

out of dahlem

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In Remembrance of Mahmud Azhar

DOCTORAL STUDENT AND SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANT AT THE BIO-CHEMISTRY
INSTITUTE OF FREE UNIVERSITY BERLIN. ON JANUARY 7th 1990 HE WAS
SEVERELY INJURED BY A RACIST ASSAULT ON HIM ON FU CAMPUS.
TWO MONTHS LATER HE DIED FROM HIS INJURIES.

contents

6

In Remembrance of Mahmud Azhar

A Racist Murder on the FU Campus

4

University and Antifascism

Thoughts, Irritations and Open Questions

18

Cheering away Thomas de Maizière

Protests Against the Former 'Defence' Minister's Visit to Humboldt University

19

On the criticism of the Coburger Convention

as a self-named racial and fraternity elite in Germany

28

Women and Right-Wing Extremism

Interview with *Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus* [Research network women and right-wing extremism]

32

A Newspaper Project of the New Right is Looking for Movement

The *Blaue Narzisse* [Blue Daffodil] and the Identitarians

38

On the Education Policy of the party

„Alternative für Deutschland“
[alternative for Germany]

Putting the Record Straight

42

Exhibition "Russenslager" [Russian Camp] and Forced Labour

Pictures and Accounts of Soviet Prisoners of War

46

PfiFf

The "Projekt für interdisziplinäre Faschismusforschung [project for interdisciplinary research on fascism] as an Example for Critical Education and Research from Below

48

Anti-Fascist Research and Education

Interview with apabiz [Anti-Fascist Press Archive and Educational Centre]

editorial

Sorry for the wait. It took a long, now it's time again: After almost one year of work, we present you the new anti-fascist issue of the *out of dahlem*.

We want to dedicate this issue to Mahmud Azhar, a person only very few remember. Azhar was a PhD student at the Institute of Biochemistry at the Free University of Berlin, when he was insulted with racist taunts and brutally beaten up in early 1990 at the campus of the university. Two months later he died from his injuries in hospital. With this issue we want to commemorate and point out that racism - just like any other form of oppression - does not simply stop at the doorsteps of university.

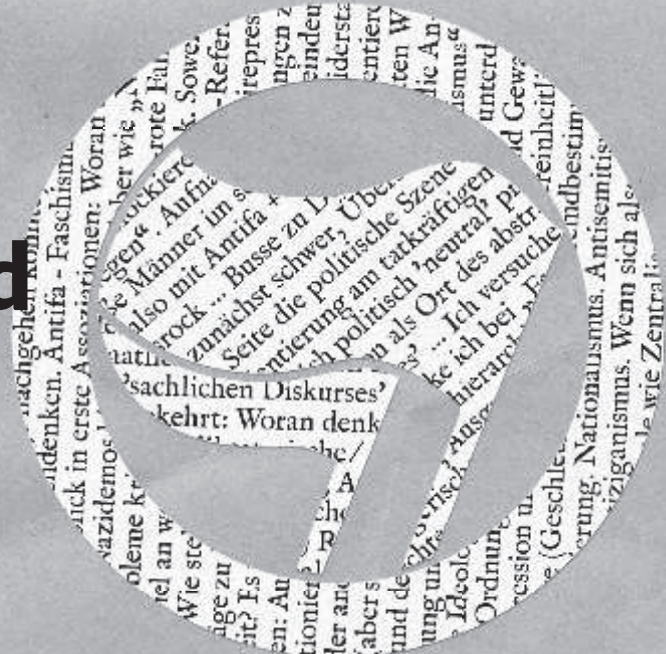
To make the story of Mahmud Azhar - as well as the our other contents - available for as many people as possible, *out of dahlem* is published in three different languages for the first time. There is a German, an English and a French edition of the magazine.

At the end of this editorial we want to add a trigger warning: The articles and interviews are about documenting and criticizing right-wing, sexist and racist activities or ideologies at university and elsewhere from an emancipatory - especially feminist, anti-racist and anti-fascist - perspective. We couldn't help but quote right-wing student unions, 'new rights' oder nazis in some articles. We still hope to have created you an informative, exciting and empowering issue!

Your out of dahlem editorial staff

University and Antifascism

Thoughts, Irritations and Open Questions



by Laura* (correspondence from Marburg)

University and antifascism – an uncommon combination? Before I was able to answer that question, I first had to think about the terms: Antifa – fascism – antifascism. An insight in first connotations:

What comes to mind when I think about ‚antifa‘?

Blocking nazi-demonstrations. Stickers such as „Being nazi means getting in trouble“. Batches, black-and-red-coloured flags. I think about white men in the black block.

(Fair?) enough.

So what about Antifa plus university? Antifa-department of the students’ union? Talks about right-wing rock Buses to demonstrations? Activism against repression? I am struggling to find overlaps at first: On the one hand the political scene with its clear positioning; focused on active resistance – on the other the seemingly ‚politically neutral‘ (but national) institution as a place of abstract knowledge and ‚objective discourse‘ ...

I’ll try to approach it from the other side: What comes to my mind when I think about ‚fascism‘?

Right-wing ideology, dictatorial/hierarchical/oppressive systems, a concept of the enemy, exclusion and violence, repression and a false entity/unification. determined (gender-)roles. Being determined by others and basic orientation by profit/use. Nationalism. antisemitism. racism. ableism. antiziganism.

That means, if fascism is characterized by components like centralism, oppression, discrimination and being determined by others – doesn’t antifascism need to be decentralized and plural, as non-hierarchical as possible, sensitive for discrimination and aiming for self-determination? And does antifascist work therefore not necessarily include much more than just the core sector of antifascist action (with the mentioned resistance against and the information about right-wing/fascist attempts)? From this perspective, a much broader view on the connections between the university and the possibilities and necessities of antifascist approaches opens up.

At this point I wanted to add a bigger catalogue of questions concerning content and social position of the university, its space, its aspects of hierarchy and participation plus the interactions between its members...

However, in the interest of not getting it completely wrong, I decided to do a short research concerning the terms of fascism, antifascism and antifa. Just to end up more confused than before. Well, doesn’t seem to be so simple after all: Fascism regarded as the historical period or a theoretical concept? What’s the role of capitalism? Antifascism as resistance particularly against neo-nazis or against the state in general? Differences between antifa(scism) within a fascist regime and within a democracy (and who decides about the borderline)? And what can these terms be reasonably used for? Where are they actually meant to describe something different? Which terms are used synonymously and what consequences does that bring along? ...

In some articles I recognized most of my own connotations, in others less so – in few of them I would have totally missed the definition.

After all, I came to the conclusion that even if ‚antifascism‘ is a commonly used term in some settings (close to university), it is a) more ambiguous than maybe assumed and b) not even clearly defined on every antifascist website.

So – what do I do with my half-finished catalogue of questions?

Probably, it can't provide the tools for an antifascist analysis; but given some thought to (de)centralized organization, (abolishing) hierarchy, (sensitivity towards) discrimination as well as (lacking) self-determination/participation within the institutions we are part of – that can't be of any harm; in general and concerning antifascism. Therefore (ignoring all the term-related confusion): some questions and thoughts for a critical discussion about more or less ‚independent/open‘ universities:

CONTENT within courses and other events:

What is (not) talked about? (Where) is (German) colonialism, imperialism, nationalism, fascism, ... talked about? Where not? Who has influence on the contents and designs of courses and events?

The university's social POSITION:

Who is university supposed to be for? To whose conditions do we work and study at university? To whose profit? Who can even be part of the university?

[keywords: selective systems of society and education; employability; state as a location for business; lacking financing; third-party funds; influence by companies/Hochschulrat(council of higher education, ed.); tuition fees; critical/emancipating education]

The SPACE university:

Whom is it provided for? Whom not? Under which conditions? With which aims?

How accessible are the buildings?

[For example students' resistance against renting the university's rooms in the campaign „no space for sexism, homophobia and religious fundamentalism“/Bündnis „Kein Raum für Sexismus, Homophobie und religiösen Fundamentalismus“]

[For example renting space for advertisement and students' resistance against commerce & sexism: campaign „kick UNICUM from the campus“/ „UNICUM vom Campus kicken“]

HIERARCHY & SELF-DETERMINATION/ PARTICIPATION at the university:

Who decides about the interests of the university, the teachers, tutors, janitors, students, ...? Who has legal influence, financial means, publicity/media, institutional representation? What binding rules are there at the university? (e.g. about language in documents; about calls for new teachers; guidelines against discrimination in pictures etc.?) Are first-year students informed about existing possibilities and organs of participation? How are claims of students treated, e.g. for more self-determination?

[inglorious example: threat of charges against squatters of the (T)Raumklinik (dream/space clinic) and evacuation by police forces in Marburg, July 2013, directed by the head of the university]

INTERACTIONS between members of the university:

How do members of the university treat each other? Is there an attitude of fallibility, can authorities be criticized? Are there embedded structures for raising awareness, e.g. concerning discrimination, language as a tool of power, (sexualized) assaults? Are there any places to go and offers of support for this?

My incomplete conclusion:

Emancipatory, feminist, antiracist, post-colonial, discrimination-sensitive and power-critical perspectives and acts are maybe not always a central part of antifascist commitment – but for sure a necessary addition, if it is about the abolishment of oppression and the increasing realization of self-determination.

In the lyrics of a song by Sookee and Spezial K. there's the line „Antifa means questioning everything, everyday“/„Antifa heißt Tag für Tag das Ganze hinterfragen“. And that, I dare assume, applies as well for university.

Remember Mahmud Azhar!

In commemoration of a racist murder on the campus
of the Free University of Berlin

by Arvid Peschel
translation by Miriam Zimmermann

At the Freie Universität Berlin almost nobody remembers Mahmud Azhar anymore. 24 years ago, on the 7th of January 1990, the FU-student who was born in Pakistan became victim of a violent and racist assault on the campus of this University. He died two months later on the 5th of March 1990 from the direct consequences of the assault. Neither at this university nor elsewhere in Germany Mahmud Azhar's case is remembered. There is an inevitable necessity to change this and to offensively face the unbearable conditions that made this oblivion possible.

This article doesn't succeed in telling much about the life of Mahmud Azhar. It rather reports on grounds of archive material about the racist murder and the following public and university reactions, about the initiatives and the lawsuit against the culprit. This is, amongst other things, problematic because the person Mahmud Azhar is just written about by means of the racist assault on him.

Unfortunately I did not manage to contact relatives, former colleagues and activists in an adequate manner to change this. So that there won't be another year passing without remembrance of Mahmud Azhar I, I decided nevertheless to collect material about the racist murder and to bring the memory of it back to the public.

Mahmud Azhar was a doctoral student and scientific assistant since the mid 1970ies at the Free University of Berlin. He studied and worked at the Institute for biological chemistry which was still housed in a building at the Ostpreußendamm 111 in Berlin Lichterfelde at that point. At the time of his death

he was 40 years old and he would have finished his graduation in May 1990.

On the evening of the 7th of January in 1990 Mahmud Azhar was just leaving the Institute when the DDR citizen Thomas H. came across him on the parking space in front of the building. He racisticly insulted and threatened him:

*"There, the stranger continued with the insults and abuses (e.g.: fucking foreigner! What do you want here? Germany for the Germans. You stole our jobs. You shall all die. I'll kill you.)"*¹

From the building of the faculty Azhar twice tried to call the police in vain.² There, he was knocked down by the drunken perpetrator and injured at the head with parts of a fire extinguisher. In a recorded conversation with a colleague Azhar later declared that he hadn't hit back because the "perpetrator was a German" and he had feared that

*"(...) the police could completely blame him (Azhar) and perhaps arrange his departure, so that the conclusion of his PhD would be in danger."*³

The police of West Berlin did not react until the third emergency call that was dispatched by a passing cab driver. Mahmud Azhar was brought to the hospital. Thomas H. was arrested for a short time and after his interrogation during which he allegedly could not remember anything he was set free again. As was to be expected, the 25 year-old culprit relocated to East Berlin where he was untraceable for the West Berlin authorities.

Still in the hospital, when the investigations had been started, Azhar received a letter from the Public Prosecutors in which he was informed "that the investigation can currently not be continued since the residence of the perpetrator is unknown." The letter ended with the cynical appeal, "if you

receive knowledge about his residence, I ask you for a message to the above stated reference number.”⁴

After a stay in hospital of two months Mahmud Azhar died in the night from the 05th to the 6th of March 1990 of the direct consequences of the racist assault that was committed on him.

“We let out our rage, a few people look – and then everything is forgotten again.”⁵

As a reaction to Azhar’s death the “committee of action for Mahmud Azhar” was founded in Berlin. Together with other solidly united and antiracist groups such as the Pakistani Student’s Union, the OROMO Horn of Africa centre e.V., the Refugee’s Council Berlin, The AK Antifa-Info in Moabit and the Student’s Union of the FU Berlin (AstA) they organised a demonstration and several remembrance guards. In the demonstration around 300 people took part. In the “interim” a magazine of the autonomous scene of Berlin, these groups published an obituary with the title “we mourn over our pakistani friend Azhar who died last week at the age of 40 because he was a foreigner.”

In it the authors reminded:

“We all know that the assaults on foreigners have accumulated, especially since the electoral successes of the Reps and the frenzy of the German unification that has started on the 9th of November 1989. Thus, there were for example the murders of the two turkish fellow citizens Üzümlü Sadik und Ufuk Sahin which were committed on the basis of racist motives. As such Azhar is just for the moment the latest victim of the alarming increase of hatred of foreigners.”⁶

A continuous work for remembrance of Mahmud Azhar was proving to be difficult under the signs of the lasting students’ protests as well as the excessive Nationalism of the new united society and the intensifying racist climate. Already in the summer of 1990 the public handling of Azhar’s violent murder was criticised in the “Antifaschistisches Infoblatt” (antifascist info paper):

“All in all the incident was hardly publicly acknowledged. Just as the governmental racism in the form of tightened immigration laws, also the racist terror on the streets is no issue in the bourgeois media. The connections shall be kept in the dark.”⁷

These connections were explicitly characterised by the action committee a few months later in a pamphlet:

“The hopes for more freedom and liberality after the Wall came down changed into a nightmare for a part of Berlin’s population. East Berlin and parts of West Berlin became effectively restricted areas for immigrants refugees and black Germans. Racist abuses and assaults from Neo-Fascists, Skinheads and from “ordinary” civilians and the complicity of passive spectators became daily routine.”⁸

And yet, even in the top management levels of the Free University there was a rudimentary awareness of these societal circumstances and the meaning of Azhar’s murder that was racist in nature. In an internal memo to the president of the FU it says in a sober administration language:

“It is not ruled out that this case, with the present political climate, will draw special attention from the press and the public. It is proposed that the FU reacts to the death of Mr. Azhar with a death notice or an obituary which will take account of the speciality of this case.”⁹

On the initiative of Azhar’s colleagues from the Institute for Biological Chemistry resulted an obituary which was printed in the University’s info-magazine, the “fu info”. It was left at that. The committee of action for Mahmud Azhar soon found themselves forced to criticise the presidium of the FU that furthermore there was never a publication of the obituary in any of the daily newspapers, which would have reached a broader public.

In general, the handling of Azhar’s violent death at the university developed grotesque tendencies. The FU administration at first denied the relatives the death benefits and delayed the financial aid for the transfer of the body to Pakistan. Not until there were repeated complaints from members of the institute and student’s initiatives the FU was persuaded to handle things “unbureaucratically”.

In the Academic Senate (AS) of Freie Universität arose a long discussion about the memorial plate which should be installed at the Institute of Biological Chemistry to remind of Azhar’s death. As there was no definite date for a court trial, which was actually scheduled nine months after Azhar’s death, the FU authorities in charge postponed the decision about the inscription of the tablet.

As there hadn’t been any legal conviction, it was argued, there would allegedly not be any clarity about the racist background of the deed. According to FU authorities, referring to a racist motive for the crime or even calling it “racist murder” would therefore not

have been legally supportable. Yet there was evidence in reports from memory of some of the witnesses that Azhar was beaten up under racist slogans. These protocols were known to the presidium.

Except for a resolution by the Academic Senate on the 9th of May 1990 there was no further public engagement of the university. Besides, the text of the resolution turned out extremely noncommittal:

“On the occasion of Mahmud Azhar’s death the Academic Senate appeals to all members of the Freie Universität to take a stand against racism and increasing xenophobia.”¹⁰

In this statement a deeper confrontation with racism as cause for Azhar’s death is unintelligible. As is its meaning as relationships of oppression which are intrinsic in society and don’t stop at a university and its members.

The “tageszeitung” had written in march of the same year:

In an article published by the taz in the end of June, entitled “Will the convict be punished at all?”¹³, it was reported that Thomas H. could live “undisturbed” in the DDR because the public prosecutors of West Berlin found it “disproportionate” to issue an arrest warrant. Finally the proceedings were transferred completely to the judiciary officials in East Berlin, which were in a chaotic state of restructuring at that point. The question asked by the article could at that time be answered with “possibly not at all”.

The hope for a “just” but at any rate harsh judgement did not seem very high amongst the supporters. This scepticism was based on the experiences with other lawsuits, as the Antifascist Info Magazine Berlin pointed out:

“If there will be a lawsuit at all in this case, it can be expected that the deed will once again be declared as an ‘isolated case’. So it was with the murderer of Ufuk Sahin, when neither court nor prosecution wanted to see xenophobia and racism as a cause for the deed and saw to a mild judgement”¹⁴

In this statement a deeper confrontation with racism as cause for Azhar’s death is unintelligible.

“Neither the foreigners’ representative nor the Freie Universität wanted to make any more specific comments on the case. All that the Fu apparently managed to do until now is to notify the police about damage to property because the convict had impaired a fire extinguisher when he attacked the Pakistani scientist. The foreigners’ representative wanted to familiarize with the background first before she could issue a detailed statement.”¹¹

Indeed, the university did not take part in the trial against Thomas H. as joint plaintiff. Repeatedly the authorities in charge were criticised for that and asked to engage in the criminal proceedings. After examination by the legal office of Freie Universität and the attorney who represented the family of Mahmud Azhar an engagement in the proceedings, which started in the end of 1990, as joint plaintiff seemed to be impossible.

“We must not let the lawsuit pass unobserved.”¹²

Family, colleagues and supporters had to wait in uncertainty for several months until the trial against the murderer of Mahmud Azhar was opened on December 17th 1990.

Similar was the statement of the Action Committee Mahmud Azhar in a leaflet. It was unclear if the court would really try to enlighten the racist background of the deed or if they would play it down in seeing it as an individual case without racist motivation. It read further on:

“‘German for the Germans’ and ‘I am German, you have no rights here’ the culprit shouted at Mahmud. These sentences are no statements of ‘an isolated individual’ they become the basis of German policy with increasing clarity.”¹⁵

On the 20th of December 1990 the judgement against Azhar’s murderer was delivered. The culprit was only sentenced to one year on probation.

“[public prosecutor] Wehdorn didn’t think it provable that racism could be the motive for the assault although the accused insulted the victim xenophobic paroles. Doubt should benefit to the accused. A sentence because of ‘bodily harm with results of death’ was deemed wrong by Wehdorn as the death of the victim ‘wasn’t predictable’ at the time of the offence. (...)”

The opinion of the court followed mainly the statements of the prosecutors but the

**DO YOU
REMEMBER
MAH-MUJ
AZH-AH?**





actual sentence was even less than the prosecutor had proposed for his client. The warrant of arrest against the accused was removed.”¹⁶

Next to many negative reactions the judgement of the ‘Berliner Morgenpost’ was downright hateful. Title of the trial’s report: “Court braves public pre-condemnation”¹⁷

The outcome of the trial is like a template that was applied to many of the following proceedings which dealt with murders on grounds of racism and neo-Nazism. Provided that these crimes were brought to justice.¹⁸ The story of each individual murder is a bestiality, elusive, upsetting and their public avengement or even prevention is incredibly insufficient and perfidious.

Overall, it can be asserted quickly that “although right-wing [as well as racist; author’s note] attitudes or motives in trials are acknowledged, they are not rated as being fundamental for the decision.”¹⁹ A renewed juristic approach to Mahmud Azhar’s murder is still a long way off, as well as an acknowledgement by public authorities.

„Mahmud Azhar is mentioned in the list of death victims caused by right-wing violence because he was killed by a racist motivation of the culprit. However, he has the number ‘o’ because an official acknowledgement by the Fe-

The tablet is the only relict of a person, who should never have been forgotten.

deral Government can be ruled out. The Federal Government keeps statistics about death victims of right-wing violence only since the 3rd of October 1990. Consequently, Mahmud Azhar is not included in the official statistic.”²⁰

At this point it should be said that the number of murders acknowledged by the Federal Government differs considerably from statistics such as from the Amadeu-Antonio-Foundation – 58 compared to 183.

„Who does still remember Mahmud Azhar?“²¹

The long political discussions about the memorial tablet ended with the court decision that became operative. On the 15th of January 1991, the memorial tablet for Mahmud Azhar was disclosed inside the Institute of Biochemistry at Ostpreußendamm 111 in Berlin Lichterfelde. The institute has left the building years ago. Today, a marketing

company is situated in there. Whom does a memorial tablet serve, that can not be seen from the outside? Whom does the tablet exhort and whom does the tablet remind of Mahmud Azhar and his violent death?

The tablet is the only relict of a person, who should never have been forgotten.

Considering the official politics of remembrance and the active self-marketing of this university, it is even more unbearable. The university prides themselves with many international guests from political, science and cultural sectors, whose visits shall stand for the FU’s cosmopolitanism. Elsewhere, oversized portraits of the most popular alumni, with whom this institution adorns itself, hang on the walls.

There are no commemoration ceremonies, no hints in print publications or on websites of the university, no official remembrance. As if this racist attack, as if the FU-scientist Mahmud Azhar had never existed. As if this act at a university like this was unimaginable.

„Racism at the universities, in the center of social enlightenment? The upset reactions make it clear that many do not want to accept the reality.“²²

At the same time, the list of incidents,

from racist assaults by lecturers, to ever new racist and neo-Nazi toilet graffiti at the FU, to the well-known cases, in which members of the Neue Rechte could become lecturers, continues until today.

The current state is a result of a development that has lasted over decades. The above quoted leaflet of the Antirassistische Aktion (ARA) [antiracist action, note of the transl.] of the FU Berlin says further:

„The examination with racism, neo-Fascism and right-wing extremism at the FU must not remain ‘only academic’. It should increasingly refer to firstly, special responsibility of the individual disciplines and secondly, the factors, that can make students particularly vulnerable to right-winged views. The Uni has to provide room for ‘educational’ processes in this respect. In this context, it is an evidence of incapacity that so far it has not even been possible to have day of action at the FU as it happened on the 29th Ja-

uary 1993 at the Technische Universität²³, also, that the financial support for memorial tours by Pfiff have been withdrawn.^{24 25}

As well as the educational institutions in Germany cannot be disregarded when it comes to a critical examination of racism in our society, society itself can not be omitted regarding the racist conditions at the universities

Memorial policy

Mahmud Azhar seems to be forgotten by the left wing of this country, too. This calls the attention to a problem with which the left winged politics of remembrance deals with, or has to deal with: „It is not enough to be a victim to gain publicity in the left milieu.“²⁶

Or, as it was put by a person in the beginning of 1991 in the Interim as a conclusion about the closed trial against Thomas H.:²⁷

„By the way, at the second day of the trial there was – despite broad mobilization – hardly

It is much more important to recall a person to this university's memory, where it was possible that he was forgotten in the first place.

anybody from the „scene“ in the court room. It may be because trials are rarely attended in general, or because many had the position – not to go to the trial – straight and just stayed away – maybe it was because Mahmud Azhar did not belong „to us“ – or was it maybe because Mahmud was a „foreigner“?²⁸

The fact that nowadays, after the revelation of the murders by the „national socialist underground“ there is talk about a „new dimension of right-winged violence“ may suggest that the victims of the „Zwickauer Terrorzelle“ were the first victims of racism and neo-Fascism in general. The fact that the 183 known death victims of racist and neo-Nazi violence are forgotten and have never been remembered or publicly acknowledged²⁹ is omitted as well as the non-existing confrontation with the daily racism within our society.

January 2014 is the 24th anniversary of the racist attack against Mahmud Azhar. The chances for an official remembrance of his death and the racist motivated reasons are – under the current circumstances – conceivably little. But this cannot be the only aim of a left-winged politics of remembrance. It is

much more important to recall a person to this university's memory, where it was possible that he was forgotten in the first place.

Endnotes:

- 1 Report from memory of a relative. Archive reference on request. This relates to all non-public source references.
- 2 Until today it is not solved why the police of west Berlin did not react to the first two emergency calls.
- 3 Report from memory from a colleague
- 4 Public Prosecutor of the Regional Court of Berlin, letter to Mahmud Azhar, 29.01.1990
- 5 Contribution to a discussion at an event of the Pakistani student's union "To the violent death of Mahmud Azhar", see tageszeitung 10.3.1990. Title of the article: "Wettlauf gegen das schnelle Vergessen".
- 6 Interim, Number 95, 22.3.1990, page 9.
- 7 Antifaschistisches Infoblatt, No. 11, May-June 1990, p.36, "Rassistischer Mord in Westberlin".
- 8 See footnote 12.
- 9 Internal memorandum of the presidium of the FU, 12.03.1990.
- 10 Resolution transcript of the 396th session of the Academic Senate on May 9th 1990, Resolution No. 369/2505/90
- 11 Taz, March 16th 1990.
- 12 Closing word of a leaflet that was distributed in the beginning of december about the beginning lawsuit against Thomas H. Appealing organisations: Action committee Mahmud Azhar, Antiracist Initiative, "Ausländer"Innen-Referat AstA FU, Antifascist contact office (AstA FU), Oromoro Centre.
- 13 Taz, 25th of June 1990.
- 14 Antifascist Info Magazine No.11 May-June 1990, p.36, "Rassistischer Mord in Westberlin".
- 15 Pamphlet for the start of the trial, beginning of December 1990.

- 16 Taz, 21th of December 1990.
- 17 Berliner Morgenpost, 22nd/23rd of December 1990.
- 18 On the contrary, that concerns the murders of Grigore Velcu and Eudache Calderar, which are not solved until today. The circumstances of their murders are discussed in the 2012 documentary 'Revision'. See <http://www.revision-film.eu/index69c5.html?id=1&lang=de>.
- 19 Jungle World No. 27, "Schuld war nur der Alkohol", 04.07.2013
- 20 <http://www.opferfonds-cura.de/zahlen-und-fakten/erinnerungen/januar/mahmud-azhar>.
- 21 Pamphlet about the beginning of the trial, beginning of December 1990.
- 22 Antirassistische Aktion (ARA) FU Berlin, "Scheiß drauf. Rassistische und faschistische Schmierereien an der FU", 1993, p.4
- 23 On that day there was a 'University day against fascism and racism' at the Technische Universität with lectures, discussions and workshops.
- 24 The Projekt für interdisziplinäre Faschismusforschung (PfiFF) [project for interdisciplinary research on fascism] was a student's project that evolved during the UniMut strike in 1988/89 at the school of history of the FU
- 25 ARA, Rassistische und faschistische Schmierereien, p.11.
- 26 Jungle World, No. 49, "Erinnern mit links" [left-wing remembrance] 6.12.2012.
- 27 Whereas the chosen wording is already a part of the problem that the person tries to criticise: a construction and contrasting of a "we"/"us" as a part of the scene and the seemingly deviant "other".
- 28 Interim No. 129, "Der Prozess um den Tod Mahmud Azhar's.- Kritik am Aufruf zum Prozess" [The trial about the death of Mahmud Azhar. - Criticism of the appeal for the trial.]10.1.1991. p.25
- 29 See "183 Todesopfer rechter Gewalt" [183 death victims of right-wing violence], an overview of the victims fund Cura of the Amadeu-Antonio-foundation. <http://www.opferfonds-cura.de/zahlen-und-fakten/todesopfer-rechter-gewalt>.

“At university, nobody’s interested in fighting racism”

Wandji Chamberlin is one of the anti-racism-office representatives of the students’ union of Humboldt University (HU). We met him to talk about his experiences with racism at institutions of higher education.

*interview by Nora Huberty
translation by Nora Huberty and Niklas Walendy*

Before we start, I’d like to introduce myself. My name is Wandji Chamberlin, I am from Cameroon. I’ve already been politically involved there for quite some time. Since my arrival in the Federal Republic of Germany as asylum seeker in 2004, I’ve been concerned with the situation of refugees and the struggle for human rights. The graduate degree that I received in 1998 in Cameroon wasn’t recognized here, which is why I decided to start studying agricultural sciences in 2009. I reckon, I’m still young and there is still plenty to learn in that field. This is how I ended up at HU.

When I arrived at HU, I knew from the first days, in fact, the very first hours that something was wrong. I wasn’t surprised – I’ve probably been prepared for this on a subconscious level. When you – also as a refugee – get around a lot and face a lot of discrimination on the street on a daily basis, you don’t necessarily expect it to be completely different at university, which is also a part of society. But you expect it to be less than what you experience on the street. Unfortunately, that was not the case. Therefore I decided to engage myself with higher education policy. I ran for a seat in the students’ parliament (StuPa). I was familiar with such forms of organization in Cameroon, where students’ representatives are elected as well.

I ran a campaign [laughs]. During the course of that campaign I experienced what I

had already heard from others: When I handed out leaflets and told everyone I wanted to be a part of StuPa, people were suddenly holding back, I got suspicious looks and they said: „Do you actually want to be our Angela Merkel?“ It was meant as a joke, but I think they just couldn’t accept the idea of a foreigner – let alone a Black person – to represent them. Some tried to connect this to the Obama campaign, but I didn’t react to that. It was really noticeable, you could see that they were afraid.

Then you got elected into StuPa...

Actually, StuPa isn’t just for the elected student representatives, every student is allowed to participate in their meetings and ask questions, the meetings are public. When I went to the meetings for the first time, a student came up to me and asked me if he could help me. He treated me as though I was lost. Apparently, he couldn’t wrap his head around the idea that I was a student or simply a person interested in StuPa. Why should someone ask me if s_he could help me in a room within university, that is accessible to all students? If that guy hadn’t wanted to come to StuPa, he wouldn’t have come, but when he comes, nobody’s going to ask him if he needed help.

I think that’s funny, but at the same time I take it very seriously, because it shows the mindset that students have internalized. It’s like a foundation that supports racist structures and discrimination. I don’t want to brush these people off, but instead show them what subconscious racism is – sometimes you try to have a certain understanding

for them, in keeping with the motto „Well, s_he just didn't know what s_he was doing or saying, s_he is naive or dumb“, but s_he's neither naive nor dumb. Otherwise you could ask them: „Why didn't you ask the person over there, why do you specifically ask that person?“ But when you ask that question, you'll hear them say: „Hey, no offense meant!“ When I go to a lecture at HU, I put my jacket on the seat to my right and my bag on the seat to my left and make myself comfortable. Why? Because it has happened too often that my surrounding seats are left empty. When people come in looking for seats, they see that there is plenty of space around me, but then they still look somewhere else. They only sit close to me if there is no other option. And then I can think about whether I should take my bags off the seats or not, because apparently nobody really wants to sit next to me. So I sit comfortably.

When someone suddenly spots you as an object of interest and can't hold back her_his curiosity, they approach you: To observe you, to touch you. Then they ask the usual question: „Where are you from? Are you doing alright? If you need help or don't understand something, feel free to ask me.“ You see, this person doesn't know who you are, what skills you have, s_he doesn't know a thing about your language skills or your difficulties. But this manner immediately makes you feel like you're lacking certain skills, and s_he offers to help. You're confronted with all those racist stereotypes. Others may ask you: „Why have you come to Germany? Why couldn't you study in your country?“ No matter what your answer is there will be more questions, and their real intention is to spurn you, to tell you: „Poor fellow!“

When you're exposed to situations like that do you have to put up with them all by yourself or is there any kind of place or person around the university that you can turn to? Are there safe rooms where people can get support?

No. When I arrived at HU I kept looking for this kind of thing for a long time and I realized that there is none. There is the anti-racism-office at the students' union. So if we're just talking about the name, then there is a place all right. In fact it's the usual stuff: we establish a structure. The purpose of the structure is solely to show the world we're fighting against discrimination. In reality we aren't fighting, though - instead, we live with discrimination and to distract us from this fact we have the structure. Thus, if there is this anti-racism-office, we should really be asking ourselves whether the space

of this office is free of racism at all. And my answer to that is immediately, without a thought: No. Absolutely not. There's still a lot to be done.

Here, I am situated in a /white/ space and in front of me I see people that are potentially racists because they form part of this structure. They were brought up by structurally racist educational methods - which is why you can't expect them not to be racist. Out of ignorance these people are racists, that is to say they reproduce this in their daily lives, probably without even noticing. The question is, however: Are they willing to analyze their own behaviour and critically challenge themselves? They don't have to prove to me that they're not racist - they have to prove that to themselves. I promised myself that as anti-racism-office representative I wouldn't let myself be used as a signboard - I rather seek to do my work properly, so as to change things on a bigger level at university so that people who suffer racist discrimination may actually find a safe space to retreat.

What kind of service or contact structure is there on the side of university?

Apart from the representatives for women and chronically ill persons, there is no real representative for racially discriminated people on the administrative level to turn to and receive suitable support. I've only recently come to know that actually the head of the presidial office is responsible in cases of discrimination at the university. No one was aware of that. She is a /white/ german person who is holding a position she is in no way qualified for. Besides, it is perfectly clear that this position was installed by the university only to be able to apply for the Exzellenzinitiative. The university management has no serious interest in fighting racism at institutions of higher education. Non-/white/ students are exposed to racist statements by staff members and fellow students on a daily basis. Another problem is that there is no official prescription against racism or discrimination in general - there even isn't a statement that discrimination is not to be tolerated.

Once I myself was discriminated against by HU's postal service when they told me explicitly and in the presence of witnesses: they discriminate against me because I am Black. I appealed to the university management and filed a complaint but instead of hearing me out the people in question only listened to the postal service personnel. Then they send me a statement saying that the postal service personnel said, I had compared them to Hitler. No member of the university

management tried to get in touch with me – instead, they turned to the perpetrators.

Every year since then, we've been organizing a three-day seminar on Racism Within the German Educational System. I'm always trying to involve the HU management more and more closely with these seminars. Last time, we've invited the president, he addressed the participants and also attended the panel discussion. As a result there have been meetings between him and I on a regular basis. We will give an account of the current status of these meetings during the next seminar session and we will try to change the situation, also with the help of people that hold positions in the district administration and share our concerns.

Do you make any demands to institutions of higher education?

We offered to set up an anti-discriminatory agency at HU. Of course we are convinced that this position requires to be held by a non-/white/ person because racism is not a theory that you can grasp on a rational level – it is a sentiment. And so if someone is holding that position who cannot perceive of this sentiment, this person cannot support victims in any suitable manner.

Another demand is that every year there be an obligatory anti-racist training for every member of the HU staff. I know of course that on legal grounds this will be difficult to realize but we are still going to discuss it with the management. There needs to be space for theory, too, because you have to discuss theory first, maybe talk about some terms and definitions. And everyone needs to join in, not only those who may already know anything about it. Surely, discussing theory will have to stop at some point, so that we may start to put it into practice.

What other kinds of structure are there?

For a few months there has been a group called AK [ArbeitsKreis = study group] UniWatch. Although the idea is very good, unfortunately I have to say that the composition of this group is problematic. If you only look at its purpose and the message, then it sure is good. I have, however, made the experience that the people working for AK UniWatch aren't willing to see their own racism, although they are fighting against racist structures.

AK UniWatch may be able to do political work, but as anti-racism-office representative I can go beyond that, I can put pressure on the presidial office and offer legal support

to the people. For AK UniWatch the seminar on Racism within the German Educational System proved to be a good opportunity for advertising their group, to hand out leaflets and publicize their work at university. That annoyed me. I told them I was open for collaborations, provided that there wouldn't be a mess. We're right in the middle of a longer debate with the university's administration and a confusion of our strategies could potentially threaten our efforts. This process has been going on for more than a year now, and they just come by and try to take it over. I wrote them that I really appreciate their cause but that the way they treat me doesn't provide a good basis for teamwork.

So there are structures in institutions of higher education, including the student body, but they are only names. They are empty promises. If you try to look beneath the surface, you're very likely to be disappointed.

I always get the feeling that there may be room at university for /white/ people to discuss racism on a theoretical level, but it fails to come into practice.

An example: Just out the door is a monument for Hegel. Here at university, we know who Hegel was and which role he played in academia and among intellectuals planting the seed and helping to legitimize racism in relation to colonialism and slavery in Germany. How can we tolerate that? That a guy like him would get such a monument? Of course, he was a philosopher. But is it possible to only honor him for his achievements in philosophy? At the same time there is not a single monument for the victims of colonialism and slavery. The perpetrator is being honoured and the victims ignored and forgotten. This behavior shows how the university wants to deal with this topic. But we as students also need to be able to take responsibility for this injustice and rejection. Many people have suffered because of Hegel's statements. But the answer is: No, this doesn't concern us, we're a university. We are an intellectual and academic institution. That's a paradox. I'm standing here as a Black person and no one is willing to support me and say: "I'm sorry for what's happening here." We immortalise these theories, these scientific analyses by erecting a monument. Just recently they put a fence around it. I've said it time and time again on different events, but nothing ever happens. I can't understand how people can live with this.

What do you think about Uni-Assist, the platform which primarily students with a non-ger-

man certificate to enter universities need to use to apply in Germany?

Uni-Assist will be a topic in our upcoming seminar on Racism Within the German Educational System, because it's an explicitly racist structure. About 150 universities and colleges are members of Uni-Assist, for instance the HU – although we've recently put a lot of pressure on them and handed in many complaints, so that the HU is currently considering to opt out of Uni-Assist.

Uni-Assist's general procedure is in itself discriminatory: Applicants from within Europe and the United States pay almost no fees or at least a very low fees, whereas applicants from Latin America pay slightly higher fees, those from Asian a bit higher than that and eventually applicants from Africa pay 5 to 6 times the amount people from the US or EU pay. The application forms are exactly the same though, you need to hand in your certificate to enter universities or your diploma, your certificate of birth and they are assessed in the exact same way. There is no reason to charge different fees on Uni-Assist.

Almost 75 percent of the applications from Africa aren't accepted or not processed with the explanation that something was missing or the forms were handed in too late. But that's not the truth. I've experienced this myself when I handed in my own application several weeks before the deadline and even paid the fee and then received a refusal of application that said the forms arrived too late and couldn't be processed. They do this because they know the applicants are far away and can't take legal steps.

We went to the matriculation office and asked how they processed applications prior to Uni-Assist: Everyone handed in their applications and the fee was the same for everyone. Why are the fees different now for different regions? By doing this they decre-

ase the chance that non-german applicants enter university here.

We're currently working on pressing charges collectively against Uni-Assist. Also, when African applicants hand in their applications they get refusals saying "if you have already paid the fees, you don't have to pay them again the next time you apply". But when they re-apply, they're told that there's no money paid on their account.

We'd also like to know in which ways /white/ students can show their solidarity.

First of all they have to accept that they are part of this society. They have to realize that they enjoy a certain privilege that they profit from. That means, they have to realize that they themselves are part of this discriminatory structure. They have to recognize that they are also partly responsible for the experiences other people make. It is this awareness, that one is born with a privilege and benefits from it, while at the same time, because of this privilege other people suffer around you.

How can I show solidarity with these people? Maybe I should listen first. To start off by saying ". By doing that I not only show that I have that privilege, but also that I have more choices and abilities than they have. You should ask them "How can I support you?" You have to pay attention to how you word this, so that the word "help" doesn't come up easily. "How can I support you? I may not understand the pain that you're feeling, but I will try." Those are the basics to me, they should be given. And depending on what support the affected person needs, can I think about whether I have the capacity to offer this kind of support. If I have that capacity, then I can do something for them. If you don't have that capacity, you shouldn't be ashamed of yourself. Then you show that it concerns you, but you can't do what you can't do.

Cheering away Thomas de Maizière

by Paola Mariposa
translation by Miriam Zimmermann

For the 10th of April, 'Minister of Defence' Thomas de Maizière had been invited by the Humboldt University (HU) Berlin to hold a lecture in the Audimax lecture theatre; the topic: "Army of the Unity – contribution of German Armed Forces to social solidarity". But Maizière didn't have his say. When he entered the hall at about 6pm, thunderous applause was welcoming him. The president of the HU, Jan-Hendrik Olbertz, had a forced smile on his face when he patiently waited on the stage to be able to introduce de Maizière. But the cheering would not end. Slogans like "Thomas we love you!" and "Freedom at the Hindukusch! Shalalalala!" were chanted. Ironically, Protestants were also demanding: "Another war!".

After some twenty minutes the smile on the HU president's face disappeared. When a few persons with bloody t-shirts stormed the stage to represent killed persons, there was a small commotion. A person ascended on their chair and rolled out a banner saying: "Make war to the war! Never again Germany!" Hereupon, the numerous present civil police officers put on their police vests and positioned themselves close to the stage. Some of the Security employees tried to get the person with the banner to descend the chair, in vain, as there were some persons who stood solidly united in their way.

The slogans that followed from there on were not ironical anymore. There were slogans like "Never again Germany! Never again war!" or "German weapons, German

money help killing around the world!". There were also references made to war as cause of flight: "Say it loud and say it clear: refugees are welcome here!"

After about half an hour the 'Minister of Defence' realised that he would not have his say on this day and left the hall with police protection a fact that was greeted with renewed applause. Because neither de Maizière nor Olbertz had been able to talk, the HU's president addressed the audience with words that were typed on a computer and shown via LCD projector. He tried to bring the audience to start a discussion. One person was willing to engage in a discussion and therefore ascended the stage. But as many people were not willing to have a dialogue with people who support and operate war, the chanting of slogans went on: "No war, no discussion!"

At some point a person wrote that they would like to hear "what the president has to say" and demonstratively stood on the stage with some others. About thirty people followed their "call for solidarity" and joined them. As a reward they were shouted at with paroles like "Germany is crap and you are the evidence!"

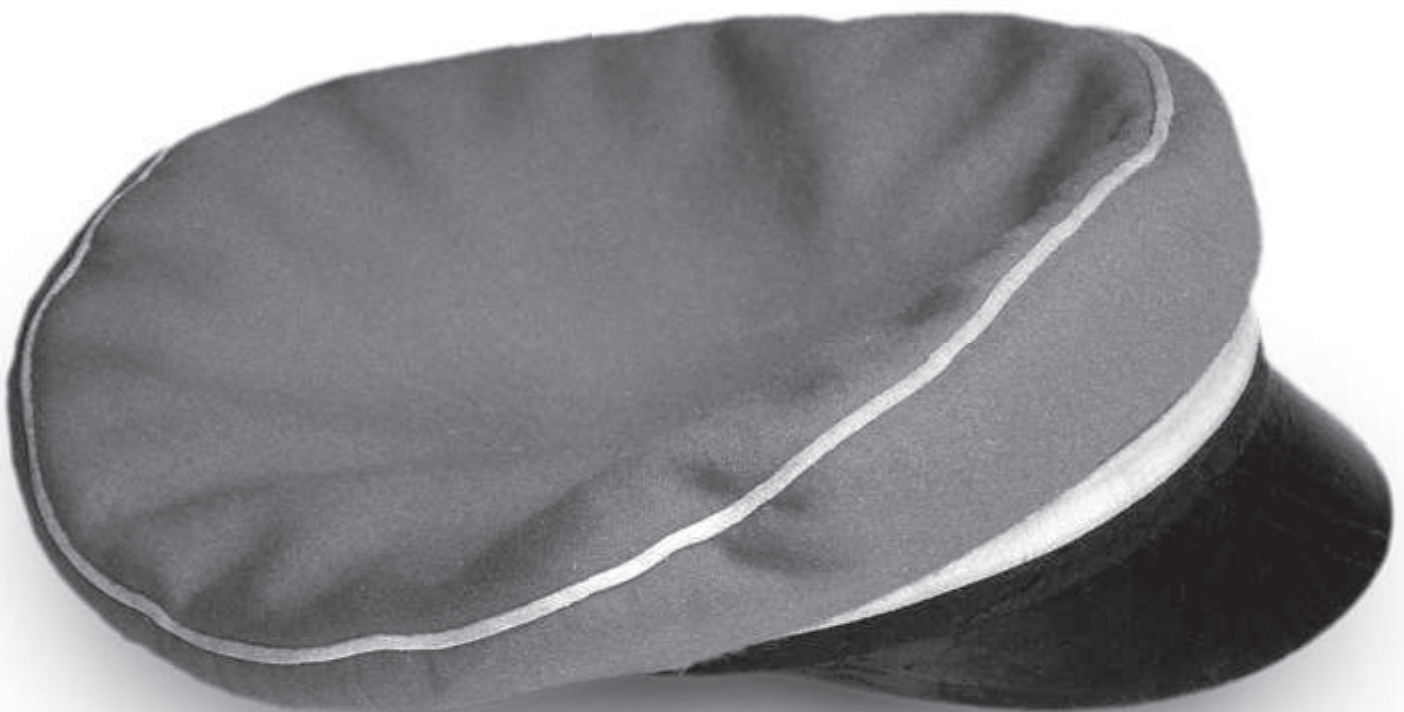
After more than an hour the protest faded away more and more because most people were hoarse from the shouting. Meanwhile, Olbertz was sitting on the stage, surrounded by a cluster of people who wanted the discussion with him.

This action has shown that it is possible to prevent pro-war events from happening – also at universities. This can give us courage to oppose the operators of war in future. Because war starts here – Resistance also!

“The Coburger Convention is a political association and as such, must be attacked politically and in an organized manner.”

On the criticism of the Coburger Convention as a self-named racial and fraternity elite in Germany.

Turn the page to get started!



by *Tandem Verrat am Vaterland*
translation by Ryan Plocher

The Coburger Convention (CC) holds its “Pentecost convention” almost without any trouble each year in the small northern Bavarian town of Coburg. City life continues as usual except that 5000 student corps members marching through the streets and celebrating their German masculinity. Any supraregional protest movement can hardly be seen, although the fraternities and their umbrella organization can be criticized from multiple perspectives. Nevertheless, a necessary public debate about the reactionary power of student corps/fraternities has been missing for decades. Current protests are carried out exclusively from local radical Leftists. It might have been expected that a larger criticism of

BACKGROUND: [translators note: In German-language history, fraternities/student corps of men students (Landsmannschaften and Burschenschaften and men-only gymnastics groups (Turnerschaften) are associated with conservative, nationalist politics. Gymnastics (Turnen) is associated in German-language political history with nationalist and liberal groups of the 19th century agitating for a unified Germany.]

The Coburger Convention (CC) is the umbrella organization of 96 student corps and men-only gymnastics groups at 45 institutions of higher education in Germany and Austria. All associations in the CC wear uniforms now associated with the pre-1918 German Empire (farbentragend) and have initiation duels with sharp swords (pflichtschlagend). The Deutsche Landsmannschaft was founded in 1868 and the Verband der Turnerschaften an Deutschen Hochschulen (association of gymnastics associations at German universities) was founded in 1872. During the First World War and especially during the Weimar Republic, the CC was part of a conservative, nationalist, reactionary trend. These fraternities recognized the “Führer principle” as early as 1933, three years before all private associations were dissolved and the fraternities were merged into the National Socialist German Students League. After Germany was liberated from National Socialism, the fraternities in the CC were banned because of their right-wing positions. In 1951, the association was re-founded in Coburg under the same name and has had a six-day convention every year since then over the Pentecost weekend in early summer. This consists of lectures, ceremonies, pub crawls, athletic contests, a formal ball and a march with torches (Fackelmarsch) (also strongly associated with Nationalism) with a closing speech and a singing of the German national anthem (Deutschlandlied). A further highlight is a memorial at the CC monument. The motto of the CC is „Honor- Loyalty-Fatherland-Friendship“ (translated by RP). The convention during Pentecost has been accompanied by antifascist and feminist resistance since the 1980s. Political work against the CC is consistently criminalized by the police, secret service, local politicians and by the Coburg local Newspaper, „Neue Presse“. Activists experience massive repression.

student corps/fraternities take place in the course of the discussion (partially in mainstream media) about the racist selection policies of the Deutsche Burschenschaft and the related “Aryan paragraphs.” This, how-

ever, has not taken place. Instead, student corps/fraternities are divided into “bad” groups (Burschenschaften, especially in the Deutsche Burschenschaft) and “good” groups (Sänger-, Turner-, Landsmannschaften, e.g. in the CC). In this view, the Coburger Convention is an apolitical student association which can evade any necessity of having political responsibility. This situation is not tolerable when one considers the positions of the CC. The transitions between the various types of fraternity are fluid and any dichotomy hides the real situation within the Coburger Convention. With this article, we want to indicate, make visible and attack the position of the CC within societal power structures. This can only be done when the nationalist, patriarchal and elitist “normal situation” in Germany is also criticized.

German soldiers as “victims”^{*1} of National Socialism?

A colorful stream of fraternity brothers moves in two rows slowly up the fortified hill. A fashion necessity this Monday morning is full regalia, meaning: uniform or suit, cap, colored fraternity stripe, sword and military posture. They passed by the small counterdemonstration at the foot of the hill long ago and can now see the memorial. Once they arrive, they arrange themselves with their ladies⁽ⁱ⁾ around the round platform at the foot of the memorial: a high pedestal with the words “Honor, Loyalty, Fatherland” on which three warriors raise their swords to the sky.

Every year, the CC memorializes those fraternity brothers who died as soldiers in the First and Second World Wars. In memorial speeches, German soldiers are glorified with personal war stories and strong emotionalizing. The German soldier is made into a hero and myth. With this strongly personalized rhetoric, the acts and related responsibility attached to every German soldier are made to seemingly disappear. Any

event about German soldiers in the Third Reich that does not mention the victims⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ of the Holocaust and fascism is marked very clearly in one ideological direction. Behind this kind of thinking is a perpetrator-victim



Perpetrator-Victim-Role-Reversal: Burschis with their families and townspeople at Heroes' Day in Coburg

role reversal and an internalized reactionary understanding of history. The CC presents a version of National Socialism in which a line is drawn between German crimes against humanity and Wehrmacht soldiers. German soldiers are made into the “true victims” of National Socialism. This absurd and inhuman construction is supported by agitation against the Allied powers, especially the Red Army. A speech by fraternity brother Prof. Dieter Wiebecke (MD) at the CC Memorial in 1993 summarizes this position in a comparison of Wehrmacht soldiers and the 300 soldiers of Sparta fighting a massive enemy force. Although this speech is twenty years old, it has unfortunately not become obsolete in terms of the CC. The language of CC speakers may have changed but not their positions.

“Traveller, come to Sparta. Who of us, with these words, would not have thought of the many events of the last war, especially on former Stalingrad and our 6th army, whose destiny was fulfilled there more than 50 years and 4 months ago. They too were in a completely hopeless situation, but they bravely fought on, despite unimaginable hardships, agonizing hunger and biting cold. Only as the last bit of ammunition was gone and their frozen fingers could no longer use their weapons did the last survivors surrender. By their sacrifice, the 6th Army saved

an entire army group (Heeresgruppe), probably the entire south wing of the eastern front from the same fate. The inferno of Stalingrad marked the beginning of an incomparable sacrifices of millions of German soldiers. The history of the Second World War has uncountable other stories comparable to the events in Thermopylenpassage, stories which go unheard in the maelstrom of general chaos. [...] The later realization that they were misused by unscrupulous leadership, and that heinous crimes were committed behind their backs, does little to decrease the ethical value of their exemplary dedication and readiness for self-sacrifice. Postwar politicians and pedagogues may find it difficult to come to this simple conclusion. Not a few come to the perverse postulate of the reverse of all values. Instead of self-sacrifice, loyalty and duty they put maxims like civil disobedience, refusal, self-actualization and irresponsible sense of entitlement.”^[ii]

The media and the public are not officially banned from this grotesque theater. In reality, the Coburger Convention expresses very clearly its discomfort with a critical audience: the media are only disapprovingly or not at all allowed to document the ceremony, and the curious and the critical are filmed, screened away and observed by CC security services with the support of the Bavarian Unterstützungskommando, an elite police force.

Being German^[iv] in the Coburger Convention

The CC's relationship to German-ness must be considered in order to understand the CC's concept of history. The attribution of German-ness does not refer to persons who position themselves as German, live in Germany for years or generations, or simply have German citizenship, but rather to the unity of the "German people." The Akademische Landsmannschaft Tyrol at Innsbruck describes this on their Web page under the title "FATHERLAND—or are you ashamed of your heritage?" ("VATERLAND—Oder schämst du dich deiner Herkunft?") as follows:

"Our patriotism is not oriented on a state but rather on the German cultural heritage that marks us. Our commitment to the Fatherland requires us to defend the rights and freedoms of the German Kulturvolk [cultural ethnicity]. In this sense, German cultural society is meant rather than German state territory, and by Kulturvolk we mean the society of Germans, not the society of German citizens."^[iii]

This description takes up a long German tradition of racist selection making up the concept of Volk. Behind the concept of "Kulturvolk" is the historical ideology of "cultural mission," which was the Nazis' historical legitimation for the "annexation" of Austria. In this ideology, the territory of present-day Austria was first enlivened by culture after "German tribes" settled it. In this sense, the territory is primarily German and that a German claim can be justified. This is why fraternities from Austria are of course also German and are open about their German-ness. This culturally-missionary way of thinking is not only a partial justification for the invasion of Poland, but also for certain demands made by Vertriebenen groups (German refugees from formerly Prussian territories) and is also decisive for the relationship of the Coburger Convention to the former East Germany (GDR). The division of Germany in 1945 was a great humiliation for German self-esteem in this ideology because the living space of the "German Volk" and the territory of the German state should be identical in this ideology. As a result, the CC made the GDR and the Red Army into their absolute enemies. The beginning of 2013's speech at the CC Memorial describes how the "German Volk" was rescued by reunification: "For how many did this mean torture and death until the miracle of 1989 happened? This place is in the heart of our reunified Fatherland. Also in the heart of Europe, in a region characterized by the thought of our Christian-occidental cut-

ture."^[iv] Popular commemorative culture of the former West Germany (FRG) around the Fall of the Wall and reunification and related holidays are arranged similarly. While those victims of the GDR regime should not be marginalized, they should also not be instrumentalized in order to celebrate German unity and strength. Hidden behind commemorative culture around repressive structures in the GDR are often thoughts of ethnic unity and an attempt to hide repression in the FRG. Having the GDR as an enemy of the Convert Convention makes it possible to legitimize the power relations in the FRG and to reproduce the ideal of "ethnic unity."

The borders of the FRG after 1990 are however, apparently, not those state boundaries that are enough to re-establish "ethnic unity." Because of this, some student corps maintain contact with Vertriebenen groups and refer to parts of the Czech Republic and Poland as being German cultural regions. For example, the [Austrian] fraternity "Alte Prager Landsmannschaft Böhmerwald zu Linz" is dedicated to Sudetendeutsche culture and customs [the formerly partially German-speaking part of the Czech Republic]. As a "corps aware of their heritage" they think that the nationality of a potential member is very important because this "is not a question of just citizenship but refers to the German cultural and linguistic space independent of national borders that developed over hundreds of years." The border of the Oder and Neisse rivers is not a border that is recognized in this conception of German-ness. Some fraternities in the Coburger Convention feel drawn to the east. The L. Teutonia Würzburg takes a trip regularly to "East Prussia" so that "remaining Germans in East Prussia can find themselves again with help of Eastern Prussian student corps." An extensive travelogue can be found among CC magazines.^[v]

Openly Nazi Propaganda

The interrelations of student corps with the organized Right may not go unmentioned at this point, but must be kept within the limits of this piece. For more information, we recommend the lecture by Jörg Kronauer (in German) available as an mp3 online.

The Landsmannschaft L! Kärnten stands out from other reactionary student corps for its markedly racist and völkisch (German ethnic) extremist outbursts. This fraternity is not part of the Coburger Convention, but there are some connections between it and the Austrian fraternities in the Coburger Convention. There also seems to be some

ideological exchange and consensus between the L! Kärnten and some CC fraternities. Worth mentioning here are the online activities of the Akademischen Landsmannschaft der Salzburger zu Salzburg which have liked a number of Facebook photos of the L! Kärnten. It would be difficult to explain how these pictures are not nostalgic neonazi propaganda: the aesthetic of the pictures and captions like “Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles” and “My grandpa was a soldier—not a criminal!”^[vi] can hardly be interpreted different. The Coburger Convention is deeply set in a mix of denying German guilt, German dominance, self-aggrandizement and related consequences. That the CC is able to remain considered politically neutral can only be explained by a societal consensus that tolerates their values and activities. Intervening in such reactionary movements can only happen via politicization. Critics of the CC have emphasized this for a long time. Activists put it this way in a speech in 2013’s Pentecost meeting: “The Coburger Convention is a political association and as such, must be attacked politically and in an organized manner.”

The Coburger Convention as part of a patriarchal whole

As a men’s club, the CC is part of the patriarchal system. The student corps of the association make masculinity into a societal ideal and exclude women^[iii] from participatory decision-making. This fits into the antiquated concept of gender roles and the self-identification of the fraternity brothers as a societal elite. This is a practice that should be more strongly in the view of emancipatory criticism, which will require a combination of feminist and antifascist interventions.

“I actually think it’s good being only among men here. Because one can do some things just among men, that one can’t do in other company. And that’s okay.”^[vii]

Julian, a member of the Landsmannschaft Preußen Berlin justifies the exclusively male membership of his fraternity. When he says this, he is sitting surrounded by other men*, and several beer bottles are in front of them. His fraternity brothers can’t stop grinning while he talks about the advantages of being among men*. The brothers of the Turnerschaft Berlin, which is also in the CC, have written online that they like to have a “place to retreat to, a single-gender enclave”^[vii], like women. This gives the impression that masculinity is not a societal norm, but something that needs safe spaces. Patriarchal



So ... where is it? The ever so often attested equality of women* is nowhere to be found in fraternities.

power structures are intentionally not mentioned. The Landsmannschaft [RP1] Preußen Berlin as well as the Turnerschaft Berlin are only two of five CC fraternities in Berlin. Fraternities often project this kind of message. They also like to refer to the fact that there are separate teams in football for men* and women*. The exclusion of women* from fraternity life is explained by the fact that when the fraternities were founded, women* were also excluded from institutes of higher education. Although this exclusion is being maintained just less than two hundred years later, the CC maintains that this exclusion is not political and certainly not sexist. The CC leaves politics to Burschenschaften, from which it has tried to differentiate itself for years. However, the association regularly makes comments on German history and on German economic policy and has clearly antifeminist positions. Therefore, the claim of being “apolitical” is not believable and only serves to protect the CC from criticism.

Is this a men's world?

The Coburger Convention is a men's association just like the Deutsche Burschenschaft that propagates an image of soldier-like masculinity marked by readiness to self-sacrifice and strength, two values which are not

attributed to women*. Women are seen in reproductive roles or as an accompanying lady* at events. They are included in order to complement their male counterpart, according to a heteronormative logic:

“Our girlfriends and wives belong of course to our ‘big family’”^[ix]. They are excluded from inner processes within the fraternities, discussions, pub visits and fencing. However, whenever a family-friendly image needs to be projected or whenever pictures are taken, women* are welcome. This fits into a construction of femininity as being the “fair sex”, which is in need of protection and weak at the same time. The activities of the CC show also a male claim to women*. Women* are included when the men* want to have an accessory and when their attendance is permitted in advance. The presence of women* is something that can be controlled by men. Autonomous action by women* is not planned for in this way of thinking and neither are people who do not fulfill the binary man/woman logic.

Further evidence for the CC's contempt for women can be found at the Landsmannschaft Brandenburg Berlin. That fraternity held a “World Whore's Day Grill Party” at their fraternity house on June 2, 2013, which is In-



Time to fight fraternities: Creative feminist protests against the Coburger Convent 2013.

ternational Sex Workers' Day, an unofficial memorial day for the struggle of sex workers against criminalization and marginalization that has been observed since 1976. The event had the description: "Let's protest the sexual exploitation of women by getting drunk in a revolutionary manner". This brazen misogyny replaces the struggles of sex workers for more self-determination and better living and working conditions with an image of sex workers as victimized objects. In the same move, the sexual exploitation of women* is made into a joke, and all those women* and girls* who have experienced sexual force and violence are ridiculed. The chauvinist-sexist ignorance of the Landsmannschaft Brandenburg Berlin seems endless, as is shown by their willingness to get drunk as an elitist men's club, grill meat, make offensive jokes about the self-determination of women* and then call themselves revolutionary. The event was illustrated by two nearly-naked women kissing, who are then stared at by a drunken man*. Lesbian love is degraded here into a male sex fantasy.

By and large, criticism on such men's associations is done by feminists and anti-fascists. 2013's Convention was criticized as follows:

*"Organizing in men's association is a political statement. It represents the decision to exclude women structurally from influence in society, and it is a sign of a patriarchal concept of the world in which male dominance and a powerful masculinity are to be taken for granted. Masculinity is produced by symbolic gestures like appearing in uniform and fighting duels of honor with swords. Other masculinities are excluded and marginalized. This is a violence process and goes hand-in-hand with homophobia and trans*phobia. [...] It is repeated over and over that the upkeep and continuation of tradition is important. The fact that these values come and came from a White, male and heterosexual position and perspective is not mentioned. In reference to their concept of gender roles, the ideology of the nuclear family is propagated, in which the woman as a clearly subordinate role. It is the same old story as the active man as a representative of society and the reserved, supportive woman whose role is to back him up. The fraternity brother dominates, he speaks, he stands on podiums, he represents, he is active, he experiences support from other men and he manifests his role in society. The woman has a place on the margins. She may applaud his performance of masculinity and so make it legitimate. Her taking part in social processes is considered disruptive and any seriousness on the part of women is denied. Some women are not seen as disruptive, but are seen as pretty decorations. These women, who seem to have access*

to fraternities, have to fulfill patriarchal and racist norms of beauty and must behave adequately elitist. This is a one-sided, limited and discriminatory presentation of femininity! We are sick of such traditions, even if they are hundreds of years old, seem to be natural, are brand-new or are simply not questioned! Let us cut anyone short who says such things, if they are a fraternity brother or not."^[xi]

The existence of gay male desire within fraternities is not excluded per se by the CC, but it is not talked about either. "Relationship drama" should be impossible by excluding women,* and same-sex love seems to be impossible. Pictures of a gay couple at a reception cannot be found. Identities which are not part of the heterosexual norm are made invisible and marginalized. Repeated rituals are used to approach the ideal of a strong man ready for self-sacrifice and service for society.

2010 essay by Karsten Schuldt describes these practices: Burschenschaften —Bildungseinrichtungen einer heteronormativen, soldatischen Quasi-Elite (in German). Excessive consumption of alcohol, which should test one's limits and serve to discipline the body [xii] and fencing with sharp weapons are very important for male associations. The Landsmannschaft Brandenburg Berlin describes the meaning of these rituals openly: "We are an association that fences with sharp weapons and assume that only he who is ready to literally risk his neck at least twice for our society is worthy of being a lifelong member."^[xiii]

The obsession with battle-readiness is also part of the ideal of the soldier because only he can defend home and fatherland. The layout of the homepage of the Landsmannschaft Brandenburg fits this: a muscular torso is shown with a tattoo in Fraktur (an old German script) with the words "Pro Patria." People whose bodies do not fit this norm are made less valuable and excluded. Furthermore, there are quotations from male movie heroes like Tyler Durden from Fight Club "I don't want to die without scars" or Vincent Vega from Pulp Fiction "bloody as hell."

No signs of self-reflection

Attempts to question the patriarchal system are irritating to the CC. They clearly oppose gender mainstreaming. Their arguments take ideas from the conservative to the extreme right equally. One example can be found on the web site of the Akademische Landsmannschaft der Salzburger zu Salzburg^[xiv]. There is a link to an article by Bettina Röhl in the German-language economic

newspaper *Wirtschaftswoche* about the introduction of the use of the generic feminine (i.e. the plural form for groups of women is used in all cases) at the Universität Leipzig. A recent change to their protocols requires that all job descriptions use only the feminine form. Röhl attacks the use of gender-fair language: “But we don’t want to ridicule gender fanatics that want to burn their ideology into the German Basic Law that is contemptuous of men and women. Ridicule is grammatically masculine and so that is not at all acceptable.”^[xv] Differences between men and women are described as the “most beautiful differences in the world.”² It is an open question as to how the unequal pay of men and women, the underrepresentation of women* in political positions and everyday discrimination are “beautiful.” The attempt to use terms that are fair for various different gender identities, like that at the Universität Leipzig to make women more visible is equated with fanaticism. The tactic of ridiculing feminist strategies is not new. It is also not surprising that Röhl would equate gender mainstreaming with political correctness, which is hated by the political Right and therefore not worthy of discussing. The fact that student corps would “like” such articles is not surprising—they see their masculine privilege as being threatened by feminism. Criticism will continue to be necessary. The above examples demonstrate the fraternity brothers’ inability to think critically about their privileged role in society. Instead, they keep up those roles that legitimize their own power structures.

Understanding how men’s associations work is central to understand their self-concept. The patriarchy will not be destroyed with the elimination of student corps like the Coburger Convention or the Deutsche Burschenschaft, but they are part of the larger whole. The fraternity brothers profit from sexist practices that exclude women*, lesbians, trans*people and nonnormative masculinities. Therefore, any criticism of student corps must be feminist.

Recommended reading (in German):

AStA Uni FFM, Autoritär, Elitär, Reaktionär; Frankfurt a.M. 2013. online unter: <http://www.falsch-verbunden.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/autoritaerelitaerreaktionaer-reader.pdf>

Internationalismus- und Antifaschismusreferat AStA FU: Gute Nacht Burschenpracht!, Berlin 2012.

Online unter: <https://www.astafu.de/sites/default/files/GuteNacht.pdf>

Kartsen Schuldt: Burschenschaften- Bildungseinstellungen einer heteronormativen, soldatischen Quasi-Elite, In: Robert Claus, Esther Lehnert, Yves Müller (Hrsg.): Was ein rechter Mann ist. Berlin 2010.

Online unter: http://rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/Publ-Texte/Texte__68.pdf

notes

[i] We use the term that fraternities use to describe certain persons socialized as women. Exclusive and discriminatory effects of this term must be thought of simultaneously.

[ii] We have some uncertainty about the term „victim“ because it makes the capacity for action and resistance invisible, but we have chosen not to use a euphemism for the murder of millions of people.

[iii] The asterisk after man* and woman* is used to make clear that these terms are social constructs of binary gender. If there is no asterisk (*) after the terms, then we are using the term from the perspective of the Coburger Convention and this is a clearly binary one with no room for other identities. The absence of the asterisk emphasizes this exclusion.

[iv] The attribute “German” is used in this section in various ways, and that’s irritating. It was important for us to describe this problem in concrete relations with the political situation in Germany.

Endnotes:

- i <http://coburger-convent.de/ueber-den-cc/unsere-ideale/>
- ii CC-Blätter 3/1993, Gedenkrede am CC-Ehrenmal
- iii <http://www.l-tyrol.at/>
- iv Gedenrede am CC-Ehrenmal, 2013
- v CC-Blätter 3/2003, Ostpreußen in neun Tagen
- vi <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Akademi-sche-Landsmannschaft-der-Salzbuerger-zu-Salzburg-zu-Wien-1884/345121422187946>
- vii www.youtube.com/watch?v=VH6Fyd6ZmKk
- viii http://www.turnerschaft-berlin.de/tberlin/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=27&Itemid=27#frauen
- ix Ebenda.
- x <http://www.l-brandenburg.de/landsmannschaft/aktuell/semesterprogramm/details/93-Welthurentag.html>
- xi Feministischer Redebeitrag auf der antifaschistischen Demonstration gegen studentische Verbindungen, Coburg 20.05.13.
- xii Vgl.: Kartsen Schuldt: Burschenschaften- Bildungseinrichtungen einer heteronormativen, soldatischen Quasi-Elite, In: Robert Claus, Esther Lehnert, Yves Müller (Hrsg.): Was ein rechter Mann ist. Berlin 2010.
- xiii www.l-brandenburg.de/fechten/unsere-sicht/unsere-sich
- xiv <http://www.salzburgerseite.at/aktuelles>
- xv <http://www.wiwo.de/politik/deutschland/bettina-roehl-direkt-der-irrsinn-der-entmaennlichung-unserer-gesellschaft/8469200.html>

The Twofold Invisibility

Interview with Dr. Esther Lehnert, associate of the *Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus* [Research network women and right-wing extremism], on women in the right-wing extremist milieu

*interview by the internationalism and anti-fascism Unit of the student council FU
translation by Niklas Walendy*

Thank you for coming. Could you introduce yourself?

My name is Esther Lehnert, I am a graduated educationalist and I've been working in right-wing extremism prevention for the last 10 to 15 years. There are two major topics in my professional life. One is the analysis of anti-fascism, respectively national socialism. This is also connected to my own life. I was born in a persecuted family. And my father was very interested in explaining the NS era to us as children. We were brought up with children's books that dealt with national socialism. Talking about national socialism was nothing out of the ordinary.

The second topic I've been concerned with is feminism and feminist politics. At times I was concerned with one topic, sometimes with the other and at the end of my studies I started combining both of them. After graduating I started focussing on the right-wing extremism of today. I worked in several different projects and noticed very quickly that many things went by unnoticed. For one, the general lack of participation and inclusion of women, on the other hand the gender-blindness. There is also still an absolute void in research on masculinities in right-wing extremism. Back then I researched masculinities and right-wing extremism a lot and that is also when I joined the *Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus*, which I am still a member of. After having worked for several years in the mobile advice place against right-wing extremism in Berlin, I am now more concerned with gender and right-wing extremism. Currently, I am an associate of the Fachstelle Gender und

Rechtsextremismus of the Amadeu Antonio Foundation.

*You hadn't joined the *Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus* when it was founded in 2000. Could you still tell us something about how it all started?*

The network was founded, because there was very little research in that field, too little observation and too little analysis. In the mid 90s it started: Women researchers started dealing with the presence of women in the right-wing extremist scene. After some initial research, it was decided that in order to gain expertise in the subject, it would have to be researched continuously. The research network is made up of women researchers, journalists and educators. We are a volunteer association. We are not financed by anyone, our work takes place next to our other jobs. We gather observations and exchange those and research-specific questions in the field. We also give lectures and publicise on the matter. Twice a year we meet up on a weekend and exchange with each other as well as make plans for the future of the network. We have also applied for funding several times, which has always been turned down until now. The general opinion seems to be that the field gender and right-wing extremism is still not relevant enough for funding.

Do you think the current debate on the „NSU“ could bring a change?

The field gender and right-wing extremism has booms at times. I'm afraid, this is another one of those booms. We've been getting lots of reactions to our last open letter, which we published shortly after the NSU had become known.¹ We were shocked back then and thought: „What do women have to do to be taken seriously in this area? This is outrageous.“ But we do believe we are taken seriously as a relevant and con-

tinuously working network in the area. We have, however, been getting more requests ever since the NSU revealed itself in November 2011. But I'm still doubtful that it will have a positive effect on research and within the institutional context. I would hope for it to have such an effect though.

In the course of your work as a network, have there been changes of direction or focus?

The fact that women can be female neo-Nazis is still met with a lot of surprise. But that's part of dealing with neo-Nazism in general. The typical picture that people have in their heads is that neo-Nazis are aliens, who aren't members of our society. The idea that these aliens are female, makes it even more difficult.

„The typical picture that people have in their heads is that neo-Nazis are aliens, who aren't members of our society. The idea that these aliens are female, makes it even more difficult.“

Sometimes changes happen on a federal level though, for instance in Lower Saxony a new programme was started that is concerned explicitly with women. The office for right-wing extremism and violence brought this to life, which we occasionally get requests from as both the research network as well as the Fachstelle Gender und Rechts-extremismus. Generally speaking, over the years awareness for the topic has increased. But the basics have to be addressed time and time again. I was holding a lecture on the twofold invisibility of women in the scene and emphasised that women are still perceived as „girlfriend of...“. The audience nods, but these ideas are so dominant that afterwards in the workshop there are still people who reproduce exactly this phenomenon saying something like „This is the girlfriend of...“.

Why are traditional gender roles so important in the right-wing scene? Keyword: Volksgemeinschaft² [people's community]

Constructing a Volksgemeinschaft is for one really important to differentiate yourself to the ‚outside‘. A permanent danger by everything strange and foreign is implied. The gender constructions within a Volksgemeinschaft is what keeps it intact. They are absolutely identity and entirely biologicistic. The concept is closely related to the concept of the national socialist Volksgemeinschaft. As soon as this concept is questioned – espe-

cially its identity part – it starts to falter. If one allowed anything beyond the pluralisation of concepts of femininity, which do exist within the scene, something like androgyny for instance, the ideology couldn't be sustained. The same goes for lesbian sexuality for example, there is no room for that in a Volksgemeinschaft. The concept needs „real men“ and „real women“. This is also why gender mainstreaming is demonised within the scene.

You've already mentioned the book. We're currently dealing with fraternities, masculinities and male societies. What do you think are the chances that your work will be brought together with the research on masculinity?

To be honest, it's a pity that we have

to exist. Women are still constructed as „other“. In a way, we're doing the same thing. If we didn't do what we did, right-wing extremist women would be even more invisible. That's an ambivalent situation. Generally speaking, we believe that right-wing extremism can only be explained in light of its interaction among different genders. Gender is, after all, constructed through the interaction of genders with one another. We work together with our colleagues from critical research on masculinity in many areas – and this is an enrichment in any case.

How does the network define „right-wing extremist“, especially in opposition to the Extremismusklausel³ [extremism article] or other terms like right-wing radical?

We disapprove of the Extremismusklausel – especially due to the term-relatedness of right-wing and „left-wing extremism“, we are however still confronted with the dilemma that the term right-wing extremism contains the word „extremism“. When I started working in this area, the term right-wing extremism wasn't really in use, because „it didn't exist“. Thus, it was necessary to tell people that it existed and to call it by its name. But you have to differentiate, I wouldn't call the New Right⁴ neo-Nazis, which is why I end up using the term „right-wing extremist“ a lot. For me it is more important to support people to be aware of



Neo-Nazis and their distorted view of reality: A march against the allegedly imminent “Volkstod” [Death of the (German) people]

© Antifa Koordination Lübeck

right-wing extremist, neo-Nazi, antisemitic and racist statements and to do something against that than to preoccupy myself with terminology. Whenever I give a training, I usually don't deal with people from university, but rather nursery workers, local politicians. They want to know „What can be done

searched areas such as masculinities and right-wing extremism. Juliane Lang from our network works a lot in that area.

Thank you for the interview!

„We disapprove of the Extremismusklausel – especially due to the term-relatedness of right-wing and „left-wing extremism“.

against Nazis and their campaigns against so-called „child molesters?“ and I won't start talking about terminology with them. On the whole, I - or we - understand right-wing extremism to be the combination of ideologies of inequivalence: sexism, homophobia, racism, antisemitism, historical revisionism, nationalism and the glorification of the Nazi era. The terminology aside, we also disapprove of the Extremismusklausel, because it impedes and criminalises the important and necessary anti-fascist work in certain areas.

Finally, what would you like future researchers to do?

I'd hope for many exciting essays and dissertations, especially concerning some lesser re-

Endnotes:

- 1 The letter criticises the news coverage on Beate Zschäpe and the NSU shortly after it was revealed. See here: <http://www.frauen-und-rechtsextremismus.de/cms/images/medienarbeit/offener-brief-2011-11-15.pdf> [german]
- 2 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volksgemeinschaft>
- 3 The Extremismusklausel is a law that forced organisations which were funded by a particular state programme to declare their compliance with the constitution. This also meant that they had to distance themselves from „any kind of extremism“.
- 4 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neue_Rechte

Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus

The anti-fascist *Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus* was founded in 2000. The primary foci of the nation-wide network of female researchers, educators and journalists are gender-specific aspects in right-wing extremism. The associates work within as well as outside academic contexts. The network offers educational work and publishes its results on a regular basis.

For more information: www.frauen-und-rechtsextremismus.de [german]

Fachstelle Gender und Rechtsextremismus

The *Fachstelle Gender und Rechtsextremismus* of the Amadeu Antonio Foundation combines knowledge from academic theory and practice in the field to develop gender-reflecting strategies to prevent right-wing extremism. The phenomenon of right-wing extremism is still often perceived as „male“, which is why racist and inhuman acts by women are often overlooked.

The Specialist Department offers advice and training for educators from schools and nurseries, social workers, family helpers, as well as educators working in youth centres.

For more information: www.gender-und-rechtsextremismus.de [german]

A Newspaper Project of the New Right is Looking for Movement

The *Blaue Narzisse* and the Identitarians

*by the internationalism and anti-fascism
Unit of the student council FU
translation by Michael Teumer*

The *Blaue Narzisse* and the Identitarians

In July 2013, the members of the *Blaue Narzisse* [Blue Daffodil] group around Felix Menzel in Dresden opened a so-called “Center for Youth, Identity and Culture”ⁱ. It seems to be an attempt to help the Identitarian Movement in Germany to transition from its predominantly Facebook presence to a tangible group and to strengthen the group regionally. The *Blaue Narzisse*, founded as a “pupils’ magazine” in Chemnitz in 2004, has become a mainstay of the extreme right intellectual milieu in Germany. Looking for new forms of expression for their positions, the group has now discovered the Identitarians for themselves.¹ The strategy of promoting an extreme right lifestyle among youth that obscures its own racism, is certainly not new for New Right in Germany. Pupils and students in particular are targets for the proliferation of their ideology. But let’s start at the beginning:

The beginnings of the *Blaue Narzisse*

In early 2004 the premiere print issue of the “first pupil’s magazine for the area of Chemnitz” – the *Blaue Narzisse*, was published. Protests against the magazine erupted soon after, and the dissemination of the magazine was prohibited at some high schools. This is understandable when considering that the paper, which presents itself as an independent pupils’ magazine, was and is an attempt to directly disseminate far right ideas at schools. The publishers did this by cleverly mixing seemingly “harmless” texts with overtly political ones. The

underlying worldview could often not be easily identified by the mostly very young target audience. The politically not yet educated pupils were targeted by a self-consciously blurring representation of racist, homophobic and nationalistic positions. In 2006, the “Demokratische SchülerInnen und StudentInneninitiative Chemnitz”ⁱⁱ dedicated an in-depth analysis to the *Blaue Narzisse*. Based on text analysis and original research it was shown that the authors of the *Blaue Narzisse* are for the most part affiliated with the far right fraternity and student league milieu, and the positions purveyed by the magazine are based on an antidemocratic and reactionary worldview, which is meant to promote xenophobic attitudes amongst its readers.²

Origin in the students league/fraternity milieu

As the brochure shows, most of the authors of the *Blaue Narzisse* were members of the the pennale Burschenschaft Theodor Körner zu Chemnitzⁱⁱⁱ. Authors of the first print issue Benjamin Jahnn Zschocke, Felix Menzel, Sebastian Schermaul and Johannes Schüller were all members of this fraternity. Menzel, who is currently editor-in-chief of the *Blaue Narzisse*, was even chairman of the umbrella association of pupil’s fraternities, the Allgemeiner Pennäler Ring. Sebastian Schmermaul was treasurer of this governing body for some time³. The Chemnitz fraternity has attracted attention for its extreme right positions multiple times. Just one example is that several hiking trips into “Czech occupied” territories were organized⁴. According to the brochure, former NPD member and former editor-in-chief of *Deutsche Stimme*^{iv}, Jürgen Schwab was invited to several events. Schwab also wrote for the neonazi forum *Altermedia*, as well as for the magazine *Nation und Europa*^v. Furthermore, it appears that prominent figures of the Extreme right appeared on the guest list

of the fraternity: two of those are Hans Ulrich Kopp, who is a member of the fraternity organization Burschenschaft Danubia München as well as an author for several magazines of the far right, and Bernd Rabehl, an ex-68er and former political science instructor at the Freie Universität. Since declaring his public allegiance to the far right, Rabehl is attempting to portray his former companion Rudi Dutschke as a “national revolutionary” and has appeared at several events and discussions of the NPD. The authors of the *Blaue Narzisse* are not restricted to members of fraternities, however. The magazine is actively recruiting interested young people as authors and presents itself as an opportunity for young journalists to get experience in writing for a print magazine.

Far right positioning from the get-go

The first print issue of the *Blaue Narzisse* already contained a quote from Leo Schlageter. Schlageter was celebrated as the “first

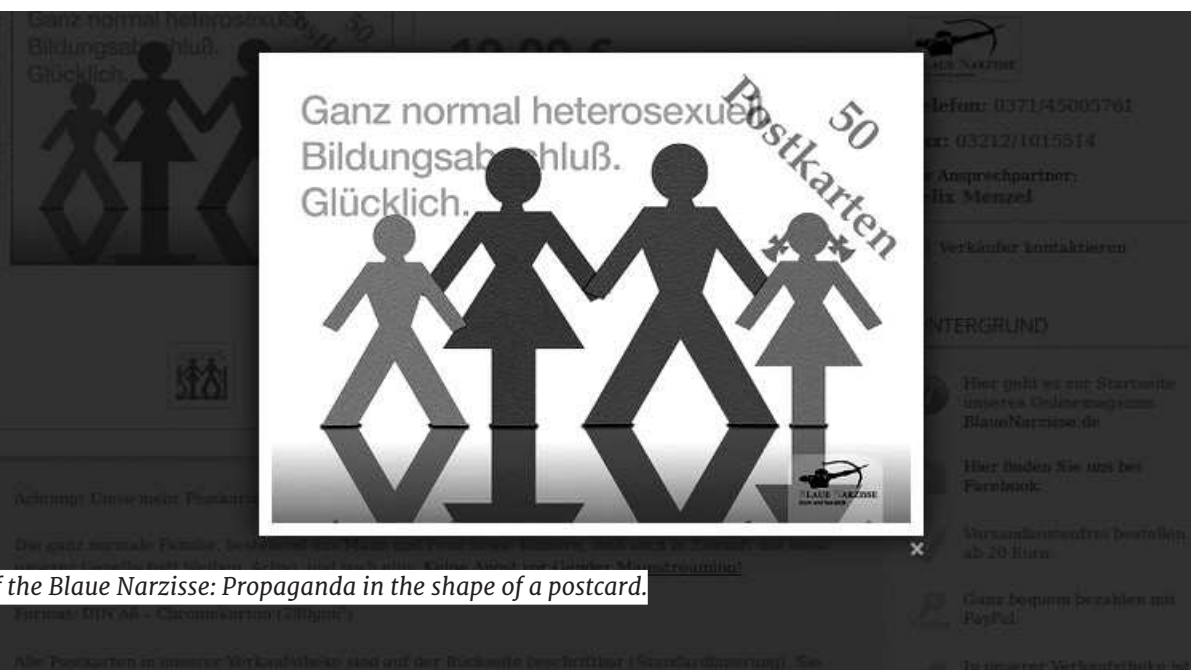
and Students Initiative Chemnitz also shows that the magazine, which presents itself as culturally interested and freethinking, again and again reviews books and music from the far right scene, but conveniently leaves out any background about the authors or artists.

Homosexuality and emancipation are conceptual enemies of the *Blaue Narzisse*. On their postcards is written: “Heterosexually normal. An educational degree. Happy.”^{vii} The accompanying picture portrays this happiness through a picture of a family consisting of father, mother and two children. A link to an article of regular author Benjamin Jahn is included as well, where he throws all conceivable resentments against polyamorous lifestyles and gender-mainstreaming together. Feminists are portrayed as the enemy: misandrist women’s libbers⁷. Even the conservative former Minister for Family Affairs, Ursula von der Leyen, was heavily criticized by the *Blaue Narzisse* for allegedly supporting same-sex couples too much, thus hurting “conservative and Christian valu-

The CDU has not been far right enough for the Blaue Narzisse for quite some time now.

national socialist soldier” by the Nazis. Neonazis in the Federal Republic of Germany also frequently referred to him. In 1982, warnings were sent to companies in and around Stuttgart, demanding all foreign workers to be fired – the warnings were signed by the so-called “Aktionsgruppe Leo Schlageter”^{vi, 5}. The placement of a quote by Schlageter in the *Blaue Narzisse* must be understood as a clear commitment to the far right. As is typical for the attempt to mask far right views⁶, the origin of the quote and any historical context about its author are completely absent. The analysis of the Democratic Pupils

es”⁸. The *Blaue Narzisse* now offers stickers on which the eyes of the minister are covered by a black bar. On this is written in capital letters “HOMOSEXUAL MARRIAGE”^{viii}. The CDU has not been far right enough for the *Blaue Narzisse* for quite some time now. There are no such reservations about the NPD. Editor-in-chief Menzel himself interviewed the NPD member of parliament Arne Schimmer about the crisis of the conservatives⁹. Menzel is also in charge of the website German Victims – Foreign Culprits^{ix}, where the construct of hostility towards Germans is promoted through the attempt to ethni-



cize criminality and paint it as “foreigner violence”¹⁰. This website is also related to Edition Anatois. Apart from Menzel, Götz Kubitschek (IfS) is listed as responsible for the content of the site.

The Blaue Narzisse as a part of the publication network of the new far right scene

Since 2006, the Blaue Narzisse has mainly appeared as an online magazine. It is part of a publication network of the new far right scene. Other parts of the network are the weekly magazine *Junge Freiheit*^{xi}, the new far right think tank Institut für Staatspolitik (IfS) in Berlin, the strategy paper *Session*^{xiii}, as well as several publishing houses. Felix Menzel, the editor-in-chief of Blaue Narzisse, writes for all of the named newspapers. He is closely associated with Kubitschek of the IfS. A book written by him appeared under Verlag Anatois, which also publishes the works of the French new far right author Alain de Benoist. In 2012, the network met for the *Zwischentag*^{xiv}, a self-declared media exhibition, in Berlin. Present were the aforementioned publications, as well as the Berliner Burschenschaft Gothia^{xv}, the Allgemeiner Pennäler Ring and the IfS, but also the German Defense League and the conspiratory-ideological magazine *Campact*, which is associated with Jürgen Elsässer, whom the Freie Universität rented rooms for a conference in 2012¹¹. Presentations were held by, among others, Norbert Weidner, who is the main author of the *Burschenschaftliche Blätter*^{xvi}. Just a few months before, Weidner had called the execution of the NS-resistance fighter Bonhoeffer “judicially justified”^{xvii} and called him a “traitor to the nation”^{xviii}¹². Before Weidner changed into a fraternity uniform he was a member of the *Wiking-Jugend*^{xix} and the *Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*^{xx} (FAP), both of whom have been outlawed due to their clear association to the Nazi Regime.

In October of 2013, the Blaue Narzisse again took part at the *Zwischentag* conference.

Call racism by its name

In order to contextualize the new right ideology for which the Blaue Narzisse is exemplary, it is important to understand the concept of ethnopluralism and the definition of culture within it.

Clearly biologically reasoned concepts of race in are frowned upon in Germany since the liberation from fascism – all the way to the “middle of society”. Racist discrimina-

tion meanwhile continues in a modernized form. The new right, which tries to find factors connecting to this discrimination, avoids obvious relations to the classical Nazi race ideology. Instead, new forms of categorization and degradation of humans are employed. Within ethnopluralism, people are divided along constructed cultural differences. The term “race” is cleverly replaced by the term “culture”. Accordingly, the purification of one’s own culture is advocated. An important key phrase is the “Europe of fatherlands”^{xxi}. Through this a certain tolerance is faked, as the existence of all cultures is accepted, but only at their respective places of origin. Migration is undesirable. Within the new right it is argued that one’s own European-occidental culture is particularly deserving of protection and its hegemonic role is deserved because it is steeped in history. Accordingly, a European homogeneity – which does not exist as such – is constructed and everyone not included is accordingly degraded. What used to be called “master race” has now turned into “cultural hegemony”¹³.

The degradation takes place on the grounds of ascribed cultural characteristics. The author Hannes Bode describes the culture definition which is used in ethnopluralism as follows: “the specific thing about it is that culture here is not associated primarily with language, socialization, education or with human intellectual activity – instead it is hypostasised into an ethnic category, and is ascribed to an individual as a heritage of a collective”^{xxii}¹⁴. He also describes the “forced collectivisation of the individual” as a “central element”^{xxiii} of racism, which goes along with the denial of the universality of human existence¹⁵. Bode refers to the work of Albert Memmi, which defines racism as the “generalized and final assigning of values to real or imaginary differences, to the accuser’s benefit and at his victim’s expense, in order to justify the former’s own privileges or aggressions”¹⁶.

The Blaue Narzisse discovers the Identitarians

In the last months a noticeable convergence of the Blaue Narzisse to the so-called Identitarian Movement has become apparent. This seems logical, considering the patterns of argumentation used in both. The Identitarians, a relatively new phenomenon in Germany, can be traced back to the *Génération Identitaire* from France, which is the youth organization of the *Bloc Identitaire*. Recently this group declared war on Europe on the video platform Youtube. In the video, which is indeed meant to be interpreted

as a declaration of war, the main conceptual enemy is the 68er generation and multiculturalism – an argumentation which is also often found in the Blaue Narzisse. Accompanying this is the denial of sexual emancipation. A homogenous European identity is evoked with much pathos. Accompanied by dramatic music, the protagonists of the video construct their own roles as victims: “We are living with 25 percent unemployment, social debt, the collapse of multiculturalism and an explosion of racism against whites”. The video goes on to state that the authors are against a “forced mixing of races” and at the end of the video a threatening voice says: “we will not give up, we will not retreat!”^{17 18}

An identifying marker for the group is the Greek letter Lambda. Historically, the group refers to the story of the 300 Spartans who fought against the invasion. The self-image is that of heroic fighters, who want to save Europe from downfall. The Identitarian Mo-

vement also uses the aforementioned concept of ethnopluralism. Again and again one reads the slogan “100 percent identity, 0 percent racism” – a claim which is implausible even when only considering the video and becoming even more unlikely when looking at those associated with the Identitarians in Germany. The extreme right in Germany has recently discovered the label Identitarian Movement as a promising novelty, through which it tries to win youth for their cause. Various groups have shown interest, from the openly neo-nazistic Kameradschaften to the new right Blaue Narzisse. The Blaue Narzisse has regularly been publishing articles about the topic since 2012 – in December of that year an issue appeared under the title “Identitarian! But how?”. In the online shop lambda stickers with the logo “Identitarian Europe” and appropriate posters with the slogan “Europe of the Regions, Europe of the Peoples!”^{xiv} are sold for the new right youth.

for meetings and training courses. Gamma – Antifascist newsflyer for Leipzig and its surroundings reports that Blaue Narzisse author Johannes Schüller is part of an Identitarian group in Berlin¹⁹. Furthermore an Identitarian group was founded in Münster and recruited mainly from a group of Blaue Narzisse editors²⁰. It seems that new right members around Götz Kubitschek from the Institute for State Policy have observed the Identitarian Movement for some time already. In an internal paper of the IfS which was available to the gamma authors, named “Project Identity – German Concept for a European movement”^{xxvi} is described how the Identitarian movement should be treated and how it could best be used in the interests of the far right. The paper emerged shortly before Kubitschek took part in a congress of the Génération Identitaire in Orange (France). Gamma published quotations by Kubitschek referring to the advantages of the Identitarian Movement from the paper²¹. Some excerpts:

It has become apparent that those who ridicule fraternities as an anachronistic carnival society underestimate their potential.

“a) the choice of name, “Identitarian” as well as “Identity” makes it possible for the groups to at first forgo employing the terms “right” or “national” or “conservative”;

b) the activists are without compromise and [...] always active in entire groups;

c) the stated enemy is outside (immigration), but especially also inside (the state, the dishonest generation of 1968, over-indebtedness, lack of prospects)”²²

Conclusion

It has become apparent that those who ridicule fraternities as an anachronistic carnival society underestimate their potential. Menzel and his comrades-in-arms have left the behind the stink of student league papers such as the Burschenschaftliche Blätter. Outwardly they present themselves as hip and youthful. But the content stays the same. The publication project Blaue Narzisse has found a permanent place within the publication network of the extreme right, coming out of the student league milieu. Again and again the far right attempts to use new activist manifestations to gain influence outside of the right-intellectual scene. This becomes clear when looking at the current attempts to appropriate the Identitarian Movement. Opening a permanent center in

Dresden could allow the Identitarian Movement and the Blaue Narzisse to professionalize. This is their own stated goal. The Blaue Narzisse may be put on pause for the year 2014, as all efforts are put towards the new Youth Center. After that new issues are planned. Whether the Blaue Narzisse can actually expand its readership remains questionable. It will again be necessary to demask their positions as what they are: reactionary and racist. It will also depend upon students to keep their eyes open at their own departments and to not allow right ideology any space. In particular the new right ideologues who try to paint themselves as intellectuals have declared students to be targets of their own propaganda and are looking for new recruits. They build on the idea that students perceive themselves as an elite, whose social standing permits them access to power. Berlin is a central point for structures and activities of the new right, as can be seen from the examples of the Junge Freiheit, the Institute for State Policy, various student leagues, such as the Gothia Fraternity, as well as events such as the Zwischentag. A further center of the Identitarian Movement could be coming next. In order for universities to not become a place where the right-intellectual milieu can recruit new members, it is important to be aware of these developments, in order to be able to refute them at the university, on the street, or wherever else they appear.

Further reading (German language):

Demokratische SchülerInnen- und StudentInneninitiaive Chemnitz: Die Blaue Narzisse – freigeistige Schülerzeitung, oder neurechtes Kampfblatt?, Chemnitz 2006.

Online at: <http://bnkampagne.ohost.de/brosch.php>

Endnotes:

1 Cf.: Andreas Frenz: Die „Identitäre Bewegung“, in: LOTTA # 52.

2 Cf.: Demokratische SchülerInnen- und StudentInneninitiaive Chemnitz: Die Blaue Narzisse – freigeistige Schülerzeitung, oder neurechtes Kampfblatt?, Chemnitz 2006.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 <http://www.blauenarzisse.de/index.php/anstoss/item/2949-kleine-reihe-zu-den-groesten-fehlern-der-konservativen-vii-warum-die-angst-der-konservativen-vor-dem-gender-mainstreaming-ungerechtfertigt-ist>

8 <http://laden.blauenarzisse.de/allgemein/verarscht-homo-ehe/>

9 <http://www.blauenarzisse.de/index.php/anstoss/item/2699-kleine-reihe-zu-den-groesten-fehlern-der-konservativen-iv-die-kritik-von-rechts-im-gespraech-mit-dem-mpd-landtagsabgeordneten-arne-schimmer>

10 Cf.: <http://gamma.noblogs.org/archives/1439>

11 <http://www.blog.schattenbericht.de/2012/11/ein-zwischentag/>

12 <http://www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/studium/burschenschafter-hetzt-gegen-nazi-widerstandskaempfer-bonhoeffer-a-826757.html>

13 Cf. Demokratische SchülerInnen. und StudentInneninitiaive Chemnitz.

14 Hannes Bode: Antirassismus muss theoretisch werden, In: Antifaschistisches Infoblatt Nr.99.

15 Ibid.

16 Cf.: Albert Mimmi: Rassismus. Hamburg 1992

17 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hBM3Hk7wGP4>

18 Cf.: Antifaschistisches Infobüro Rhein-Main: Identitäre Bewegung erklärt den Krieg. In: monitor Nr.57.

19 <http://gamma.noblogs.org/archives/1458>

20 <http://gamma.noblogs.org/archives/1439>

21 <http://gamma.noblogs.org/archives/1458>

22 Zitiert nach: Ebenda.

Translator's Notes:

i “Zentrum für Jugend, Identität und Kultur”

ii Democratic Pupils' and Students Initiative Chemnitz

iii Pupils' Fraternity Theodor Körner in Chemnitz

- iv German Voice
- v Nation and Europe
- vi Action Group Leo Schlageter
- vii "Ganz Normal. Bildungsabschluss. Glücklich."
- viii "HOMO-EHE"
- ix "Deutsche Opfer – Fremde Täter"
- x "Ausländergewalt"
- xi Young Freedom
- xii Institute for State policy
- xiii Secession
- xiv Day in between
- xv Berlin Fraternity Gothia
- xvi Fraternity Papers
- xvii "juristisch gerechtfertigt"
- xviii "Landesverräter"
- xix Viking Youth
- xx Liberal German Workers Party
- xxi "Europa der Vaterländer"
- xxii "Das Spezifische ist hierbei, das Kultur nicht zuerst mit Sprache, Vergesellschaftung, Erziehung, Bildung bzw. mit menschlicher geistiger Tätigkeit identifiziert, sondern zu einer ethnischen Kategorie hypotasiert wird, als den Einzelnen qua Abstammung aus einem Kollektiv zukommendes Erbe"
- xxiii "Zwangskollektivierung des Einzelnen" als "Kernelement"
- xiv "Europa der Regionen, Europa der Völker!"
- xxv "Hautnah dabei"
- xxvi "Projekt Identität – Deutsches Konzept zu einer europäischen Bewegung"

On the education policy of AfD

Putting the Record Straight

by Andreas Kemper
translation by Tobias Wittke

The Alternative for Germany (AfD) is an installed party. Its development process shows three different phases. From 2003 to 2009, a neoliberal-conservative anti-parliamentary opposition formed – networks of neoliberal economics professors who demanded 2005 cuts in social spending, such as the Hamburg appeal, but also elitist-conservative lobby groups, as the Zivile Koalition e.V., which demanded that the estates of the former Prussian aristocracy in Eastern Germany be returned. As of 2009, with Thilo Sarrazin starting the second phase, for the first time a conserva-

three-tier school system by a modern common school. Conservative bourgeois forces campaigned for the preservation of the corporative school system. 2010 in Hamburg, a referendum initiated by privileged classes, prevented a six-year primary school and thus made for the preservation of early selection. The parents will was enforced as the only criterion for the choice of school type. Exactly this entanglement of alleged family orientation and early selection in education constitutes the AfD policy. Until 1918 the Prussian aristocracy called the shots in Germany and after the brief democratic interlude of the Weimar Republic, class- and race-based explanations of intelligence inheritance expanded into a central science practice and their protagonists, such as Ottmar von Verschuer and Karl Valentin Müller,

It is a well established fact, that the educational opportunities in Germany are more dependent on the social origin than in other industrialized countries.

tive opposition to Merkel's CDU-FDP coalition came to bear, which was continued into anti-ESM-protests. The networks combined and eventually could in a third phase from September 2012 initiate concrete steps towards a party's foundation. First nationwide structure in the form of an electoral coalition in support of the Free Voters was formed, that later formed the basis for the installation of AfD, following the Lower Saxony elections.

It is a well established fact, that the educational opportunities in Germany are more dependent on the social origin than in other industrialized countries. In the form of the divided school system, we have a educational structure that stems from the 19th century. After the war, the allied-formed ZOOK-Commission recommended to replace the

worked until the late 1960s and were sponsored in part by high school teacher associations. Recently, the biologicistic intelligence-inheritance-paradigm was revived by Thilo Sarrazin's million-fold sold book „Deutschland schafft sich ab“. Interest groups, who demanded the return of the former Prussian aristocracy estates, that were expropriated under Soviet influence, grew over time into powerful campaign networks, that shape with their classist-conservative ideology not only the political course of the AfD, but also were instrumental in its founding. This classist education policy is also maintained by conservative teacher associations such as the German Philologist Association (Deutscher Philologenverband) or the German Teachers' Association (Deutscher Lehrerverband).

The election program of the AfD is generally very short, on education policy you will only find the statements that there should be uniform standards of education, education be the core task of the family and the parents are to be responsible for education and upbringing of their children first and foremost. The state is only to support them. Early childhood education programs however, should be available regardless of families' backgrounds. In their hundred-page argumentation guideline, the editors precede the chapter on educational policy with a programmatic quote by the President of the German Teachers' Association, Josef Kraus:

„Germany suffers from several delusions. The equalization-delusion, the ideology namely, that all people, structures, values and issues are equal or indifferent; secondly the feasibility-delusion, the delusion that everyone can be gifted to all; thirdly, the delusion of a fun, facilitation

If implemented, this program would mean for the highly selective school system of Germany: „A reasonable standard of education is achieved when students at their respective school type gain the skills and abilities they need in their next biographical stage“ (Ibid.: 66). Note the limiting assignment ‚in their respective school type‘ in reference to their next appropriate biographical stage. Early segregation of children for life – which the UNESCO discouraged in their study „Disadvantages in Rich Nations“ – is consciously demanded by the AfD. Specifically, the guideline states:

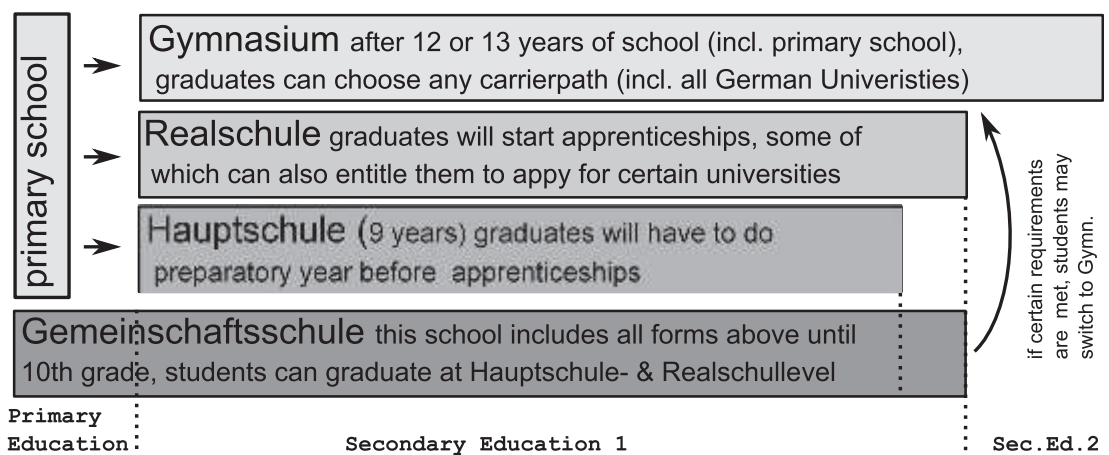
„The Alternative for Germany stands for a reformed multi-part system consisting of Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule/Gemeinschaftsschule [see the visual representation below for an explanation of these terms in this specific context]. The Alternative for Germany will monitor which models satisfy expectations

Early segregation of children for life – which the UNESCO discouraged in their study „Disadvantages in Rich Nations“ – is consciously demanded by the AfD.

and complacency pedagogy; fourthly a quota-delusion, the planned economy presumption, that as many people as possible should be provided with A-levels; and finally the acceleration delusion, the vision that one could in fewer years of education accomplish ever better-educated young people and a huge increase in high school graduation rates.“ (Josef Kraus, Pk AfD-BW 2013: 64)

and which don't. Greater possible mobility between school types is essential. Through education vouchers, an optimal allocation of financial resources is to be ensured.“

Through the education vouchers competition between schools will emerge. The number of private schools are to be increased and financed by vouchers to the parents as well. On this topic, the AfD emphasizes, that



The traditionally used translations of the German terms Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule / Gemeinschaftsschule would be misleading in this context, as they describe significantly different concepts. This visual representation should give you an idea about the concepts described.

education lies in the responsibility of the family and „privatisation“ of education is not what they are propagating, since education had always been „an intrinsically private matter“, they claim. (ibid.: 72)

This can be expected to have additional socially selective effects. In „problem schools“ the mediation of „self-control“ and „self-discipline“ should get top priority. In this, the AfD advocates the theory of intergenerational „culture of poverty“ and correspondingly calls for fines for parents: „As for families, that are characterized in part through generations of welfare dependency, that do not inspire high performance in their children neither as role models nor through parental commitment, financial consequences of inadequate parental involvement should be considered“ (ibid.: 71). The state should only intervene if there are problems with the children’s discipline. (ibid.: 73) – Put plainly:

For example Adam Konrad, Federal Executive of the AfD, stated in an article entitled „Education can not be redistributed“:

„Since the Catholic peasants girl had exhausted its purpose as a token of educational disaster, school reformers needed a successor to keep the movement in trot. And it has been found rapidly. The choice fell on the city youths stemming from Hartz IV milieu, of male sex, of Turkish origin and of Muslim faith [...] Since he struggles with learning, but likes to stab out if something does not fit him, he ranks at the bottom end in degree statistics, at the upper end of crime statistics: quite a hopeless case, but as a repeatedly damaged victim of society, hence the ideal beneficiary of the German, educational highly ambitious care industry.“ (Adam 2011).

This is a discriminatory mockery of working-class boys and men with Turkish-Islamic background. They are depicted as inca-

Social measures are rejected as inadmissible interference in the „subsidiarity and self-responsibility“ of families.

social measures are rejected as inadmissible interference in the „subsidiarity and self-responsibility“ of families. Nursery until the age of three, should generally be subject to fee as they are not pursuing an educational mission (ibid.: 74).

On higher education policy the AfD states, that she rejects the „progressing academization“ of society, i.e. the rising numbers of students relative to the overall population. The AfD argues for „quality not quantity“ and would also „streamline“ the administrative machinery of the universities (ibid.: 75). The universities should raise additional funding through follow-up tuition fees, to be paid after graduation. (ibid.: 76). By means inter-university competition, the AfD would like to advance a few universities into international top positions (ibid.: 78f).

I would like to complement these positions taken from the AfD’s Program Committee with frightening statements by leading representatives of the party.

pable of education, „pretty hopeless“ cases, they are alleged an inclination to violent crime. At the same time Adam slurs those people in the education system, who do not share his opinion of „education inability“. This argument was already summarized in a phrase, posted on the official Facebook page of the AfD which terminology originates from NPD context: „Classical education, not multicultural re-education“.

Unfortunately, Adam is not an isolated case. Roland Vaubel, member of the AfD’s Scientific Advisory Board and a Rhineland-Palatinate candidate for the parliamentary elections, apparently opposes „educational climbers“ enrolling in higher education, too. Taken from his book contribution *Empiricism versus Logic in Economics* (transl.):

„The fact that economists have begun to flee into logic, however, has another reason. The vertical mobility between social classes has increased greatly in the 20th Century, which is certainly to be welcomed. The proportion of pro-

fessors and students who come from a humble background, is now far greater than in the 19th Century. This also applies to the economists. Who grew up in an less educated household, possesses lower language skills and therefore is at a disadvantage in the area of verbal logic. Mathematical logic, however, is to a lesser extent acquired from the parents at home but rather through school. Therefore, the climbers prefer the mathematical logic. Those who study political economics today, do not seldom do so because he or she does not speak German well, but does not fell apt for a study in natural sciences. As the climbers are more likely to hold „left“ positions than the children from middle-class parents, one would expect a stronger leftism in model economists. For the American pioneers of mathematical modelling (Paul A. Samuelson, Robert Solow, Kenneth Arrow), this clearly applies. Furthermore, the fact that a model logician is less concerned with the world as with his own theories, could play a role. He takes less notice of the world. One will rarely encounter logical exercises in a German ordo-liberal.“

This again is a intolerable and discriminatory generalization and polemic against working-class children. As a reaction, the Autonomous Council for Student Workers' Children in the Student Union of the University of Münster demanded a statement from Alexander Dilger, resident economics professor and then national spokesman for the AFD in NRW, on the discriminatory, classist statements of his party colleagues (Fikus-Referat 2013).

Sources:

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“So hard to Remember”

The Exhibition “Russian’s Camps’ and Forced Labour- Photographs and Memories of Soviet Prisoners of War”, displayed at the Freie Universität Berlin (FU)

by Fabian Bennewitz
translation by Minas Hilbig

Russian’s Camps’ and Forced Labour- Photographs and Memories of Soviet Prisoners of War” was the outcome of collaboration between the AStA FU (Students’ Representative Committee of the Free University) and the FSI Geschichte (the history department’s student body), in cooperation with the association KONTAKTE- KONTAKTbI e.V. (Contacts). The exhibi-

tion and mistreatment. The Soviet soldiers who survived the first few months in the German camps were sent on mass treks and in freight trains to Germany to do forced labour; female prisoners were mostly shot straight away.

The reason for this mass mortality was not, as it was later claimed by German military during the Nuremberg trials, the logistical overextension due to the sheer numbers of prisoners. Instead, the mass death of internees in the so called “Russenslagern” (‘Russians’ Camps’) through malnutrition and diseases had been expected and were taken into account, since the decimation of the

It is assumed that only around 40% of the 5.7 million Soviet prisoners of war survived.

tion took place in the foyer in front of lecture theatre 1A. The aim of both the exhibition and its supporting program was to give a voice to the ‘forgotten victims’ of National Socialism and thus to challenge the dominant form of commemoration in Germany.

“Prisoners of war who are not working must starve to death” explained Eduard Wagner, quartermaster of the German high command, to generals on the Eastern Front in November 1941. This cynical directive was the basis for one of history’s biggest war crimes. Due to the successes of the Wehrmacht in the early stages of the war against the Soviet Union (“Operation Barbarossa”), especially during the battles of Białystok-Minsk, Smolensk and Kiev, hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers became POWs. It is assumed that only around 40% of the 5.7 million Soviet POWs survived the war. More than 3 million died in German camps; they famished and froze, they died of plague, ex-

“Soviet ‘Untermenschen’” (roughly translated ‘sub-humans’) was a vital part of the “German people’s struggle for habitat and culture”. As early as May 1941, it had been clear to the organisers of the war against the Soviet Union, that during the course of the attack “millions of people would starve to death”¹. The extent of this calculated annihilation of human life is perhaps best demonstrated through the numbers of casualties in the “Russenslager”; out of 361,000 POWs that were interned in Poland in the autumn of 1941, 85% had died by April 1942. Around 2 million out of the 3.5 million POWs died during the winter of 1941/42. The Commissar Order (Kommissarbefehl) denied all political commissars of the Red Army their status as POWs and demanded their straight execution by shooting. In practice all Jewish soldiers and members of the Communist Party were shot on the spot. On top of that a lot of prisoners fell victim to the violence of the camp guards and warders who had strict orders to

use their rifles “swiftly and recklessly”. Any form of resistance had to be smashed using means of extreme violence. “The Soviet Soldier (...) has lost every claim on a treatment as a respectable soldier.” („Der bolschewistische Soldat (...) habe jeden Anspruch auf Behandlung als ehrenwerter Soldat verloren.“)². The killing of a Soviet POW was a crime which most often went unpunished.

The desperation in the camps and on the forced marches knew no limits. Starving POWs (who had a daily ration of either 2 potatoes or 100g bread) peeled the bark from trees to eat and tried to dig holes for shelter into the frozen ground using nothing but their bare hands. The first camps were rarely more than a free part of land encircled with barbed wire where the POWs were left to their fate.

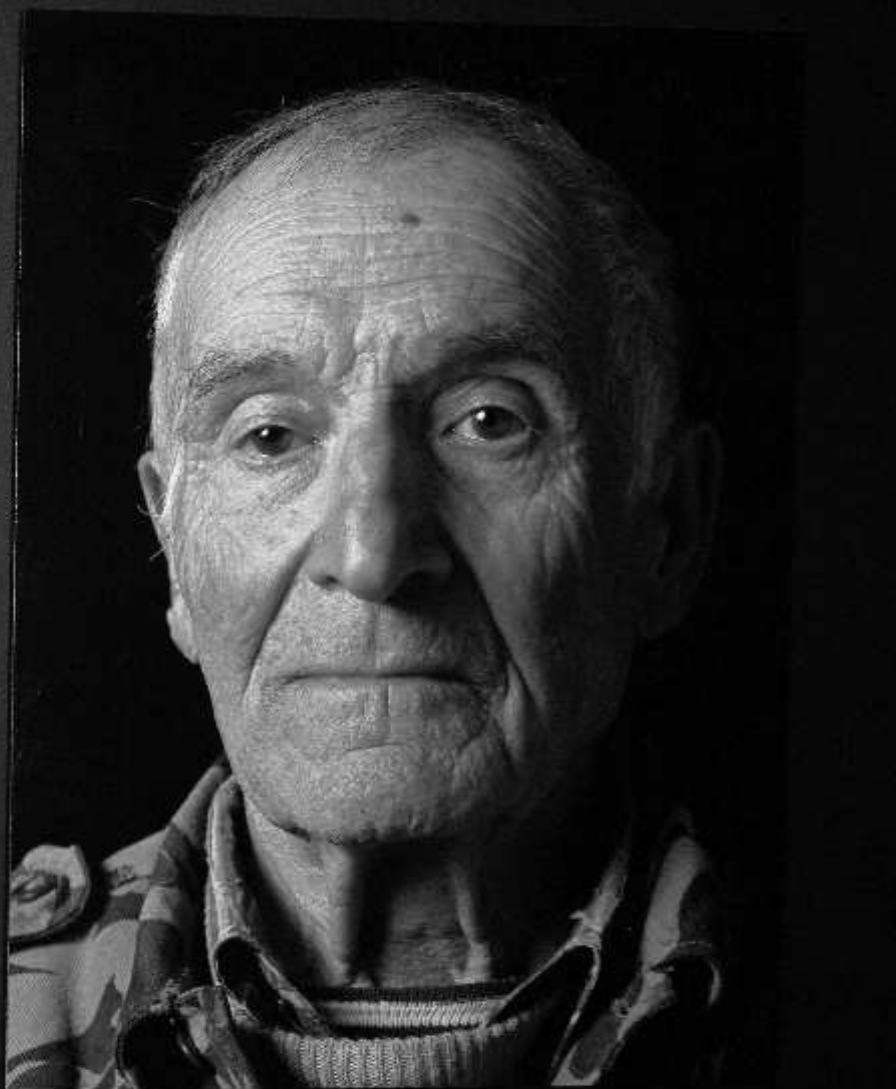
For a lot of POWs their sorrows didn't even end in 1945. Stigmatised as traitors and deserters by Stalin and under the general sus-

picion of having collaborated, a lot of the freed were held and interrogated in so called “filtration camps”. Many were sentenced to serve years in work camps and were discriminated in civil life and restricted from jobs and educational institutions after their release. It wasn't before 1995 that all former POWs were finally rehabilitated by the Russian state.

The people in Germany quickly closed their eyes before the crimes committed against Soviet POWs and attempts were made to banish any own guilt. Post-war discourses were dominated by ‘Russian cruelties’ during the invasion of Nazi-Germany, German experiences of flight and expulsion, and the late return of German POWs from the Soviet Union. Germans saw themselves as the real victims of the war. German crimes seemed to be far away even though they must have been widely known due to the open exploitation of Soviet POWs for the war effort in Germany. ‘Russians’ Camps’ and mass



Interior of a “hospital” room in the German camp for prisoners of war, which was taken by the 75th infantry division of the 9th US Army, in Hemer, Germany. The prisoners, some of which had tuberculosis, without any bedding. 9,000 out of the 22,000 men inhabiting the camp were patients. Most prisoners were Russian.



Simon Zakanjan

Um sich davon zu überzeugen, dass es unter den Leichen keinen Lebendigen gab, wurden die Kriegsgefangenen gezwungen, die Leichen in einer solch groben Weise zu werfen, dass man sich unmöglich würde vorstellen können.

Portrait of Simon Zakanjan.

During the exhibition Zakanjan and other survivors tell their story.

graves located in German territory, coupled with reports from German soldiers on the Eastern front, surely spread word to the wider population. After the end of the war, German officials deliberately put little effort into research of German war crimes against Soviet POWs. For in a world of two hostile blocks and a separated Germany, the old enemy had become the new one- for a major part of the German population, Germany had become a victim of Soviet crimes and the threats seemed to continue, manifested by the stationing of Soviet armed forces in East Germany and the founding of the GDR³.

Even today, the German government denies compensation for former Soviet POWs for the crimes committed against them. Unlike civilian forced labourers they are not recognised as victims of Nazi-Germany. In 2003 the administrative tribunal of Berlin-Moabit turned down the appeal of former POWs from Armenia, stating in its judgment that “the status of a POW wouldn’t justify any financial claims”⁴. In June 2013 another appeal for financial compensation was turned down in the German parliament.

This is why it seemed so important to focus on the fate of Soviet POWs in an exhibition, at least for a few weeks, especially since the topic hasn’t even been paid attention to on a university level. The touring exhibition has been initiated by the association “KONTAKTE-KOHTAKTbI- association for contacts to countries of the former Soviet Union”. It is the aim of this association to bring memories of German war crimes towards Soviet POWs back into the mind of the German public. Since the appeals for financial compensation have been turned down by the German state, the association organised fundraising campaigns for the former POWs still alive today. The exhibition is based around thousands of memoirs of contemporary witnesses who wrote about their experiences as POWs in letters that were sent to KONTAKTE- KONTAKTbI, as well as on on large size portraits of former POWs from Russia and

Armenia. The individual descriptions and the portraits of survivors, who were tortured by the Nazis as “racially inferior enemies” reminded the visitors that there are always individual fates behind the anonymous numbers of victims. The concept of the exhibition was to give a face to the millions of Soviet POWs.

The exhibition was also supported by the Presidential Office of the FU and the Friedrich-Meineke Institute, and was accompanied by a supporting programme. The organisers were especially thankful for the visit

of Boris Popow. Despite his old age, the former POW who spent several years in German camps didn't hesitate to make the long journey from Minsk to the country that was his

special thanks goes to Boris Popow and the members of KONTAKTE-KONTAKTbI. We wish them all the best and good luck in their future efforts!

Despite his old age, the former POW who spent several years in German camps didn't hesitate to make the long journey from Minsk to the country that was his prison, and to take part in the opening of the exhibition.

prison, and to take part in the opening of the exhibition. His moving speech at the opening ceremony was held in German. Among the guests were representatives of the embassies of Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine. The following day there was a contemporary witness discussion where Popow told his life history and answered questions from students. There were linked events almost every week that followed: film screenings, presentations, a reading of letter of former POWs and a whole workshop day where students and professors made presentations and led discussions. Topics were "Historical Learning concerning topics of Nazi-Persecution", "Forced Labour and Justice" and "Women in the Red Army".

Altogether, the exhibition "Russians' Camps' and Forced Labour" was open at the FU for six weeks. The reactions written down in the visitor's book prove how little known this chapter of national socialist crimes is amongst the general public. As a whole the exhibition was regarded as a success and as an important contribution to university life.

In the name of all organisers I want to say thank you to all the people who helped to bring this project to fruition at the FU. A

Recommended Read:

On their website under the section "Freitagsbriefe" [friday letters] one can find newly published letters of former prisoners on a regular basis that give insight into the life of a prisoner.

Endnotes:

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- 2 Ebenda, S. 16.
- 3 Vgl. hierzu Pavel Polian: Die Repatriierung der sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen, in kontakte-kontakty: Briefe.
- 4 Vgl. <http://www.kontakte-kontakty.de/deutsch/ns-opfer/index.php> (01.07.2013)

PfiFf

Students getting involved against fascism: The *Projekt für interdisziplinäre Faschismusforschung* [project for interdisciplinary research on fascism] as an example for critical education and research from below.

by FSI Geschichte
translation by Minas Hilbig

Seminars that are praised as being decisively un-political, where students obediently repeat what the lecturers are presenting as the truth; the university as an ivory tower where social-historical processes have no place? It wasn't always like that. Over the years students of the "F'U" ("Freie Universität Berlin" – "Free University Berlin") have repeatedly tried to model the university as a political-critical, self-governed place, where students and lecturers were equals in discussions and where topics could be put onto the agenda that were marginalised by and/or unsettling for the public. One example of seminars that were organised and led by students are those brought into existence by the former history department students' body (FSI Geschichte) during the great student strike of 1988/89. As a tutorial it was initially even financed by the university. It was called PfiFf – Projekt für interdisziplinäre Faschismusforschung (Project for Interdisciplinary Fascism Research).

*"Fascism Research is bound to take sides, if subsequently it doesn't want to become partly responsible for the crimes"*¹

Following the unification of Germany, a new 'final stroke debate' began. The dominant opinion was: no more excuses, the collective guilt had been paid off. Especially in times like this it is important for critical individuals to work against such attitudes, even more so when they are academics to be.

The PfiFf was designed to do so in a very intuitive way. For that reason, educational trips to places of some of the worst and most inhumane crimes were deemed fit. All in all there were five of these trips from 1990–1992; destinations, amongst others, included the memorial sites Neuengamme (Gedenkstätte Neuengamme) near Hamburg, Buchenwald (Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Buchenwald) and Auschwitz. After each trip a reader was published by the PfiFf² that contained not only general information about the memorial site and remembrance culture but also personal statements of the participating students.

*"But the pictures remain and will certainly return on a lot of occasions, whether they were asked for or not"*³

Why? Have we not all seen enough Pictures, read enough books and witnesses' accounts? Can empty wooden huts and crumbled ruins really change our relation to these crimes? That was a question that students who took part in the trips asked themselves. Perhaps it was the confrontation and realisation that needs to be looked for in the face of society's repression methods. Perhaps it was because of the problems encountered when dealing and talking with the generation of perpetrators and especially the fear and scepticism towards the newly unified "Greater Germany" ("Großdeutschland"), and the non-existent discussion about that. Today, where the "New Right" ("Neue Rechte") is on the move and places itself openly in the middle of society, and is only recognised by it when Fascist mobs appear murdering and chanting slogans, it has become more important than ever to be aware of the

crimes that were committed and to actively challenge the policy of repression that is so typical for Germany.

In Berlin too, even though it is only a short distance away from former places of Nazi terror, a frightening normality has taken over the dealings with the mass murders of the Nazis, which makes it easy for right wing ideologies to manifest in the heads of politicians, even from well established parties. Especially in such surroundings, Fascism research has to be an obligation.

In times when racial assaults appear on an almost daily basis, the major importance of commemorating the people that were killed out of similar prejudices clearly shows. Particularly by means of the history of anti-Semitism and thus the holocaust, and despite changing societies and political states, the production and exploitation of stereotypes over the centuries can be studied, always remembering

“What is not being tackled, will be repeated”⁴

Unfortunately, the “F”U disagreed with that as early as 1992, when it cut all financial support for the PfiFf and thus the base for this important work.

*For interdisciplinary Fascism
Research at the University!
Create autonomous Seminars!*

For more information contact
FSI Geschichte or apabiz ...

Endnotes

1 Aus: Projekt für interdisziplinäre Faschismusforschung (Hrsg.): Buchenwald. Dokumentation einer in studentischer Eigeninitiative entstandenen Exkursion zur Mahn- Gedenkstätte Buchenwald in der DDR. Berlin. 1990. S.4.

2 Anmerkung: Die Unterlagen sowie Reader können im apabiz eingesehen werden.

3 Aus: Projekt für interdisziplinäre Faschismusforschung (Hrsg.): Auschwitz. Dokumentation einer in studentischer Eigeninitiative entstandenen Exkursion zur Gedenkstätte Auschwitz im Juni 1990. Berlin. 1990. S.5.

4 Aus: Projekt für interdisziplinäre Faschismusforschung (Hrsg.): Neuengamme. Dokumentation einer in studentischer Eigeninitiative entstandenen Exkursion zur Gedenkstätte Neuengamme bei Hamburg. Berlin. 1992. S.2.

The foundation for anti-fascist research and education

Interview with the *Antifaschistische Pressearchive und Bildungszentrum e.V.* (apabiz, anti-fascist press archive and education centre)



*interview by the internationalism and anti-fascism Unit of the student council FU
translation by Fabian Bennewitz*

The apabiz, located in Berlin, is the biggest publicly available collection of materials concerning the extreme right. For reliable research work, these sources are indispensable. *out of dahllem* spoke with Christoph Schulze and Ulli Jentsch, members of apabiz staff, about their work, the archive's history and problems of everyday life...

Hello you two! What exactly does apabiz do?

Ulli: The base of our work is operating an archive. That is, we collect, document, archive and analyze all materials with reference to the broad topic of the extreme right, racism, anti-Semitism, etc...In contrast to many libraries or media centers, apabiz has put emphasis on the collection of sources. Our goal is to collect and file everything we can get about the extreme right. All the things collected are available to the public. Everyone can visit us and use the materials, be it for his or her own political activities, research, or for use by media publications. For this kind of service we are also supported by the state of Berlin.

Christoph: Our history and our standpoint are linked to the social movements against the extreme right and neo-Nazism. Therefore we consider ourselves an archive which not only has scientific or documentary purposes but also activist ones. We want to equip, enable and encourage political groups to take action against such pheno-

mena rationally and effectively – we are not just neutral. Furthermore apabiz is the biggest publicly available archive in Germany specializing in the extreme right from both before and after 1945.

Ulli: Additionally, we use our materials and our analyses to do educational work. We do it the classical way by visiting schools and initiatives, organizing evening events and panel discussions – in total we have about 100 – 120 events per year in Germany. These events deal with issues that are of current importance or fundamental relevance. We also publish about those issues in one of our own publications, or on websites, or we contribute to an essay collection or reader from time to time.

Ulli, you have been in apabiz for 20 years now. Does that mean you were directly involved in its foundation in 1991?

Ulli: The foundation of the archive itself is a bit obscure and linked to the social movements. Nobody really knows who decided when to found something like the apabiz. The whole thing started in the late 80s. At that time there was a broad alliance against the “Republikaner” (right wing party, the translator) in West-Berlin. The “Republikaner” had moved into the parliament of West-Berlin and it was from within this alliance of different political groups that the idea to found a certain place to document the things you know about the “Republikaner” was created. This was kind of the start of the project.

I also have read that the apabiz emerged from the “Papiertiger” archive. Is that correct?

Ulli: Yes, exactly. The “Papiertiger” is a semi-open project, which means you can bring your own material to be archived, so to speak... We also did this for a long time, until things became too big for us. We needed our own rooms. So we left the “Papiertiger” when our collection had grown too big and now we have an old industrial loft of 340m², which also is pretty full with archive materials by now...

You also got some collections from the FU, for example Richard Stöss' collection. What kind of material is this and why did they end up here?

Ulli: Those materials were collected by Prof. Dr. Richard Stöss, originally during his time as professor in the so called ZI6, central institute 6, which at that time was for media studies and was located in Lankwitz. Later the collection was part of the “Otter-Stammer-Zentrum” in the OSI (Otto-Suhr-

developments: There is plenty of material for your bachelor or master dissertations.

You are in contact to a lot of speakers and specialists and your catalogue offers many interesting events. Who can ask you for speakers; when, and what for?

Christoph: Everyone can. Education has become an extremely important part of our work. Our events take place across the whole country and are requested by the whole spectrum of groups that are concerned with this topic. For example trade unions, alliances against the political right, local initiatives, anti-fascist groups, universities and schools. Everything you can imagine. Then we discuss individually which topic could match, or the people already know exactly what they need because they have certain local debates or problems and need certain know-how.

The collection is composed of things that document the extreme right in Germany since 1949.

Institute for Political Sciences). When Stöss was given emeritus status, he came to us and asked if we were interested in taking over the collection. We had had contact with him from time to time and some of us had also attended some of his courses at university. But the real reason why we got the collection from him is that Mr. Stöss wanted to preserve the collection as a whole and ensure it would stay accessible to the public. Therefore we took over the collection as a donation. A collection that detailed doesn't have much of a chance to stay together at a university because the maintenance is very intense. Most of the universities cannot keep or don't want to keep it permanently.

The collection came into being when Mr. Stöss, along with quite a big team, wrote a very important book about the history of political parties- the “Parteienhandbuch”. That was in the 80s. During that time many things were collected, about very small rightwing parties, but also about the big parties of the extreme right like the NPD. The collection is composed of things that document the extreme right in Germany since 1949. It is certainly one of the densest collections about this scene in West-Germany until the end of the 80s - really exciting stuff which is above all suitable for research papers. So, whoever is interested in history, the history of political parties as well as organizational and thematic

Does it occur regularly that students come to your archive for writing their papers there? And if it does, what kind of topics do they work on?

Christoph: Yes, I would say that's a regular thing... Maybe one third of our “customers” comes from an academic context, another third would be the press and the last third would be initiatives that are working on the issue. Many students come with a broad set of interests. We would be really glad if people started to uncover the “treasures” of the 50s and 60s we have in our archive. People are interested in our material rather from a political or sociological point of view with focus on newer developments, than from a historical one. Most requests are about neo-Nazism. A relatively high number of persons also want to work on the question of gender



In the library of the apabiz you can find an extensive selection of literature about right-wing extremism

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and the extreme right. In a certain manner this has also become an aspect of apabiz in which we have expertise... Can you think of something else, Ulli?

Ulli: Well, the NPD definitely is a subject every now and again... and "Autonomous Nationalists" as well. The universities don't have any primary sources any more, not even of the rightwing party spectrum. Getting access to certain publications, for example "Deutsche Stimme" or "Criticón", which was possible at universities in earlier times, has become more difficult by now. That's why people from other university cities come to Berlin just to sit in apabiz, look through the paper sources and make use of them for their studies. We notice in conversations that the people just don't know where to get this stuff otherwise... Some professors also know that and refer their students to our archive. The research of primary sources

simply is important for completing the image of the extreme Right. We also notice which universities are currently running courses on the subject. We also have been to universities to present ourselves and our work. In principle, we have partly become something like a voluntary provider of academic research services. We think this is important. Those materials should be part of scientific research.

Christoph: But one must say that the intensity of use also varies. Sometimes people come and say: " "Deutsche Stimme" , 4th edition, 2010, page 18 – do you have that?" Others come from Hamburg to Berlin for three months to write their final assignments here. It's a broad spectrum.

What are the difficulties you have to face as a project which is very much concerned with topics of the extreme right?

Christoph: We have difficulties on different levels. Not everyone across the political spectrum is happy about having an offensively led debate about this topic, and having its problems openly discussed. Partly we are also met with reservations. Certainly there is always the problem of acquisition – you don't get all the materials at your newsstand on the corner... The obtaining of material is a practical problem. But a huge and omnipresent problem is always the question of equipment and finances; that we have in common with other voluntary initiatives. Our work is important and we believe that it must be maintained continuously, and independent of political trends. We have no constant budget that we can rely on. Realizing a project from time to time that we receive some development funds from – that works rather well. But it's damn hard to continually finance our day-to-day business, on which everything else is based. That's a constant and everyday struggle...

An unbelievable amount of informations is stored here, very much specialized knowledge that still has to be edited to get public attention. A new



The apabiz is partly financed by the state, but it is largely dependent on donations. More info on donations and sustaining memberships on their website.

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approach will be your project "Rechtes Land". What is it about?

Christoph: "Rechtes Land" is an experiment that we started to see if it is possible to link sources with each other in a modern way, based online, so that they are usable not just for us but also can be examined from the outside. We really like the dusty paper, but we also know that there is much more nowadays. It's about an online map-technology that we, together with partner organizations, feed various information into, for example collections of data about neo-Nazi marches or the death toll caused by right-wing violence, and the related facts: Who? When? Where? What happened there? That information is stored in a database and is then displayed graphically by the software. That way we try to build up as comprehensive a data base as possible. We are eager to see how far we will get with this.

You also have a collection of children's and youth literature that you wanted to lend to schools. Do any schools make use of this offer?

Ulli: No. That was an idea we had in our minds quite a long time. We were able to put the collection together because we were financed by a development program for a certain time, which made it possible to employ two persons who built this up. It's exciting to see that there is a highly diverse range of children's and youth literature about our topic. It's not about explaining National Socialism to a five year old; it is more about forms of discrimination in connection with racism and anti-Semitism. The idea was to align things closer with the work of the people who wanted to bring the collection to schools. It didn't work because we were lacking additional financial support. A significant amount of collaboration would be necessary to work directly together with the teachers in the schools. At the moment we are lacking somebody with time to take care of these efforts... But I still think that the idea is pretty cool! I also partly know what

it's like at schools; mostly school libraries don't exist anymore. We have this collection here as a standby resource. People occasionally use it as an inspiration for their own pedagogical work at schools.

Christoph: I think there is quite a lot of material for interesting scientific projects, for example in educational studies or literary studies...

Ulli: So for those interested in educational theory: There is no central place or public library in Germany that puts a main emphasis on collecting material around such issues. There is no children's or youth library specialized on National Socialism. Nor is there a professorship on the issue of rightwing extremism apart one at FH Düsseldorf. Interesting how this topic is neglected even in academic research and financial support.

To come to an end: Which of the latest books in the archive would you recommend to our readers?

Ulli: The latest new publication I have read and found very interesting is the book "Fantifa – Feministische Perspektiven antifaschistischer Politiken" (Fantifa – feminist perspectives on anti-fascist policies). It is about the feminist part of the antifa-movement, women's and respectively Women's-Lesbians' antifa groups. The book informs about the history of this spectrum. Not every single part of the book is perfect, I think, but I know parts of it still from my own experiences and found it therefore very exciting to see this topic covered once again in a publication, especially written by much younger people who didn't witness these developments themselves but tried to make its history more comprehensible. A book very much worth reading for those who want to get into the developments of anti-fascist organizations as well for those who are interested in the history of feminist movements.

Thank you for the interview!

Texts, Images, Movies

The Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus and the apabiz aside, there are several projects at the university that offer a vast amount of media and research material on national socialism, the Shoa, compulsory labour and right-wing extremism. For everyone interested, or those without ideas for their next essay, we've compiled a small list of projects.

Visual History Archive

Through the university's network one can access the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation. The world's biggest historical video archive offers about 52,000 filmed interviews of survivors and witnesses of the Shoa.

Facts and Figures

The interviews were conducted in 56 different countries in 32 different languages. Most interviewees are Jewish survivors, but there are also interviews with survivors of other histories of prosecution, such as Sinti, Roma, homosexuals as well as politically prosecuted people or survivors of the eugenics politics.

More information:
<http://www.vha.fu-berlin.de>

Archiv Zwangsarbeit [Archive for forced labour] 1939-1945

The digital archive contains almost 600 interviews with survivors of national socialist forced labour.

Research

The interviews are catalogued by names, reasons for prosecution, location, language et cetera, which allows for excellent research opportunities.

For more information:
<http://www.zwangsarbeit-archiv.de>

apabiz e.V.

apabiz has been collecting materials on right-wing extremism since 1991. Their analyses and reports are published regularly in the “monitor”, their newsletter, as well as on several blogs. For more information see the interview on page 48.

The archive in figures:

51,514 records
29,756 magazines
15,506 books
8,892 unpaid hours of work every year
1.42 years of right-wing Rock
More than 9000 litres of coffee consumed since 1991

Opening hours

Mon: 12 am – 5 pm
by appointment
Tue: 12 am – 5 pm
by appointment
Wed: Closed!
Thu: 3 pm – 7 pm
(no appointment necessary)
Fri: by appointment

For more information:
www.apabiz.de

opac of apabiz:
<http://bibliothek.apabiz.de>

Database of the Otto-Stammer-Centre of FU Berlin

In the database “Right-wing extremist literature” of the Otto-Stammer-Centre at the institute for political science of FU Berlin more than 4000 references to literature and sources on the topics of right-wing extremism and conservatism can be found.

Database

The documents are catalogued and tagged and can be browsed by title, author or full text.

For more information:

<http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/polwiss/forschung/systeme/empsoz/>

or access the search directly:

<http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~rstoess/dbstoess/search.php>
<http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~rstoess/dbstoess/suche.php>

Research network Women and Right-Wing Extremism

The anti-fascist *Forschungsnetzwerk Frauen und Rechtsextremismus* was founded in 2000. The primary foci of the nation-wide network of female researchers, educators and journalists are gender-specific aspects in right-wing extremism. The associates work within as well as outside academic contexts. The network offers educational work and publishes its results on a regular basis.

More about that in the interview on page 30 in this issue

For more information:

www.frauen-und-rechtsextremismus.de

about

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Overview map at Dahlem Dorf Metro Station

asta fu service

Unless otherwise specified, the consultations take place in the AStA villa, Otto-von-Simson-Str. 23. The ground floor is wheelchair accessible. On request, all counseling can take place here. The office hours were not yet firmly press. More information at www.astafu.de

Information Office

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fax: (030) 8314536
info@astafu.de
www.astafu.de

Fachschaftsreferat Service

phone: 030/839091-10
fsref@astafu.de

BAFöG Info Service

bafogberatung@astafu.de
phone: 030/839091-12

Info Service for International Students

phone: 030/839091-17
ris@astafu.de

Info Service for Disabled Students

phone: 030/839091-10,
behindertenberatung@astafu.de
wheelchair access

Data Protection and Privacy Service

Phone: 030/839091-0
datenschutz@astafu.de

Lesbian-trans*-feminist Info and Support (LIS)

phone: 030/839091-22
lesbitransintera@astafu.de

Info Service for Women*

phone: 030/839091-23
frauen@astafu.de
im FLT*I*-Raum
im Dachgeschoss

Higher Education Information

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hochschule@astafu.de

Legal Advice

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beforehand!
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Gay Info and Support

phone: 030/839091-18
schwule@astafu.de

Semester-Ticket Office

phone: 030/839091-40
fax: 030/839091-41
semnixbuero@astafu.de
Thielallee 36
14195 Berlin
(unter dem Capitol-Kino)

Social Service Office

phone: 030/839091-12
sozialberatung@astafu.de

Technical Equipment and Rental Service

phone: 030/839091-0
medienwerkstatt@astafu.de
the whole list of technical and
event equipment can be found at
www.astafu.de/medienwerkstatt

