today to

say it here, it is really important that we sit together and reflect about what is happening and what is the current situation – we never had this movement of sitting together and reflect, because for the movement was daily things to do and the people don't have time and after that people are tired after two years and everyone goes somewhere to do something to fell good in it. But we still we need to have this reflect in time to see what we have done wrong, what we have done right, and how we can use it in future. This is my call now for all the people: Let's come together in this anniversary of Oranienplatz, reflecting about all this time of ten years, what we have done, what was wrong, what is new and how we can build the movement further.

B: But we tried many things. Actually, 'My Right is your Right' came out as a reason of this moment of reflection: What is the way forward. But maybe we were not concrete and as we, me and you – maybe that's also my critic on us –, that always we wait someone to organize us. Maybe that's why we are not yet there. But also, I remember, that in 2014 in November we tried again to come out in this conference, which was in Mehringhof. So it was also a reflection hour, but I think we are still in this grave of Oplatz (laughing). The anger was too much, you know, on one another, and there a lot of meetings which have been happening. But maybe we have to put a clear agenda on this issue, like now as you say: How can we again put in place the conditions of today reflecting on the ten years that things were not then, but are possible now maybe through court. So we discuss about that, how to go on, and maybe we create a group, a working group who is going to follow the legal process. I think that is one way.

F: I just had one point to make giving the BiPoC refugees coming from Ukraine, and the Ukrainian citizens. There is a certain level of hypocrisy there and a certain level of double standard, because Ukraine refugees are entitled to article 24, it's very easy for them, they have been giving permits.

And we have an opportunity to see that, yes the German state can, does have the resources to do things differently. All these demands "Stop Deportation", "Freedom of Movement", "No Residenzpflicht", "Right to work and study", "Close Lagers", "Free choice of residence", "Stop discrimination" - Ukrainian citizens have the right to stay, whereas people coming into the Mediterranean or people coming in from Global South or even BiPoC people who are coming from Ukraine, who are just as much affected by the same war, the experience is the same, its just that they were international students.

So now, they are expected to go back or return to their country of origin, even though they were connected to Ukraine in different ways. Some people had even finished their undergraduate and they were going on with their masters, or some people were doing internships, they had connections to Ukraine. But the same right is not given to them, so I think we should go to court to call on the German state and say: Why this difference, why asylum seekers from Kongo, there is a war going on, Ethiopia, from different countries, there are all kinds of conflicts, and economic conflict also is a form of

Continued on next page



"On the 24th of June 2014 the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg made an operation called 'voluntary eviction'. The idea was to empty the former Gerhart-Hauptmann school, occupied since December 2012. The procedure involved over 1000 police officers and blocked the complete neighbourhood. Most of the 300 of the school's inhabitants left. Around 40 people stayed inside and resisted for 9 days on the roof of the building." (from the video: 9 days on the roof; see last video on the bottom of the site <https://oplatz.net/about/>)

When the school was surrounded by over thousands of policemen and by barriers, when no-one was allowed to enter the building and food and medication were allowed in only after lengthy discussions – under this situation politician Dilek Kolat (Berlin Senate) together with major Monika Herrmann asked the residents for the agreement to leave the school 'voluntarily' and in exchange organizing apartments for them, guaranteeing for the school to be transformed into a center for refugees with up to 70 sleeping places. For the people who joined the roof strike it was clear that the offer of this agreement "is zero" (Adam Bahar in the video 9 days on the roof; <https://oplatz.net/about/>): "We see it (the roof strike) as the only way for us to get our right to stay. We know if we follow this agreement we can't get anything, we get deported after. It is better for us resisting here, facing the police (...) Germany didn't accept us as refugees. We, now at this moment, we decide to stay on the roof, demanding our right, demanding Germany to give us residence. If not, we really wouldn't have things to loose. We can jump. We can do anything for ourselves, we can rise ourselves. Our demand ist not big. Only we need this residence. And this Mr. Henkel can do it, under §23 or any other paragraph. It is so easy for them to do it. It is so easy for them to safe our life. The thing is, they think the life of a refugee is not important. (...)" Photo: Christina Palitzsch / Umbruch Bildarchiv



hardship, economic hardship. Why aren't people given the same rights, it's true now, Europe, we have seen because of Ukraine, that Europe has plenty of resources to support refugees, but they kept saying: „You know, we don't have the resources, we don't have“, but now, we have seen they have resources, so now we can go to court and say: „Hey, you know, why are you playing this double game with us?“

J: As you figured out in your previous answers there are plenty of reasons, but also conditions and foundations set actually for a rise of maybe even a new movement, a new refugee movement, a new political movement. Where do you actually see allies for this, what do you make out of younger people and initiatives created by the young, who weren't so active ten years ago? But also on another political level, where do you seek for political alliances, in social struggles, in the struggles for the right to stay, class struggles, women and queer struggles. Where do you aim of seeking alliances and collaboration?

A: I think, it's clear that if we put the big focus in building alliances, we have to start with all people who are facing discrimination, because discrimination, we see it now, is part of how the system is dividing people and try to use them in this way, and I think it is important to seek to build alliances in this way of people facing discriminations, where I think it is important to come together, to have a community. We have big resources of community, that are not being used for a long time. As we talk about refugees and migrants, it is also clear that we have to see it through this problematic now happening in Ukraine. We see that again there are a lot of groups, who are facing discrimination and racism, they have been affected by this war and have been not putting in the same position as Ukrainian refugees. This also we have to signalize to them. I think is also really important to work together with alliances of a lot of initiatives, who are against war, because it is also important war that is going on everywhere now.

And when we talk about war, we have to see that war is different now. We get to know in 2022 that there is a difference between the war that is going on in part of Europe or near Europe and the wars going on in Africa or somewhere else, or in Syria, or somewhere else.

This war is not the same war, that's why I think we have a lot of ways to make alliances with all these people, we have also the alliance to make with all the youngest people, who are now fighting for Klimagerechtigkeit. This is also important to mention, because it's also part of the cause of fleeing from different countries, also the catastrophe that is going everywhere because of a big industry of whole Europe and Western countries where also people affected with it more than here. I can say people, who are affected in Africa because of all Klimaproblem are more than in Europe, but are also not being put in the spotlight. Building alliances is not that difficult to do, but the difficulty is to give the people the chance to talk by themselves, about their problems. That is, what we failed to do in the last years, because in the time of Oranienplatz where the people who are seeking asylum are in front of line, like me, like Napoli, like Bino, like Turgay – we all were the people, who were asking for asylum in



"There is no alternative to fighting on the streets. Only on the streets we have the potential to build up a different, a united and collective life." (source: oplatz.net/about) Foto: Oliver Feldhaus / Umbruch Bildarchiv

Germany. And we organized with other people together and we were in the street and we were talking about our problem, and we lead the movement. Now is a difference that we come back to the same point, because in Germany fighting for refugees right is not starting by Oranienplatz ten years ago – it's more than twenty years ago! But it was all organizations, who are lead by whites to talk about problems of refugees in Germany and then they have to act in the structure of the government and they were not radical enough to that. This needs to be changed in the way that people who have the problem get the chance to talk about themselves, and they can build alliances. That means: Now I cannot build alliances, where I can talk about the refugees now. I am also now put in a different class where I have my residency now, I have a different kind of privilege now and I cannot just sit there and talk about how people living in Lager is, because I don't know. I have more than ten years I don't live in Lager, i cannot talk about this. And even I talk about this people, would not believe me, because I am not living there, you see.

I think we are in the other point of where we need to talk about racism, daily racism in Germany, discrimination. I talk about the collaborations between dictatorship in my country and here in Europe and I can build alliances in this to build new fights also for right for people to move freely. I can be part of this alliance but I cannot talk about it, and I think that we need to figure it out. That's why I am talking about trying to make a bridge from the demands of 2012 to today, and see that it is possible to work with people who are coming now from different places of war like in Eritrea, in Ethiopia, this problem in Tigray, but still they don't have the right, the people from Syria who just have one year, or still struggling to have something until now.

To have this people, to talk to them, to have this common understanding of what's the problem now they face and what's the problem of the system and what we can do together, and what experiences we have and give them this experience, reflect

about it with them, and then build with them new alliances. That's the key, and you need this key, because I saw it from my experience that all of us are refugees. We are people who are affected by the situation and we organize ourselves and go in the street, and that's all we have – this kind of success, because no one can come, the government cannot come and say „no, you are not living the situation“, because I was in the situation. They cannot tell me, „no, it's not like this“. We need to have this step now, to get out from our bubbles and try to connect with other people who are facing the problem, and discuss with them, build with them together a movement that also includes all other problematics.

B: Thank you very much, my colleague Adam! I think they easily find out that now is time again for our comrades who are in the refugee situation to speak for themselves. I think International Women Space did so far already a great job with that mind check and also Women in Exile, they are also doing the same and there are also other groups like Daily Resistance that tries to map all these voices. Fazila is also already doing a great job with the Schlafplatzorga.

F: I too agree with Adam that we should connect and this is what I said somewhere else that we should be in solidarity now with the BiPoC refugees coming from Ukraine, and asylum seekers who have been here with Duldung.

The issues may differ slightly because they come from Europe, and at least they are not sent to the Lagers and have certain privileges, we recognize that, but to divide on that basis, there is a danger of this division. But instead of dividing I think we should form alliances with them! It's a lot of people that have come here.

Personally, for me it's an advantage that a good majority of them are English-speaking, so I have been trying to connect with them and see what's going on with them. That should be the same for many of the people here. It's really important that we build an alliance and that we don't forget the cultural workers in Berlin, because Berlin is definitely a city of artists and filmmakers and different forms of art are coming out of Berlin every single day, so

it's really important that we build alliances with the cultural workers, because even during the struggle, as I remember Oranienplatz, the aesthetics were really amazing, and it is a way of capturing people. I remember some theater performances connected with Oranienplatz. Then finally the struggle should be transnational, because we are migrants after all, so we should connect with people from our countries of origin and bring them in as well. And that it should be a struggle about decolonization. That's the only answer that we become the center rather being at the periphery or at the margins, that we have to be at the center of things and also think about what in relation to what's happening in our countries of origin and just not focus on our integration.

B: We have been in alliances. **I remember very well that during O-Platz we were very close with our friends from Roma Center. We have been in solidarity with Palestine, going to demonstrations. We have been in solidarity with our friends from Pakistan, from Kashmir, from Afghanistan, from Iran. All these we have been connecting ourselves, everywhere. I remember spending almost a full day without eating when the Roma Center occupied the Memorial circle in Berlin, not only one day. We spent there days demanding that their voice should be listened.**

And also a lot of even where we were not supposed to go. We have to think about what is the geo-racial politics doing to us. Though we are trying a lot as newcomers to connect the oldcomers or the borncomers here – they are not seeing these realities, most of them. Sometimes we go on the streets here, even in Kreuzberg. You find a young Turkish person, or someone from somewhere, Lebanon, and they look at you and ask, who is this person. So people should think about the geo-racial politics.

It's not about our race, it's not that you are born here, alles ok, no. One time I was at the Ausländerbehörde, a person who was supposed to work on my case, was a Turkish migrant, a new generation, but the way he was working on me was more tough and brutal even than the German-born. There's this demand from all the generations that we need to work on. And maybe that's how we can

go to the discourse of classism, class. But it is mixed with race. There's that conflict in between. However much we can struggle we have been connected to the Israelis, because we also feel that they should have a place, somewhere to praise. But at the same time we do not support the occupation, that they oppress other comrades or that the state of Israel keeps on oppressing the Palestine people. We do not agree with that. We agree that Israel must have a place, must be independent. But do not use the advantage of being hosted and again oppress. We have to find common narratives what we have to do, because the people in Palestine and some people in Israel, in these areas, they are also affected by the politics. That's where we come in. For me, I am very much on the German government just to say: You are antisemites! That's why I am really happy to find other comrades who understand this, like Bulbur Berlin. It's a collective of Israeli migrants and Palestinian migrants here in Kreuzberg. And really, if you go there, you feel, that is what we want. And I wonder whether the German government has tried to approach them, trust them, "hey guys, how you came to this idea? Maybe we need you in the dialogue with the Israeli government!" They should be the mediators, not those people sitting in the Bundestag.

I'm grateful to sit in front of so many people here. This is where we got the power. Look, this went over to another collaboration. It's another generation, another struggle, another level. But there was always that connectivity, we belong to one another, we are all oppressed.

Though I have these other privileges, but if I go in the office of the German officer, I am not seen. So for me this reflection is important. Now we are moving to another level, where we gonna open more platforms for others. I would love to do that with another Turkish younger generation, or our generation, or even those that came before us – the guest workers. Because we are here to connect. Who knows the end? (Laughs). That's why We are Born Free Empowerment radio is open for everyone, because we need this connection between us. So that we change the world we want to see, the world we are lacking, the vision we look forward to, so that new generations feel happy. I would be happy for the third generation, maybe second after me, my friends Adam and Fazila, people coming from Sudan, from Gambia, or Senegal, or Uganda. The brutalities going on at the borders of Spain and Morocco, the borders of Libya and the water, the borders of Egypt, the borders of Sudan – all these areas. As we see, what is going on in Afghanistan, people can't move! As we see on the Balkan route, we saw in recent days, a month ago or even during Corona times, or before Corona in Hungary, Croatia that people were crashed. We saw it in Greece, what is that, what the hell, we don't want that!

J: I think this is one essence and also one legacy of the movement that so many struggles, basically, all the struggles are connected and shouldn't be divided. We should come together and strive together for a common cause and struggle together. 10 years of O-Platz occupation – do you have some final references, final remarks?

B: I think, as we talked we made it. I hope we can use this advan-

Continued on next page

tage now that we are on a different platform to find a way to make a good level for the new generation coming after us. Because now we are not alone, some of us have other people, we have planted in this Babylonian land. But what is the way forward? Maybe we have to sit again, brother Adam, how we can connect our new generation who are now after us, how we can tell them this revolution. You are here because of this struggle. How we can show them the way forward?

J: I think a lot of the young people they actually know about it. They know about Oranienplatz. And they feel very inspired. At least to my perception, a lot of young people I met, they took reference, actually, to O-Platz, despite the fact that they were still kids at that time.

F: I think the struggle should be broad and not about citizenship or papers. It should be anti-racist, anti-colonial, because even with citizenship (I've been fortunate enough to get citizenship of so-called the powerful countries, the rich countries), I still feel vulnerable, because your citizenship as a naturalized person, it can be stripped away, anytime. And it's happened in some cases in Britain, it happened in the US.

So I think the goal needs to be about an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-racist movement. That should be the focus where we are at the centre. Look at our skills, talents, knowledges, the music that comes out of Africa, it's simply amazing, but it's not at the centre.

And for me it's amazing that I question why it's not at the centre. Everytime I listen to We are born free, every weekend in Manchester, particularly, because in that part of the world it rains a lot, so I used to be very grateful to listen to the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday afternoon as I ran around doing my course listen to Bino, Moro and Moha playing amazing music. And DJ Walter, he introduced me to Afrobeat. The other day I was listening to some speaker from Kenia at University of Bayreuth and he was talking about Rumba in Kenia. Then all night last night I was listening to this very variation of Rumba from Kenia. Why is it not at the centre, why is techno music always at the centre? Music is just an example. At this moment, German universities are hesitant to accept Nigerian students, Indian students from Ukraine, because they have an initial degree, their initial education is from the Global South. So again, we are always at the periphery and we need to reposition ourselves, so we are at the centre. And we will used to be at the centre. So there is no reason why we shouldn't be. We should work at recentring ourselves.

A: I will start from your last words. I think we are all the time in the centre, but the center being defined by Europeans as European education, everything is coming from Europe is the centre of everything, also vision and so on. Our chance is that we are here and we said that a long time ago at Oranienplatz, we are here and we are here to stay. And we are staying now, because it's 10 years and they know that. Now they can see, because all the time they pushed us to go back and they think they can succeed with this. I think we need to push this border of being in the centre. We are also privileged to be here and then we need to use this privilege even though it's hard to keep to be here, to open it to other people who understand

what this means. Because for me, if I am not in the situation here in Germany, in Berlin, in the fight of Oranienplatz, I will not have the chance to understand the colonial issues and strategy of all of these things, because I never live it. If you read it in the books, it's different from when you live it. And we live it, we had the chance to live it, survive it even. To survive this pushing us out of the centre. And we are building a new centre. Now, this radio, We are born free, is the centre of people who are sitting and talking about issues pushing the other kind of borders in the centre, of mind of people, of music, of different topics, because you are saying you are sitting somewhere in Great Britain, you are enjoying the African music. This is also pushing the centre of everything in Europe that people somewhere now the technology we have is the chance to sit somewhere and get new voices and have the chance to re-think about the centre. I think, for me, this also connects us to the movement, because we said a long time ago the slogan „You cannot evict a movement“. I think, I said it in one interview when I was on the roof. Because I was talking a lot. This slogan came from me. I was believing at that time that the movement is not places.

The movement is in these people everywhere now in Berlin.

Now here, Bino, you see, Turgay somewhere in Neukölln, me somewhere around, you even, when you are here or in Great Britain, Johann, a lot of people. This is the movement, because when they go somewhere, they spread the movement and try to push the centre of everything in Europe – to push it away. And make the border bigger for other people to come in. And that's, I think, is the privilege we have. And we need to push this further so that new comrades, new people who are here now see this opportunity and use it to abolish the thinking that the centre has to be in Europe. It's not about that. It's about us and about the people even though in Africa now or somewhere else. They just have this feeling of vision to come here or the vision of spreading their mind or their voice and they have this chance to do it. By that way, we connect the old and the new movement and we build another new community where people see all themselves inside. Because it's not really important that to see also these small demands to have citizenship. It's also right for someone who need to live an easier life, because he is in experience of life, he all the time faces a difficult time. For me, it is really important also to consider someone who need to have just residency here, it's important. I'm with his demand, as I'm also with the demand working against colonialism and racism.

Because both of this is important. Because we survive individually, but we resist collectively. If we don't see the right of individuals, we never come to the right of collectives.

J: Thanks a lot to Bino who hosted us, thanks to We are born free Radio, Fazila, Napuli, Turgay, Jennifer – thanks for contributing. Take care everyone!



Ann reading the Speech by Break Isolation Group / International Women* Space

Your liberation and mine are infinitely bound up together

Speech by Break Isolation Group / International Women* Space, read by Ann

Thirty years ago, in 1992, in Rostock-Lichtenhagen, a riot mob threw stones and Molotov cocktails at the Reception Centre for Asylum Seekers, the "Sunflower House", which was also the house of hundreds of Vietnamese workers. The attack of the racist mass, which included the neighbourhood, lasted four days while the police watched. Below is what we have to say about this tragic event.

Hello everybody! It is good to be here today. My name is Ann and I am part of the *Break Isolation Group* from the *International Women* Space*. The BIG is a group of refugee women who self organize and champion for refugee rights, while also exposing, and in the strongest terms, condemning the injustices that we face daily.

You see the harsh reality is that, even though we all carry unique and diverse stories and experiences, we are ALL infinitely bound by the commonality of our oppression. We viscerally identify with the glaring threat to our own lives, and live in the stark reality of a tomorrow that may actually fail to come. But most importantly, we recognize that YOUR liberation and MINE, are infinitely bound up together. And as such **we need to walk together..... and likewise, my humanity is bound up in yours, for we can only be human together.**

It is in this very spirit, that we felt it is important for us as asylum seek-

ers to be here today, to stand in solidarity and remembrance with you.

30 years on, it makes our blood boil to see that the division is still as palpable and indisputable!

30 years on there is still them and us! The worthy and unworthy! The saviors and the ones rendered powerless!

There is no doubt we are the unwelcome guests. The ones who are at times just good enough for the scrapes, you know, the goo and grime folk!

30 years on, the oppression has multiplied and mutated, morphed into a malignant cancer with tragic, devastating consequences ... Take for example the atrocities at the European borders and in the Mediterranean Sea. Terrorizing doesn't even begin to describe it!

Or the war in Ukraine, nothing but a déjà vu of 1992, a reiteration that BIPOC refugees, are still like taboo. Like perishables, a value is slapped on each, and soon victims fleeing the SAME DAMN WAR get prejudiced treatment.

We see white refugees get refuge and benefits, denying the same to BIPOC refugees fleeing the same bombs!

Further proving how the racism has crystallized in the institutions and system, so much so that even war and death closer "home" cannot equalize or humanize us. The ground we walk on trembles, as if the xenophobia and hate is simmering right under our feet! And just like 30 years back, we trust not the police, or the institutions that, at most, do only the bare minimum!



Refugee Protest March (Flüchtlingsmarsch) arriving in Berlin a month after starting in Würzburg, beginning of October 2012, Photo: Umbruch Bildarchiv

Just enough, for a well manicured PR stunt! Let us be honest for a minute...

I see NO proof, that the German resistance against xenophobia and racism is worth betting our very lives on!

30 years later, there are still eager right wing extremists and their supporters gunning to break that record of violence! And yet, 30 years later, we are yet to see a conscience in the German society... a clear conscience capable of understanding the palatable plausibility of a repeat of that explosive uprising in history! Or of even acknowledging how events can fucking escalate, and the shit snowball like it did in Rostock and before!

How is it that we live in such different realities?? In worlds so far apart?? Because fuuuuck! 30 years later we are still (fucking) sitting ducks, isolated in desolate and unforgiving Lagers!

Like the Sonnenblumenhaus, this isolation indisputably increases our vulnerability to attacks, a hundred fold! It goes without saying, that no one here doubts the violent capacity of right wing extremists and their incognito yet loud cheerleaders. Thus far, we do not see this society addressing the problem with the courage and transparency that is needed. I must say that today is a clear representation of our resilience, our resistance and the power of our voices.

Let us use this important moment to not only remember what happened here 30 years ago, but to also unite, defend and guarantee the right that every human being has; the right to live in dignity and security. Together, let us tackle the parallel struggles and inequities we face, Fearless. Formidable. Invincible. Like Martin Luther King Jr said, injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere! That is why today we are calling out the racial gaslighting, and the denial of atrocities and inequities, the manipulation... And oh how we purpose to get the naming and shaming. Because you bet we'd do absolutely anything to reclaim our dignities!

We call for the naming of the attack here in 92 for what it actually was, "pogrom".

We call for more dialogue around the conflicts in the world, the Neo colonialism that fuels our migration, the segregious Xenophobia here in and the deaths in the Mediterranean sea. Lastly, we cannot forget the vulnerability of refugees living in isolated Lagers, and the clearcut discrimination, inaction and brass unaccountability towards any injustices we face.

WE invite you to add your voices in the asylum seekers campaign, which has for decades been demanding the abolishment of Lager systems.

This, is one of the crucial steps in the building of an anti-racist society. A step, hopefully, towards real integration. It is the very least we can do to prevent the events that occurred here in 92, from happening again. I repeat: the LEAST we can do! I want to leave you with a quote by Elie Wiesel, who was a human rights activist and author. He said: "There may be times that we are powerless to prevent injustice, but there must never be a time where we fail to protest!"





Demands of the movement (earlier webpage)

Perspektiv-wechsel

von Anonym

Als ich 2013 begann, auf dem zweiten Bildungsweg mein Abitur nachzuholen, war es undenkbar, dass einige Jahre später linke, antirassistische Politik mit dem inzwischen größtenteils zum Kampfbegriff verkommenen Wort Identitätspolitik diffamiert werden würde. Seit dem ersten angekündigten Räumungstermin des von Geflüchteten besetzten Oranienplatzes am 14. Februar 2014, war ich in der Schule und in meiner ‚Freizeit‘ meistens damit beschäftigt, andere Jugendliche für den Schulstreik gegen Rassismus zu gewinnen. Um auf die Lage der Geflüchteten, von denen einige sich als Lampedusa in Hamburg organisierten, aufmerksam zu machen, hatten dort zuvor medienwirksam Schüler*innen gestreikt. Dieses Konzept wollten wir in Berlin nutzen, um am Tag der Räumung im besten Falle Tausende Schüler*innen zum O-Platz zu mobilisieren und uns der Räumung in den Weg zu stellen.

Für mich waren die drei Jahre bis 2016, in denen wir Schulstreiks, Kampagnen und Aktionstage organisierten, äußerst prägend, da sie mir verdeutlichten, welche Macht Selbstorganisierung entfalten kann und wie im normalen Schulalltag einschüchternde Autoritätspersonen gegenüber solidarischen Jugendlichen zu Karikaturen ihrer selbst zusammenschrumpfen können. Die Forderungen, für die wir auf die Straße gingen, waren konkret und nicht verhandelbar: Bleiberecht für alle, gleiches Recht auf Bildung, Wohnraum und Arbeit. Keine Abschiebungen, keine Lager, nein zum Khartoum-Deal der Bundesregierung mit dem Diktatorenregime von Omar al Bashir.

Das Gros von Medien und Politik wollte darin nur Jugendliche sehen, die die Schule schwänzen wollten – als ob das nicht auch ein politisches Statement ist, das viel über das Bildungssystem aussagt. Wir jedoch sahen, wie sich Jugendliche organisierten, auf Augenhöhe mit Geflüchteten diskutierten, und an ihren Schulen Aktionstage veranstalteten um über den Zusammenhang von Waffenexporten, dem Profitstreben deutscher Konzerne, Fluchtursachen und der Abschottung Europas durch Frontex aufzuklären. Anstatt im öffentlichen Diskurs weiter das Bild vom

O-Platz und der bis 2015 ebenfalls von Geflüchteten besetzten Gerhart Hauptmann-Schule herrschten zu lassen, erzählten Geflüchtete vor Berliner Schulklassen selbst ihre Geschichte und viele Schüler*innen lernten, dass auch in ihrer Klasse Kinder und Jugendliche sind, die nur vom deutschen Staat geduldet werden.

Allerdings wurden auch soziale Unterschiede in den Reihen der Aktiven deutlich: viele der Jugendlichen im Aktionsbündnis kamen von Gymnasien und hatten Eltern, die Akademiker*innen oder Künstler*innen waren, und sie waren weiß. Ich wurde ironischerweise vor Demonstrationen gegen Rassismus oder Polizeigewalt manchmal als einziger oder zumindest länger als andere aus meiner Gruppe von der Polizei kontrolliert. Ich wurde zwar mit deutschem Pass, aber schon seit meiner Kindheit war für mich klar, dass Rassismus keine Glaubensfrage, sondern eine des Überlebens ist. Nichtweiße Menschen in meiner direkten Umgebung waren für mich (in jugendlicher Naivität ohne Bewusstsein über die verschiedenen Facetten des Rassismus und Colonialismus) immer ein Signal von Sicherheit und boten mir Gewissheit, wenigstens für kurze Zeit nicht nur keinen Rassismus zu erfahren, sondern in der Gegenwart von Menschen zu sein, die täglich ähnliche Erfahrungen machen wie ich. Aufgrund dessen hatte ich eine andere Position innerhalb dieser Jugendbewegung.

Ich war mit Conscious Rap, Dub Poetry und Reggae aufgewachsen, in meiner Jugend hatte ich mich dem Glauben der Rastafari angenehrt, daher war mir die Symbolik gut vertraut. Doch aufgrund der politischen Kritik des Umfeldes, in dem ich gelandet bin, habe ich mich selbst lange nicht mit dem Panafrikanismus identifiziert. Erst, als mehrere Versuche der Selbstorganisation von Nichtweißen und besonders von Schwarzen Menschen in meinem Umfeld stattfanden, änderte ich meine Perspektive. Bis her waren Machtverhältnisse, die in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft galten, in den linken Gruppen, in denen ich war, oft in den Hintergrund geraten, weil wir davon ausgegangen waren, dass wir auf einer Ebene miteinander diskutieren wür-

den. Wir hätten natürlich nicht weiter von der Wahrheit entfernt sein können.

Seitdem habe ich allerdings auch die andere Seite des Problems gesehen: So wie in mehrheitlich weißen Gruppen oft Rassismus vernachlässigt wurde, innerhalb der eigenen Gruppenstruktur und auf der Ebene politischer Theorie und Praxis, wurden in Nichtweißen Gruppen oft andere Differenzen zugunsten einer vermeintlich gemeinsamen Rassismuserfahrung verdrängt, nicht zuletzt unüberbrückbare politische Widersprüche. Patriarchale Strukturen und Sexismus wurden in keiner der Gruppen wirklich mit der angemessenen Aufmerksamkeit gewürdigt und waren immer wieder Ursprung von Krisen und auseinanderfallenden Gruppen.

Dabei fanden wichtige Ereignisse der antikolonialen Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland statt. In Düsseldorf war der Schwarze Kommunist Hilarius Gilges Teil einer antifaschistischen Gruppe und starb im Kampf gegen die Nationalsozialist*innen. Der kamerunische Kommunist Joseph Bilé hielt auf dem Alexanderplatz eine Rede vor Tausenden und in Hamburg gab George Padmore die Zeitung The Negro Worker heraus und koordinierte die Aktivitäten des Internationalen Gewerkschaftskomitees Schwarzer Arbeiter*innen, organisierte Kongresse und Konferenzen.

Erst, als ich 2018 die Möglichkeit bekam, an Schulungen des Socialist Forum in Tansania teilzunehmen und wir gemeinsam Kwame Nkrumahs Consciencism diskutierten, konnte ich mein Verständnis dieser Zeit vertiefen. In einer mehrheitlich Schwarzen Gesellschaft wirkte Rassismus nicht unvermittelt wie in Deutschland, doch die durch White Supremacy vermittelten Vorstellungen sowie die Allgegenwärtigkeit weißer Schönheitsideale sind deutlich zu spüren. In afrikanischen Gesellschaften, die in hohem Grad durch informelle Arbeitsverhältnisse geprägt und dabei immer dem Druck internationaler Märkte und multinationaler Konzerne ausgesetzt sind, ist die Einheit der Lohnabhängigen, also Panafrikanismus mit sozialistischer Basis, eine Voraussetzung für jede selbstständige politische und ökonomische Entwicklung. In Deutschland dagegen ist Selbstorganisation dagegen fast immer mit der Frage nach Identität verbunden.

Während Zwangsräumungen, Abschiebungen und rassistische Polizeikontrollen auch in einem rot-rot-grün regierten Berlin zum Alltag gehören, ist Antirassismus in einer liberalen Form und mit Fokus auf einzelne Identitäten ein popkulturelles Phänomen geworden. Das Bekenntnis zu mehr Diversität wiegt heute offensichtlich schwerer als die Frage nach Gerechtigkeit für Oury Jalloh und allen anderen Opfer rassistischer Polizeigewalt, oder die Forderung nach der Freigabe der NSU-Akten. So wichtig etwa auch die lange geforderte Umbenennung von kolonialen Straßennamen für die überfällige Aufarbeitung der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte und so lächerlich der Widerstand konservativer Populist*innen dagegen ist – die rassistische Diskriminierung bei der Wohnungs- oder Arbeitssuche, die zu teuren Mieten und die dreisten Einschüchterungsversuche durch multinationale Immobilienkonzerne lassen sich so nicht überwinden.

Die stetige Betonung representation matters hat ihren Teil dazu beigetragen, dass der konkrete politische Inhalt der Repräsentation in den Hintergrund geraten ist. Dabei

belehrt uns die Gegenwart längst einen besseren. Nie gab es mehr Menschen, die selbst Rassismus erfahren, aber in Positionen politischer Verantwortung rassistische Politik gestalten oder zumindest mittragen. Trotzdem kann von angemessener Repräsentation noch lange keine Rede sein. In ihren Institutionen reproduziert und repräsentiert sich die bürgerliche Gesellschaft zu allererst selbst, was bedeutet, dass gesellschaftlich marginalisierte Gruppen per se ausgeschlossen werden. Sie werden dann partiell einbezogen, wenn sozialer Widerstand die herrschenden Verhältnisse anprangert, und sollen durch ihre Rolle dabei helfen, gesellschaftliche Widersprüche miteinander zu schwächen.

Was heute als Identitätspolitik oft nicht mehr als einen leeren Kampfbegriff rechter und konservativer Demagog*innen darstellt, hat seinen Ursprung in den konkreten Ausschlüssen von Marginalisierten und ihren notwendigen politischen Reaktionen darauf. Wer in den etablierten Räumen kein Gehör findet, muss sich organisiert Gehör verschaffen. Dabei darf allerdings nicht aus dem Fokus geraten, dass Identitäten zu keiner Zeit statisch sind, sondern ebenso Produkt wie Akteur*innen sozialer Prozesse. Um diesen Blickwinkel zu verlassen, müssen wir Identitäten im Zusammenhang der materiellen Verhältnisse und der historischen Entwicklungen betrachten, die sie formen. Dazu bedarf es einer Wiederaneignung aller Facetten unserer Geschichte.

Schwarzsein als Kategorie war historisch sehr viel umfassender als heute und hat noch vor hundert Jahren im Rahmen internationaler Solidaritätsbewegungen wie selbstverständlich Menschen von Nordafrika bis Südasien einbezogen. Das gemeinsame Moment der Identifikation waren dabei die Erfahrung von Rassismus, die Kolonialisierung durch den Westen und der antikoloniale Kampf. Bereits zur Zeit der haitianischen Revolution, als eine Armee ehemaliger versklavter Menschen die Unabhängigkeit der ehemaligen Kolonie Frankreichs erkämpfte, war Schwarzsein die politische Basis der jungen Republik – hier wurden auch deutsche und polnische Soldaten, die aus den Reihen Frankreichs desertiert und in die Reihen der Revolution übergelaufen waren, per Gesetz zu Schwarzen Menschen.

Für viele meiner Freund*innen hier und für meine Genoss*innen in Tansania ist klar, dass Rassismus und die kapitalistische Produktionsweise zu eng miteinander verzahnt sind, als dass sich das eine Verhältnis ohne das andere aufheben ließe. Daraus ergibt sich folglich die Notwendigkeit, soziale Kämpfe nicht als einander widersprechend zu deuten, sondern als Teil einer gemeinsamen Bewegung zu betrachten.

Am 14. Oktober 2018, anlässlich des Nationalfeiertages in Gedenken an den tansanischen Präsidenten Julius Kambarage Nyerere konnte ich mit einigen tansanischen Linken über ihre Perspektiven auf die Situation in Deutschland sprechen. Alle betonten die internationale Einheit der Arbeiter*innen als Grundlage des sozialistischen und antirassistischen Kampfes. Solange Linke nicht lernen, sich wieder als Teil einer internationalen Bewegung zu verstehen und auch dementsprechend zu handeln, werden sie es nicht schaffen, ihre partikularen Kämpfe miteinander zu verbinden, besonders in einem Land wie Deutschland.

Editorial

tr > 1
Turgay Ulu

This issue of *Daily Resistance* coincides with the 10th anniversary of the occupation of O-Platz. For this reason, various interviews and articles about the O-Platz movement are the focus of this issue.

From 5 October to 9 October we will be setting up tents and a stage in Oranienplatz park and exhibiting our archives of the experience of our resistance. There will be various music, seminars, exhibitions and talks.

In the weeks leading up to the 10th anniversary of the O-Platz resistance, we set up a tent in Oranienplatz park and organised events, with a special focus on the newly arrived refugees. Refugees from Africa and the Middle East who came via Ukraine had the chance to publicise the racist and discriminatory attitudes to which they were subjected. The children who were born in the O-Platz resistance supported the actions of the newly arrived refugees with their songs and slogans.

A difficult winter season awaits all workers and labourers. The wars between the imperialists make the living conditions of the oppressed more difficult, and all the bills fall on our shoulders. Continuous crises and wars also perpetuate refugee flows.

Let us raise our solidarity and resistance as refugees and oppressed people of the world against war, exploitation and rising racism.

Long Live Our Struggle for Humanisation and Solidarity!

Send us your texts! (all languages)
Write us with your questions!
Give us your feedback!
Mail: dailyresistance@systemli.org
Web: dailyresistance.oplatz.net

Stop proterivanjima!
Pravo na rad i školovanje!
Ukinite 'logore'!
Ukinite ograničenu slobodu kretanja!

Camp
Reality

by Ali

I am an Iraqi refugee. I was in one of the closed Polish camps. We suffered a lot of torment inside the camps. They treated us in a very harsh way. We were in one room 20 people or more. We did not have phones to call in our families. There was one TV. We are about 300 people. There are 4 computers for all of us. One has the right to use the computer for an hour every three or four days. We do not have the right to buy more than 160 Zloty per month.

We can only buy cigarettes, one beverage, chips, tea and milk, no more.

They bring us papers in Polish and they are not translated into English or Arabic.

In which court decisions to stay in a camp for 3 months, there is no right to appeal the decision.



Lager – A mirror of lost humanity in Europe

de > 10

by Behnam Blumengarten
(Lager-Watch Thüringen)

Germany is a unique country in many ways, a large and populous country with a very strong infrastructure. A European industrial giant with a turbulent history. A place of great literature, poets and philosophy especially since the 18th century and with mostly friendly people.

In recent years, especially since 2015 and the long summer of migration, Germany has made a special contribution to taking in refugees and granting refuge to those seeking protection. Compared to some other European countries, such as Denmark or Norway, Germany was more open to those seeking protection when it came to organizing the reception of those seeking protection.

In Germany, a very large percentage of people with migration or refugee experience now work and pay taxes. Although there are injustices in the German asylum system, the basis of German law is that those seeking protection can enter the community and try to integrate into German society.

But in addition to some understandable regulations for those seeking protection, there are major deficiencies in the reception system and in the initial reception Lager, which in other parts of the country can nullify all government efforts, just like a non-lactating cow that throws away all the milk. The Lager in Germany are often run by contractors and the private sector, who are very racist towards those seeking protection. The employees in the Lager place practically no value on basic and human rights and see most of the arrivals as mean and criminal. For example, the security forces and camp guards, who are only responsible for guarding and protecting the residents, are strongly xenophobic and racist.

When people are born in the Middle East, when they have escaped the bloody war and dictatorship of their own country, they turn to the countries that promote those human rights in the world in the hope of freedom and respect for human rights and to claim the right to life. The demand for respect for human rights has been heard in the Western media for years. That is why people who are looking for humanity and freedom and flee from wars and dictatorships searching for protection in Europe. Why else do refugees often not seek humanity and refuge in Saudi Arabia or other Arab countries? Because a lot of these countries are dictatorial and have no understanding of human rights. No one who has to flee expects them to respect human rights, but hopes that they will in the West and in Germany.

But a person who arrives in Germany seeking protection is sent to a Lager where there is no trace of basic human rights.

Where different mentalities have to live together in one room. The supply and food delivery system is extremely degrading and inadequate. Above all, the behavior of the staff in the camp, especially the security service, is racist and degrading. This behavior marks the first

racist encounters and experiences of those seeking protection with Germans and thus has a decisive influence on their lives because it can determine their own future attitudes.

Now imagine a Syrian Arab refugee fleeing war and massacres, an Iranian fleeing flogging, torture, imprisonment and public execution, or Afghans fleeing the primitive and medieval rule of the Taliban flee, and they come to Germany with a thousand hopes and aspirations to attain freedom, security, and therefore respect for their rights as human beings. The first place they are sent is the inhumane situation of the Lager and the first German they see is a racist security guard who disregards human rights. You can see with your own eyes that human rights play no role here and that no value is placed on respect for human dignity...! And everything you read and heard about humanity in Europe is a lie. In the words of the poet: People build palaces in their dreams. But they lost them when they arrived.

I believe that the first thing that people who seek protection are sent to the Lager upon arrival and who have to deal with such behaviors, realize is that there are no human rights and human dignity in this place.

I believe that this racist behavior in European countries can start a dangerous spark in the minds of some. For example, if you look closely at the background of people who have fled or migrated and who have committed crimes, you come to the fact that the racist system of the government, by insulting and discriminating against those seeking protection, can turn them into criminals. People are also often fleeing countries and religious dictatorships that have spent their lives hammering religion and dogmatic ideologies into their heads, on television, radio, at school and at work. Now they have come to Germany. Hoping for a touch of freedom and human dignity, and upon their arrival, the first German they see is a camp guard. And this guard is a misanthropic racist with a history as a self-confessed neo-Nazi. It is incomprehensible to me why the German system allows a well-known racist and neo-Nazi to work in such a sensitive position with newcomers. Apparently the government is leaving the Lager and security to private contractors to make their job easier. But private companies are only interested in business and more income.

On October 22, 2021, me and others were racially insulted and threatened by the security service of the camp in Suhl. The security guard wanted to attack me. We complained about this security service and posted the video of the conflict on YouTube, which led to two MPs taking an interest in the issue and asking the responsible ministry in the Thuringian state parliament about the racist behavior of the Lager security. So far the result has not been impressive, but it has had an impact. Unfortunately, after only four weeks, the racist security guard returned to the same previous security service in the camp and the contract with the security company has not yet been questioned. But I hope that the Parliament will take a more

serious decision on this issue and dissolve the whole camp system, which is more like a prison system, so that those seeking protection can live in apartments in a humane and independent manner. For our own safety and respect for our own privacy. People who work with people seeking protection should receive the necessary training, knowledge of respecting human rights and human dignity and be fundamentally sensitized to the topics of war and displacement, flight and migration. This is not only good for everyone who arrives, but also crucial for everyone in this country on the way to a common future.

We!R: We Are Born Free – Empowerment Radio!

On 88.4 MHz in Berlin/ 90.7MHz in Potsdam/ internet Livestream at 88vier.de; on 24/3 FM/ https://www.radionetzwerkberlin.org/; Fridays & Saturdays 13:00 – 16:00 & Sundays 13:00 - 17:00

Wearebornfree! Empowerment Radio (#WeRadio!) is an independent radio format formed throughout the German Refugee Resistance and focused on Empowerment. Especially interested in Women*, LGBTQI and other marginalized groups such as Black people and People of Color and others. Let's come together, united as one people with a struggle to tackle the system. We say! Never undermine the power of your voice!

wabf.eradio@gmail.com, Waldemarstr. 46, Kreuzberg 10999 Berlin
https://wearebornfreeberlin.wordpress.com
FB: wearebornfree eradio/ wearebornfree Humanity Matters

10 Jahre Protestcamp auf dem Oranienplatz... Kein Grund zum Feiern

en

<https://oplatz.net/10-years-of-the-protest-camp-at-oranienplatz-no-reason-to-celebrate/>

von Bruno Watara

Wenn ihr mit Veranstaltungen und Texten an das Protestcamp auf dem Oranienplatz erinnert, dann erinnert euch genau!

Erinnert (euch) an Mohammad Rahsepar!

Ende Januar 2012 nahm sich Mohammad Rahsepar im Würzburger Flüchtlingslager das Leben. Er hatte schon im Dezember Suizidgedanken geäußert. Ärzte hatten deshalb den zuständigen Behörden empfohlen, seine Unterbringungssituation zu verbessern. Er wollte zu seiner Schwester nach Köln, aber die Behörden lehnten das wegen der Residenzpflicht ab. Sein Tod war der Auslöser für eine Welle von Protesten in ganz Deutschland.

Seine Nachbar*innen im Lager und seine Freund*innen bauten ein Protestcamp auf der Straße auf, um auf ihre Situation aufmerksam zu machen: Lagerunterbringung, Gutscheinsystem, Residenzpflicht, Arbeitsverbot und ständige Ungewissheit. Ihr Protest weitete sich schnell auf viele Städte in ganz Deutschland aus. Auch hier in Berlin gab es ein Protestzelt auf dem Heinrichplatz.

Erinnert (euch) an die Residenzpflicht!

Die Residenzpflicht gibt es in keinem anderen europäischen Land. Ihre Ursprünge gehen zurück bis in die Kolonialzeit. Die Nationalsozialisten haben die Residenzpflicht in ihrer Polizeiverordnung von 1938 für Zwangsarbeiter zum Gesetz gemacht. 1982 nahmen die Gesetzgeber die Regelung wieder auf und hielten sie im Asylverfahrensgesetz für Asylsuchende fest.

Bis Ende 2014 mussten sich alle Asylsuchenden jedes mal, wenn sie ihren Landkreis verlassen wollten, dafür eine Erlaubnis bei der Austrägerbehörde holen. Manchmal bekamen sie eine Erlaubnis, meistens nicht. Ende der 90er Jahre haben die Behörden die Residenzpflicht benutzt, um Asylsuchende daran zu hindern, sich politisch zu engagieren. Bei jeder Demo, jedem Kongress und jedem Treffen mussten wir einen Umgang mit Kontrollen finden.

Ende 2014 wurde die Residenzpflicht für einen Teil der Asylsuchenden gelockert. Sie dürfen sich

jetzt nach den ersten drei Monaten in Deutschland im ganzen Bundesgebiet erlaubnisfrei bewegen. Theoretisch jedenfalls. Denn es gibt zahlreiche Ausschlussgründe von dieser angeblichen „Bewegungsfreiheit“. Vor allem Flüchtlinge mit Duldung sind wie bisher der Behördenwillkür ausgeliefert. Die Ausländerbehörden können sie jederzeit an den Landkreis fesseln.

Die erste Demo gegen die Residenzpflicht war übrigens im Jahr 2000, organisiert von der ‚Karawane für die Rechte von Flüchtlingen und Migrantinnen‘. Seitdem haben viele Flüchtlingsselforganisatoren, zum Beispiel ‚The Voice Refugee Forum‘ oder die ‚Flüchtlingsinitiative Brandenburg‘, gegen die Residenzpflicht gekämpft.

Wer über das Protestcamp auf dem Oranienplatz spricht, ohne die anderen Protestaktionen von Flüchtlingen im Jahr 2012 und die Vorgeschichte unserer Kämpfe zu erwähnen, solidarisiert sich nicht mit den Kämpfen von Flüchtlingen, sondern ignoriert uns.

Erinnert (euch) an den ‚Refugee Protest-March‘!

Im September 2012 startete eine Gruppe von Flüchtlingen den ‚Refugee Protest-March von Würzburg nach Berlin. Sie protestierten gegen die Residenzpflicht, indem sie die Residenzpflicht öffentlich verletzten und trugen ihren Protest zu den politisch Verantwortlichen nach Berlin. Am 5. Oktober 2012 – nach einem Monat und 600 km Fußmarsch erreichten sie Berlin.

Eine Gruppe von Aktivist*innen in Berlin unterstützte den Protestmarsch, indem sie das Camp auf dem Oranienplatz als Ort zum Ankommen vorbereitete. Das Camp war für einige Wochen geplant, um eine große Abschlussdemo zu organisieren und weitere Aktionen zu planen. Niemand von uns hat ein Protestcamp geplant, das über ein Jahr dauern sollte.

Erinnert (euch) genau! Der Oranienplatz war nie besetzt.

Immer wieder gab es Verhandlungen mit den Bezirksbürgermeister*innen, die dazu führten, dass der Oranienplatz weiter geduldet wurde. *Wer behauptet, der Oranienplatz sei besetzt worden, ignoriert unsere Arbeit, die Arbeit der Aktivist*innen, die das Camp vorbereitet haben und jahrelang Verhandlungen geführt haben.*

Zur Demo zum Abschluss des Protestmarsches am 13.10.2012 kamen viele aus ganz Deutschland, sie

wurde richtig groß. Danach gab es unterschiedliche Ansätze für weitere Aktionen: Während eine Gruppe auf dem Pariser Platz einen Hungerstreik begann, blieben andere auf dem Oranienplatz und nutzten ihn als Ausgangspunkt für verschiedene Aktionen.

Im Winter 2012 kamen Flüchtlinge aus Italien dazu, für die das Protestcamp vor allem ein Ort zum Überleben war: Sie flohen vor Obdachlosigkeit, Hunger und Perspektivlosigkeit in Italien nach Berlin. Damit wurde der Oranienplatz ein Symbol für die Unmenschlichkeit und Grausamkeit der deutschen Asylpolitik und der EU-Asylpolitik.

Leider haben wir es nur bei einzelnen Aktionen geschafft, die verschiedenen Gruppen und Interessen der Flüchtlinge auf dem Oranienplatz zu verbinden. Das Asylsystem hat uns gespalten. Auch unter den Unterstützer*innen gab es Machtkämpfe und Spaltungen.

Erinnert (euch) genau! Der Oranienplatz wurde nicht von der Polizei geräumt.

Es waren Flüchtlinge, die die Zelte von anderen Flüchtlingen abbauten. Dem Senat war es – auch mit Hilfe sogenannter Unterstützer*innen – gelungen, die Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz zu spalten. Lasst uns aus den alten Fehlern lernen, statt sie zu wiederholen. Regierungen und Parlamente spalten uns mit ihrer rassistischen Migrationspolitik. Wir müssen uns dem entgegenstellen und noch enger zusammenwachsen.

Und zum Schluss: Erinnert euch daran, dass heute noch einige Flüchtlinge, die damals auf Oranienplatz waren, keine Aufenthalts Erlaubnis haben!

Solange das so ist, gibt es für mich keinen Grund zu feiern.

**Stop Deportations!
Right to Work and Study!
Abolish 'Lagers'!
Abolish 'Residenzpflicht'!**

Lager – Ein Spiegel der verlorenen Menschlichkeit in Europa

von Behnam Blumengarten
(Lager-Watch Thüringen)

Deutschland ist in vielerlei Hinsicht ein einzigartiges, ein großes und bevölkerungsreiches Land mit einer sehr starken Infrastruktur. Ein europäischer Industrieriese mit einer turbulenten Geschichte. Insbesondere seit dem 18. Jh. ein Ort großer Literatur, Dichter und ein Ort der Philosophie mit zumeist freundlichen Menschen.

Deutschland hat in den letzten Jahren, insbesondere seit 2015, einen besonderen Beitrag zur Aufnahme von Geflüchteten geleistet und Schutzsuchenden Zuflucht gewährt. Für Schutzsuchende war Deutschland im Vergleich zu einigen anderen europäischen Ländern, wie beispielsweise Dänemark oder Norwegen, offener in der Organisation der Aufnahme von Schutzsuchenden.

In Deutschland arbeitet mittlerweile ein sehr großer Prozentsatz der Menschen mit Migrations- oder Fluchterfahrung und zahlt Steuern. Obwohl es im deutschen Asylsystem Ungerechtigkeiten gibt, ist die Grundlage des deutschen Rechts, dass Schutzsuchende in die Gemeinschaft eintreten und versuchen können, sich in die deutsche Gesellschaft zu integrieren.

Doch neben einigen nachvollziehbaren Regelungen für Schutzsuchende gibt es große Mängel im Aufnahmesystem und in den Erstaufnahmelagern, die in anderen Landesteilen alle staatlichen Bemühungen zunichten machen können, genau wie eine nicht säugende Kuh, die die ganze Milch wegwischt! Die Lager in Deutschland werden in weiten Teilen von Auftragnehmern und dem Privatsektor betrieben, die gegenüber Schutzsuchenden rassistisch eingestellt sind. Die Mitarbeiter:innen in den Lagern legen praktisch keinen Wert auf Grund- und Menschenrechte und sehen die meisten Ankommenden als niedrig und kriminell an. Zum Beispiel sind die Sicherheitskräfte und Lagerwächter, die nur für die Bewachung und den Schutz der Bewohner:innen zuständig sind, stark ausländerfeindlich und rassistisch.

Wenn Menschen im Nahen Osten geboren wurden, wenn sie dem blutigen Krieg und der Diktatur ihres eigenen Landes entkommen sind, wenden sie sich in der Hoffnung auf Freiheit und Achtung der Menschenrechte und des Rechts auf Leben an die Länder, die diese Menschenrechte in der Welt für sich beanspruchen. Die Forderung nach Achtung der Menschenrechte ist seit Jahren aus den westlichen Medien zu hören. Darum flüchten Menschen, die Frieden und Freiheit suchen, aus Kriegen und Diktaturen nach Europa. Warum sonst suchen Geflüchtete oft nicht Zuflucht in Saudi-Arabien oder anderen arabischen Ländern? Weil viele dieser Länder häufig diktatorisch sind und keine Menschenrechtsansprüche haben, erwartet kein Mensch, der fliehen muss, dass sie die Menschenrechte respektieren, erhofft sich dies jedoch im Westen und in Deutschland.

Doch ein Mensch, der in Deutschland als Schutzsuchender ankommt, wird in Lager geschickt, in dem von grundlegenden Menschenrechten

keine Spur ist. In dem unterschiedlichen Mentalitäten in einem Raum zusammenleben müssen. Das Versorgungs- und Essensausgabesystem ist äußerst entwürdigend und unzureichend. Vor allem das Verhalten des Personals im Lager insbesondere des Sicherheitsdienstes ist rassistisch und entwürdigend. Dieses Verhalten markiert die ersten rassistischen Begegnungen und Erfahrungen von Schutzsuchenden mit Deutschen und hat damit einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf ihr Leben, weil es ihre eigenen zukünftigen Einstellungen bestimmen kann.

Stellen Sie sich nun einen syrisch-arabischen Geflüchteten vor, der vor Krieg und Massaker flieht, einen Iraner oder eine Iranerin, die vor Auspeitschung, Folter, Inhaftierung und öffentlicher Hinrichtung flieht, oder Afghan:innen, die vor der primitiven und mittelalterlichen Herrschaft der Taliban fliehen, und sie kommen mit tausend Hoffnungen und Bestrebungen nach Deutschland, um Freiheit, Sicherheit und mithin die Achtung ihrer Rechte als Menschen zu erlangen.

Der erste Ort, an den sie geschickt werden, ist die unmenschliche Situation des Lagers, und der erste Deutsche, den sie sehen, ist ein rassistischer Sicherheitsmann, der die Menschenrechte missachtet. Sie sehen mit eigenen Augen, dass Menschenrechte hier keine Rolle spielen und hier kein Wert auf die Achtung der Menschenwürde gelegt wird...! Mit den Worten des Dichters: Menschen bauten Paläste in ihren Träumen. Aber als sie ankamen, haben sie sie verloren.

Ich glaube, dass Schutzsuchende, die bei ihrer Ankunft ins Lager geschickt werden und sich mit solchen Verhaltensweisen auseinandersetzen müssen, als erstes feststellen, dass es an diesem Ort keine Menschenrechte und keine Menschenwürde gibt.

Ich glaube, dass dieses rassistische Verhalten in Europäischen Ländern einen gefährlichen Funken in den Köpfen mancher entfachen kann. Wenn man sich zum Beispiel die Hintergründe von Menschen

mit Flucht- oder Migrationserfahrungen, die straffällig geworden sind, genau anschaut, kommt man zu der Tatsache, dass auch das rassistische Regierungssystem durch Beleidigung und Diskriminierung von Schutzsuchenden, aus ihnen erst Verbrecher macht.

Menschen fliehen häufig auch aus Ländern und religiösen Diktaturen, die ihnen ihr ganzes Leben lang in Fernsehen, im Radio, in Schule und am Arbeitsplatz die Religion und dogmatische Ideologien mit Nägeln und Hämtern in ihre Köpfe gezimmert haben. Jetzt sind sie nach Deutschland gekommen. In der Hoffnung auf einen Hauch von Freiheit und Menschenwürde, und bei ihrer Ankunft ist der erste Deutsche, den sie sehen, ein Lagerwächter. Und dieser Wächter ist ein menschenfeindlicher Rassist mit Vorgesichte als bekennender Neonazi. Warum das deutsche System es einem bekannten Rassisten und Neonazi erlaubt, in einer so sensiblen Position mit Ankommenden zu arbeiten, ist für mich unbegreiflich. Offenbar überlässt die Regierung das Lager und die Sicherheit privaten Auftragnehmern, um ihre Arbeit zu erleichtern. Doch private Unternehmen sind nur an Geschäften und mehr Einkommen interessiert.

Am 22.10.2021 wurden ich und andere von dem Sicherheitsdienst des Lagers in Suhl rassistisch beleidigt und bedroht. Der Wachmann

wollte mich angreifen. Wir haben uns über diesen Sicherheitsdienst beschwert und das Video des Konflikts auf YouTube gepostet, was dazu führte, dass sich zwei Abgeordnete für das Thema interessierten und das zuständige Ministerium im Thüringer Landtag nach dem rassistischen Verhalten der Lagersicherheit fragten. Bisher war das Ergebnis nicht beeindruckend, aber es blieb nicht ohne Wirkung. Leider kehrte der rassistische Wachmann nach nur vier Wochen in den gleichen früheren Wachdienst im Lager zurück und der Vertrag mit dem Sicherheitsunternehmen läuft bisher unihinterfragt weiter. Aber ich hoffe, dass das Parlament in dieser Frage eine ernsthafte Entscheidung trifft und das ganze Lagersystem, das eher einem Gefängnisystem gleicht, auflöst, damit wir menschenwürdig und eigenständig in Wohnungen leben können. Für unsere eigene Sicherheit und die Achtung unserer Privatsphäre.

Menschen, die mit Schutzsuchenden arbeiten, sollten zwingend die notwendige Ausbildung, Kenntnisse zur Achtung von Menschenrechten und Menschenwürde erhalten und grundlegend für die Themen Krieg und Vertreibung, Flucht und Migration sensibilisiert werden. Das ist nicht nur gut für alle Ankommenden sondern auf dem Weg in eine gemeinsame Zukunft entscheidend für alle in diesem Land.

The Voice Refugee Forum: Über koloniale Ungerechtigkeit und die Fortsetzung von Barbarei

Gemeinsam gegen koloniales Unrecht in Deutschland

von The Voice Refugee Forum

Die Situation von Menschen, die als Flüchtlinge und MigrantInnen in Deutschland leben.

Der Frühling kehrt zurück nach Europa und mit ihm beruhigt sich auch das Mittelmeer. Bei ruhigerer See werden immer mehr verzweifelte Menschen auf ihrer Suche nach ihrem Recht auf Leben und Menschenwürde versuchen, in eine weiterhin grausame Festung Europa zu gelangen. Von diesen werden Tausende, Menschen mit einem Namen, einer Lebensgeschichte, mit Familien und Erinnerungen für immer in den Tiefen des Meeres versinken, so wie die mehr als 300 Leute, die erst vor wenigen Wochen vor der libyschen Küste ertrunken sind – Menschen, deren Leben einer ständig wachsenden Liste der Opfer kolonialer Ungerechtigkeit hinzugefügt worden sind.

Jene von uns, die es nach Deutschland geschafft haben, sind nur zu gut damit vertraut, was unsere Träume, Menschenwürde, Anstand und ein besseres Leben zu finden für uns bedeutet haben. Wie die Tausenden von Menschen, die Europa lieber am Boden des Mittelmeeres verendet gesehen hätte, sterben die Träume von einem besseren Leben in Deutschland oder Europa praktisch mit der Ankunft. Sie werden ausgerottet durch rassistische Arroganz und unmenschliche Misshandlung, die

gegen uns losgelassen werden lediglich aufgrund unserer Herkunft oder unserer Hautfarbe.

Wir sind hier hergekommen und an Stelle von Verständnis für die Traumatisierungen, von denen wir betroffen sind, weil wir unsere Freunde und unsere Lieben zurücklassen mussten, weil wir dem Krieg und dem Horror der Armut entkommen sind, werden uns statt dessen Fingerabdrücke genommen. Wir werden verhört und absichtlich Misshandlungen unterworfen. Dabei werden wir oft ausgelacht, angeschrien, gedemütigt, es wird von oben auf uns herabgesehen und aus uns Nutzen gezogen. Wir werden zu Sündenböcken für ihre Unannehmlichkeiten und die Folgen ihrer krankhaften und inhumanen Politik gestempelt. Wir sind ihre Prügelknaben geworden, dafür bestimmt, um für alles bestraft zu werden, was schlecht in der Gesellschaft ist, sei es Kriminalität, Arbeitslosigkeit oder die Belastung der Sozialsysteme.

Sie denken, dass sie besser seien als wir. Zu Unrecht und auf hässliche Weise haben sie uns zu ihren Untermenschen gemacht. Uns, die wir aus derart reichen Kulturen kommen. Uns, deren Reichtum brutalen Vandalen zum Opfer gefallen ist, die wir ausgebeutet wurden, um die unersättliche Habgier westlicher Konsumenten zu befriedigen. Uns, die wir den von ihnen begünstigten Diktatoren und ihren skrupellosen ökonomischen

Machenschaften standgehalten haben. Uns, die wir trotz wachsender Militarisierung unserer Länder und ihrer eigenen Grenzen sie mutig konfrontiert haben und die ihren Versuchen, uns in dem Horror einzukerkern, den sie für uns zu Hause geschaffen haben, entkommen sind. Und uns, die wir gewagt haben, für Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit und unsere Grundüberzeugungen aufzustehen, die wir an Menschenwürde und Anstand unbirrt festhalten.

Sobald sie sehen, dass wir ihre befestigten Grenzen durchbrochen haben, nehmen sie unsere Fingerabdrücke bei der Ankunft und schicken uns in Lager, wo man uns zu menschlichem Abfall macht, sicher mit dem Hintergedanken, andere abzuschrecken, ja nicht nach Deutschland zu kommen. In den Lagern kampiert eine Anzahl Erwachsener in einem einzigen Raum wie die Sardinen in Fischbüchsen, willkommen für weitere Misshandlungen und Demütigungen, durch welche sich Deutschland auszeichnet, vorbei mit Privatsphäre und jeglicher Hoffnung auf Menschenwürde.

Dann kommt, wie wir zu leben gezwungen werden. In manchen Fällen wird das, was als unzumutbar für ihre Hunde angesehen wird, für uns als die beste Nahrung angesehen. Nicht zu reden von den "Essen"-Paketen mit abgelaufenen Daten darauf. Sie machen es uns unmöglich, unsere eigene Nahrung zu

kochen. In vielen Fällen wird das System unserer Alimentierung dazu benutzt, unsere Anwesenheit im Lager zu kontrollieren und uns in "gute und unterwürfige" Flüchtlinge einzuteilen, die von den "schlechten und rebellierenden" Flüchtlingen zu trennen sind, welche erst noch die Regeln der fortgeföhrten kolonialen Herrschaft zu lernen und zu akzeptieren haben. Aufgrund unserer Empörung betrachtet man uns als untauglich, in dieser Gesellschaft zu leben, während denjenigen, die als "gut und unterwürfig" angesehen werden, gesagt wird, dass sie kein Recht hätten, hier zu bleiben, da sie nicht wirklich nützlich seien.

Sie glauben, wenn wir schon nicht auf dem Grund des Meeres verrotten, dann sollten wir auf alle Fälle in ihren isolierten und leerstehenden Militärbaracken im Wald verfaulen, weitab von normalen Menschen und jeglicher Infrastruktur. Auf diesem Wege ist es einfacher, uns zu kontrollieren und langsam zu zerstören, außerhalb des Gesichtskreises einer neugierigen Öffentlichkeit oder von Medien.

Lager- und Kontrollmentalität

Diese Lager- und Kontrollmentalität, welche dem Asylsystem in Deutschland zugrunde liegt, hat eine lange, unaufrechte und brutale Geschichte mit weit reichenenden Konsequenzen. Vom Allgemeinen zum Besonderen ist es die Strategie, zu isolieren, zu stigmatisieren und zu verfolgen. Von den verschiedenen berüchtigten Lagern unter den Nationalsozialisten über die Lager für die Gastarbeiter, diese Lager- und Kontrollmentalität blieb eine beständige und perverse Eigenheit des deutschen Systems, mit denen umzugehen, die nicht direkt nützlich oder aber ganz offen unerwünscht sind.

Es sei daran erinnert, dass die ehemalige DDR ebenfalls viele Vertragsarbeiter in Heimen gehalten hat und Paare unter ihnen getrennt wurden, um sicher zu stellen, dass

Fortsetzung auf der nächsten Seite



sie keine Familien gründen. Es wird von einigen Gastarbeiterinnen berichtet, die nach Hause geschickt worden waren, weil sie schwanger waren und sich weigerten, abzutreiben. Es war die Regel, dass du lediglich hier warst, um wie bestellt oder vom Staat gefordert zu arbeiten, oder du hattest zu gehen, um sicher zu stellen, dass nicht etwa Familienangelegenheiten diese Erfordernisse behinderten. Du warst entweder nützlich für unsere Wirtschaft oder du warst draußen. Durch alle diese Phasen blieb diese Lager- und Kontrollmentalität bestehen. Und war es nicht diese Kontrollmentalität, die sich auch in den Nazi-Bestimmungen zeigte, nach denen Ausländer eine Genehmigung brauchten, um Kinder zu haben? Es ist höchst bestürzend, festzustellen wie tief und verwurzelt die Kontrollmentalität in Deutschland ist – so wenige Veränderungen der Haltung in den vielen vergangenen Jahren.

Aber warum ist dies so?

Eine gute Frage. Es wäre nicht nötig, darüber hinaus diese Frage wissenschaftlich zu erforschen, wenn nicht viele von uns heute diese raue Realität und die bitteren Folgen dieser Mentalität und des daraus resultierenden Systems am eigenen Leib wieder erleben müssten. Als die dunkelste und blutigste Geschichte dieses Landes 1945 gewaltsam überwunden wurde, haben die sogenannten Alliierten bestimmt, hier ein System zu errichten, das sich von dem unterscheidet, welches sie gerade besiegt hatten. Aber das neue System wurde so eingerichtet, dass es perfekt die Mehrheit der Hauptpersonen dieses Regimes, welches sie besiegt hatten, im Schatten der Nürnberger Prozesse wieder aufnahm und rehabilitierte. Die Rehabilitierung und die fortwährende Präsens ehemaliger hochgestellter Nazi-Persönlichkeiten in allen Bereichen bewirkten auch, dass genug Raum blieb, um einige Handlungsweisen aus Deutschlands Vergangenheit wieder zu übernehmen. Je mehr alte Täter im neuen System Fuß fassten, umso leichter wurde es für sie, in alte Denkstrukturen abzugleiten. Wir sollten uns daran erinnern, dass wir von der Lager- und Kontrollmentalität sprechen. Und nirgendwo in der Westlichen Welt ist diese ausgeprägter als in Deutschland.

Die Geschichte hat die Bewegungsbeschränkungen dokumentiert, welche den Juden 1938 auferlegt wurden, sowie die daraus folgenden Strafen bei Verletzung dieser Auflagen. Während sich in der Welt seitdem Empörung und Verurteilung dieser und noch abscheulicherer Verbrechen dieser Ära anhäuft haben, wurden 1982 solche abscheulichen Beschränkungen erneut wieder eingeführt, in Form der sogenannten "Residenzpflicht", der alle Asylbewerber in diesem Land unterliegen. So benötigt ein Flüchtling eine schriftliche Erlaubnis der Ausländerbehörde, um seinen/ihren Landkreis zu verlassen, andernfalls drohen Geldstrafe oder Gefängnis nach einer Polizeikontrolle – eine alarmierende Erinnerung an die Beschränkung von 1938. Nun, was würde es Deutschland kosten (kulturell oder wirtschaftlich), wenn sich Flüchtlinge frei innerhalb des Landes bewegen könnten, so wie normale Menschen? NICHTS, absolut NICHTS!!! Aber es ist die deutsche Lager- und Kontrollmentalität, die hier ihr Spiel treibt. Dies soll mit einem weiteren Beispiel belegt werden. Verschiedene Studien unabhängiger Sachver-



Black Box Installation im Rahmen des „The Voice Refugee Forum“ in Jena 2019, Foto: Maria Antonia Schmidt

ständiger haben gezeigt, dass eine Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen in privaten Wohnungen weitaus billiger wäre. Auch verschiedene staatliche Quellen haben das bestätigt. Aber die Behörden verhindern eine solche Kosten senkende Maßnahme und ziehen es vor, hochmüttig an dem entwürdigenden Lagersystem festzuhalten. Das ist mit der Menschenwürde unvereinbar und verwehrt Flüchtlingen Privatsphäre. Dasselbe gilt für Gutscheine für Lebensmittel. Es kostet die Regierung mehr, als den Wert dieser Gutscheine auszuzahlen. Und bei all der ungewollten Aufmerksamkeit, der Demütigung und den Problemen, die mit den Gutscheinen verbunden sind, muss man sich wundern, weshalb Behörden auf Gutscheinen anstelle von Bargeld bestehen, was billiger, einfacher und besser für alle wäre. Es hat mit der Lager- und Kontrollmentalität zu tun – eingeschliffenen alten Gewohnheiten! Man sagt, dass diese nur schwer sterben.

Duldung – Asylbewerber leben in permanenter Ungewissheit

Wissen sie, dass von den Tausenden Asylantragstellern in Deutschland zurzeit weniger als 1 % von uns Asyl anerkannt bekommen? Was bedeutet dies für uns?

Duldung ist das Leben in permanenter Ungewissheit. Keine Arbeit. Keine Ausbildung. Kein Recht, den Landkreis zu verlassen. Keine Perspektive im Leben, nur Stillstand und langsame aber ständige Vergeudung des Lebens. Nur essen und schlafen, essen und schlafen bis dich ihre perversen Grausamkeiten zerstört haben. Sie dringen in dein Hirn ein wie ein Tumor, zerstören deinen Willen zu leben und deinen Willen, dich zu wehren. Wie solche, die in Nervenheilanstalten mit Drogen vollgepumpt werden, versuchen sie uns in einen Zustand des Dahinvegetierens zu bringen, bis wir entweder deportiert werden oder, wenn unser Lebenswill gebrochen ist, wir "freiwillig" in unsere Länder zurückkehren.

In der Zwischenzeit geben sie uns Gutscheine und ihre "Residenzpflicht", rassistische Polizeikontrollen und erzwungene Isolation. Sie bringen uns in die Abhängigkeit von den Dummsten und den Geimeinsten von ihrer Art, welche sich stark durch unsere Schwachheit und Unterordnung fühlen. Ja, das macht, dass sie sich gut fühlen. So, wie möglicherweise sich manche von euch gut fühlen, wenn sie in der Lage sind, ihrer Familie Geld nach Hause zu schicken, oder wenn ihr einem Freund helfen könnt, so fühlen jene sich gut, wenn sie merken,

dass du dich durch die Behandlung, die dir hier zuteil wird, schlecht fühlst. Aber ob sie es merken oder nicht, es frisst an ihrer Seele, macht aus ihnen lebende, atmende Roboter ohne Herz, denen dadurch absolut jedes menschliche Verständnis abhanden kommt. Frantz Fanon hat dies vor Jahren im Zusammenhang mit der blutigen Herrschaft Frankreichs über Algerien festgestellt, und dasselbe ist heute wahr in Deutschland im Zusammenhang mit uns Flüchtlingen.

Unsere Worte, Unsere Stimme – Eine Stimme für Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit

Weil Worte Macht sind und weil sie beabsichtigen, uns in permanenter Unterwerfung zu halten, ist ihre Haltung, dass wir nie die Macht der Worte in unsere Hand bekommen sollten, die Macht, den Weg unserer Vergangenheit und unserer Ge- genwart aus unserer Sicht darzustellen und darüber zu sprechen. Sie wollen nicht nur unsere Geschichte "machen", sie wollen diese nach ihrem Geschmack und mit ihren Worten schreiben und überarbeiten. Und hier liegt das Problem. Diejenigen von uns, die es geschafft haben, sich ihren gesunden Menschenverstand zu bewahren, trotz deren irrsinniger Methoden, diejenigen, die couragierte geblieben sind und diese Gesellschaft trotz ihrer Einschüchterungspraxis konfrontiert haben, trotz Verfolgung und inadäquater Machtmittel, wir wurden deren "Kriminelle". Sie versuchen uns bei jedem Schritt, den wir machen, zu kriminalisieren in der Hoffnung, uns zum Schweigen zu bringen. Und weil sie wissen, dass sie mit grundsätzlichen Argumenten, mit Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit nichts gewinnen können, wenn sie mit den Fakten konfrontiert werden, deswegen nehmen sie Zuflucht zu Einschüchterung, Gewalt und Brutalität gegen Aktivisten, um uns davon abzubringen, für unsere Grundüberzeugungen zu stehen. Sie fragen uns, weshalb wir hier sind und fordern uns auf, zu gehen, wenn es uns nicht gefällt, wie wir hier behandelt werden.

Aber sie sollten an das afrikanische Sprichwort erinnert werden, dass da sagt: "Du sollst ein Kind nicht auf den Kopf schlagen und es dann fragen, weshalb es schreit". Wenn sie es immer noch nicht begriffen haben: "Wir sind hier, weil ihr unsere Länder zerstört". Wie wir über diese Zerstörungen und die fortgesetzte Verletzung unserer unveräußerlichen Rechte hier reden, ist nicht verhandelbar. Wir werden es immer so sagen, wie wir es fühlen. Es kann darüber keinen Kompromiss geben.

haben: "Wir sind hier, weil ihr unsere Länder zerstört". Wie wir über diese Zerstörungen und die fortgesetzte Verletzung unserer unveräußerlichen Rechte hier reden, ist nicht verhandelbar. Wir werden es immer so sagen, wie wir es fühlen. Es kann darüber keinen Kompromiss geben.

Das ist es, was sich am Fall Oury Jallo gezeigt hat. Ohne jeglichen Beweis und während die Fakten dieses Falles für das Gegenteil sprachen, haben sie von Selbstmord gesprochen, dass sich Oury Jallo selbst getötet hätte. So war es. Und dann bekamen wir Vorwürfe gemacht von einigen derer, die sich als unsere Unterstützer ausgaben, als wir NEIN sagten. NEIN! OURY JALLOH – DAS WAR MORD! Oury Jalloh, der an Händen und Füßen auf einer feuerfesten Matratze gefesselt war, sie sagten, dass wir keine Beweise hätten und dass er sich selbst angezündet hätte.

Wir weigerten uns, zu akzeptieren, dass sie uns vorschrieben, wie wir uns auszudrücken hätten und wir bestanden darauf, uns mit unseren Worten auszudrücken. Wir führten unsere Worte ein, die Wahrheit, unsere Wahrheit. So begannen sie schließlich, nachzugeben, nicht im Einverständnis und zum Schluss haben sie den Kampf verloren, uns vorzuschreiben, wie wir über den Mord an Oury Jalloh zu sprechen hätten. Und genau so, wie das Leben Tausender unserer Brüder und Schwestern gestohlen wurde, währen sie versuchten es in diese so genannte "Festung Europa" zu schaffen, war dieses Leben in der Blüte seiner Jahre ausgelöscht worden, aus keinem anderen Grund außer Rassismus und Polizeibrutalität.

Man kann zwar einige Leute eine gewisse Zeit zum Narren halten, aber ihr könnt nicht alle Leute für immer zum Narren halten. So leisten wir Widerstand. Wir sagen NEIN zu ihren Kontrollen, NEIN zu ihrer Residenzpflicht, NEIN zu ihren Gutscheinen, NEIN zu Isolationslagern, NEIN zu Deportationen, NEIN zu ihren Misshandlungen und NEIN zu ihren rassistischen Polizeikontrollen, zu Brutalität und MORD!!!

Und wie reagieren sie? Was tun diese guten, zivilisierten, erleuchteten Menschen von Deutschland im Angesicht unseres Protestes gegen Misshandlungen, welche den Geist sowohl von ihrer Verfassung als auch internationaler Gesetze verletzen (aber nicht deren Buchstaben, welchen sie modifiziert haben, um damit fortfahren zu können, ihre kolonialen Strukturen durchzusetzen)?

Sie kriminalisieren uns, weil wir es wagen, aufzustehen für Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit. Sie unterdrücken uns, um uns unter zu kriegen und sie versuchen uns einzuschüchtern um unsere Unterstützung zu untergraben. Aber dies wird scheitern, wie es bereits gescheitert ist. Niemand von uns wird je die Opfer vergessen, die Mouctar Bah in seinem beeindruckenden Kampf

um Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit über den Mord an seinem Freund Oury Jalloh gebracht hat. Wir haben auch die rassistische Unterdrückung gesehen, mit welcher deswegen gegen ihn vorgegangen worden ist. Wir sehen wie sie ihn verfolgen und falsche Beschuldigungen gegen ihn erheben. Sie können versuchen was sie wollen, aber die Wahrheit ist auf unserer Seite; die Fakten bringen das hervor und die Geschichte wird ihn recht fertigen. Davon sind wir überzeugt!!!

Und was ist mit Katzhütte, wo sind wir heute?

Wir sind nicht nur hier wegen der Isolierung und den verschimbelten Wänden, der psychischen Folter und der fortgesetzten Bestrafung für das "Verbrechen", unwillkommen in Deutschland zu sein, sondern auch, weil wir gegen die Unmenschlichkeit protestieren, mit der sie reagiert haben, um diese Zustände vor ihrer Bevölkerung zu rechtfertigen und der gesetzwidrigen Unterdrückung derer von uns, die ihre Stimme erhoben hatten. Und wir stehen weiterhin stark und stolz für unseren kollektiven Kampf um die Würde aller. Diese Fakten haben es uns erlaubt, tief in ihre Pläne hinter dem Schleier ihrer Lügen Einsicht zu nehmen, die sie mittels ihrer schlängelnden Sprache konstruierten. So, wie wir ihre Grenzen überwunden haben, so haben wir ihre Versuche überlebt, unseren Widerstand zu brechen. Wir haben viel gesehen und gelernt.

Zum Beispiel wissen wir alle, dass Europa und die Vereinigten Staaten diejenigen sind, welche die Diktatoren in unseren Ländern ausschalten, dass sie die bewaffnet und trainiert haben, die uns in unseren Ländern unterdrücken und dass sie die Kriege finanzieren, die sie in und gegen unsere Länder führen. Wir wissen auch, dass es ihre Wirtschaftsmethoden sind, welche nun auf sie selbst zurückfallen, die unsere Wirtschaften zerstört haben, die uns unserer Ressourcen beraubt haben, rücksichtslos und hemmungslos. So verbieten der IWF und die Weltbank es den Regierungen in unseren Ländern, uns zu dienen, zum Beispiel mit dem Recht auf eine Ausbildung. Es ist richtig, sie ziehen es vor, dass wir ungebildet bleiben, sie denken so können sie besser unsere Ressourcen und unsere Menschen kontrollieren.

Ist es nicht das, was jeden Tag und in jedem unserer Länder passiert? Ist es nicht genau das, vor dem wir geflohen sind? Hatten sie uns nicht immer wieder versprochen, dass ihre Länder die Länder von Reichtum und menschlicher Weiterentwicklung sind, Länder der Menschenrechte und gegründet auf Anstand, Zivilisation und Fortschritt? Ist es das, was wir hier gesehen haben? Sieht so Demokratie aus? Sieht das hier etwas anders aus, als solche "Demokratien" wie in Kamerun oder Ägypten zum Beispiel?

Trotz allem, trotz mehr als fünf hundert Jahren Versuchen, uns zu unterjochen und uns ihren Willen, ihre Logik und ihre Sprache aufzupressen, sie waren dennoch nicht erfolgreich. Tatsächlich werden sie doppelt scheitern, weil ihr koloniales Projekt von Anfang an zum Scheitern verurteilt war und weil ihre rassistische Arroganz ihnen nicht erlaubt, Lösungen zu entwickeln, mit welchen sie der schweren Krise begegnen können, welcher sich nun die Menschheit ausgesetzt sieht (und welche durch die Methoden des Westens verursacht wurde).

Wie sie so viele Jahre den Län-

Fortsetzung auf der nächsten Seite

dern der sogenannten Dritten Welt es angetan haben, Europa und die Vereinigten Staaten haben ihre eigenen Wirtschaftssysteme in ihrer schrankenlosen Profitgier unbrauchbar gemacht. So lange, wie die Reichen reicher wurden und alles für Kredit zu haben war, war es ein System der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten. Aber wie bei ihrer eingebildeten Überlegenheit, die faulen Organisationen ihrer Abenteuer brachten den Schein wirtschaftlicher Zuverlässigkeit zu Fall. Was übrig bleibt ist eine Weltordnung im Verfall und sowohl Europa als auch die Vereinigten Staaten kämpfen gemeinsam, um ihre kolonialen Privilegien zu erhalten, die auf unendliche Mengen von Blut und Tränen der Völker gebaut sind, die nicht und nie willkommen sein werden in ihrem "Paradies der Fantasie".

Aber während ihre Instrumente der Ausbeutung und Vorherrschaft brutaler werden, so greifen auch die Schmerzen des Kapitalismus härter. Eine neue Welt kommt nun empor, eine, deren Gestalt und Zukunft noch festgelegt werden muss. Aber wir sollten keine Atempause von diesem System erwarten. Wie auch immer, weil wir geschichtliche Akteure unseres eigenen Schicksals sind und waren, die kommende Welt wird von uns definiert werden. Ungeachtet ihrer fortgesetzten Barbarei und ihrer profunden Ahnungslosigkeit bezüglich des menschlichen Wesens ist unser Schicksal in unseren Händen.

"do not repeat our mistakes, do not give in"

An interview with a Russian anarchist feminist against the war

First of all, thank you very much for agreeing to the interview.

Could you tell us a little bit about yourself?

I am an anarcho-feminist, participated in grassroots actions and movements, my friends and I did an educational project on YouTube, participated in demonstrations and protest actions. But that's how I am a shoe designer, very good, by the way, and I'm looking for a job, if anything.

When did you arrive in Turkey?

In early March. We bought tickets at the moment when, at the beginning of the war, the government began talking about lifting the moratorium on the death penalty. This is a point that my husband and I agreed on a long time ago. We flew here with our daughter and two cats.

How did you live in Russia?

Well, I mean, like... it's a patriarchal totalitarian police state. It is difficult, but in general I am very attached to my city. I don't really understand what Russia is, it's a huge territory with which I'm almost not connected. But I loved and love my region very much and, probably, I feel it very keenly as my home. I worked in light industry, engaged in femm activism, met with friends, went to the embankment in the summer, we lived almost on it, watched how bridges were being built. White nights, bicycle, the smell of the sea, northern summer, Karelian pines... I had a very good life there because I love it very much. But, of course, I constantly had to live contrary to the state. It is a suffocating and oppressive machine. The state sucks everything

Wir sind es, die unsere Zukunft bestimmen werden. Nicht ihre entwürdigende Politik und nicht ihr Grenzregime.

Wir dürfen nie vergessen, dass jene von uns, die zu Flüchtlingen und MigrantInnen wurden, von Regionen der Welt kommen, die die Mehrheit der Weltbevölkerung ausmachen. Obwohl sie uns Minderheiten nennen, sind wir in Wahrheit die Mehrheit. Und wir sind nicht, entgegen dem Dreck und dem Gift, welches uns in den letzten fünfhundert Jahren in unsere Köpfe injiziert wurde, in irgendeiner Weise minderwertig. Im Gegenteil, die menschliche Geschichte wird sich eines Tages an die sogenannte "Westliche Zivilisation" erinnern als die grausamste, zerstörerischste und ausgrenzendste imperiale Macht, die je existiert hat. Werden wir jemals wissen, wie viele Milliarden Menschen direkt oder indirekt deswegen ums Leben kamen?

Hier in Deutschland haben wir Schritte unternommen. Der Kampf gegen Deportation, für Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit im Falle von Oury Jalloh, um bedingungslose Schließung aller Konzentrationslager, um Anerkennung des Rechtes auf Bewegungsfreiheit und des Rechtes auf Leben, dies alles ist zu Ecksteinen in den Organisationen geworden, die wir zusammengelegt haben, um diese Barbarei zu beenden und ein besseres Morgen für uns und unsere Kinder zu ermöglichen.

Und wir werden weitermachen. Wir werden fortfahren, gemein-

sam zu kämpfen, so dass wir alle als die herrlichen Menschen respektiert werden, die wir sind. Wir werden uns nicht erlauben, uns einschütern zu lassen durch derartige Grausamkeiten und Gier vieler in der Welt. Und wir werden nicht still bleiben, wenn für nichts, dann dafür, dass sich ihre Wünsche nicht erfüllen. Wir werden Kämpfer für die Menschenwürde bleiben und Kämpfer für ein Ende der kolonialen Ungerechtigkeit. Die unerträglichen Schmerzen und das Leid, das sie über einen großen Teil der Menschheit gebracht haben, werden nicht unhinterfragt durchgehen und sie werden darauf antworten müssen, früher oder später.

Gemeinsam brechen wir das Schweigen und die Ketten, die uns in diesen kolonialen Verhältnissen versklaven!
Gemeinsam werden wir deren rassistische Ignoranz und Grausamkeit überwinden!

Lang leben mögen die, welche kämpfen!

29/05/2009
Website: <http://www.thevoiceforum.org/node/1267>

**Stop Deportations!
Right to Work and Study!
Abolish 'Lagers'
Abolish 'Residenzpflicht'!**

Istanbul is a big city, there are a lot of migrants, a lot of industries, a lot of everything, this is a city in which you can dissolve without harming it. Therefore, we decided to fly to Istanbul, and not to Tbilisi or Yerevan. It is also very different and open to everyone, it is a cauldron where hundreds of cultures, communities, scattered and united people are mixed. In general, I love Turkey. I was here fifteen years ago at an anti-border camp in Izmir. Now I don't even understand why I didn't live here half the time in principle. Istanbul is one of my favorite cities. Well, it's also very important, in Turkey people understand why we left, and did not go to overthrow the government with the legs of stools. In some countries, it is impossible to just go out on the square. People with privileges cannot imagine an alternative reality without these privileges. Expressing your disagreement, your civic position is a privilege and we have lost it in Russia.

Approximately how many people moved to Turkey after the war?

I had to look in Google. I think about 15-20 thousand. There are 8 thousand people in the chats of repatriates in the telegram. Not all of these people, of course, participated in the anti-war movement, but they left out of fear and a state of terror and unwillingness to participate in the country's economy.

Do you feel safe in Turkey?

More than I felt at home, to be honest.

Are you or other friends thinking of applying for asylum seeker status in Turkey?

As far as I know, this is impossible, since Turkey is not considered a safe country for refugees. But I would like to be legalized here and applied for a tourist ikamet. I really love my job and I really need to keep working. Of course, I'm not running from the war, but from the regime and my house is not turned into ruins, so I can't complain and I'm not complaining, I feel guilty for all this... And yet, I lost my life which my family had been building for so long and with such difficulty, too. I really need to find a job here, I know that I am a good specialist, that I can be very useful. If we talk about my personal needs, I need a job in my field, I am very afraid that I will lose the opportunity to do what I know and love.

Do you and your friend want to stay in Turkey or are they thinking about moving somewhere else after Turkey?

I would like to stay in Turkey. But I really need to fly to Italy both for work and to my comrades, there is a very good and strong anarcho-feminist movement in Italy, I want to get to them as soon as possible. Besides, I know Italian and my friends live there. But I would like to stay in Istanbul, to be honest.

Some EU countries are closed to flights across the border for Russia. Did this decision block the flight to the EU?

Yes, unfortunately it is, but we understand these measures and take them. We still have evacuation exits - for example, Turkey, a pedestrian crossing through Narva, depends on your capabilities. But all this, of course, is very expensive.

International Women* Space

Meetings for "Third Country Nationals" Women* from Ukraine at Frieda Frauen*Zentrum

Mondays & Fridays
11am – 6 pm

Proskauer Str. 7
10247 Berlin

sive now, the prices for ballets have been artificially raised almost tenfold. For activists, this is an unaffordable amount, because we spent all our "extra" money on supporting political prisoners and helping each other and the movement.

The EU country has opened its border and accepts people who come from Ukraine and are fleeing the war. Do you know how the situation is with Russian anti-war people in the EU?

No one has a sign burning over their head saying "I have been fighting the regime for many years, I am against the war." We are just Russians, just fleeing a country that destroys peaceful cities instead of going to the Kremlin with a pitchfork. I think that in the eyes of the whole world we are now the worst people on Earth, people think in such categories. I don't know how much we can talk about justice here. Is it fair that the Maternity Hospital is shot, women are raped, civilians are killed? The world is unfair in principle and this injustice is not so traumatic.

Did any of your friends move to the EU after this war? What are they telling you?

Yes, of course, many had visas and European vaccinations and, of course, they immediately flew away without waiting for the borders to close. If you have Russophobia, no one shows more Russophobia than our own government. In general, while they don't tell me anything, I see them at anti-war rallies, they see me at the same rallies here.

How are relations with activists from Turkey?

I've been trying to integrate into the activist community of Istanbul since the first day, but it's not very easy. I don't know the language, I am a stranger here. Moreover, the situation with the protest movement in Turkey is very acute. I think the opposition community in Turkey is wary of anyone they don't know. That is, I would do it in their place. Femm activists met with us and we are very grateful to them for this connection and this contact and for everything they do, this is an invaluable feeling of sisterhood, which is difficult to overestimate.

What is your first political impression of the political situation and atmosphere in Turkey?

That it is similar in many ways to the political situation in Russia. I think that's why, despite the fact that my country is an aggressor, I find sympathy and even support here. She is similar in many ways, but not in everything. For example, you still have a policy. Elections, political opinion, civil society... This is a very important and fundamental difference.

Can you explain to us how this war between Ukraine and Russia started?

It began a long time ago, in fact, it did not even begin with the annexation of Crimea, I believe it began from the moment our troops entered the Maidan and opened fire on a peaceful demonstration. Well, the annexation of Crimea was an escalation of the first round of the war.

From what point of view do Russian political activists relate to this war?

Depends on their political position, of course. As an anarchist, I believe that no state is worth human life and freedom. But objectively, Russia is the aggressor.

Are you afraid of our president? So we are no less afraid of him. Do you remember the sanctions of 2012?

Continued on next page



These were personal sanctions against persons responsible for violating human rights and the rule of law in Russia. Then Putin imposed counter sanctions – he banned the adoption of Russian children by American citizens. They were mostly children with disabilities (there are fewer healthy children among refuseniks, and often they are adopted here). All those kids are dead now. He chose an act of intimidation as retaliatory sanctions. This is how he can deal with the most vulnerable group of his country, with such cynicism and sadism. And it was really scary. I can only imagine what awaits us now.

El desgarre del velo de las demandas populares

por Bahram Ghadimi & Shekufe Mohammadi

El 21 de septiembre de 2022 el presidente de la República islámica de Irán empieza su discurso en la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas con un versículo del Corán, para así mentir descaradamente a la gente del mundo, como lo hacen la mayoría de los representantes de los gobiernos capitalistas. Al mismo tiempo en las calles de Teherán la ira de 44 años se convierte en fuego para que mujeres y hombres jóvenes bailen mano en mano y celebren una fiesta de quema del velo obligatorio. Desde hace muchos años diferentes clases sociales han ocupado las calles para encontrar un oído que escuche sus demandas y protestas.

Los obreros de diferentes sectores han estado en huelga y cada vez han sido reprimidos; los pueblos de Irán siempre han estado bajo la opresión y violaciones del régimen: el pueblo turcomano, el pueblo árabe, el pueblo kurdo y el pueblo baluchi, a lo largo de la historia de la República islámica no sólo no han contado con sus derechos humanos y democráticos sino que han sido objeto de los ataques militares del régimen, han sido bombardeados y masacrados. Kurdistán desde hace años se ha convertido en un cuartel militar, los trabajadores beluches están obligados a ganarse el pan cada día bajo el disparo de las balas del cuerpo de los guardianes, los obreros iraníes son encarcelados y enjuiciados por demandar sus sueldos retrasados y formar sindicatos, porque se les reconoce como enemigos del Estado; mientras el representante obrero del sindicato de los conductores de autobús de Teherán está encarcelado, el representante de los obreros del conjunto industrial azucarero de Haft Tapeh es expulsado de su trabajo y los obreros de Acero de Ahvaz deben aceptar ir al exilio. Los levantamientos de los años 2017, 2019 y 2021 han hecho que la gente esté cada vez más preparada para protestas más amplias. En el día 3 de septiembre de 2022 Zahra Sedighi y Elham Chubdar fueron condenadas a muerte por haber defendido el derecho de los homosexuales. Apenas se había secado la tinta de la sentencia de muerte de estas dos personas que una mujer de 22 años que había viajado desde Kurdistán a Teherán fue arrestada por agentes de la policía moral iraní, fue golpeada y tuvieron que llevarla al hospital porque había entrado en coma. Desde aquel mismo instante cuando se supo la noticia de que ella había sido hospitalizada, muchas personas incluidas las familias de aquellos que se habían

What do you feel to tell political activists around the world against this war?

Please do not give up, do not repeat our mistakes, do not give in. We conceded so much in the hope that everything would resolve, that it would not come to the worst. But now I really regret it. And demand a cardinal refusal to support police violence in other countries. It's never "none of your business." Every brutally divided demonstration in a neighboring country is the growth of a militaristic monster next to your country, which, rising on the oppressed population and sucking everything out of it, will turn to you.



1. Ausgabe der Daily Resistance aus dem Herbst 2015

This paper does not belong to anyone, it exists because it is made: by us – for us!

A collective interview with activists about Daily Resistance

As an introduction to the following collective interview here are excerpts from our call for new authors: "Dear friends, we have started to publish the *Daily Resistance* newspaper in 2015. Behind *Daily Resistance* stands a mixed group of different authors and activists. We are migrants, activists in solidarity and non-citizens, who are disenfranchised by the current inhuman laws and asylum procedures. The aim of *Daily Resistance* is to inspire the isolated people in lagers to become active and to raise up against the disrespect they are granted. We want to let them know, that they are not alone, that there is a fight they can join and that they should not accept how they are treated by this state. *Daily Resistance* is distributed directly into camps all over Germany: Berlin, Köln, Hannover, Magdeburg, Delmenhorst, Kiel, München, Erlangen, Erfurt, Darmstadt, Bremen, Hildesheim, Karlsruhe,... also to Vienna, Amsterdam, Manchester, Calais, Thessaloniki. We distribute around 5,000 to 10,000 copies each issue. We are working on the next issue: – with you? We are looking for our Refugee / Migrant / Non-citizen friends and activists who want to write to people in isolation, to the newcomers who were taken away to camps. You can write about almost any topic that affects your life and you think is important for other people to get to know about. Be it as your daily resistance to survive the life in the camp, or if you have some thoughts about how things are going, and how people in our situation should do, to make some changes. If you have an idea or interest, just get in contact with us. If you like to contribute but you feel you can not write very well, please get in contact with us. We have a lot of possibilities... Join us to discuss the content of the newspaper, its meaning and the way to do it! We are looking for more copy editors getting fully involved. Lets give this newspaper its sharpest possible shape:

To be feared by the establishment and to empower the unrecognized!

Erdem: Today we want to talk about Daily Resistance, the newspaper itself – how it started, what is the motivation behind it and what are our perspectives on the collective editorial work. Maybe everyone can simply first say something about their individual experience, for instance when and how you joined or contributed to Daily Resistance, your personal story. You can speak in the language you want, of course.

Turgay: Am Anfang der Bewegung, kurz nach dem Protestmarsch, gab es verschiedene Arbeitsgruppen. Eine Arbeitsgruppe war die Mediengruppe, da war ich direkt am Anfang dabei. Die Idee war eigentlich: Wir wussten nicht, wie kann man in Deutschland mit den sozialen Medien in Kontakt kommen, gerade für die Geflüchteten war das schwierig. Wir haben

einfach mit erst mal mit der Hand alles aufgeschrieben. Dann war Osra von Karawane, *the Voice*, zu Besuch. Er hat mich gefragt: Was schreibst du jeden Tag? Ich habe gesagt: Ich schreibe, was wir hier machen, täglich – Tagebuch kann man sagen. Dann hat er gesagt: Komm mit mir, ich habe eine Idee! Er hat mir einen Laptop gekauft und einen Internetstick. Dann haben wir im Internet was geschrieben. Wir haben aber gesehen, die Medien in Deutschland hatten keine Interesse daran, was die Flüchtlinge machen, an unseren Aktionen oder was für Schwierigkeiten es in Lagern gibt. Also haben wir gedacht, wir müssen selber die Gesellschaft informieren. Das war am Anfang die Idee: Wir müssen was selber machen. Daher kommt *Daily Resistance*, von dieser Idee.

Von Anfang mit dem Protestmarsch haben wir entschieden, wir müssen alles selber machen, Informationen für die Medien oder Aktionen – alles lieber selber entscheiden.

Die Mediengruppe kommt von dieser Idee und *Daily Resistance* auch.

Sönke: Du hast gesagt, du hast zu Beginn eine Art Tagebuch geschrieben. War das nur für dich selbst oder schon gedacht als eine Dokumentation des Protests, der Bewegung?

T: Ja, für die Medien, weil ich war Journalist in der Türkei. Ich war auch lange im Gefängnis. In Griechenland habe ich auch jeden Tag geschrieben. Aber ja, ich habe für die Bewegung angefangen, schon vor dem Protestmarsch habe ich viele Hefte voll geschrieben, auch während des Protestmarsches natürlich wegen der guten Atmosphäre. Jeden Tag hab ich geschrieben, was wir heute gemacht haben, was wir mit den anderen Aktivisten diskutiert haben, welche Probleme da waren, mit Geflüchteten oder mit Unterstützern – es gab auch viele Probleme. Ich habe alles geschrieben. Jemand hat auch übersetzt in Deutsch oder Englisch, glaube ich. Es gibt Teile vom Oplatz.net so tagebuchartig. Mit der Zeitung konnten wir dann viele Geflüchtete kontaktieren. Ich weiß noch, in Halle in einem Lager habe ich auf dem Tisch *Daily Resistance* liegen gesehen. Oder ich war in Athen in einem besetzten Haus – auch da habe ich auf dem Tisch die Farsi-Version von *Daily Resistance* gesehen. Das hat natürlich mehr Verbindungen geschaffen. Früher, am Anfang beim Protestmarsch haben wir viele Flüchtlingslager besucht. Jeder musste mitkommen, um mit den Leuten zu reden – farsi, arabisch, türkisch –, weil sie wissen keine andere Sprache. Aber

Our Movement, Our News

by [Oplatz.net](#)

dear people from all over the world, this is our first issue of the newspaper *Daily Resistance* and it's written by people in the same position like you as the so-called refugees: people who are fighting against being dehumanized by law, criminalized by politicians, capitalized by the labor industry and instrumentalized by the media, plus with the support of very few citizens and friends in solidarity who are actively fighting with us to overcome this unjust and inhuman condition which is the reality and waste of our lifetime.

all in together there are only in Berlin over 32,000 people forced to live in lagers (camps) and very few people in German society care about them, or even less are against this situation; so it seems like a long way to go – and that is unfortunately how it is. this is one of the many reasons why this newspaper, the *daily resistance news*, the website [www.dailystrike.net](#) and many self-organized groups and platforms were founded, to not only bring to you, our news and the self-written history of our self-organized movement, or to let you know how our image is received in the german society – the most important part of this newsletter is to tell others to support you where, when and in showing you ways to come together with other people and networks so you can "help yourself" – because one thing is for sure: there will be no "help" from this racist system and government, so it is up to us to stand up, organize and demand our rights.

We hope you enjoy this newspaper, because one thing is for sure: there will be no "help" from this racist system and government, so it is up to us to stand up, organize and demand our rights.



Continuation from previous page

mit *Daily Resistance* kommen verschiedene Sprachen gleichzeitig.

Dann gibt's du die Zeitung: Ah, ok hier ist Farsi, die kann ich auch lesen. Damit ist viel geholfen, denke ich.

Bino: I can say also something about the history and I think my history is almost the same like Turgay's history. I remember myself getting involved in the protest from where I was in Passau, Bavaria. I wrote one call, and that call was also in the newspaper in Passau and also it was like it worked again as a flyer to mobilize the refugees around Passau and the nearby Lagers, Landshut and some other areas that I don't remember very well.

But I think that was the beginning of my journalism, critical journalism, through raising my voice and also the voices of others, because the issues we were addressing were the very experiences that we had been experiencing in the refugee camps and the treatments outside of the camps – like people act against you, if you go to the Ausländerbehörde, how they look at you and ask you funny questions and all this stress we had.

So it was a combined narrativ which came out as a result of refugee demands. And when the refugees in Würzburg decided: We go to the streets in Berlin, I said: Yes, I am here! That's how I met Turgay. Maybe we have even met before, because I remember 2011 there was a meeting here organized by Karawane, where we went also to the Nigerian embassy. And I remember after some time during the protest I recognized there these people that I already knew. So I was already doing my activism work or journalism work, but I didn't know until 2014, when I actually said: Now I want to do journalism work, straight. So then I was involved in a lot of discussions, I was also part of Media Group from the refugee struggle. I remember going in Bethanien, writing flyers, some stuff, you know, also myself trying to make a layout for the flyers. All this contributed personally to my journalism and also to be more critical and to network with people. And like Turgay already said, we have the same critical mind, and we are on the right track. When O-Platz was gone, the media group O-Platz still remained strong and they organized us, or we organized ourselves and started again meeting. I contributed to first issue of *Daily Resistance* and I think to the second one, too. Afterwards I didn't contribute a lot, but I was following and also distributing the newspaper. Always we have lot of copies here at We are born free-radio and I think even in the studio I was reading, or my friends were reading some of the articles during the shows. So we are part of *Daily Resistance*, the radio had been contributing to *Daily Resistance*, and if we sit here now to talk about all this I feel appreciated and empowered. What is important, is that the paper is still here and it is still addressing the refugee concern and acknowledges our struggle.

Johann: I joined the O-Platz Media Group after the eviction of Oranienplatz, when there was just a blog. At that time it was called asylstrikeberlin.wordpress.com. I thought, it's a useful tool to amplify the voices of the movement and by this activist can actually do their own media because often media



Join us to make a better *Daily Resistance!* Turgay arriving with fresh coffee from the nearby Café Kotti (historic picture, 2015?). Meanwhile he is running Café Karanfil in Neukölln, a place where we regularly meet, as do many other protest groups. Join us in our next meeting and watch Turgay making coffee and revolution at the same time:

Come by! Here are the upcoming *Daily Resistance* meetings:
19.10.22 18:00
12.11.22 18:00
16.11.22 18:00
@ Café Karanfil, Weisestraße 3, Neukölln near U-Bahn Boddenstraße

in Germany probably wouldn't really consider the demands, they wouldn't report on the movement or they would just come up with their own stories. It's crucial for the movement also to show their own version and also to create a platform for collecting different voices and by this establishing a possibility where the movement can also exchange and discuss how to proceed, how we conceive ourselves politically. So I wanted to be part of it and by doing administrative, also editorial work I can help to reach out to different people to encourage them to speak and write for themselves.

This was the intention right from the beginning of *Daily Resistance* – to enhance people from the movement to actually write their stories, for many this was the first time because most them weren't journalists or didn't understand themselves as journalists, but they had a lot to say and they had defined their political goals and demands. The Media Group also wanted to record these stories. So we continued with the blog and reshaped it by the end 2014, beginning 2015 into oplatz.net.

When it comes to the newspaper, I think this was the result of a reflection process, discussing that we don't really reach the people we want to reach by only having the blog. To reach out to people that are stucked in isolated camps and lagers and by this also to encourage them to write for themselves, we

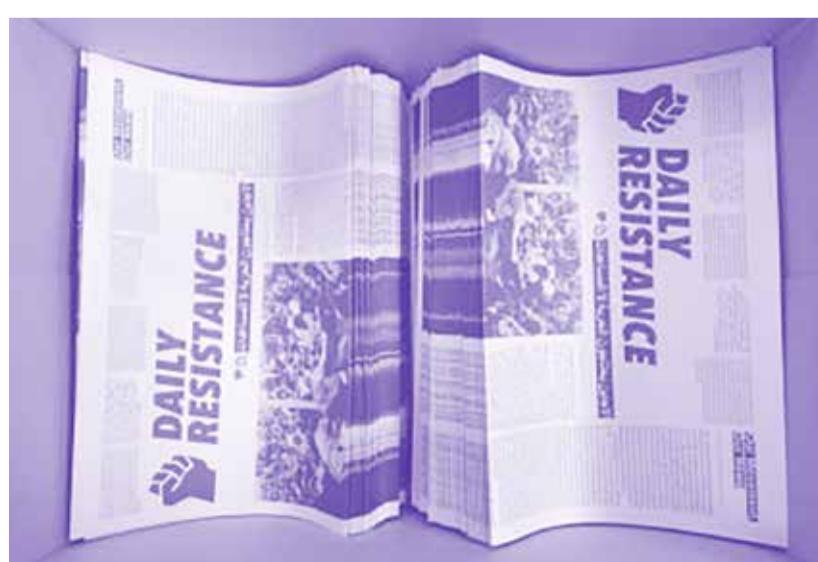


The first issues had to be folded manually but luckily not anymore (Hallo Ousmane!). Exception: the issue you are holding now – it is too thick, so a two-pile attempt is on order. (Hallo Ramon! und Hallo Micha!)

thought we have to also deliver the newspaper on actual paper, also for the fact that often lagers wouldn't have any wifi. Again, this decision to have several languages in one issue, was of utmost importance, at first because it reflected that the movement was always already communicating in several languages, but also to reach as many people as possible with one issue.

S: When O-Platz was occupied, I was a few times there, but I somehow missed to really join the support, the work there. So I followed online the Media Group, what was happening. Then in 2018, I think, I received an email that was inviting to an editorial meeting of *Daily Resistance* and asking for support. So I was following the newspaper already back then and I thought it is such a powerful instrument that appeared from this movement and it needs to have continuation.

That was my initial motivation why I joined *Daily Resistance*, because I thought it's necessary that these structures that come from this powerful movements and that have some chance of passing on experiences and knowledges, that they have continuation.



"The second issue is twice as many pages as the first one and twice as heavy. It's hard to carry; it's really a physical thing." from an interview in August 2016, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/nknbg/this-newspaper-is-written-by-refugees-daily-resistance>

thing. So I directly searched the contact to support and contribute. And the Media Group was somehow the first, who responded and so I came there. It was the same time, when this newspaper-idea developed. What I remember from the beginning, I think it was the same time that the movement was in a hard situation, it was struggling with conflicts, I would say mainly because of state repression happened, like the O-Platz was already evicted and the School had to fight a lot against the repression, people got deported and that was not such an easy time for the movement, I think. That was sometimes a bit hard for me to understand, cause I didn't know about all it. So you come sometimes to meetings and you realise some things are going on, but you don't know about it, it's sometime ago. But it continued, there was always the will to fight against.

The paper was also one of those ideas to not let be silenced by the state, and also to show the struggle – because I think, it's a quite common strategy to silence people and to silence the history of the struggles.

This was one of those main ideas to not get silenced, and to connect to new people. Cause it's always growing and new people are coming again, we didn't know about.

Rosa: I don't know, if there is much for me to say, since I only joined *Daily Resistance* very recently. But I remember you telling me about it, Savas, you asked me to distribute the newspaper, I think, it was during the pandemic. So I went to distribute it, and I remember taking it to Brandenburg and also to Thüringen. And it felt really good to just be able to have something in your hand and to leave it at a camp or another place, where someone could find it and read.

Savas: 2018, when I decided to come to Germany to apply for Asylum, one of my friends sent me Turgay's contact and Turgay told me his individual story of the refugee movement and he told me also, what happened on O-Platz and about the daily resistance against all this shit. And then he said: We try to make an *Daily Resistance*-newspaper. And he asked me: Would you like to be involved in this newspaper? And I said:

Yes, of course, we have to be together against this system, because of my political position as a refugee.

Since then I am involved in *Daily Resistance*. That's my story.

T: Ich wollte noch zu dem, was du gesagt hast: Immer gab es einen Konflikt mit den anderen Leuten, mit uns. Oft sind Projekte von draußen gekommen: Bücher, Film, Zeitung, Redebeitrag. Zum Beispiel waren wir in Brüssel, waren einen Monat gelaufen, unsere Füße waren kaputt. Und da war eine Gruppe aus Brüssel oder aus Frankreich – ich weiß nicht mehr –, sie haben für uns eine Pressekonferenz organisiert, ohne uns zu fragen. Sie haben gesagt: Ok, wir machen eine Pressekonferenz. Wer redet? Jemand, den wir nicht kennen, der nicht mit uns gelaufen ist. Und sie haben gesagt: Ja, wir sind eine Organisation. Und wir: Warum redet der bei der Pressekonferenz für uns? Wir kennen dich nicht, du bist nicht mitgelaufen. Dann haben wir entschieden, es spricht jemand mit Farsi-Sprache, der mitgelaufen war. Er soll das machen und wenn jemand übersetzen will, ist das kein Problem. Das war aber nicht nur einmal so, son-

Continued on next page



dern mehrere Male: Professor*innen, Filmemacher*innen, Buchschreiber*innen – immer über uns ein Projekt gemacht, Geld genommen von der Stadt, ich weiß nicht. Deswegen wollten wir alles selber machen – Film, Buch, Zeitung. Wir können das auch machen, warum nicht? Aber natürlich gibt es keine gleichen Chance. Deswegen ist es wichtig eine eigene Media zu haben, was die Leute machen, die die Aktionen organisieren, sie dürfen auch etwas sagen über die Bewegung – das ist wichtig, finde ich.

A: I remember the first newspaper, the response. We were really, really surprised how many responses came, and how positive they were. We got so many messages from many cities, Europe, even United States. We were really impressed. We did not expect this. Cause the first idea was to spread the newspaper here, and then we sent some emails. And then we had to send so many copies anywhere. I think that many groups and people in those small cities – cause the movement was huge here, but it was not exist-

ourselves. Everybody was always interested in how journalism can be actually done by yourself, not just writing texts, but also interviewing. Bring texts together, assembling them, editing but also filming and photography. This was key to the project, enabling to get these skills, to skill sharing, how this is being done, how you do social media, how you promote texts, how you conduct interviews. The whole journalism was D.I.Y. Afterwards we would pack packages and send them out and bring them to the post. From the beginning everything was done by the editorial group.

B: We already talked about the archive. For me, I see it as an archive of struggling and networking today. Of course we went to protest, camp and having those daily meetings, but we have really felt connected much in terms of telling our stories or showing our political motivations. I remember very well, when I was asked to send my articles and I sent my manifest about We are born free-radio – I think it was on the front of the second issue, and I was happy to see it. I think, I will send again more articles. The stories



ing so strong any more in other cities – that this was showing somehow a need to have this connection and to have some materials in the hand.

T: Einmal in Athen waren wir in einem Café draußen, das war in der Nähe von einem besetzten Haus. Dann ist jemand gekommen und hat mir *Daily Resistance* (die Farsi-Ausgabe) gegeben. Das war interessant.

S: Ich erinnere mich an die erste Lagertour, die ich mitgemacht habe in Berlin. Wir haben versucht, Personen, die ins Lager gegangen sind, die Zeitung zu geben. Das fand ich sehr beeindruckend, was für ein wichtiger direkter Kontakt diese Zeitung auch ist. Wir sind sofort mit vielen Leuten im Gespräch gewesen, für die es wirklich bedeutungsvoll war, dass es diese Zeitung gibt, dass die Zeitung die Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse, die deren Alltag die ganze Zeit bestimmt, benennt. Und dass es dazu überhaupt eine politische Bewegung, die sich dazu verhält. Das finde ich beeindruckend an der Zeitung, weil das genau eine Überlegung von Anfang war, dass die Zeitung die Isolation durchbrechen sollte.

J: I remember the endless discussions in ITTS room, next to Café Kotti. At the beginning we were 20 people and talking about and discussing the articles. I remember endless folding actions, because in the beginning our printer was not able to fold the paper. So we were there, discussing, drinking coffee and folding at the same time. So this was really hardwork, but also nice because everything was done by

from Turgay, I knew about them, but when it was on paper it was more detailed, I could concentrate on his story more, and some other stories like International Women Space, Women in Exile, the story about Moria camp, Roma people – those stories, that I could not miss to read out when I am on the radio.

For me, it is an archive of different voices. Also, it was like a remaining platform after Oranienplatz, after the protest camp was weg.

So, when people ask me where I could take the information about the refugee movement, so there is *Daily Resistance*. There is a website and there is a newspaper.

E: We are also interested in what you were doing before the newspaper. Have you ever worked on a political newspaper, blog, social media? What are the differences between *Daily Resistance* and also the works that you did before?

T: In der Türkei war ich im Gefängnis für 15 Jahre. Aber doch früher hatten wir eine Arbeiterzeitung. Das Gleiche – Flyer usw. Zum Beispiel war ich Student im Gymnasium, in Merter (Istanbul), ein Industriegebiet. Wir sind zur Mittagspausezeit oder zum Feierabend mit der Zeitung dorthin gegangen, das war eine ähnliche Arbeit eigentlich. Was ich gedacht habe, Flüchtlingslager ist wie eine Fabrik. Wie kann man da reingehen? Man muss eine Methode finden. Es ist nicht einfach, die lassen uns nicht einfach rein. Du kannst nicht einfach ins Lager gehen, du musst jemanden dort kennen und telefonieren und der muss dem Hausmeister oder irgendjemand

Bescheid geben und dann kannst du reingehen. Im Gefängnis haben wir eine Zine mit Handgemacht, der Name war „İsimsiz“, „Namenlos“. Danach ist es dick geworden, mit Karikatur, Text, Diskussion, Themen von Philosophie, Geschichte usw. Wir haben viele Briefe von draußen bekommen. Und wir haben es jemandem gegeben, um Kopien zu machen und zu verteilen. Das war eine interessante Erfahrungen im Gefängnis. Draußen auch. Zum Beispiel habe ich mit Textil-Mitarbeitern ein Interview gemacht, sie haben in der Zeitung das Interview gesehen und haben Interesse gezeigt, wie man Streik organisieren kann, ein Plenum – wenn jemand von gleichem Sektor oder Beruf in der Zeitung schreibt, dann erzeugt es mehr Interesse. Für Geflüchtete ist es auch so. Zum Beispiel waren wir in Bramsche, Osnabrück, da haben wir die erste Broschüre mit Hand geschrieben. Der Name war „Break Isolation“, 20 Seiten vielleicht. 500 verteilt. Früher hatten nur wenige Leute Interesse mitzumachen, zu protestieren usw.

Aber nach dieser Broschüre haben wir im Lager mit 80 Leuten eine Demonstration organisiert. Medien sind wichtig für eine Bewegung.

B: I don't really have a journalism background from Uganda. But what I remember that I was a very outspoken person. I think, this also gave me the possibility to be critical, because I used to engage myself in different talks in the youth activities in Uganda. Also when I went to Greece, I remained outspoken and critical. I was not a person „alles

klar, alles klar, alright“. I would ask: What about this, why we do this, why? So I think, then I was practicing my journalism. It is the same thing when I came to Germany and when there was the opportunity to be mobilised, to stand out – for me that was something that I had waited for long time. And that's how it happened, how I became part of refugee resistance.

E: Most serious experience were from Gezi Park revolt times. We as, a group of few friends, an anarchist friend group, we felt like nobody is representing us and nobody can. If we want to share our word, we have to do it. We just sit in front of one computer, wrote a text, we went to a printing office and we started to give it to the people in the occupation area. We wrote maybe 4-5 different texts and later on there were forums in the neighbourhoods and we started to distribute those texts there.

S: I had some experience with many years in Turkey with a magazine about the anarchist movement, we had also a fanzine about art and politics. We were just deciding so fast what we have to write, people could decide what they want to write about. But we were learning many things when we were doing that collectively. We were sharing some responsibilities, and everyone had a free speech and text what they want to write. And of course it had anti-capitalist perspective.

S: Vielleicht kann ich etwas Kurzes dazu sagen zu der Frage der Repräsentation und Autorschaft eigentlich auch. Ich komme auch vom kritischen Schreiben, ich habe

It is one thing to produce this paper, print it, compile it but a totally different one to get it out into the world. This newspaper here made it to Lesvos. Activists are throwing copies over the fence because they are denied access to the camp.

You, too, can spread the newspaper to the newcomers and others concerned: get in contact with us, let us know how many copies you can distribute and where we should send them to: dailyresistance@systemli.org

Daily Resistance so far is directly distributed into camps all over Germany: e.g. Magdeburg, Delmenhorst, Kiel, München, Erlangen, Erfurt, Darmstadt, Bremen, Halle, Hildesheim, Karlsruhe, ... also to Athens, Zürich, Vienna, Manchester, Calais, Glasgow, Warsaw, Thessaloniki, Dionewar, Málaga ...

auch lange institutionskritische Kunst gemacht und bevor ich mit der Zeitung angefangen habe, ist die Frage der Autorschaft wichtiger geworden und das Problem, dass gerade in akademischen und künstlerischen Kontexten Erfahrungen aus emanzipatorischen widerständigen Bewegungen angeeignet und in Diskurse übersetzt werden. Das verbindet mich immer mit der Frage, wer schreibt in der Zeitung und wie wird diese Autorschaft aufrechterhalten.

E: Do you actually get feedback from people reading the newspaper? What is the impact of the newspaper? Who reads the newspaper? What critique do you have on the newspaper or what wishes for the future? What can we do better in the future?

S: First of all, I have to say this: **In our newspaper topics and texts are tough to read. So traumatic, it makes you upset and angry. I come from Turkey, topics and issues are terrible and hard, I can understand. When I read, I make a pause to read the other page. But it is not a reason to not to continue with the newspaper, it's the reality that we need to share and publish.**

I can understand, when people read, they need a pause. But I cannot really get feedback, when I give the newspaper to a place or to people. People don't say: „I read this page, it is so terrible. What can we do? Or how did you feel?“ In Turkey, when we publish the newspaper after a meeting, did you read this text



Continuation from previous page

and what you think about it. Small conversations about the newspaper. Since 5 years, I did not see such things. I don't get feedback in the end. That is missing sometimes.

T: Als ich die Zeitung Geflüchteten gegeben habe, denken sie immer, was ich auch normal finde: „Was bringt das für meinen Asylantrag? Meine Probleme sind nämlich Dublin, Abschiebung usw.“ Jede Person erwartet, wie ihre Probleme durch die Zeitung gelöst werden können. Natürlich schaffen wir das nicht. Und das andere Problem ist, das Verteilen ist wichtig, aber das hilft der Organisierung nicht. Jemand, der Erfahrungen hat, muss im Lager sein und muss mit der Zeitung organisieren. Das könnte gut funktionieren. Sonst lesen das die meisten nicht. Sie denken: „Mein Problem ist Dublin, aber hier gibt es keine Lösung dafür!“ Aber das ist auch normal, wenn ich oder du das Abschiebungsproblem hast, fokussierst du dich nur auf die Abschiebung.

B: For me the feedbacks have been OK. It became an archive, a remaining platform for the refugee protest, especially for Berlin. One critique I have though is the arrangement of the articles. Articles on the front page are given more emphasis, of course, but sometimes articles addressing the refugee issues or stories were not on the first page.

Moro: I don't have that much criticism. Maybe I would just give suggestions. First of all, I give my impression, the impact of newspaper, which is very good. Recently there were several articles written by women and I was publishing and reading them at the radio. Concerning the question, who reads and who should the newspaper reach, who is it for? Most of the time the articles are very mixed together. You might find some articles meant to be for Germans or the locals, who do not know about the problems of the refugees. Sometimes you find articles are meant for refugees themselves in the lager. When they are mixed together, it can be contradictory. I write articles that are meant for Germans, local people so that they know the problems of the refugees, I also write articles that are mainly for the refugees, in the lager, vulnerable people. Distinction of two, mainly for refugees and mainly for locals. Also, I am very used to online activities with my own experience. Most of the articles are from the lager, so if there would be bureaucratic information about refugees, the way to go through it, and good practice - this could be directly shared online. I think, for most of the refugees it is very hard by now to read the newspaper offline. Because many of them are on channels, on online newspapers. We could directly send the information there.

Mh: I liked the composition of people. Especially the core part of it. I could remember a long time ago we had a long discussion about what kind of color the newspaper will be written. I found it a very unique one. Our direction of reaching people should be both sides, refugees and general society here to tell them something happening in your own country. I realised that as part of German society many people don't reach to the inner story of the people. „We give you this, we give you this, you have to be greatful“ - struggles and the constraint are a part of it, they don't put in the media, nobody will read it. So it is nice to make them aware of the situation in detail. In terms to reach our fel-

low refugees, in terms of solidarity. In terms of deportation alert, something can inform them.

B: There should be an online reachout. We could do another format of reaching the people, like audio. It would be nice, if we do records, to ask if it is possible to record them. When someone is talking more things come up. Record it and put it on *Daily Resistance*. This is a way of also reaching the people and motivating many. Sometimes I feel like writing but I don't have time to write. We have really great people, they have very touching stories, but when it comes to writing, it becomes problematic. Because some people maybe they don't have much time to sit on a computer, or maybe they don't even have an idea about using a computer. And writing an article requires much concentration to correct the language etc. And one, two events to invite people, to come to *Daily Resistance* to chill out. This will also encourage people to write and to know more about the newspaper.

Because people need to be connected, need information from the source. Maybe to get people to know and they feel welcome and trust. Because it is also about trust. Maybe someone is scared to give his/her story. The real story is different than what I give in Ausländerbehörde. People want to know who are the people publishing my story. Maybe also a way to collaborate: Radio and newspaper could be sisters and brothers.

Mr: Yes, we can one or two hours once a month or twice a month come with the newspaper, when there is a new edition. We can discuss about it and if it is possible on the edition on the newspaper we can have one or two guests if they are comfortable to come.

S: I think, everything what you are saying I completely agree. We have organised two or three assemblies to bring in many people again. We try also to publish our editorial meetings which are always open. That is so meaningful for our work, it is about organising and keeping the newspaper going, because it is such an important instrument. It has a history, it comes out from a movement and it should continue.

Mr: How were these assemblies? Who came - writers, editors or people who give the stories to the newspaper?

S: People who have been involved and initiating the refugee movement in Berlin. This is important to do because a small group is OK for running the newspaper, but some situations are necessary, where many people involved in the movement, from different initiatives have a say in what direction the newspaper should take. What they appreciate. What they would like to change. What kind of main question should we address in the next months or years.

Mr: Once a year or twice a year, make a general assembly, call people, call the initiatives have been involved, come together. Views, critiques, opinions. This is really good, this would be helpful also to the publicity and the engagement.

MIGRATION IS NOT A CRIME!



10 ans de camp de protestation sur l'Oranienplatz... Il n'y a pas de quoi faire la fête

en

<https://oplatz.net/10-years-of-the-protest-camp-at-oranienplatz-no-reason-to-celebrate/>

de Bruno Watara

Sivous commémorez avec des textes du camp de protestation sur d'Oranienplatz qui a commencé en octobre 2012, souvenez-vous bien !

Souvenez-vous de Mohammad Rahsepar !

Fin janvier 2012, Mohammad Rahsepar s'est suicidé dans le camp de réfugiés de Würzburg. Il avait déjà exprimé des pensées suicidaires en décembre. Ces médecins avaient donc recommandé aux autorités compétentes d'améliorer sa situation d'hébergement. Il voulait rejoindre sa sœur à Cologne, mais les autorités ont refusé en raison de Residenzpflicht (l'obligation de résidence.) Sa mort a été le déclencheur d'une vague de protestations dans toute l'Allemagne.

Ses voisins* dans le camp et ses amis* ont monté un camp de protestation dans la rue pour attirer l'attention sur leur situation : Hébergement dans le camp, système de bons, obligation de résidence, interdiction de travailler et l'incertitude permanente. Leur protestation s'est rapidement étendue à de nombreuses villes dans toute l'Allemagne. Ici aussi, à Berlin, il y avait une tente de protestation sur Heinrichplatz.

Souvenez-vous de 'Residenzpflicht' !

Residenzpflicht (Obligation de résidence) n'existe dans aucun autre pays européen. Ses origines remontent à l'époque coloniale. Les nationaux-socialistes ont fait de l'obligation de résidence une loi dans leur ordonnance de police de 1938 pour les travailleurs forcés. En 1982, les législateurs ont repris cette réglementation et l'ont maintenue dans la loi sur 'Asylverfahrensgesetz' (procédure d'asile) pour les demandeurs d'asile.

Jusqu'à la fin de l'année 2014, tous les demandeurs d'asile devraient demander une autorisation auprès de l'office des étrangers chaque fois qu'ils souhaitaient quitter leur district. Parfois, ils l'obtenaient, le plus souvent non. A la fin des années 90, les autorités ont utilisé l'obligation de résidence pour empêcher les demandeurs d'asile de s'engager politiquement. A chaque manifestation, congrès ou réunion, nous devions trouver une manière de gérer les contrôles.

Fin 2014, l'obligation de résidence a été assouplie pour une partie des demandeurs d'asile. Ils peuvent désormais se déplacer sur tout le territoire allemand sans autorisation après les trois premiers mois passés en Allemagne. En théorie du moins. Car il existe de nombreux motifs d'exclusion de cette prétendue "liberté de mouvement". Ce sont surtout les réfugiés avec une "Duldung" qui sont, comme jusqu'à présent, à la merci de l'arbitraire des autorités. Les autorités compétentes en matière d'immigration

peuvent à tout moment les bloquer dans le district.

La première manifestation contre l'obligation de résidence a d'ailleurs eu lieu en 2000, organisée par la Caravane pour les droits des réfugiés et des migrants. Depuis, de nombreuses organisations autonomes de réfugiés, par exemple the 'Voice Refugee Forum' ou 'Flüchtlingsinitiative Brandenburg', ont lutté contre l'obligation de résidence. Ceux qui parlent du camp de protestation sur l'Oranienplatz sans mentionner les autres actions de protestation des réfugiés en 2012 et les antécédents de nos luttes ne se solidarisent pas avec les luttes des réfugiés, mais nous ignorent.

Souvenez-vous de la marche de protestation des réfugiés !

En septembre 2012, un groupe de réfugiés a lancé la REFUGEE PROTEST MARCH de Würzburg à Berlin. Ils ont protesté contre Residenzpflicht (l'obligation de résidence) en la violant publiquement et ont porté leur protestation auprès des responsables politiques à Berlin. Le 5 octobre 2012 - après un mois et 600 km de marche, ils sont arrivés à Berlin.

Un groupe d'activistes* à Berlin a soutenu la marche de protestation en préparant le camp sur l'Oranienplatz comme lieu d'arrivée. Le camp était prévu pour quelques semaines afin d'organiser une grande manifestation finale et de planifier d'autres actions. Aucun d'entre nous n'avait prévu un camp de protestation qui devait durer plus d'un an.

Rappelez-vous (vous) bien ! L'Oranienplatz n'a jamais été occupée.

Il y a toujours eu des négociations avec les maires d'arrondissement*, qui ont abouti à ce que l'Oranienplatz continue à être tolérée. Ceux qui prétendent que l'Oranienplatz a été occupée ignorent notre travail, le travail des activistes qui ont préparé le camp et mené les négociations pendant des années.

Lors de la manifestation qui a clôturé la marche de protestation le 13 octobre 2012, de nombreuses personnes sont venues de toute l'Allemagne, elle a vraiment pris de l'ampleur. Ensuite, il y a eu différentes approches pour d'autres actions : Alors qu'un groupe a commencé une grève de la faim sur Pariser Platz, d'autres sont restés sur l'Oranienplatz et l'ont utilisée comme point de départ pour différentes actions.

En hiver 2012, des réfugiés italiens se sont joints à eux, pour qui le camp de protestation était avant tout un lieu de survie : ils fuyaient l'absence de toit, la faim et le manque de perspectives en Italie pour se rendre à Berlin. L'Oranienplatz est ainsi devenu un symbole de l'inhumanité et de la cruauté de la politique d'asile allemande et de la politique d'asile de l'UE.

Malheureusement, nous n'avons réussi à relier les différents groupes et intérêts des réfugiés sur l'Oranienplatz que lors d'actions isolées. Le système d'asile nous a divi-

sés. Même parmi les personnes qui nous soutiennent, il y a eu des luttes de pouvoir et des divisions.

Rappelez-vous bien ! L'Oranienplatz n'a pas été évacuée par la police.

Ce sont des réfugiés qui ont débarassé les tentes d'autres réfugiés. Le Sénat avait réussi - notamment avec l'aide de soi-disant soutiens* - à viser les réfugiés de l'Oranienplatz. Apprenons des vieilles erreurs au lieu de les répéter. Les gouvernements et les parlements nous divisent avec leurs politiques migratoires racistes. Nous devons nous opposer à cela et nous rapprocher encore plus.

Et pour finir : rappelez-vous qu'aujourd'hui encore, certains réfugiés qui se trouvaient à l'époque sur l'Oranienplatz n'ont pas de permis de séjour !

Tant que ce sera le cas, il n'y a aucune raison de faire la fête.



What about you?

We can make your voice being heard.

Send us photos, write about your life. What do you miss and what do you think?

Write to us.

Have you seen something that you want to share with others?

Come visit us.

Café Karanfil
Weisestraße 3
12049 Berlin
U8 Boddinstraße

Do you like to distribute this newspaper in your Lager?

Write to us, we can send it to you. You don't need money.

It is for free:
dailyresistance@systemli.org

Yours,
the Daily Resistance Crew

