This paper is published and written by a diverse group of so-called refugees who choose not to accept their disfranchisement 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- پناهنده 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 انزوای خود را در کمپ .بشکنید و به ما بپیوندید

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 civique par l'État allemand. Avec des sympathisants locaux, nous voulons informer et inviter autant de personnes que possible pour briser l'isolement et creer un contact avec nous.

هذه الصحيفة نشرت و كتبت من قبل مجموعة متعددة من ما يدعى «لاجئين» الذين لم يقبلو الحرمان من الحكومة الالمانية، معا مع داعمين محليين نبحث لنخبر و ندعو اكبر عدد ممكن من الاشخاص لنكسّر العزلة و يتواصلو معنا.

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

Our Movement, **Our News**

by Lager Mobilisation Network

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 lager 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 unhuman condition which is the reality and waste of our lifetime.

all in together there are, only in berlin, over 33.000 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 lager mobilisation network, the website www.oplatz.net and many more self-organized groups and platforms were founded: to not only bring to you news, views and the self-written history of our self-organized movement, or to let you know how your image is covered in the german society... the most important part of this newsletter is the attempt 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 on us to stand up, organize and demand our rights.

we hope you enjoy this newspaper and if you want to participate in its production please let us know. just as much if you have something to criticize: please contact us with your ideas. just ask the person the person who provided you this newspaper or if you have internet access, visit us at: www.oplatz.net peace



I saw that people were going cra- and dignity. Responding to the su- recommended that I should make zy in the lager, which is located in icide of the Iranian asylum seeker speeches or talk to people, and since

Oranienplatz Resistance

DAILY RESISTANCE

لاجئين يحتاجون الحرية لا المساعدات 🔁 ሞ

by Adam Bahar, activist

كأحد الناشطين في مجال حقوق الاجئين وكمهاجر عايشت كل الظروف التي يمر بها الاجئْينِ القادمين الي أورباً، تدور دوما في ذِهني أسئلة عاصفةُ لا تهدا احاول هنا ان أشارككم إياها !

هل فعلاً نجد في ألمانيا في ارض الواقع تلكِ الشعارات الّتي يرددها الاعلام هذه الأيام وخاصة المستشارة الألمانية. إنجيلا ميركل حين صرحت (لقد حققنا ذلك) ! هل فعلا تحقق ما يحب فعله لتمكين ثقافة الترحيب بالاجئين وفي نفس الوقت تمتلئ شوارع مدن ألمانيا المختلفة بالمتظاهرين من حركة المعادين للإسلام والأجانب (بغيداً) وهل تمكن هؤلاءً المعادين للاجانب من حرق اكثر من مئة مركز إيواء مستقبلي للاجئين يعكس ثفافة الترحيب ؟ وهل ذلك يعني ترحيبا حين يتمكَّن البرلمان الألماني مَن اجازة قوانين جديدة تمنع وتقيد حربة الحركة للاجئين وتلزمهم بالبقاء مدة أطول في معسكرات اللجوء المتردية وحتي تعيد توزيع اكل معلب جاهز وتمنع دفع مبلغ مالي للإعاشة واستبداله بكبونات ؟ هل تسيّر في طريق الترحيب ؟ ان سياسة جزء كبير من المجتمع الألماني الذين يحاولون ان ينشروا ثفافة الترحيب بجعل الاجئين كضحايا يحتاجون المساعدة ويتناسون سياسة حكومتهم التي تدعم كُلْ أشكال عدم الاستقرار في المناطق الآخري ويتناسون ان ألشركات الألمانية مازالت تصدر السلاح لمناطق النزاع علي سبيل المثال صفقات السلاح للسعودية التي تقود النزاع في اليمن تحت مسمي دعُم الشرعية ،ودعُم أوربا للدكتاتوريات في أفريقيا كاتفاقية مايسمي (Khartoum process) الذي وقعه الاتحاد الأوربي مع اكبر ديكتاتوريات افريقيا (السودآن – اريتريا -جنوب السودان) من اجل إيقاف



تدفق الاجئين من افريقيا الذين ياتؤن او يمرون بهذا الدول مقابل دعم مالي سخي وتدريب كوادر لمراقبة اكثر للحدود وحتي انشاء مراكز إيواء خارج أوربا في هذه الدول وما الاتفاقية. الآخيرة بينَ ألمانيا وتركيا بعيدة عن هذا المجال ! إن ثفافة الترحيب فشلت فشلا ذريعا في ألمانيا مع كل هذه القيود الجديدة خاصة اذا علمنا ان من نتائج حركة احتجاجات الاجئين التي بدأت في العام ٢٠١٢ ومستمره حتي الان هي ابطال قوانين حرية الحركة ومنح الاجئين حق الحركة

في داخل الحدود الألمانية والذي وافق عليه البرلمان الألماني في بدإية العام ٢٠١٥ وسَّحبه اخيراً في شَهر أكتوبر ٢٠١٥ فقط بجرة قلم لهو الضربة القاضية لثقافة الترحيب ، ما يجب ان يفعل من اجل حلول موضعية لإشكاليات الاجئين بجب ان تتعدي القوانين يجب ان يبذل جهد اكبر في إيقاف الحروب ودعم الدكتاتوريات فقط مَن اجل حَمّاًية حدود أوربا ،يَجَب ان نقاتل سويا كمهاجرين ولاجئين ومواطنين ألمان من أجل ْوقفْ نَشَر مزيد مَن العنصرية مَن قبل الحكومة بسنها لقوانين العزلة هذه

، والمهم ان لا نتخذ دوما طريق جعل الاجئين كضحايا يحتاجون فقط للمساعدة يجب آن يكون التضامن سياسيا فلا يحتاج الاجئ فقط للطعام والشراب بقدر ما يحتاج للحرية والامان من اعتداءات المعادين للاجانب ويحتاج للحماية من قوانين تجعله يعيش دكتاتورية جديدة تشل حركته وتسلب حريته في بلدان يقال انها ديمقراطية .

About the Refugee Movement in Kreuzberg/Berlin

the middle of nowhere, so I decid- Mohammed, refugees had built the then I often gave speeches. ed that I will not end this way. I was first protest camp in Würzburg in asking several questions that no one among us in the lager could answer. Then I suggested "let us all come together to discuss and find answers to these questions", in order to put an end to all the problems we have, for example the obligation of residency, privacy, food and so on. That is why I came to join the Refugees' Bus Tour which started one month after having made my application for asylum in September 2012. This motivated me a lot to fight from my heart, to see change happen. So from different lagers or camps in Germany we came together through our local discussions or ac-

Based on the experiences of a longstanding involvement, the article describes the emergence of the refugee protest march and bus tour to Berlin as well as the occupation of the Oranienplatz and a school building in Berlin-Kreuzberg. With demonstrations, direct actions and hunger strikes, the visibility of refugee struggles was thereby linked to interventions in public and political discourse The article stresses the importance of self-organised protest, solidarity networks and non-hierarchical structures and it discusses also the tensions within the struggle. Furthermore, it connects current refugee struggles to histories and structures of colonialism, racism, capitalism and imperialism.

by Napuli Langa, activist

Falling into a trap and beginning to struggle

This is Napuli Paul Langa. I am from Sudan and I would not like to mention which part of Sudan I came from, South or North, all of this is just politics. I would like to share with you my entry into and my experience of the refugee movement at Oranienplatz, Berlin. When I came from Sudan, traumatized from being tortured for 4 days because of my activism there, I had escaped from the intelligence services and I

left everything behind: My work as a human rights activist in the Sudanese organization for Nonviolence and Development (SONAD) and my studies at Ahfad University for Women in Khartoum. I left to save my life from the government and it took long to come to Germany. So when I arrived in Germany and applied for asylum in Braunschweig that is exactly when I fell into a trap. I realized that I lost my rights and dignity when I sought asylum - it is better not to seek asylum in Germany, although you have had problems before.

other camps followed in other cities and after that the movement started to move from Würzburg to Berlin, by foot and by bus. I myself joined the bus tour which visited dozens of lagers throughout Germany in order to inform other refugees about the movement. We were able to expose the isolation of refugees, and we invited them to leave their lagers or camps to join our bus tour and the march to Kreuzberg in Berlin. The refugees covered a distance of 600 km in 28 days. In Potsdam the bus tour group met with the group that had walked and went togethtions that were thinking about how er from there to Berlin. The march to end the isolation system that is a reached Berlin on the 6th of October 2012. From that time I became product of capitalism. We declared that we intend to fight the laws and much more communicative also bepolicies that violate our freedom

early 2012 where he had died. Then

From there we continued our resistance with our tents at Oranienplatz in Kreuzberg, Berlin. It is well known that Oranienplatz is regarded as the political symbol of the struggle in the street, also to be visible. Anyhow, after thirteen days of the movement, the group started to have different opinions on political strategies. The group who organized the hunger strike went back to Munich, South Germany, where the group called themselves Non-Citizens. The other part remained in Oranienplatz, committed to keep Oranienplatz as a politically vocal point. Although the group split, both groups are strongly connected to each other.

The success of Oranienplatz viscause of the bus tour group. They ibilized our struggle, especially in



the public, and gave us the power to negotiate with the government officially, which before then was not possible. We stood up to be visible and it happened. We stood for our rights and we opened the tents to everyone.

We organised many actions: we occupied a vacant school, we occupied Brandenburg Gate, we went on demonstrations and hunger strikes, we occupied the tree at Oranienplatz, we occupied the roof of the school at Ohlauerstrasse, we occupied the parliament in the district of Kreuzberg, we occupied the federal office of the Green party, we occupied the church, we occupied the UN office, we occupied embassies. We also distributed flyers on a daily basis, and our story occupied the media during these actions. We became subject to police brutality and many people were arrested and we responded by organizing spontaneous demonstrations at the prisons in which our friends had been arrested, for example after the action at the Nigerian embassy.

Underlying all these actions were three demands: Abolition of the lagers, abolition of the obligation of residence ("Residenzpflicht" in German language), which forbids us to leave the city where we are accommodated so that refugees are to move only 40 kilometers and not more, and the cessation of deportations. We had great impact on German Parliament and the Committee on Internal Affairs were forced to meet with us because of our hunger-strike. During the meeting, the two major right wing parties spoke out against our demands.

However, there were also some members of parliament supporting human rights and our demands. From 2013 to 2014, the obligation of residence was loosened in some federal states, whereby for example those who seek asylum in Berlin can now travel in Brandenburg, too.

The Occupied School

We used the occupied school at **Ohlauerstrasse and Oranienplatz** for the recognition of the refugee movement as a political institution. We worked to bring more refugees to join our struggle and to expand it. Right here there are things that are important, but not urgent and then there are important things that are urgent: our struggle is both, important and urgent.

We have managed to enlarge our solidarity network. We received a lot of support from the German society in terms of food, clothes, financial and legal support. For example, there are students giving free German classes to refugees at the occupied school in Kreuzberg, and there are doctors and lawyers.

When we occupied the empty school, it was six o'clock in the morning. The former mayor of the district Kreuzberg, Berlin came and he stopped the interference of the police and gave us 3 days. After 3 days our stay was extended to 2 months and he came up with a plan that we should cooperate with several organizations for this project. We said no, if they are in solidarity with us they should not think to come to the school. The purpose of the occupation was the very cold weather and we had families and sick people who needed to be in a warm place. So we organized the school as a place for sleeping, and everything concerning our political activities should take place at Oranienplatz. A few weeks later we had the prob-

lems with the police mainly due to violations of the residence obligation which we broke by ignoring it. We thought "let them write to us hundreds of letters". Some of us were deeply threatened to be deported. Although there was this threat, the movement had no fear of it, some had already been deported to where they had first landed because of Dublin III.

Lampedusa in Berlin and the **Eviction of Oranienplatz**

Around March 2013 a group from Lampedusa arrived in Berlin. Lampedusa is an island in Italy where the peoples who are escaping from Libya are put before given the permission to stay in Italy, that's why we called them "Lampedusa"

Lampedusa is a synonym for Europe's borders, for the immigration rules and regulations of the European Union, for the European policy on asylum, for the colonial heritage which established a global, geopolitical and social divide that becomes obvious there. The immediate consequences of this historical development are the boats from the African continent that arrive almost every day.

Lampedusa is also a synonym for the borders which continue within the European Union. Each country has its own national policy on asylum, whose laws and restrictions restrain the rights of refugees. Lampedusa is not only a synonym but also a concrete place where the life-threatening consequences of European policy on asylum become very obvious. But the Lampedusa activists do not accept this treacherous situation.

The clearing of Oranienplatz tents that took place on 8th of April 2014 was not done as voluntarily as claimed by politicians or the Senate, that is obvious. The Kreuzberg district mayor, Monika Herrmann, and the Senator of Integration of the State of Berlin, Dilek Kolat, had affirmed that the Oranienplatz refugees had agreed to the voluntary evacuation - but this does not correspond to the facts, the refugees argue the opposite.

On 18 April, the refugee camp was evicted from the Oranienplatz/ Berlin-Kreuzberg. According to an agreement between the Senator Dilek Kolat with a part of the refugees, mainly the group of Lampedusa who had already moved from Oranienplatz to a Caritas house in Wedding.

They were cheated to believe and sign the agreement with Dilek Kolat, hoping that they would have everything which was written in the agreement as she had told them. She said that if you remove the tents in Oranienplatz then I will apply what is written in the agreement. So there were clashes with us, the refugees who were staying in Oranienand wanted to stay.

ed to bring the meeting place back.

But Dilek Kolat did not respond to our claim for an unlimited right to stay. The Senate declared that the promised review of individual cases would begin only after the clearance of Oranienplatz – which was not possible for me to accept. At that moment we mainly demanded to get back the political space for refugees that we had at Oranienplatz. At the same time, we divided ourselves for the transnational march to Brussels.

The Freedom March to **Brussels**

The idea for the march to Brussels started take shape in spring and summer of 2013. Two of us went on a transnational tour to six European countries. We started from Oranienplatz/Berlin on June 26, 2013. During the whole tour we experienced no real obstacles. We passed through Germany, Austria, Italy, France, crossed Switzerland, again France, and then Belgium. On Wednesday the 10th of July, one of the supporters joined the tour in Brussels. We then briefly visited the Netherlands and went back to Berlin. We wanted to collect common demands from refugees in EU-countries, for examples, against Dublin II and III, deportations, Frontex and so on.

Until May 18, 2014, the group of activists believed that if a small group can do it, we can do it all together as well. So we went on a sixweek march over more than 500 km. Our March for Freedom started in Strasbourg and while we were crossing the borders of Germany, France, Luxembourg and Belgium, we examined the key institutions of the EU asylum policy on-site. The march quickly formed a band, every day marching through at least two villages, and for a while we were accompanied by two ponies.

Even if people did not always knew at the beginning what we wanted, they soon understood it without words that our goals were their goals. We come from war zones bringing no problems. In the villages of Alsace-Lorraine, Saarland, Luxembourg, and Wallonia we met friendly people who made their public spaces, community centers and halls available to us. About thirty times we changed the cities with tents, kitchen and luggage. The convoy consisted of six or seven vans. We left every place cleaner behind than we had found it.

The march was a traveling conference. We moved from town to town on a daily basis and sometimes we marched together with the local people from the villages. In our camps we held information events, we showed documentaries and we anced or practiced how

order to be smuggled into Belgium - easy for everyone to choose in which even though they may actually travel freely as EU members. But because they are homeless, their government gave them no IDs. Belgium may at any time arrest them indefinitely.

Colonialism and Imperialism

All these problems above have to do with colonialism, capitalism, racism, and imperialism, as well as the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 which formalized Europe's claim of Africa. European powers arbitrarily divided up Africa between themselves and started administrating their new colonies. Seventy years later they bequeathed to native Africans countries that looked remarkably different from how they looked in 1880. These countries are the poorest in the world today.

To judge the impact of colonialism on development in Africa simply by looking at outcomes during the colonial period is a conceptual mistake. Post-independence Africa looked nothing like it would have done in the absence of colonialism. Indeed, in most cases post-independence economic decline in Africa can be explicitly attributed to colonialism because the types of mechanisms that led to this decline were creations of colonial society. In Africa we had three types of colonies:

Those with a centralised state at the time of the scramble for Africa, such as Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Rwanda, and Swaziland. Those of white settlements, such as Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and probably Angola and Mozambique as well as colonies which did not experience significant white settlement and where there was either no significant pre-colonial state formation (like Somalia or South Sudan) or where there was a mixture of centralised and un-centralised societies (such as Congo-Brazzaville, Nigeria, Uganda and Sierra Leone).

In the former, the assumption that the patterns of pre-colonial development could have continued, if there would not have been colonialism is sufficient to argue that these countries would be more developed today without the European colonialism. Colonialism not only blocked further political development, but indirect rule made local elites less accountable to their citizens. After independence, even if these states had a coherence others lacked, they had far more predatory rulers. These polities also suffered from the uniform colonial legacies of racism, stereotypes and misconceptions.

Self-Organised Protest

Right now we achieved a lot with regards to our three demands but our struggle will never stop until we are satisfied. Oranienplatz and the school are one thing. The occu pation of Oranienplatz was forced to end, the school was evicted in a way and the promise from the Berlin Senate was a lie. They lied to silence us, but on the other hand they pushed our movement to be known more, so now it is in the media itself. In the refugees movement we do work through certain structures. For example, we do not have power over one another or so-called leaders. It depends on, for example, the refugee group meetings that made the decisions; open meetings in which everybody shares whatever ideas they have; supporter group meetings; financial groups; media groups; infrastructure groups; action groups; legal groups; kitchen groups and so on. This principle of voluntary participation makes it

group she/he fits in.

We had difficulties as well in our movement due to clashes of different interests, either strategically or tactically, as well as different demands, from several sides: between refugees and refugees, between refugees and supporters, and between supporters and supporters. These clashes gave the government the chance to try to divide us. For example, with the Lampedusa group at Oranienplatz it became clear that the asylum seekers in Germany face different situations. The politicians used this for their divide-and-rule strategy at Oranienplatz, just like politicians did it in the colonies in Africa, as I mentioned above. In particular, even though the Green party has been talking the good things and against police actions, in terms of the refugee struggle at Oranienplatz they did not walk their talk at all. At the end, they ordered the police to evict Oranienplatz.

Of course, problems among us in the movement have been solved through meetings, discussions, resolution groups or with close friends if possible. Even though we did not solve all the problems above, the mentioned methods have been very helpful. In general, the refugees and the supporters are like sisters and brothers in my point of view. In understanding that together we have to fight against the system, we take each other's hands and walk hand in hand.

For example, refugees are aware of what the EU does, including Germany. Ask for the reasons why people flee! Clearly it has a connection to imperialism and capitalism. The asylum laws are racist and colonial. Fight these laws. And not only in Germany, fight Europe wide, fight together also with the working classes and social movements and so on.

We learn a lot from the past. Right now we try to communicate strongly to unite all refugees together, refugees in different places or lagers: Collect phone-numbers, emails, use internet pages together, exchange and empower one another and build up infrastructure, focus on the political fight, organize conferences, workshops and so on. The struggle for human rights has to be based on the development of social relations.

Look at animals that were displaced during the first civil war and the second civil war in south Sudan. Animals ran to the neighboring countries automatically. What about human beings then?

Sudan is an example. The colonizers brought to Sudan selfishness, hatred, fight and divisions, which pushed people to go into exile. You can see now, we are refugees. But we fight this to the end.

From my experience there is always a possibility, nothing is impo sible. Gandhi said: "be the change you want to see in the world". So for you right now and right here do not be part of the problem.

On that day, at round 2 pm, I could deny the clearance by occupying a tree for five days. The police and security services prevented me from all attempts to contact or to be supplied with food. They prevented hunger strikers also from sleeping during the night. I demanded a conversation with the integration Senator, Dilek Kolat, from the SPD to point to the promises. The promises were, for example, the toleration of the Lampedusa group, the transitional housing to Berlin, and the stopping of deportations, which were the reasons for refugees to accept the offer of the Senate. We also demanded to bring back our meeting place and the info point to Oranienplatz which they told me that it is impossible. After all I succeed-

police raids unharmed.

Besides some harmless flirting with Members of the European Parliament, it came to police attacks, arrests, and detention. After attempting to attend a conference of EU Interior Ministers in Luxembourg, we spent an entire day providing victims of pepper spray attacks and dog bites and trying to free arrested activists. In Brussels we held a sit-in outside the police station, after several protesters were arrested in front of the German embassy.

We want the freedom for work, to go everywhere without permission.

For example in Brussels there was this family from Romania that paid a truck-driver 1000 euros in

Rather, oppose! I call upon us, my sisters and brothers: Let us fight together for every one of us to have the right to live, not just to survive.

My name is Napuli Paul Langa, I am a Sudanese, I studied Art & Development Studies and I have worked as a facilitator of nonviolence, alternatives to violence, aender issues and human rights. I stood up for the rights of Refugees at Oranienplatz and I am the head of Blacks and Whites Together for Human Řights in Berlin.





by Adam Bahar, refugee activist

As a refugee rights activist and an immigrant who has experienced all of the trials and tribulations faced by those seeking asylum in Europe, my head is full of thoughts and questions I'd like to share.

Do we see the repetitive media messages, particularly those delivered by the German Chancellor, materialize on the ground? In reference to efforts for integration, Angela Merkel proclaimed, "We have done it." But how accurate is this statement when, in many cities across the country, we see xenophobic demonstrations targeting Muslims and foreigners in general.

Does the burning of more than one hundred future resettlement shelters reflect a culture of integration and welcoming?

When the German parliament issues new laws that restrict or prohibit freedom of movement for refugees, thus forcing them to remain in deteriorating asylum camps, or the distribution of canned food rather than offering a stipend; does that reflect a culture of integration and welcoming?

German society, propelled by the political elite, spread their culture of integration and welcoming by making refugees feel victimized and dependent. All the while forgetting that they are contributing to the instability elsewhere in the world that has forced so many to flee. They forget that German companies continue to export arms internationally, including to active conflict zones. Take for example the arms deal with Saudi Arabia, currently leading the offensive in Yemen under the guise of legitimate support. In order

vize dictatorships (Sudan, Eritrea, South Sudan) to monitor their borders. This has been accomplished in part by generous financial support and the establishment of refugee camps outside of Europe.

With these new restrictions, the so-called culture of integration and welcoming has failed miserably in Germany. This becomes particularly clear if we consider the results: The refugee protest movements, which began in 2012, continue today. Refugees remain confined within German borders - a decision that was approved by the German parliament at the beginning of 2015. This confirms the death of the culture of welcoming and integration in Germany.

What is required to solve these problems goes beyond the scope of law. Great effort must be put forth to end war, and cease the support to dictatorships propped up by European powers.

As immigrants, refugees and cito stop the flow of African refuge- tizens, we must fight together to



Smashing the fence at the Greek-Macedonian border. rope/greece/12177750/Migrant-crowd-uses-battering-ram-to-break-open-Macedonia-fences.html)

(photo: AP, source: Telegraph - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/eu-

Beyond #refugeeswelcome: The Spectre of Racist Violence and Lessons from Refugee Resistance in Germany

The text reframes the current debate about refugees in Germany by contrasting Germany's recent history of racist violence and limitations of asylum laws with the resistance and agency of refugee movements across Germany. Both provide an important lens to re-examine the simultaneous heralding of "welcome culture", a sharp rise in arson attacks on asylum centres and the current legislative roll-back of refugee rights in Germany.

In bringing these perspectives together the text offers a corrective of both the current image of Germany as a welcoming champion of refugee rights and the problematic notion of refugees as objects of German policies and civil society "help" rather than subjects with a long history of resistance in Germany

in which many asylum seekers have been finding themselves for years has gained visibility in recent years – yet in recent months, it has been eclipsed by self-referential majority concerns. This happens the very moment refugee's critique should be at the centre of current debates.

Refugees are welcome as silent objects in need of German compe

es, Germany has chosen to incenti- stop the rampant racism created and sustained by the government and their policies of forced isolation.

> Refugees must not be seen as victims or burdens, dependent and in need of help. There should be political solidarity. Refugees do not need food and drink in so much as

they need freedom, dignity, and safety from xenophobic attacks. Finally, they need protection from the laws that restrict their movements and remove their freedoms. They live in authoritarian conditions in countries said to be democratic.

Justice for the People

by <u>Bino</u>, on behalf of the African Refugees Union - ARU

I am with you all demonstrating against prisons and demanding the abolishment of all prisons, deportation prisons and any sort of prisons everywhere and more particular Germany.

Prisons are institutions of isolation, discrimination and torture today the same as it was during slavery, colonialism and apartheid regime. Prisons are used as a tool of identification of people between the good and bad one(criminals/ terrorists). In the US black people are generally identified as dangerous and criminals which means imprisonment is part of their life. 60 percent of prisoners in US prisons are African Americans while their actual population is just 13 percent!

The continuous use of prisons and imprisonment of people is a terror against HUMANITY since the main factors of the reasons why people become criminal or violent are being ignored in most societies today. Prisons are never a solution to the high rate of crimes other than inciting more violence and dehumanizing people respectively. They serve as a place to keep the poorest, the most stigmatized and marginalized parts of the population, which have no chances and or access to anything.

In the current situation of refugees in Europe and Germany black people face constant brutal racist attacks on streets, lagers and offices by the German racist movements like pegida in Dresden. There an African refugee was attacked and killed and very quickly the German police managed to identify another African refugee as the murder and sent him to jail immediately.

Meanwhile in the case of Oury Jalloh who was burnt in Dessau prison no one has been brought to jail until today. And why. Because it can only be a white person, con-

people and their concerns remain ripped off the masks that the Gerhidden behind masks of projections. man state (and society) forced them The resulting speechlessness is reminiscent of the colonial mask that colonisers forced onto the colonised to stop them from speaking out, protesters perseverance, creativity, from asserting their status as sub- and political lucidity. jects, as humans.

The German refugee movement **The Spectre of the 90s** that was reinvigorated by the suici de of Iranian refugee Mohammad Rahsepar in a Lager in early 2012 is particularly relevant to understand the current situation in Germany. Convinced that the master's tools - individualised recourse to the courts and bureaucratic labyrinths - will never dismantle the master's house, refugees from all over Germany defied mandatory residence law, mobilised across Lager and set out on a protest march from Southern Germany to the federal capital, insisting that they must be present and visible where decisions about their lives are being made. They occupied public spaces, buildings, embassies, churches, trees and roofs in Berlin, Munich, Hamburg and Hannover, took to hunger strikes etc. The protesters not only

cretely a white police man. To send a white police man to prison because he killed a black man is simply impossible in Germany, even in the year of 2015.

The same goes for the current case in Cleveland in the US, where a white police man that shot the black 12 year old Tamir Rice is not even brought to court.

Here we can witness whose lives matter and whose not. Who can go to jail and who will never be sent to iail

In a global perspective prisons in the western world are used as a power game by Superior nations over the inferior one. For instance the international criminal court that was targeted for only African and Asian leaders while European and USA remain free as regarded themselves untouchable. At the same time Guantanamo is existing until today as a space outside of any sort of legal procedures, comparable to jails during the Apartheid regime.

Since all times people resisting against colonial powers have been taken to jail like Patrice Lumumba, Nelson Mandela, Mumia Abu Jamal and many others.

This unbalanced power is the core factor in the every day constant reproduction of various violations of human rights and dignities.

Due to the political, economical, social and cultural pressure people are forced to leave their homes in search for peace and freedom in other lands such as Europe and USA. Unfortunately we end up being categorized as criminals/ terrorists and have to face brutal asylum policies. Such as the recent changes in German asylum laws made it again easier to imprison refugees. While Europeans pretending not knowing why people are fleeing from their homes.

What do we want ???? Justice for the people! No prisons! Justice for the people! We are born free!!!!! HUMANITY MATTERS

to wear, but also made themselves heard: People all over Germany (and beyond) were inspired by the

Rather than this resistance and the clearly articulated demands of refugees, the history of racist, anti-refugee violence which came to head in the recently reunified Germany of the early nineties provides an important reference point for current debate: Increasing arson attacks on asylum centres and racist pogroms such as Rostock-Lichtenhagen, where hundreds of right-wing extremists attacked Mecklenburg Pommerania's central asylum shelter, cheered on by about 3000 onlookers, where cited as important justification for claims that Germany had "reached capacity" and needed to change its asylum law. The resulting "asylum compromise" legislation severely restricted German asylum law through the introduction of the concept of "safe coun-

by Joshua Kwesi Aikins and Daniel Bendix, supporters

Refugees claiming their voice

In the year 2012, several refugees in the city of Würzburg stitched up their mouths to protest against the lack of response to their political demands. Four demands have been at the core of the reinvigorated refugee movement ever since: Germany should abolish all Lager (refugee detention centres), stop all deportations, abolish mandatory residence law (Residenzpflicht) and guarantee refugees the right to work and to study. This particular act sought to politicise a voicelessness that resulted from violent refusals to listen. practices governing the legal limbo

It was a silence that still demands to be heard, an act that still demands to be read - it is one of many refugee actions are worth re-listening to in Germany's current climate of Willkommenskultur (literally "welcome culture"). This sentiment partly decreed idea, partly popular sympathy – often seems much more concerned with the capacity of Germans to "welcome" and "cope" with the "influx" and attendant "changes" rather than refugees' perspectives and harrowing experiences - not just in faraway places, but in Germany as well. The refugee movements long-standing critique of German asylum law and the many discriminatory regulations and

tence and care - not as diverse subjects with rights that cannot be subjected to political expediency. The trope of the refugee fleeing remote barbarity and being in need of German saviours is ripe with colonial and orientalist overtones of a white European self defining itself in contrast to an inferiorised other. Germans of Color and Black People in Germany experience both sides of that coin in everyday interactions: They are "welcomed" as refugees, strangers offer food or clothes or hand them multi-language "refugee advice" columns ripped from newspapers, and/or insult them for "invading the country". There is an apparent need on both ends of the spectrum to have refugees conform to expectations - refugees as real



tries". This enables Germany to send refugees who passed through ostensibly "safe countries" on their way to Germany back to claim asylum in the first "safe country" they entered on their route. Racist violence euphemised as "concerns of the citizenry" had paid off - and does so still and again:

We witness an unprecedented roll-back of anti-migrant policies in Germany, particularly against Roma people from the Balkans fleeing persistent racist discrimination, and people escaping poverty: Several countries are deemed safe countries of origin, Lager control is reinforced, incarceration and deportations facilitated, and asylum rules are made even stricter. A sharp rise in arson attacks on asylum centres this year occasions sombre warnings about the need to ensure that the "mood" of the population must not be soured by "overtasking" the citizenry. Perfidiously, political parties across the spectrum, media, and large spectra of society, also demand deportations and worsening of living conditions for all migrants not considered ,proper' refugees in the name of Germany's "welcome culture" for ,real' asylum seekers. In both the smouldering remains of burned asylum homes and the political manoeuvres that follow, the spectre of the 90s looms large: 104 attacks against asylum homes have been registered this year - four times as many as last

ber are still to come. Crimes against asylum homes, which include the incitement of racial hatred have risen to more than 637 – more than three times higher than last year. A first batch of legislation to tighten German asylum law was passed in July, followed by another set of restrictive changes in October. A cabinet agreement on further measures was hailed by Horst Seehofer, head of coalition member party CSU as "harshest measures ever to limit the intake of refugees in Germany".

A History of Resistance

Against this backdrop, the activities of self-organised refugees in Germany since the 1990s offer an instructive history of resistance. Part of a larger context of immigrant and minorised struggles against racism in post-War Germany (e.g. the Ford strike), refugees have asserted their rights again and again. Self-organisations such as the Refugee Initiative Brandenburg brought their critique of isolation and human rights violations in German asylum homes to international attention. Other refugee organisations such as The Voice, Karawane and Refugee Emancipation have developed strategies to reach out to refugees and invite them to join a political struggle for human rights and against planned marginalisation, de-skilling and denial of health care in German asylum homes.

Resistance has included solidayear, and November and Decem- rity action in which discriminatory

practices of provisioning refugees have been undermined: Using refugees "cash cards" which would only buy a predefined set of goods at specific branches of expensive grocery chains, activists organised solidarity shopping events where citizens would buy their groceries with refugees' cards and give them the money, thus fighting against paternalism and stigmatisation. This resulted in states like Berlin ending the practice and reverting to cash payments.

In many ways, the above mentioned rise in coordinated refugee action since 2012 rests on this longer tradition of self-organisations. They address the full gamut of the refugee experience: From the reasons to flee, including Western and German arms sales to repressive regimes, volatile regions and war zones. to the large and small dehumanisations of the Lager system and everyday as well as institutional racism in Germany. They organise skill sharing, language courses and internet connectivity in asylum homes, speak out against racism in district, state and federal refugee policies and invite people with and without refugee status to join in direct action on all of the above. By asserting the importance of self-representation and self-organisation, refugees were able to confront, critique and sidestep the isolation in which they were kept by design.

Only non-demanding refugees welcome

In May of this year, Angela Davis visited Berlin and made clear that she considered the refugee movement "the movement of the 21st century". While the refugee protests had managed to gain access to mainstream media over the years and to shift the discourse on migration, asylum and refugees slightly, this was swept away in the wake of German societies' responses to past months' migration. Thousands of Germans offered their support to newly arrived migrants and Germany is widely considered the welcoming champion. Even Germany's leading tabloid Bild started a campaign "We help -#refugeeswelcome" - wearing this slogan had hitherto been reserved for the radical left and could easily get you in trouble with either the police or right wing agitators.

We believe that the colonial mask mentioned above is being put back on the refugee through the charity dimension of the Willkommenskultur hype: It "prevents her/him from revealing those truths, which the white master wants ,to turn away, ,keep at distance' at the margins, invisible and ,quiet',.. Politically vocal and active people without German citizenship or residence permit are uncomfortable for people who want to stay in control and power. Rather than thanking Germany for its supposed generosity, the refugee movement in Germany has not tired to point out the past and present interconnectedness of prosperity and peace in Germany with poverty and war in other parts of the world: It scandalizes neocolonial resource extraction from the Global South and weapon exports, and generally calls for resistance against nationalist, racist, capitalist border regimes. It is uncomfortable for German majority society to be faced with people as (political) subjects who frame their demands from a postcolonial perspective, who speak out against rampant racism across German society, and who refuse to differentiate between socio-econo-

mic and political refugees by pointing out that economic questions are also political.

Conclusion: From Help to Solidarity

Which path Germany will follow might depend on which experiences become a reference point in current debates: The looming spectre of the 1990s or the history of refugee resistance. Past and present experiences of refugees in Germany as well as the clear demands of their self-organisations need to be injected into Willkommenskultur (welcome culture) by those who decide to "help" and elect to actually listen to refugees. They have long made clear what The Voice activist Rex Osa has reiterated in a recent interview: What refugees demand is that the notion of "help" needs to include support for self organisations of refugees and requires a double perspective: It is important to look at both reasons for people to flee and the racism they experience in Germany. In doing so, the status quo of self-congratulatory parternalistic help can be transcended towards a dialogical, political solidarity.

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Mültecilere Karşi Savaş

by Turgay Ulu, Eylemci

Kobene'deki savaş ve katliamdan kaçmak isterken Türkiye'de boğularak ölen Kütrt çocğun, sahilde yatıyormuş gibi fotoğraflanan cesedi üzerinden ikiyüzlü politikalar yapıldı. İnsanların yaşadıkları yerleri ölümü göze alarak terketmelerine yol açan devletler, timsah gözyaşları dökerek kendilerinin ne kadar hümanist olduklarına dair birbirleriyle yarışa girdiler. Avrupa Birliği ülkelerinin şefi olan Almanya devleti hümanizm tiyatrosunun baş aktörü olarak en ön safta yer aldı.

Suriye'den kaçmak zorunda kalan mültecilere München tren istasvonunda çiçek, su ve ekmek verildi. Mültecilerin hoşgeldiği yönünde politikacılar insancıl nutuklar attılar. Mülteciler, Almanya başbakanı Merkel'in resimlerini taşıyarak ona "annemiz" diye seslendiler. Bu mültecilerin, Almanya'daki bir televizyon kanalında gerçekleştirilen canlı yayınsınırdışı politikalarının nasıl gerekli

oluyordu ve bu mülteciler onların kapasitesini aşmaya başlamıştı. Serbest dolaşım engellenmeliydi ve dolayısıyla sıkı sınır kontrolleri yapılmalıydı. Avrupa Birliği ülkelerinin imzaladıkları tüm hümaniter kriterler geçersiz sayılmaya başlandı.

Mültecilerin ilk geçiş noktalarından olan Maceristan'da telörgülerle kapatılmış olan sınırı geçen mültecilere üç yıldan başlamak üzere hapis cezası verme kararı alındı. Mültecilerin geçişini engellemek için tren seferleri durduruldu. Makedonya, Türkiye gibi geçiş yerlerinde mültecilere karşı polis saldırıları ve diğer ırkçı saldırılar oldu.

Egemen devletlerin su anda mültecilere karşı izledikleri politikalar, gene aynı devletler ve taşeron güçler tarafından sürdürülmekte olan savas ve catışmaların, sınırlarda ve devletlerin sınırlarının içinde devam ettirilmesi anlamına geliyor.

Sermayenin dolaşımında hiçbir sınır yokken, yoksul halklara karşı da Merkel'in Filistinli bir mülteci kızı, hergün yeni yüksek ve uzun duvarlar, sınır yasakları ve telörgüler yapılıyor. Avrupa ülkelerinin en önem li gündemlerinden biri "mülteci krizi" olarak adlandırılan gündemdir. Bu tanımlamayla mülteciler suçlu ilan edilmiş oluyor. Bu tanımlamayla savaş, sömürgecilik, silah ticareti gibi realiteler gizlenmek isteniyor. Oysa sorun olarak tanımlanması gereken şeyler; savaş ve sömürgeciliktir.

gene bu politiutkaların sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan mültecileri de Avrupa sınırlarının dışında tutmak istiyorlar. Avrupa Birliği devletleri savaş ve çatışma bölgelerine yakın devletlere para yardımı yapmak istiyorlar. Mesela iki milyon mültecinin olduğu Türkiye devletine hem para yardımını artırmayı planlıyorlar ve hem de tıpkı Almanya'da olduğu gibi oralarda büyük mülteci kampları inşa etmek istiveorlar.

Türkiye devleti sınırları içinde bulunan mültcileri politik bir malzeme olarak kullanıyor ve aynı zamanda sömürü malzemesi olarak görüyor. Gizli kamera çekimlerinden de yansıdığı gibi düşük ücretle köle statüsünde yaşıyor burada mülteciler.

Tren istasyonlarında ya da sınırlarda perişan durumda bırakılan mülteciilere uzatılan mikrofonlara konusan mültecilerin sözlerinden aslında sorunun ve çözümünün ne olduğu kolayca anlaşılabilir. Konuşan mülteciler; "durdursunlar yeter", "bize devlet değil halk destek veriyor" gibi şeysövlüvorlardı.

New Asylum Restriction

by Theresa, Mediagroup

Recently 1000 people protested in Berlin against the upcoming "Asylum Law Package II" – a part of the current series of massive asylum restrictions in Germany.

In August 2015 tighter asylum laws criminalizing refugees were implemented:

The possibilities for deportation

ria, Marocco and Tunesia. Also the Residenzpflicht (obligation to stay in the area assigned) was re-introduced.

At the core of the new "Asylum Law Package II" is the creation of "special reception facilities" for people from "safe countries of origin" and people supposedly having destroyed their papers. Their asylum cases shall be closed within three weeks, aiming at deporting them as soon as possible. People suffering from illnesses and people convicted of having committed a crime will also be deported more easily, no matter if the person is in need of protection. Furthermore, the right of family unification for people with subsidiary protection will be abolished. These new laws reflect the demands by racist populist organizations like Pegida, AfD and NPD. The racist outrage after the happenings in Cologne serves as a legitimization to deny refugees their basic human rights, categorize people along racial and national lines and to further seal off fortress Europe. Let's rise against the racist migration policy, for social justice and

olduğunu anlatarak ağlattığından ha berleri yoktu.

Ne var ki bu hümanizm oyunu çok uzun sürmeden yerini gerçeğe bırakt 1. İki gün önce Berlin parlementosu önünde protesto eylemi yapıyorduk çünkü kısa bir zaman öncesinde hümanizm nutukları atan avnı politikacılar; eyalet dışına çıkma yasağının, kupon sisteminin, yemek paketlerinin geri getirilmesi, mültecilere yapılan para ödemelerinin durdurulması ve hızla sınırdışı etmek için yeni yasalar çıkartmak istiyorlardı. Bu yasakların bir kısmı, yıllardır sokakta sürdürdüğümüz direniş ve mücadele sayesinde kaldırılmıştı.

Avrupa Birliğini oluşturan devletler mağdurlara yardım etme rolünü değiştiridiler. Bu sefer kendileri mağdur rolü oynamaya başladılar. Onlara göre Avrupaya aşırı bir mülteci akını

Savaş artıkları olarak görülen mülteciler devletler tarafından hem birer sömürü gücü olarak kullanılıyor ve hem de ırkçı ve kolonyalist yasalar çıkartmanın, toplumu yönlendirmenin bir aracı olarak kullanılıyor.

Sermayenin güvenliği için kontrol ve baskı sistemine ihtiyaç duyan devletler, "mülteci krizi" ni öne sürerek bu planlarını engelsiz bir şekilde hayata geçirme imkanı buluyor.

Daha çok Avrupa sınırlarına uzak bölgelerde sürdürülen savaş ve gibi

Devrimci mülteci hareketi olarak biz halkla birlikte tabandan altarnatif bir yaşamı örmek perspektifiyle hareket ediyoruz. pratik olarak yasaları ve sınırları kırma eylemlerimizle bunu gösteriyoruz. Bizim Berlin'de başlattığımız mültecilere yatma yeri bulma çalışması diğer Avrupa ülkelerindeki hareketler tarafından örnek alındı ve bu hareket yaygınlaştı.

Devletlerin kontrol, sınır ve yasak politikalarına karşı biz tabanda kendi çözümümüzü uyguluyoruz. Kendi alanlarımızda, özgür bir hayatı yaratmaya çalışıyoruz. Aynı zamanda savaş ve sömürüye karşı etkin bir mücadele yürütmeden özgürlüklere giden yolun açılmayacağını öğreniyoruz görüvoruz.

Yaşasın İnsanlaşma Ve Özgürleşme Mücadelemiz

detention were broadened, paving the way for arbitrary arrests due t the "risk of flight". A new form of imprisonment called "departure detention" was introduced to detain people four days before their deportation. Also people who were refused asylum will be banned from re-entering Germany for five years.

In November 2015 a further restriction, the so-called "asylum procedure acceleration law" was implemented: Kosovo, Albania and Montenegro were added to the list of "safe countries of origin". Germany assumes that people from these countries have no right to asylum and thus refuses them the usual standards of an asylum procedure - to deport them as fast as possible. This list will be extended with Alge- a world without borders!



The Construction of the European Union's Immigration System

by <u>Ziga</u>, activist

These days it is getting obvious that the European Union, a supranational entity supposedly built on the values of freedom and peace, is putting a stamp on it's mostly non-existant immigration and asylum system. That the European leaders selectively apply such values only for the economic and political elites is nothing new. New and surprising aren't even the new changes for the immigration and asylum laws that are being developed under the privileged position by the technocratic elites in Berlin and Brussels. We must never forget how many people continue to die while trying to cross Mediterranean every year, because of the already existing legal framework.

With the so called 'refugee crisis', a term invented and endorsed by the political elites, mainstream media and affected public xenophobic discourses, the first are getting scared that now the European Union's existance is at stake. The fear is being spreaded through the discourse of security, financial burden and unadaptable cultural differences in order to scare and convince the 'European citizens' that securing the border is the only way to protect their life and property. This works at least in two directions, whether pushing some member countries taking more Eurosceptical stance or completely subordinating to the ideas of the EU's technocratic elites by securing the borders.

The European Union is continuing to build its future on the legacy and continuation of the "Western" Europe's colonial past. The 'welcoming story' of A. Merkel' was, at least from the point of the experiences of those who feel such laws the most on their skin, activists and critical theorists, a farse from the very beginning. Almost immediately after she said those words, Germany tightened it's asylum laws and now under her and her's most influental collegues, notably Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the European Commission, new Europewide laws are being proposed this weekend at the European Commission. They say that in the name of securty of both European citizens and people entering the EU the immigration flows have to be slowed down. This only means that they are proposing the enforcement of the external border regimes in the potential European Union member

states. On Brussels summit in octo ber the chancelor and other tech- "humanitarian theatre." nocrats were deciding that Balkan countries mustn't allow people ('refugees' if you wish) pass their borders to the other country until the people in the continuing countries have been processed. In such cases the Balkan countries should stop their transport through the borders, but surelly the most controversial are the ideas to put 400 European – Frontex – border guards at the various Balkan route borders (source: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/25/european-leaders-discuss-refugee-crisis-at-tense-brussels-summit) and strengthening the maritime operation Poseidon near the shores of Greece. If such countries are opposing such policies being pushed on

them they are blamed for not showing any solidarity, which also produces the discourse of the 'progressive' Western and backward 'Eastern-Central' Europe. But when we analyse the tightening of the asylum laws in Germany and its attempt to keep the people on the external borders of the EU, we can notice a huge hypocrisy.

The policies of slowing the movement flows are already seen nowadays in Slovenian attempts to let only 2500 people through its borders with Croatia. By doing this it blocks all the former passing countries, making large refugee camps at their borders, where people freeze in the lowering temperatures and bad weather. Slovenia, who is trying to play a 'good exaple' of a Schengen guard, immediately saw that this is a mission impossible due to the large number of incoming people (more than 60.000 people passed just in two days) and their courageus actions (continuous protests at the borders) with which they, together with activists and volunteers, produce liberative border struggles.

The earlier draft of the law proposed by chancelor and the EU commission also included the idea of redistribution of people throughout the different European countries - for now largly (15 of 28) opposed by the member states. This is an 'upgrade' of the previously accepted Europeanwide quota system, which only included redistribution of people from Greece and Italy, but now includes mostly people staying in the Turkish refugee camps (source: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/23/ refugee-crisis-germany-push-compulsory-eu-quotas).

We mustn't forget that the EU wants the Turkey to play one of

guardian.com/world/2015/oct/15/ big-decisions-unlikely-migration-summit-eu-leaders), by bribing it's political elites with money and other political sweets. With such a proposed draft law, the EU is not only trying to strenghten its external borders by the process of externalization, but also tries to divide people to 'useful' and 'not-useful', the first being interesting for the German (or other member countries) labor market (source: http://www.theguardian.com/ world/2015/oct/23/refugee-crisis-germany-push-compulsory-eu-quotas). Here we see the very important role the neoliberal capitalist system is playing in the development of the immigration and asylum sytem, which not only blocks the immigration but also filters it. The future is only for the most so called 'talented', 'lucky' etc. ones, while the huge majority can suffer in the bad conditions of the refugee camps.

The EU elites are labeling its recent proposals as the 'European-

der guards (read: http://www.the- isation' of the EU's external bor- struggles of people without 'proper ders. Citing The Guardian (source: http://www.theguardian.com/ world/2015/oct/23/refugee-crisis-germany-push-compulsory-eu-quotas):

> 'This would entail national governments surrendering some of their powers on those frontiers and granting at least some authority over refugee admissions, detentions and deportation to EU bodies such as Frontex, the fledgling borders agency.'

> As mentioned before, such statements just show that the EU is being built on the discourse of colonialism from its 'Western' European past, but now trying to encompass more European countries within the division between 'Us' (European citizens) and 'Them' (so called 'third country citizens' etc.).

> The recent acts of the EU to control the migration on the so called 'Balkan route' is just a continuation what was already done within its developing immigration and asylum system, or better regime, in the past years. The self-organized

papers' in Berlin and across Germany, already fight against the repressive roles played by the borders and migration system. Different media channels and other sources are now showing images of dying people on the borderlands, but this is nothing new. This happened too many times in the recent decades.

We must not accept any dividing discourses of the EU's elites in the developing immigration and asylum policies and fall for any consenses in this direction, but we have to be clear about one thing, OPEN BORDERS FOR ALL!As also the somewhat ambivalent critical discourse of 'adressing and aiming at the causes for emigration' penetrated within the present EU's policies - of course remodified according to its intereses - dealing with the flows of people within its borders, this is something what history told us that we should not simply accept. Only when Europe will put a mirror infront of itself, then it will see the true causes.

Solidarity & peace.



 $the\ most\ important\ external\ bor-\ The\ Construction\ of\ the\ European\ Union's\ Immigration\ System\ .$

Foto / photo: -

War Against Refugees he

by <u>Turgay Ulu</u>, activist

Hypocritical policies have been made over the image of the Kurdish child – photographed like lying on the beach. He died trying to escape the war and massacre in Kobane. The governments, who caused people to flee the countries where they had lived, have started a competition over how humanist they are by crying over him. Germany, the leader of the EU countries, was on the front line as the leading actor of this Refugees who had to flee from Syria received flowers, water and bread at the Munich train station. Politicians gave humanitarian speeches about how refugees were welcome. Refugees held up pictures of Merkel and called her "our mother". Those refugees did not know that Merkel had made a Palestinian girl cry,by explaining why the deportation policy was essential. However, this humanism theater had to cede its place to reality without lasting very long. Politicians, who so recently weregiving speeches about humanism, started trying to pass new laws about the restricting [refugees] ability to leave the province [to which they were assigned]; the coupon system,

bringing back the food packages, stopping cash payment to refugees; and quickening deportation. Two days ago at Berlin Parliament and we were protesting against it. Some of those restrictions were abolished thanks to the resistance and struggle we kept up on the streets.

The EU countries changed their role in helping victims. Now they started to play the victim. According to them, there was a raid of refugees to Europe and they were

the circulation of capital, every day new and high walls, borders and wire fences are built against the poor people.

One of the most important items on the agenda of European countries is the Refugee Crisis. According to this definition, refugees are said to be the guilty ones.With this definition they try to hide the facts like war, colonialism or arms trade. However we should refer to the war and colonialism as the problem.

The refugees are seen as the left

Turkey sees the refugees as a political tool and as a exploitation source. Refugees work there in under conditions of slavery, for really low wages, as we can also see in the hidden camera records.

The problem and its solution can be easily understood from the interviews made with the refugees who were stuck at the borders or the train stations. They say "it should stop", "the people not the states support us".

As revolutionary refugee mo vement we act with the perspective of building an alternative life from the bottom with people. We show it through our action against the laws and borders. The workwe have done to find shelters for refugees in Berlin has spread to the movements of the other European countries. We apply our own solution at the bottom against the controls, borders and bans of the states. We try to create a free life in our own spaces-At the same time we see and learn that there is no way to freedom without an efficient struggle against the war and exploitation.

eding the capacity.

Free movement was to be stopped so that the strict border controls could be made. All the humanitarian agreements that EU countries signed were to be considered as invalid.

The decision was made to sentence to prison for minimum 3 years the refugees who pass the borders closed by wire fences. The train traffic was stopped to block the refugees. On the borders of countries such as Macedonia or Turkey, there were racist attacks and police attacks against refugees.

The policies made by dominant powerful governments are the continuity of the war and conflict started by those states and their subordinates.

While there are no borders for

overs of the war and they are used as a source of exploitation as well as an excuse to make new colonialist and racist laws.

The states that need the control and military force for the interests of capital, now have the chance of realizing their plans via "the refugee crisis.

Just as the war is kept away from the Europe, they are trying to keep refugees (who are the result of this war) outside of the European borders. European countries want to give funding to the states close to war and conflict zones. For example, they want to increase the funds for Turkey who has more than two million refugees; and they want to build big refugee camps there like the ones in Germany.

Long Live Our Struggle to Humanize and for Emancipation.



Participants of the International Conference of Refugees and Migrants do want strong Net-works, a Stop of Deportations and the Right to Move Freely in Europe

Press release by International Conference of Refugees & Migrants, Abimbola Odugbesan

About 2000 participants did attend the selforganized International Conference of Refugees and Migrants that took place at Kampnagel in Hamburg from 26th to 28th February. They arrived from different countries such as France, Denmark, Belgium, Spain, Poland, Netherlands und Tunisia. Many of the participants came from other German cities as far away as Munich and the biggest group of about 60 people was from Hanover. About 800 sleeping places were needed for people from outside Hamburg that were provided privately. 100 members of the conference did stay at the temporary "Blue Flamingo Resorthotel" at Kampnagel that was built by the architects from raumlaborberlin.

In a final panel discussion the results from more than 30 workshops and panel discussions were compiled and stated cleary that a strong network between refugee groups will be necessary to achieve political influence on a Europian level, such as the abolition of the Dublin agreement to obtain mobility for refugees in Europe. Members of the international movement CISPM for refugees without any resdience status argued stronlgy against the European refugee policy, especially against abandoning the Schengen Agreement. A number of participants from Afghanistan and Roma people from the Balkan countries voiced their disapproval of deportations. Also the role of media was raised in a number of discussions as they produce a certain image of refugees. "We are no criminals, no rapists and no terrorists" said Larry Moore Macaulay from the Hamburg Refugee Radio Network and asked everyone to spread different



Foto / photo: Jann Wilken

narratives from the ones that mainstream media publish. "Conferences wont offer solutions" said Sakher Almohamad from the Cologne movement Syrians Against Sexism, but they would be a great opportunity for networking with the meeting in Hamburg as an outstanding example. Now action should follow the talk. And there was already an action during the conference when women participants spontaneously left their "save space" to enter the main stage and took over the microphone to discuss their issues. At the end of the conference it was announced that another conference will take place in Berlin in the autumn.

Detention news from Bavaria

by Refugee Struggle for Freedom

Activist of Refugee Struggle for Freedom released after 56 days in prison! / Another activist detained! / In Mühldorf deportation prison still one refugee in hungerstrike!

ctivist of the *Refugee Struggle for*

ally hard to live inside and I felt really bad because I did not do anything wrong. But I stayed strong and kept on fighting. After one month I had my court hearing in Landau but later I got the news that the court appointment has been cancelled. I had to stay one month more in jail and On Monday, 29.02.2016 Ali A., an then again I had the court hearing. After two hours they decided to re lease me. In prison it's really hard. To be there means tension all of the time. But I stayed strong and fought there with racist people, means police. My friends helped me a lot, they also fought for me. I wanted to say in the end that we are here and we

die selbst organisierte Internationale Konferenz für Geflüchtete und Migranten, die vom 26. bis zum 28. Februar auf Kampnagel stattgefunden hat. Angereist waren sie u.a. aus Frankreich, Dänemark, Belgien, Spanien, Polen und Tunesien. Auch aus vielen deutschen Städten von Rostock bis Passau kamen Geflüchtete und Unterstützer nach Hamburg. Etwa 800 Übernachtungsplätze, davon 100 im temporären "Blue Flamingo Resorthotel" auf Kampnagel wurden benötigt, um die Gäste von außerhalb unterzubringen. sionsrunde wurden viele Ergebnisse aus den über 30 Workshops und

8.3.,15:30

Kottbusser Tor/Reichenberger Str. International Women's Day–Demonstration: We take the power back!

organized by International Women Space, Take Back, SKB: Sosyalist Kadinlar Birligi, Radical Queer Wagenplatz, Kanal, olgaausdererstenreihe, KNK (Kurdistan National Kongress), Frauenkomitee in Berlin, HDK Berlin (Kadinlar), Dest Dan, Rote Aktion Berlin, liebig 34, Gogo Trash Berlin

8.3.,19:30 Lindenstr. 9 - 14 Opening of the Romnja Power Month, a month full of readings, discussions and Romani feminist knowledge. organized by RomaniPhen

15.3.,15:00 Görlitzer Park/Lübbener Str. **Call for the International** Day against police brutality organized by Victims of Racist Police Violence #kopberlin

19.3.,19:00 Jugendtheaterbüro Berlin

Wiclefstr. 32, 10551 Berlin Carnival Camp to prepare together the Carnival Al-Lajiàat organized by My Right is your

Right

20.3.,14:00 Hermannplatz **Carnival Al-Lajiìn**. Demonstration at the global day against racism organized by Refugee Club Impuls und MRIYR **#20M #MRIYR**

Podiumsdiskussionen zusammen getragen, die immer wieder deutlich machten, dass Vernetzung untereinander entscheidend sei, um politische Ziele, auch auf europäischer Ebene zu erreichen. Beispielsweise eine Abschaffung des Dublin Abkommens, um Geflüchteten Bewegungsfreiheit in Europa zu ermöglichen. Mitglieder des internationalen Netzwerks CISPM für Flüchtlinge ohne Aufenthaltsstatus sprachen sich explizit gegen die europäische Flüchtlingspolitik, insbesondere dagegen aus, das Schengen Abkommen in Frage zu stellen. Insbesondere Teilnehmer*innen aus Afghanistan und Roma aus dem Balkan sprachen sich vehement gegen Abschiebungen aus. Auch die Rolle der Medien wurde vielfach kutiert, die ein bestimmtes Bild In einer abschließenden Diskus- der Flüchtlinge produzieren wür- ferenz wurde ein nächstes großes den. "Wir sind keine Kriminellen, Treffen im Herbst in Berlin angekeine Vergewaltiger und keine Ter- kündigt.

roristen", sagte Larry Moore Macaulay vom Hamburger Refugee Radio Network und rief dazu auf, über eigene Kanäle andere Narrative zu verbreiten als die der Mainstream Medien. Konferenzen würden keine Lösungen herbeiführen sagte Sakher Almohamad vom Kölner Netzwerk Syrians Against Sexism, aber sie böten die Chance zur Vernetzung wie dieses Treffen in Hamburg hervorragend gezeigt habe. Daraus müssten nun Taten folgen. Gehandelt haben viele der Teilnehmerinnen schon während der Konferenz, indem sie sich aus dem "geschützten Raum" nur für Frauen raus auf die große Bühne bewegten und spontan eine Podiumsdiskussion übernahmen, um über die Belange von Frauen zu diskutieren. Zum Ausklang der Kor

Flüchtlingskonferenz auf Kampnagel fordern bessere Vernetzung untereinander, Abschiebestopp und Bewegungsfreiheit in Europa

Teilnehmer*innen der

Presseinformation von International Conference of Refugees & Migrants, Abimbola Odugbesan

Gut 2000 Teilnehmer*innen zählte

Freedom was released from jail. Two days later, on 02.03.2016 another activist of the group – Ali H. – has been put in prison.

Ali A. was taken on 05.01.2016 in the prison Landshut in custody. He was accused of resisting police officers and trespassing under protest. As an activist of the Refugee Struggle for Freedom Ali A. fought for the right to stay and against deportations, amongst other actions with a thirst strike in March 2014 in Dingolfing and with the occupation of the courtyard of the *Federal Office* for migration and refugees (BAMF) in Nuremberg in July 2014.

After his release, Ali A. commented: "I was in prison for two months in Landshut because of the hunger strike in Dingolfing in 2014. It's re-

According to the authorities Ali A. was imprisoned because he did not appear to a court hearing. The court date on the 17.02.16 was cancelled due to the illness of the judge. This meant for Ali A. to remain two more weeks in prison until a new court date has been set. Further attempts by his lawyer to obtain an earlier court date and a quick release were rejected. At the trial on Monday, 29.02.2016 Ali A. was sentenced to 80 day units (Tagessätze)

will fight until we get our right!"

and finally got released. In addition to his long imprisonment he must pay 360 Euro fine!

The other activist of Refugee Struggle for Freedom, Ali H. was imprisoned on Wednesday, 02.03. 2016, when he picked up his pocket money at Landratsamt Dingolfing. The circumstances of his arrest are still unclear. But it is clear that also Ali H. was imprisoned for his activism! The detention of Ali A. and Ali H. show once again that the judici-

ary and police are massively trying to criminalize self-organized protests of refugees!

In the deportation prison in Mühldorf still one refugee - Zaki K. - remains in hunger strike. Several attempts in these days, to visit him and make a press interview possible, were unsucessfull.

We still call out for solidarity actions and signatures to: solidarity.with. refugees@riseup.net

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