

## The wolves are back?

Art against hatred and violence

#### Washingtonplatz, Berlin Central Station

6 – 16 August 2016, 10 am – 7 pm Opening: 5 August 2016 at 6 pm, admittance free

## WELCOMING ADDRESS



Mayor Michael Müller

"The wolves are back" – With this exhibition, the artist Rainer Opolka wants to draw attention to the increasing right-wing populism and extremism in our society, and make a statement against xenophobia, racism and violence. This exhibition, which has already been shown in Dresden and Potsdam, is thought-provoking. It goes in search of answers to the question of what causes hatred and violence. It invites visitors to get talking to one another, to learn, and to take a position. And today this is more important than ever, because the latest statistics are alarming.

Right-wing violence in Berlin has increased significantly in the last year. And acts of violence have predominantly been directed against those people who have sought protection here from war and

terror. Incidents of violence against foreigners and refugees have increased by almost 100 percent in the last year.

We cannot accept this. Our democratic task is to take notice, take a stand, and take action against all forms of extremism. Because one thing is clear: xenophobia, racism, hatred and violence have no place in Berlin! I am therefore grateful that this exhibition again sends a clear signal from the capital, expressing tolerance, willingness to help, and open-mindedness.

I thank the artist Rainer Opolka for his important contribution. I wish the exhibition a large and interested audience, and thus the attention that it deserves.

luctuel leville

Michael Müller, Mayor of Berlin

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## 2 INTRODUCTION

This brochure accompanies the group of sculptures "The wolves are back". The exhibition is held from 5 to 16 August 2016, between 10 am and 7 pm on Washingtonplatz (in front of the Central Station) in Berlin. On 5 August 2016, the exhibition is opened by Lea Rosh (Chairwoman of the Association for the "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe"), Dr Konrad Schmidt-Werthern (Head of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs), Walter Momper (former Mayor of Berlin) and Rainer Opolka (artist).

# Art stands for itself, so why do we need boards and text?

Syria. People die in a hail of bombs, are executed, flee and seek a place of



In Germany there are now attacks on refugee housing almost daily

peace and safety. Thousands drown in the Mediterranean or suffocate in trucks. Our country shows solidarity granting asylum to Syrians and people from other problem regions. The number of new arrivals increases. Accommodating them is not easy, public authorities are overstretched and politicians disunited. In our society, there are different attitudes to the possibilities and limits of solidarity. All perspectives have a kernel of truth. We must not allow this question to divide us, and we need an objective debate to find constructive answers. A small, radical minority rejects this, and responds with hatred and violence.

#### Hatred

Foreigners are cursed, and parliamentarians described as "left-wing infected vermin" and "enemies of the people" (PEGIDA/Festerling). Calls are made to resist the "traitors" (AfD), and PEGIDA speakers talk about a "population shift" in Germany. The EU is compared to the North Korean dictatorship (AfD). Warnings are made about the German people being dissolved in a stream of foreigners (AfD Gauland).

#### Hatred is followed by violence

In 2015, there were over 20,000 rightwing hate crimes, and over 1,000 rightwing violent crimes. Homes for asylum seekers burn, cars are set alight, a politician is stabbed, foreigners are beaten and threatened. Every 25 minutes a rightwing crime is committed, and the drum of right-wing violence beats every 10 hours. What happened to our society?

To find an answer, I created the group of sculptures "The wolves are back", and wrote these texts. They are the attempt to understand. They show my perspective. This can only be incomplete. I invite you to get involved. At the very end of the row, there are white walls with space for your ideas. What can we do together in our rich country to create conditions in which there is no longer any need for anyone to hate?

Rainer Opolka



#### 4 Where does hatred come from?

Are there living conditions that promote hatred, like areas of low pressure promote thunderstorms? To what extent is it down to social conditions, i.e. the economy, politics and culture? And how much of it comes from the person themselves?

If we look too closely at the prevailing circumstances, we are at risk of categorising even Hitler as a victim of the chaos and confusion following World War I. Living conditions have power over us, but we are nevertheless free, and responsible for our own actions. But conversely, if we look too closely at the individuals, we could miss the fact that certain living conditions foster hatred.

#### Hatred

Hatred is the twin of powerlessness.

Those who hate lead an insecure existence, are people full of resentment and anxiety. They do not perceive the world as an open space full of new opportunities, but as enemy territory. Those who hate feel threatened, injured, disrespected. They want to change their unpleasant situation. Because hatred has made them blind, however, they do not seek the solution through "interacting with others", but by "devaluing others".

What happens when hatred gains political power?

#### Fears

Fears are human, and are a part of life. When the demands placed on us grow to be overwhelming, we curl up and hide. Someone who has been carrying vague fears inside them for a long time is like a radio receiver tuned to pick up sim-

plified messages. Right-wing radicals take advantage of such fear, and use distorted and untrue news stories to increase these fears. In the process, the reasons why people become refugees are completely obscured. People fleeing from war and death are thus referred to as "fraudulent asylum seekers". Do many people have fears? What can we do against the causes of those fears? Because those who live in fear lose their freedom.

## Misgivings and contrary perspectives

Almost all of the residents in our country are non-xenophobic, but a large proportion of them has doubts about the refugee policy.

One part of the population experiences the opportunities offered by globali-

sation, while another part is confronted by its problematic consequences. The well-educated and mobile people look to the future with less anxiety and greater optimism than those who have no work, are trapped in poorly paid part-time employment, or receive small pensions, or who as members of the middle class are tormented by fear of losing their socioeconomic position.

Our society has failed to involve part of the population in its prosperity, either socially or culturally, and has furthermore dumbed them down through the superficial media. Over recent years, poverty, social backgrounds of powerlessness, and a culture of embitterment have arisen, and the "refugee crisis" is now having a catalysing effect on these. This crisis is amplified by pseudo-nationalistic thinking, whose aims are exclusion and devaluation, and which is no longer able to find freedom in a feeling of solidarity.

#### Distrust of politics

Many people distrust a political system that they believe has done too little for them for many years, and which is now making billions available for building accommodation, and providing work and integration for the refugees. The attempt to escape one's own powerlessness by devaluing others is the wrong way, however, and far from creating shared circumstances in which it is possible for everyone to lead a better life.



## 6 SCULPTURES: THE WOLVES ARE BACK?









## 8 CAUSES OF FEAR. HATRED OF THE STATE & RACISM

2015/ 2016. Molotov cocktails fly, refugee homes burn, and asylum seekers are called social parasites. There are assassination attempts on politicians, and over a hundred attacks on homes for asylum seekers. In Heidenau, residents applaud groups of bullying, stone-throwing Nazis. What comes to light there and in many other places is undisguised, overt racism. How does this sort of thing happen?

#### The individual

Prejudice, fear and resentment arise spontaneously, like bubbles that rise from a lack of social participation and a dull and depressing everyday culture. These fears must not be exploited.

#### Downwards social mobility

Social differentiation and the rapid social upheaval produce winners and losers. More than a few people have been unable to keep up. While the DAX celebrates new records, unsecured employment contracts and low incomes have become everyday realities for many people.

#### Status anxiety

Another, even larger segment of the population lives in fear of losing their existing status. Others again fear for their lifestyle and culture.

Profile picture of a Nazi on Facebook

#### Competition

Anyone who experiences their life as a competition, an 11-hour working day, or as bleak stagnation, has little time for an open-minded, tolerant and joyful culture.



#### The media

The media landscape is often dominated by headlines and sensational journalism. Quick reporting of violence, images of long refugee trails, and news about ISIS terrorists kill off any hope of calm and rational debate, and increase insecurity.

#### The global situation

Ukraine, Syria, ISIS, new conflicts in Israel and Gaza, global instability generates fear. Many people fear for peace.

#### Fear of terrorism

Many people are afraid that the flood of refugees will bring terrorism and violence into the country. Are they confusing the ones throwing bombs and cutting off heads with the ones running away from them?

#### Commercial mass culture

If you look at the cultural offering, you will see that the demand for superficial amusement and depictions of violence is not only served by a powerful culture industry, but actually strengthened by it. Overall, the culture does not focus enough on information, solidarity, or individual involvement.

#### **Politics**

- Don't we all participate too little in political processes?
- Are the parties failing to reach segments of the population?
- Don't the media attack politicians unduly, reinforcing the withdrawal of political interest?
- Hasn't it become fashionable to present "politics" as dirty?
- Do the population expect quick solu-

tions that cannot be delivered?

- Are politicians too divided, or do they have clear and plausible concepts?
- Is the administration overstretched?
- Does uncertainty strengthen the call for walls and barbed wire?

#### Promoting fear and hatred with rightwing propaganda

Right-wingers use refugees and foreigners as blank canvases onto which they project all the evils of the world: Burglaries, violence, rape, terror, disease and abuse of the social security system. There are even people who blame foreigners when their football team loses.

## 10 NAZI ACTIVITY ON THE INTERNET BIBI\*

#### Bibi \*

On a Saturday in the autumn of 2015, in the small East German town of B, a demonstration against asylum fraud takes place. Amongst the demonstrators, the state chairman of the German National Party (NPD). The Nazi-controlled Facebook page "B wehrt sich" ("B defends itself") had previously declared its hostility to asylum seekers. Around 100 "normal residents" of the small town announced on Facebook that they supported the demonstration. All of this under their real names, so we can go through the list.

Bibi's\* way to becoming a verbal racist

There is Bibi\*. She has no vocational training, gets only occasional jobs, and lives in a Communist-era prefabricated tower block. Her boyfriend leaves her, and she is devastated, completely alone.

Bibi\* is desperate. Her Facebook comments sometimes express despondency, sometimes rage. She is not on good terms either with the people in her "group of friends" or with the authorities. "If you rely on other people," she writes, "you get let down." Bibi\* seems isolated and depressed. We read:

"Everyone who pushed me around in 2015, I hope you die."

"Unfortunately I always notice too late



how deceitful some people are."

"Stones, I like stones, big ones, small ones, flat ones, round ones, pointy ones. Whatever. As long as they hurt when you hit assholes with them."

Bibi's\* worldview is not one of togetherness, but of conflict, and is characterised not by activity but by marginalisation. Her rage is helpless, but not racist. This changes when she finds racist pages on Facebook that politicise her. Those pages give her anger a target, and lend content to the hatred that has grown out of her difficult living conditions. Bibi\* becomes radicalised.

Now her entries on Facebook change. These are at first cautiously but then increasingly shaped by hatred of foreigners. The templates for what she posts can be found on the pages of neo-Nazis,

and on the pages of (Nazi-controlled) "Self-Defence Initiatives".



Image on a Facebook page of neo-Nazis

Bibi\*, who feels mistreated, has now found people that she can push around. Soon she posts an image from the Facebook page of neo-Nazis:

Later Bibi\* writes:

"For German homeless people and children there's no money, but the government is just giving it away to the foreigners. Sad for Germany, Merkel is a criminal. Gunships to the front. Let the foreigners drown in the Mediterranean."

What we see here is a blind attempt to escape helplessness and impotence by devaluing others. Bibi's\* actions are far from the possibility of joining with other people to advocate conditions under which everyone can live a better life.

\* name changed

## 12 RACISM AND EVERYDAY CULTURE

Racists discriminate against ethnic groups, peoples, religions or other groups in order to consider themselves superior. Standard racist claims include: "Jews are enemies of the people", or, "foreigners steal, rape our women, and laze around on benefits", or, "all Muslims are potential murderers". These statements are untrue, violate the human dignity of others, and result in hatred and violence.

## Does racist thinking come out of nowhere?

Have exclusionary and discriminatory thinking not been finding their way into our normal everyday culture for a long time? On

TV shows, failed contestants are openly told they are stupid, and attacks in the political arena are often below the belt. This sort of thing works. Many of the "Young People's Words of the Year" are derogatory terms, e.g. "rotten meat party" (party for people over 30) and "to Hartz around" (to collect "Hartz IV" unemployment benefits). A recent one is "Alpha Kevin", a complete moron. Why do people abuse others? Does this come from a deficit in self-esteem?

#### Different levels of abuse

On the internet, and particularly on Facebook, there are millions of captioned images. These can be integrated into one's own Facebook page with a single click. Here is a selection of the

different levels of abuse, all the way up to calls for hatred and violence.

"Is the madhouse running day trips again or what?"

"If I see you or hear you, I can't even open my mouth wide enough to puke."

"People who hurt others shouldn't be rehabilitated, they should be shat on."

"Give me a stone to throw at this wanker."

### The racist pages of neo-Nazis

The statements above are extremely contemptuous, but not racist. Overt

racism, Hitler worship, and glorification of violence can be found on the pages of neo-Nazis.

On an NPD candidate's wall, we found a link to the Facebook pages of "Nazi Humour". Two neo-Nazis were competing here to see who could post the worst things on Facebook. In the surroundings of the NPD, both pages got almost 8,000 "Likes" within 24 hours.



Facebook page with right-wing content (source: www.facebook.com)

## 14 MURDER VICTIMS OF RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE

The number of victims killed by rightwing violence in the Federal Republic of Germany is disputed. The Federal government claims a figure of 58 for the period since Reunification (in 1990), while the initiative "Mut gegen rechte Gewalt" speaks of 184 fatalities. Wikipedia has a list of 185 victims at https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Todesopfer\_rechtsextremer Gewalt in Deutschland.

184 victims killed by right-wing violence



Overview: Murder victims in Germany

## THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNDERGROUND (NSU) 15

The NSU is accused amongst other things of a series of murders between 2000 and 2006, the nail bombing in Cologne in 2004, a bombing in Nuremberg in 1999, the attack on the Saarbrücken Wehrmacht Exhibition in 1999, the bombing in a Düsseldorf railway station in 2000, a bombing in Cologne's Probsteigasse in 2001, the murder of a police officer in Heilbronn in 2007, and multiple armed robberies. The Federal Attorney General of Germany describes them as a "right-wing extremist group" that had the purpose to "kill out of xenophobic and anti-state sentiments primarily citizens of foreign origin." (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National Socialist Underground (excerpt))



The NSU murderers called themselves the "National Socialist Underground" in reference to the formal name of the Nazi party.

## 16 NPD AND NSU: RALF WOHLLEBEN

Ralf Wohlleben (born 27 February 1975 in Jena) is a German neo-Nazi and suspected supporter of the terror organisation National Socialist Underground. He was the deputy state chairman and press spokesman of the German National Party (NPD) for the state of Thuringia, and chairman of the NPD Regional Association in Jena. He is one of the leading neo-Nazis in the state of Thuringia.

#### **NSU** support

On 29 November 2011, Ralf Wohlleben was arrested in Jena by the federal prosecutor's office in connection with the series of murders committed by the National Socialist Underground (NSU). In the mid-90s, he founded the

Kameradschaft Jena together with Uwe Mundlos, Uwe Böhnhardt and Beate Zschäpe, and together with them was an active member of Thüringer Heimatschutz. After a meeting of around 20 neo-Nazi close to Jena, including Wohlleben, Böhnhardt and Zschäpe, at which crosses were burned, the state prosecutor's office pressed charges.

In 1998, Wohlleben is believed to have been the key figure in the trio's going underground. The "most important supporter" during this period remained in telephone contact with Böhnhardt, Mundlos and Zschäpe, and is believed to have provided them with financial support during their flight, e.g. by providing them with donation money from solidarity concerts, or taking out loans.



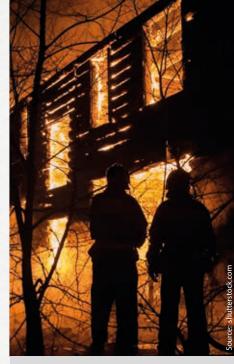
Ralf Wohlleben is accused of having procured the weapon used in the NSU murders.

Wohlleben's name appears on a list of addresses that bears the exhibit number 23.6.1 in the NSU investigation. This contains around 35 addresses and telephone numbers of contact persons of the NSU.

Wohlleben is also accused of aiding and abetting in the commission of six murders, by "supplying the NSU in 2001 or 2002 with a firearm and ammunition", which a courier "brought to the NSU members on his behalf". "On the grounds of his ongoing connection with the group living under false identities," he is believed to have known of the terrorist offences, according to the federal prosecutor's office.

One year after the series of terrorist attacks by the NSU became known, the federal prosecutor's office filed charges on 8 November 2012 against Ralf Wohl-

leben as an accessory to murder. Wohlleben has been appearing in court since 6 May 2013 in the NSU trial. (Source: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ralf\_Wohlleben (excerpt))



burning building

## 18 EMERGENCE OF A NEW RIGHT-WING TERRORISM?

#### Mental arson

Resistance as action for the people When a thug beats someone, a brutalised person lashes out, or an arsonist sets fire to a barn, this is a **normal crime**. When someone attacks a foreigner simply because they are foreign, this is a racist crime. The same applies to firebombers. Is there such a thing as "mental arson"?

What exactly happens when speakers in smart suits and elegant dresses

- call for "acts of resistance against the dictatorship in Berlin",
- talk about "population shift" (PEGIDA),
- warn of the German people being dissolved in a stream of foreigners

(Gauland)

- or call for "self-defence" by the "Christian West"?

Are those who talk like this not fuelling racism, normalising violence and provoking attacks? Let's look on the internet. The following propaganda appeals are typical and incredibly widespread:

"The German people must defend themselves against foreign infiltration."; "The mayor has brought thieving foreigners into the city. She is responsible for the violence."; "Politicians and the police stand idly by while our women are raped"; "The asylum seekers are bringing diseases. We have to end this."; "The state has failed. We have to take action ourselves to ensure law and order."

Is violence not indirectly being presented here as self-defence, to give it a kind of "nationalistic" legitimation?

#### The emergence of right-wing subcultures

Someone who is bad at football, but nevertheless claims to be the greatest football star on Earth, will soon be disabused, at the latest when the pub team has its next game. Put differently, statements need to stand up to reality. Our self-image and worldview generally gets corrected and becomes compatible with reality through confrontation with social reality.

However, Nazis live and act in sharply segregated subcultures. Particularly on Facebook, they are subject to the mistaken belief that the opinions they express are shared by the population at large. Overt racism, corruption of historical facts, twisted or distorted news articles, hatred of "Berlin", calls for criminal activities etc. are not corrected there, but are welcomed.

#### Competing for recognition

Neo-Nazi organisations function similarly to youth gangs, hooligan groups etc. Their members are mostly non-constructive, they are lacking in self-esteem, and they are often filled with hatred. This results in competing to impress one another with their racism. Who can come up with the best anti-Turkish slogans? Who can post the most gruesome pictures? Who can do the best Hitler salute?

Who can think of the worst word for gypsies, asylum seekers, or disabled people?

One of the central idioms and advertising slogans in the right-wing scene is, "Politicians have no balls." The message is, "They just talk, but we act, and show them what's up." It is then often just a short step from verbal hatred to racist action. Who beats up foreigners? Who kicks the defenceless victim hardest when he's on the ground? Who doesn't just talk, but gets involved in the "national" action, smashes windows or sets fire to a home for asylum seekers? Or who does even more?



Is this the rise of a new right-wing terrorism?

## THE FACEBOOK PAGE OF THE AFD

The AfD likes to pretend to be moderate, and condemns violence. In view of the discussions promoted and tolerated on their Facebook page, this is cynical. Here are just a few examples of how Chancellor Merkel is abused on the page.

"Merkel is sick" (1), they say, she has "perversions", and is the "greatest enemy of the people" (2) since the Nazis. Then it gets repulsively misogynistic: "You can accuse Merkel of a lot, but she didn't sleep her way to the top" (3). The Chancellor is portrayed as a Muslim (4), but the "day of judgement" (5) is coming, "2017 she'll be finished" (7), and finally we read: "This woman unquestionably deserves a rope around her neck and a trapdoor under her feet." (6)

These are just a few examples of how Chancellor Merkel is abused on the AfD page.

1. Merkel is sick, has perversions.



2. Merkel = enemy of the people

That Mrs. Merkel is without a doubt the greatest enemy of the people since the Nazis. "That Mrs. Merkel is without a doubt the greatest enemy of the people since the Nazis." ((2) Source: www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/)

3. Merkel is subjected to misogynistic abuse. The way she looks, she "didn't sleep her way to the top".



"You can accuse Angela Merkel of a lot, but she didn't sleep her way to the top." ((3) Source: www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/)

4. Merkel is depicted as a Muslim.



#### 5. Day of judgement



But, so we read, the day of judgement will soon

((5) Source: www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/)

6. Merkel should be executed:



7. Merkel will be finished



Those responsible for the AfD Facebook page let such things go on, and 21 when I wrote to them that people were advocating murder in discussions, they replied that due to the strong rush they would "scarcely be able" to delete unacceptable comments.

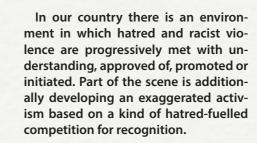
## 22 SUMMAR'

**Right-wing radicals** politicise social groups that are marginalised, afraid of declining socioeconomic status, or concerned for their lifestyle or culture. They portray foreigners as criminals, and refugees as social parasites.

The state, they say, has failed, or is in the hands of US agents. As far as NPD, PEGIDA and AfD are concerned, Merkel and Gabriel, Greens and left-wing politicians are traitors, against whom the people have a legitimate right to resist. They also claim that the press lies and that the federal government is a collection of lunatics and sickos. This has two consequences: the freely elected government is discredited, and hatred of the state is presented as the view of the people. Ultimately, segments of the right-wing

scene consider themselves a sort of opposition to the state. Within this idiom, breaking the law seems to be legitimised by a mandate from the people. As a result, right-wing haters and mentally unstable individuals are encouraged to take action as executors of the supposed will of the people, as expressed by messages of hatred on the internet, and throw firebombs or even – as in the case of the NSU – commit murder.

The **Constitution**, the NPD writes, was "dictated by the Western Allies". In Facebook discussions, neo-Nazis then quite openly describe the Constitution as a "piece of shit".



This is the atmosphere in which racist violence arises. The stages of violence pass through verbal hate attacks, threatening letters, racist graffiti, shouted abuse, simple physical attacks, breaking windows, actual physical injury, arson, hunting down foreigners with severe consequences for those affected, all the way up to the organised, planned rightwing terrorist murders of the NSU.

# Violence, wherever it comes from, must be rejected, outlawed, and severely punished.

And equally important, we must work together to create conditions in which there is no longer any need for anyone to hate. This is easier said than done. Addressing the root of the problem does not mean just fighting the racism, but seeing the crisis as a challenge to work on creating a society

 that provides people with better qualifications, and places them more strongly in meaningful and cooperative working contexts,

- that takes action against downwards social mobility,
- that creates more political transparency and participation,
- that stimulates individual involvement and pacifism,
- that does not give up on the European project, but works towards a better Europe.

All of this will result in the growth of the people into a firewall against hatred and violence. Only this, and not bleak marginalisation, can be the objective of a democratic society.

We must never hand power back to the wolves.

## 24 RACISM, HATRED, AND RISK OF WAR

#### What causes happiness?

- constructive activity
- actively creating opportunities for other people

#### What causes unhappiness?

- hatred, because it results in others hating back, and violence!
- trying to overcome dissatisfaction with oneself by devaluing others.

### What shocks many:

#### What serves the peoples of the world:

- cooperation, balancing of interests, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts
- solidarity, because this is love between peoples



# BERLIN: RACISM HAS NO PLACE



throwing firebombs

## 26 IMPRINT



#### About Rainer Opolka

The group of sculptures "The wolves are back" was created by Rainer Opolka. Rainer Opolka is a pocket torch maker, an author, and a visual artist. He is an active opponent of the rise in right-wing extremism and neo-Nazis and, together with his twin brother Harald Opolka, has been awarded the Prize of Honour for Civic Involvement by the Association

for the "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe", the Jewish community in Berlin, and the Flick Foundation. He lives in Brandenburg and is currently working on the project "Schloss Hubertushöhe Storkow Art & Literature Park".

Rainer Opolka says: "What will happen when the structures of order and solidarity break down, and xenophobia spreads like a virus? When moral and ethical rules cease to apply, and society is increasingly shaped by fear, violence and brutalisation? When blind nationalism takes hold? When the limitations of people's own living conditions make them develop the attitude of rabbits in a hutch? So, what happens when people become wolves? The exhibition, "The wolves are back" is intended to show the answer, and act as a warning."

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#### Opening: On 5 August 2016 at 6 pm,

by Lea Rosh (Chairwoman of the Association for the "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe"), Dr Konrad Schmidt-Werthern (Head of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs), Walter Momper (former Mayor of Berlin) and Rainer Opolka (artist).



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