

**6. BERLINER HERBSTSALON '23**

CINEMA EXHIBITION MUSIC LIBRARY

# GEZI

PERFORMANCE RADIO TALK WORKSHOP

TEN  
YEARS  
AFTER

**EIN PROLOG IM FRÜHLING**

**26/MAI–25/JUNI 2023**

# GOYAKI



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# EDITORIAL

BY SHERMIN LANGHOFF

In the spring of 2013, in the midst of the preparations for the grand opening of the Gorki, planned for the late autumn and including the *1. Berliner Herbstsalon*, I happened to be in Istanbul for ten days. The reason for the trip was the wedding of a friend and the opportunity it offered to meet with friends, artists and collaborators.

The day after my arrival, on May 27th, 2013, I arranged to meet up with »Conny«, as Cornelia Reinauer, the former mayor of Kreuzberg, is often called. She had settled in Istanbul near Taksim Square for a few years. Conny invited me to come with her to Gezi Park on Taksim. »We're protesting against chopping down trees,« she explained. I very clearly remember teasing her a bit, explaining that I was only in town for a few days and didn't have time for this kind of environmental activism. A complete misjudgment of the situation. I came to that realization over the next few days.

My friend's wedding on June 1st turned into an unexpected adventure. Together with the bridal couple, we made our way from the hotel to the bus that was going to take the guests to the boat, with banners made of pillowcases from the hotel on which we had written #DirenGezi with lipstick. In the evening, even while we were out on the wedding boat, we were caught in the clouds of tear gas from Beşiktaş. But that very same evening, the police withdrew. From the boat we could see how many people were moving towards Taksim to camp in Gezi Park. I spent a few days there before I had to leave again. The following weeks would go down in the history of the 100-year-old Republic of Turkey.

The Gezi Park protest, which I had made fun of in the beginning, shows that resistance can crop up suddenly and surprisingly and gain momentum in places that no one expected. Those trained in politics, in particular, often have expectations that are too precise about what must happen next. Then they overlook what is, fail to recognize its significance. It does not correspond to their expectations at all. That's what happened to me. Gezi is a great lesson. For everyone all over the world: keep your eyes open, join the resistance wherever you can. And one more thing: Sometimes we feel that our situation is bleak and hopeless. We believe that to be realism. The Gezi Park protest reminds us of another reality: around every corner, the whole situation can change. All of a sudden, a beauty and a force may appear that we dared not dream of. And the defeat? The Gezi protest was crushed. The Erdoğan regime seemed to wobble for a moment, but then it struck back. The protest movement was suppressed, persecuted and many were silenced. That is also part of what we remember. That is also a lesson for all who fight against authoritarian regimes: the stronger we are, the more massive the response from the state. Today, we do not yet know if the Gezi Park movement, despite its defeat, did not actually herald the end of the Erdoğan era. We can learn a lot by taking a closer look at what has happened in Turkey since 2013. That's what our exhibitions and events are for.

»Her yer Taksim – Her yer Direniş!« – »Taksim is Everywhere – Resistance is Everywhere!« This call echoes to this day. Into the courtroom in Istanbul as well, where the Turkish civil rights activist, businessman and patron of the arts Osman Kavala was sentenced in April 2022 to an aggravated life sentence without any evidence of guilt, and seven other defendants were sentenced to 18 years imprisonment. One was able to flee, the other seven are in prison. One of them, 72-year-old architect Múcella Yapıcı, who »dedicated her life to defending public space against the greed of the rich and powerful« – according to political writer in exile Ece Temelkuran – raised her right fist during the reading of the verdict and said: »We lost eight children during the Gezi protests. Eighteen years in prison is nothing compared to that. I don't give a damn!« At least eleven people were killed and thousands injured.

The Gezi protests – they are more than just a distant memory for Yapıcı and many others. A direct line leads from these events in a park in Istanbul in 2013 to the scandalous trial of Kavala and the other defendants. Along this line a story can be told of the upheavals in Turkey's recent past, a story which has a direct impact on the present in Berlin. The wave of protests began in Istanbul on May 28th, 2013, with demonstrations against a construction project planned for the grounds of Gezi Park, which is located right next to

2013 im Frühling, mitten in den Vorbereitungen für die im Spätherbst geplante Eröffnung des Gorki mit dem *1. Berliner Herbstsalon* war ich zufällig für zehn Tage in Istanbul. Hintergrund meiner Reise war die Hochzeit einer Freundin und die Möglichkeit bei dieser Gelegenheit, Freund\*innen, Künstler\*innen und Kooperationspartner\*innen zu treffen.

Am Tag nach meiner Ankunft, am 27. Mai 2013, war ich locker verabredet mit »Conny«, wie die ehemalige Bürgermeisterin Kreuzbergs Cornelia Reinauer genannt wird. Sie hatte sich für einige Jahre in der Nähe des Taksim-Platzes in Istanbul niedergelassen. Conny lud mich ein, mit zum Gezi-Park am Taksim zu kommen. »Wir protestieren gegen das Fällen von Bäumen«, erklärte sie. Ich erinnere mich sehr gut, dass ich mich ein wenig lustig machte und erklärte, ich sei nur für ein paar Tage in der Stadt und hätte keine Zeit für diese Art von Umweltaktivismus. Eine völlige Fehleinschätzung der Situation. In den kommenden Tagen begriff ich das.

Die Hochzeit meiner Freundin am 1. Juni wurde unerwartet zum Abenteuer. Den Weg aus dem Hotel Londra zum Bus, der die Gäste zum Schiff bringen sollte, bahnten wir uns samt Hochzeitspaar mit Bannern aus Kissenbezügen des Hotels, auf die wir mit Lippenstift #DirenGezi schrieben. Am Abend erwischten uns selbst auf dem Hochzeitsboot die Tränengasschwaden aus Beşiktaş. Aber am selben Abend noch zog sich die Polizei zurück. Wir konnten vom Schiff aus sehen, wie viele Menschen sich Richtung Taksim bewegten, zum Campieren im Gezi-Park. Ich verbrachte dann, bevor ich wieder abreisen musste, doch noch ein paar Tage dort. Die folgenden Wochen gingen in die Geschichte der heute 100-jährigen Republik Türkei ein. Der Gezi-Park-Protest, über den ich mich zunächst lustig gemacht hatte, zeigt, dass Widerstand ganz plötzlich und unerwartet an Stellen aufbrechen und mächtig werden kann, an denen niemand es erwartet. Gerade die politisch Geschulten haben oft zu genaue Erwartungen über das, was kommen muss. Sie übersehen dann das, was ist, erkennen es nicht in seiner Bedeutung. Es entspricht so ganz und gar nicht ihren Erwartungen. So erging es damals mir. Gezi ist eine große Lektion. Für alle überall auf der Welt: Haltet die Augen offen, nehmt den Widerstand auf, wo ihr ihn kriegen könnt. Und noch etwas: Manchmal empfinden wir unsere Lage als trost- und hoffnungslos. Wir halten das für Realismus. Der Gezi-Park-Protest erinnert uns an eine andere Realität: Hinter jeder Ecke kann sich die ganze Lage ändern. Mit einem Mal ist da eine Schönheit und eine Wucht, von der wir nicht zu träumen wagten. Und die Niederlage? Der Gezi-Protest wurde niedergeschlagen. Das Erdoğan-Regime schien einen Augenblick lang zu wackeln, aber dann schlug es zu. Die Protestbewegung wurde unterdrückt, verfolgt und viele wurden zum Schweigen gebracht. Auch das gehört zu unserer Erinnerung. Auch das ist eine Lektion für alle, die gegen autoritäre Regime kämpfen: Je stärker wir sind, desto massiver schlägt der Apparat zurück. Heute wissen wir nicht, ob die Gezi-Park-Bewegung, trotz ihrer Niederlage, nicht doch das Ende der Ära Erdoğan einläutete. Wir könnten viel lernen, wenn wir uns genauer ansähen, was seit 2013 in der Türkei passiert. Dazu sind unsere Ausstellungen und Veranstaltungen da. »Her yer Taksim – Her yer Direniş!« – »Überall ist Taksim – Überall ist Widerstand!«. Dieser Ruf hallt bis heute nach. Auch in den Gerichtssaal in Istanbul, wo im April 2022 der türkische Bürgerrechtler, Geschäftsmann und Kulturmäzen Osman Kavala ohne jegliche Beweise einer Schuld zu verschärfter lebenslanger Haft verurteilt wird, sieben weitere Angeklagte zu 18 Jahren Haft. Einer konnte fliehen, die anderen sieben sitzen ein.

Eine von ihnen, die 72-jährige Architektin Múcella Yapıcı, die »ihr Leben der Verteidigung des öffentlichen Raums gegen die Gier der Reichen und Mächtigen gewidmet hat« – so die im Exil lebende politische Autorin Ece Temelkuran –, hebt bei der Urteilsverlesung die rechte Faust und sagt: »Wir haben bei den Gezi-Protesten acht Kinder verloren. Achtzehn Jahre im Gefängnis sind nichts im Vergleich dazu. Das ist mir scheißegal!« Der Toten waren es mindestens elf und Tausende von Verletzten.

Die Gezi-Proteste – das ist für Yapıcı und viele andere mehr als nur eine ferne Erinnerung. Von diesen Ereignissen in einem Park in Istanbul 2013 führt eine direkte Linie zu dem skandalösen Prozess gegen Kavala und die übrigen Angeklagten. An ihr entlang lässt sich eine Geschichte der Verwerfungen in der

## HEADING FOR A SPIN BY ERDEN KOSOVA

**But Gezi is not over yet. This was the response we received from our colleagues from Turkey when we informed them that we were planning a series of activities at the Gorki to mark the tenth anniversary of the Gezi Uprising in 2013. Their reservations were based on the conviction that any meaningful attempt to assess what happened back then could only begin after the event had been fully concluded. Gezi was something truly exceptional, and it had to be grasped in all its aspects and not opportunistically rushed into a mediated artwork or festival. Departing from a similar concern, back then in the summer of 2013, there were repeated calls for the cancellation of the upcoming Istanbul Biennial which had already proposed to reflect on the problematics around the topic of public space and remain within the actively self-organised space of horizontal politics.**

**The second reason for reservations about a commemoration today is the agonizing fact that some people (actually our friends and colleagues from cultural institutions and the field of urban activism) have been made scapegoats by the legal system which had already capitulated to Erdoğan's one-man regime. Gezi was a humiliating defeat for him on a symbolic level and a declaration that despite his omnipresence and control over the state and the economy, he would never be able to establish cultural hegemony in Turkey. He was desperately in need of a simple narrative that portrayed Gezi not as a reaction of the masses but as the conspiracy of a few individuals who were commissioned by »external forces«. Some people had to be punished and there was no need to explain or prove the accusations. The freedom of the imprisoned cultural workers, activists and lawyers is, for many, one of the most important issues to stress at the moment.**

**In between were ten long years that felt like a painful, never-ending century under Erdoğan's ruthless, arrogant, incompetent and corrupt one-man regime. And in this stifling atmosphere, there was hardly any breathing space to debate and reflect on what happened in June 2013: a coup d'etat, bombs, assassinations, increasingly cruel daily violence, punitive measures of all kinds, smear campaigns, endless scandals, nepotism, economic collapse, chaos in the management of the pandemic, only recently a devastating earthquake and now upcoming elections that will irrevocably determine the future of the country. Aware of the difficulties of addressing such a volatile context and agenda, we nevertheless wanted to build on the potentialities that opened up ten years ago in Gezi Park and other public spaces and squares across Turkey. Gezi proposed an alternative and valuable model of social organisations and an affirmative, inclusive, playful, humorous language of protest. And we know that this model still works in times of urgency. Basically, the spirit of Gezi, the resurgent solidarity and interaction between different groups, movements, communities and identities, was the decisive force that rushed to the aid of people suffering from the earthquake last February.**

**GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER is not conceived to be a platform of self-congratulation and naive optimism. It doesn't delineate the summer of 2013 from what has followed since. Rather, it looks at the whole of the last decade and tries to assess how we can locate the Gezi Uprising in a global context, what opportunities for social change were lost during this time, and what can still be gained from the experiences of the past to build a better future. For the first time in our *Berliner Herbstsalon* series, we decided to base our project on documentary material and discourse rather than contemporary art. The period in which the events will take place coincides with the critical days of presidential and parliamentary elections in Turkey, and we are all aware that these days will be charged with the urge to remember and discuss. As the prologue to the *6th Berliner Herbstsalon* exhibition series: *LOST?*, the four intensive weeks of events at *GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER* will be the starting shot of our long-term examination of the worldwide disorientation conditioned by ecological collapse, war and authoritarianism, and of the urgent need for a livable future.**

jüngeren Vergangenheit der Türkei erzählen, die unmittelbar auch die Berliner Gegenwart berührt. Die Protestwelle beginnt am 28. Mai 2013 in Istanbul mit Demonstrationen gegen ein geplantes Bauprojekt auf dem Gelände des Gezi-Parks, der unmittelbar an den Taksim-Platz angrenzt. Nach einem gewaltsamen Polizeieinsatz am 31. Mai wird in mehreren türkischen Großstädten gegen die autoritäre Politik der regierenden Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) demonstriert. Im Gezi-Park entsteht in der Folge ein Protestcamp mit Zelten, unter dem Slogan »Occupy Gezi« wird auch der Taksim-Platz besetzt. Am 11. Juni beginnt die Räumung des Platzes, am 15. Juni wird der Park brutal geräumt. Bereits zu Beginn der Gezi Proteste ging das Bild des Filmemachers und Abgeordneten der kurdischen Partei BDP Sırrı Süreyya Önder um die Welt, der sich den anrückenden Baggern entgegenstellt. Eines von vielen ikonischen Bildern, die aus dem Sommer 2013 geblieben sind.

Zwischen den Fotos und Fakten aber entfaltet sich die eigentliche Geschichte einer demokratischen Utopie, die für kurze Zeit Wirklichkeit wird und an der Oppositionelle in der Türkei und im Berliner Exil bis heute festhalten. In einem bemerkenswerten Schulterchluss zwischen verschiedensten gesellschaftlichen Lagern haben sich, auch bis dahin unpolitische junge Menschen mit unterdrückten kurdischen oder queeren Minderheiten gegen die Repression der Politik empört. Dieser Geist griff für ein paar Wochen auf das ganze Land über. Was ist davon geblieben? War nicht die gewalttätige Reaktion des Staates, die der Bewegung eine Niederlage bescherte, doch ein Zeichen der Schwäche des Regimes?

Es gab Tote und Verletzte. Seit den Urteilen des vergangenen Jahres im Gezi-Prozess sitzen weitere sechs Menschen mit Hunderten, ja Tausenden völlig zu Unrecht im Gefängnis. Mit Osman Kavala, der bereits im November 2017 – während des *3. Berliner Herbstsalons* – verhaftet wurde, bilden sie die Gezi 7 für die aktuelle Kampagne von Amnesty Türkiye. Einige weitere Mitangeklagte wie der Journalist Can Dündar oder die Schauspieler\*innen Pinar Öğün und Memet Ali Alabora befinden sich im europäischen Exil. So protestierten wir auch in Berlin gegen diese Urteile. Zehra Doğan, Can Dündar, Aslı Erdoğan, Peter Steudtner und Deniz Yücel – alle fünf mit türkischen Gefängnissen vertraut – liefen im vergangenen Jahr mit der künstlerischen Replik einer Gefängniszelle vom Bundeskanzleramt über das Parlament im Reichstag, das Brandenburger Tor bis zur Botschaft der Republik Türkiye. Im Anschluss saßen wir im Garten des Gorki und dachten: Wir müssten etwas machen zum 10. Jahrestag der Gezi-Proteste im 100. Jahr der Republik Türkiye.

Zwischenzeitlich erschütterte das verheerende Erdbeben auch unsere Pläne, doch entschlossen wir uns gerade angesichts dieser Zäsur und den bevorstehenden Wahlen in der Türkei im Mai an unserer Einladung an alteingesessene und neuangekommene Berliner\*innen festzuhalten. 10 Jahre nach Gezi eröffnen wir den *6. Berliner Herbstsalon LOST?* mit einem Prolog im Frühling: Mit dem Festival *GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER* – das Interventionen und Performances, Konzerte und Karikaturen, dokumentarische Ausstellungen und Installationen, ein Kino, eine Bibliothek, ein Café mit Foren, Panels, Workshops und Gespräche umfasst und Augenzeug\*innen und Expert\*innen Raum gibt – will das Gorki den lebendigen Nerv einer Bewegung freilegen, die aus dem Exil in europäischen Metropolen noch immer aktiv ist – und die Impulse für den Widerstand nicht nur in der Türkei, sondern in autokratischen Regimen und Diktaturen überall auf der Welt geben kann. Aus der Welt zu sehen haben wir wiederum Gastspiele aus Tel Aviv, Istanbul, Athen und Amsterdam eingeladen und in der Filmreihe *GEZİNEMA* nehmen uns die Kurator\*innen Şirin Fulya Erensoy und Necati Sönmez mit auf eine Reise in ein Dutzend Länder dieser Erde zu anderen Protesten, zum Beispiel in Brasilien und Chile mit anschließend Gesprächen mit den Filmemacher\*innen. In der *LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE* laden Nil Mutluer und Murat Özbek in ihrer Panelreihe auch Gäste aus aktuellen Protestbewegungen in Frankreich, Griechenland und dem Iran ein. Mit *Alles wird schön sein.* von Hakan Savaş Mican am 26. Mai und *Planet B* von Yael Ronen und Itai Reicher feiern wir zwei eigene Premieren im Rahmen des Festivals. Ausstellungen, Foren, Konzerte, Stand-Ups und weitere Formate aus Istanbul, Paris und anderen Orten laden zu Austausch und Begegnung ein.

Taksim Square. Following the violent police action on May 31st, demonstrations against the authoritarian policies of the ruling Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) took place in several major Turkish cities. As a result, a protest camp with tents was set up in Gezi Park, and Taksim Square was also occupied under the slogan »Occupy Gezi«. On June 11th, the square was partly cleared, and on June 15th, the park was brutally evacuated. Already at the beginning of the Gezi protests, a picture of filmmaker and member of parliament for the Kurdish HDP Sırrı Süreyya Önder opposing the approaching excavators was seen around the world. One of many iconic images that remain from the summer of 2013.

Between the photos and dates, however, the actual history unfolds, one of a democratic utopia that became reality for a short time and that opposition activists in Turkey and in exile in Berlin still cling to today. In a remarkable alliance between various social camps, young people who had previously been apolitical, together with oppressed Kurdish and queer minority groups, rose up against the repression from politicians. For a few weeks, this spirit spread to the whole country. What has remained of it? Wasn't the violent reaction from the state, which brought defeat to the movement, a sign of the weakness of the regime after all?

There were deaths and injuries. Following last year's verdicts in the Gezi trial, another six people were wrongfully imprisoned alongside hundreds, even thousands more, without any justification. Together with Osman Kavala, who was already arrested in November 2017 – during the *3. Berliner Herbstsalon* – they make up the Gezi 7 of Amnesty Türkiye's current campaign. Some other co-defendants, such as journalist Can Dündar and actors Pinar Öğün and Memet Ali Alabora live in exile abroad.

So we protested against these sentences in Berlin as well. Last year Zehra Doğan, Can Dündar, Aslı Erdoğan, Peter Steudtner and Deniz Yücel – all five of them familiar with Turkish prisons – walked with an artistic replica of a prison cell from the Federal Chancellery via the parliament in the Reichstag and the Brandenburg Gate to the Embassy of the Republic of Türkiye. Afterwards, we sat in the garden of the Gorki and thought: we should do something for the 10th anniversary of the Gezi protests during the 100th year of the Republic of Türkiye.

In the meantime, the devastating earthquake also shook our plans but, especially considering this caesura and the upcoming elections in Turkey in May, we decided to stick to our invitation to both long-established and newly arrived Berliners. 10 years after Gezi, we are opening *LOST?*, the *6. Berliner Herbstsalon*, with a prologue in spring: With the *GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER* festival – which includes interventions and performances, concerts and caricatures, documentary exhibitions and installations, a cinema, a library, a cafe with forums, and panel discussions – the Gorki Theatre aims to uncover the living pulse of a movement that is still active from exile in European metropolises and that can provide inspiration for resistance not only in Turkey, but in autocratic regimes and dictatorships all over the world. To, in turn, look to rest of the world, we're hosting performances from Tel Aviv, Istanbul, Athens and Amsterdam, and in the *GEZİNEMA* film-screening series, the curators Şirin Fulya Erensoy and Necati Sönmez take us on a journey through a dozen countries around the world to other protests, for example in Brazil and Chile, followed by discussions with the filmmakers. In their series of panel discussions at the *LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE*, Nil Mutluer and Murat Özbek also welcome guests from current protest movements in France, Greece and Iran. With *Alles wird schön sein.* by Hakan Savaş Mican on May 26th and *Planet B* by Yael Ronen and Itai Reicher, we're also celebrating two own premieres within the festival. Exhibitions, forums, concerts, stand-up comedy and other formats from Istanbul, Paris and more invite you to engage in encounters and exchanges.

Aber Gezi ist noch nicht vorbei. Das erwiderten uns unsere Kolleg\*innen in der Türkei, als wir ihnen mitteilten, dass wir am Gorki eine Reihe von Aktivitäten anlässlich des zehnten Jahrestages des Gezi-Aufstandes 2013 planten. Ihre Zurückhaltung beruhte auf der Prämisse, dass jeder sinnvolle Versuch, die damaligen Geschehnisse einzuordnen, erst nach dem vollständigen Ende des Ereignisses beginnen sollte. Gezi war etwas wahrhaft Einzigartiges, das in all seinen Aspekten erfasst werden muss und nicht überstürzt und opportunistisch mittelbar aufgearbeitet werden darf. Aus diesem Grund war im Sommer 2013 wiederholt gefordert worden, die bevorstehende Istanbul Biennale abzusagen, die bereits vorgeschlagen hatte, sich mit der Problematik rund um das Thema öffentlicher Raum zu beschäftigen und im aktiv selbstorganisierten Raum der horizontalen Politik zu bleiben. Der zweite Grund für die Skepsis gegenüber einem Gedenken war die quälende Tatsache, dass einige Menschen (nämlich unsere Freund\*innen und Kolleg\*innen aus den Kultureinrichtungen und städtischen Aktivisszuzene) vom Rechtssystem, das bereits vor Erdoğan's Ein-Mann-Regime kapituliert hatte, zu Sündenböcken gemacht worden waren. Gezi war für ihn auf symbolischer Ebene eine beschämende Niederlage und ein Manifest, dass er trotz seiner Omnipräsenz und Kontrolle von Staat und Wirtschaft nie in der Lage sein würde, eine kulturelle Vorherrschaft in der Türkei zu errichten. Er brauchte dringend ein einfaches Narrativ, das Gezi nicht als Reaktion der Massen, sondern als Verschwörung einiger weniger darstellte, die von »externen Kräften« beauftragt waren. Einige Personen mussten bestraft werden und es war nicht nötig, die Anschuldigungen zu erklären oder zu beweisen. Die Freiheit der inhaftierten Kulturschaffenden, Aktivist\*innen und Rechtsanwält\*innen ist für viele derzeit eines der wichtigsten Themen. Dazwischen lagen zehn lange Jahre, die sich wie ein schmerzhaftes, nicht enden wollendes Jahrhundert unter Erdoğan's schonungslosem, arrogantem, inkompetenten und korrupten Ein-Mann-Regime anfühlten. Und in dieser erdrückenden Atmosphäre gab es kaum Freiraum, um über die Ereignisse vom Juni 2013 nachzudenken und zu debattieren: ein Staatsstreich, Bomben, Attentate, immer grausamere tägliche Gewalt, Strafmaßnahmen aller Art, Schmutzkampagnen, endlose Skandale, Vetternwirtschaft, Wirtschaftseinbruch, Chaos im Umgang mit der Pandemie, erst jüngst ein verheerendes Erdbeben und nun die anstehenden Wahlen, die unwiderruflich über die Zukunft des Landes entscheiden werden. Wir sind uns der Schwierigkeiten bewusst, einen solch brisanten Kontext und eine derartig unberechenbare Agenda zu thematisieren, wollten aber dennoch auf den Möglichkeiten aufbauen, die sich vor zehn Jahren im Gezi-Park und anderen öffentlichen Räumen und Plätzen in der ganzen Türkei eröffnet haben. Gezi bot ein alternatives und wertvolles Modell sozialer Organisationen sowie eine affirmative, inklusive, spielerische, humorvolle Protestsprache an. Und wir wissen, dass dieses Modell in Notzeiten nach wie vor funktioniert. Letztlich waren der Geist von Gezi, die wieder auflebende Solidarität und Interaktion zwischen verschiedenen Gruppen, Bewegungen, Gemeinschaften und Identitäten die entscheidende Kraft, die den Menschen, die im vergangenen Februar unter dem Erdbeben litten, zu Hilfe eilte.

*GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER* ist nicht als Plattform der Selbstbeweihräucherung und des naiven Optimismus gedacht und grenzt den Sommer 2013 nicht von dem ab, was seither geschah. Vielmehr betrachten wir das gesamte letzte Jahrzehnt und versuchen zu ergründen, wie wir den Gezi-Aufstand in einen globalen Zusammenhang einordnen können, welche Chancen für einen sozialen Wandel während dieser Zeit verpasst wurden und was wir aus den Erfahrungen der Vergangenheit immer noch für die Gestaltung einer besseren Zukunft mitnehmen können. Zum ersten Mal in unserer *Berliner Herbstsalon*-Reihe haben wir beschlossen, bei unserem Projekt von dokumentarischen Materialien und Diskursen und nicht von zeitgenössischer Kunst auszugehen. Die Veranstaltungen finden genau zeitgleich zu den kritischen Tagen der türkischen Präsidentschafts- und Parlamentswahlen statt und uns ist allen bewusst, dass es in diesen Tagen ein starkes Bedürfnis geben wird, sich zu erinnern und zu diskutieren. Als Prolog zur Ausstellungsreihe des *6. Berliner Herbstsalon LOST?* bilden die vier intensiven Veranstaltungswochen den Auftakt für unsere langfristige Auseinandersetzung mit der weltweiten Orientierungslosigkeit und der Suche nach einer lebenswerten Zukunft.

# CURATORIAL BOARD

BLUE UNICORN | MAVİ TEKBOYNUZ 10TH JUNE 2014 BY ASLI ERDOĞAN

Where does a road begin and where does it end? Some desolate place inside of us. When I walked into the café, the music had been turned down low. There was no-one inside except for an Arab tourist, as thin as a rake, sitting alone picking at his dinner. The café was caught in the middle of a police barricade. I wouldn't have been able to sit there, opposite Gezi Park, if I hadn't been so tired, deathly tired. 8:45 in the evening, Saturday May the 31st; police, police, thirst. Coffee, Bob Marley.

I had a neck brace on that Friday night and I was wearing a very long, blue dress. Though I can't get anyone to believe me, it turns out wearing a floor-length dress provides a miraculous kind of protection against gas and water cannon jets. It had been a couple of days since I had returned from two years of exile; Slowly, the cafe fills; the police fix their eyes on me more keenly. The coffee's bitter and cold. It took me three hours to get here, taking almost every back street through Şişli, Harbiye, Kasımpaşa, making countless U-turns and circling back, being turned away from no end of police barricades. I don't know where I can go now, or where I can return to. The Blue Unicorn's adventure started right here, with her walking up to a police barricade with incredible innocence and asking if she could pass. Then came the prophetic reply: »Go on, then, but you won't be able get back through!« As she walked through the deserted corridor behind police barricade, stones began to rain down, the police took cover beneath their shields and retreated, while the police manning the barricade in front of Gezi Park advanced. I gathered my skirts and, in a cloud of gas, ran with all my might straight for the only way out, towards Tarlabası, when I was saved by a man I didn't know, right outside of this cafe where I am sitting today, a year later. He was in a bad way. Six hours stuck on three tiny streets that all lead into one another! Water cannons, barricades, fires. Gas, batons, gas, gas. Two people were supporting a tall waiter, taking an arm on each side. The man was screaming, kicking out left and right because he couldn't cope with the pain. »They threw acid in my eyes! Acid! Not gas!« Thirty metres away from me, a man who looked badly injured, or perhaps dead, was being dragged into a building by plainclothes policemen and gas was being fired at people surrounding the building who were yelling at the police: »Give us our dead!« (I don't know what direction the gas was coming from, because I was one of its targets ... )

The people working at the café showed me an exit that led into a hotel; the lobby was full of police, but the man on the door looked me up and down and let me pass: »It's out of bounds, but I'll let you through.« The Blue Unicorn has long since given up on reminiscing about the 31st of May, but she had a soft spot for this woman, this woman who is all alone, eyes vacant, walking past Taksim Square while trying not to look at Gezi Park; she's scared of seeing her cry. There was a young boy: for twenty minutes, he tussled with a water cannon all alone, with nothing but stones in his hands. As the water cannon advanced on him, he twisted, dodged, scrambled up, moving like a bull fighter. The street was shut by a big burning barricade; the bullets the police were firing looked like live ammunition, and there was no one around but the two of us. I couldn't take it anymore and I screamed: »HE'S BEEN CRUSHED! HE'S BEEN CRUSHED!« Suddenly, he noticed me: »STOP! DON'T RUN! Why are you scared? Don't be scared, there's no need to be scared now«. I stopped and looked. At all the roads of my life, the escapes, the fears. All the police. Around one that night, things seemed to die down. I'm on a poky pavement on a side street. Much too late, I notice the man running straight for me, running for his life, with eight or nine police officers running after him. I cry out and throw myself on the ground. [...] A policeman laughs, and one shouts: »GET OUT OF HERE! Don't you understand Turkish? GO ON, GET LOST!«

The English version is slightly shortened.

Photo: Kerem Uzel / NarPhotos

Bir yol nerede başlar ve biter? İçimizde ıssız bir yerlerde ... Kafeye girdiğimde müziğin sesi iyice kısılmıştı. Tek başına akşam yemeğini didikleyen, aşırı zayıf bir Arap turist dışında kimse yoktu. Polis barikatının orta yerinde kalmıştı kafe. Yorgun, ölesiye yorgun olmasam orada, Gezi Parkı'nın karşısında oturamazdım. 31 Mayıs Cumartesi, 20:45, polisler, polisler, susuzluk ... Kahve, Bob Marley ... O cuma gecesi de boyunluğum vardı, üzerimde de mavî, upuzun bir elbise ... Kimseyi inandırmasam da, yere kadar bir elbise, gaza ve basınçlı suya karşı, mucizevi bir koruma sağlıyormuş. İki yıllık sürgünden döneli birkaç gün olmuştu, televizyonum, internetim, cep telefonum bile yoktu. Evime kapanarak »dönüş gerçeğiyle« yüzleşmemi erteliyordum, sanırım. 31 Mayıs gecesi, Tarlabası'ndaki çatışmanın ortasında kalmam, bir tesadüfler zincirinin sonucuydu. Harbiye'ye kadar rastladığım herkesin maskeli oluşuna bile uzun süre anlam verememişim.

Kafe yavaş yavaş doluyor, polislerin bakışı daha sık bana dönüyor. Kahve acı, soğuk. Üç saat boyunca, Şişli, Harbiye, Kasımpaşa'nın neredeyse bütün arka sokaklarını arşınlayarak, sayısız U-dönüşü yapıp çember çizecek, sayısız polis barikatından geri çevrilerek buraya varmışım. Artık nereye gidebileceğimi de bilmiyorum, dönebileceğimi de ... Mavi Tekboynuzlu'nun macerası tam burada, akıl almaz bir saflıkla polis barikatına gidip, »geçebilir miyim« diye sormasıyla başlamıştı. Ve kehanetimsi bir yanıtla: »Geç, ama bir daha buradan çıkamazsın!« Polislerin ardındaki bomboş koridorda yürürken taşlar yağmaya başlamış, kalkanlarının ardına sığınan polisler geri çekilirken, Gezi Parkı'nın önündeki asil barikatın polisleri öne doğru hareketlenmişti. Eteklerimi toplayıp gaz bulutunun içinde var gücümle tek çıkışa, Tarlabası'na doğru koşarken, bir yıl sonra oturduğum bu kafenin önünde fenalaşmış, tanımadığım bir adam tarafından kurtarılmışım. Birbirine açılan üç küçücük sokakta geçen altı saat! Tomalar, barikatlar, yangınlar ... Gaz, cop, gaz, gaz ... Koluna iki kişinin girdiği, uzun boylu bir garson: Çiğlikler atıyor, can acısına dayanamadığında sağa sola tek-meler savuruyordu. »Asit atılar gözlerime, gaz değil, asit!« Otuz metre ötemde ağır yaralı ya da ölü bir adam sivil polislerce bir binaya sürükleniyor, »ölümünü verin« diye binayı kuşatan topluluğa hedef gösterilerek gaz fişekleri yağdırılıyor. (Nereden mi biliyorum, hedeflerden biri olduğumdan ... )

Kafe çalışanları, bana otele açılan çıkışı gösteriyorlar, lobi polis dolu, ama kapıdaki yetkili, boyunluğuma bakıp izin veriyor: »Yasak ama SEN GEÇ!« Mavi Tekboynuzlu, çoktandır 31 Mayıs anılarını anlatmaktan vazgeçti, hele şu kadına, Gezi Parkı'na bakmamaya çalışarak Taksim Meydanı'nı aşan yapayalnız, boş bakışlı kadına kıyamıyor, ağlamasından korkuyor. Gencecik bir çocuk vardı, 20 dakika tek başına, elinde taşlarla bir tomayla çatışmıştı. Toma üzerine üzerine sürdükçe, bir boğa güreççisini andıran hamlelerle kıvrılıyordu, kaçıyor, tırmanıyordu. Sokağı dev bir barikat ateşi kapatmıştı, polis in sıkıttığı mermiler gerçeğe benziyordu, ikimiz dışında kimse yoktu ... Çok dayanamayıp çiğlikler atmıştım: »EZİLDİ! EZİLDİ!« Ansızın fark etti beni: »DUR! KAÇMA! Neden korkuyorsun? KORKMA, ARTIK KORKMA!« Durdum ve baktım. Hayatımın bütün yollarına, kaçışlarına, korkularına ... Bütün polislerine ...

Gece saat bir, olaylar yatışmış gibi. Bir arka sokağın daracık kaldırımındayım. Çok geç fark ediyorum bana doğru can havliyle koşan adamı, ve peşindeki sekiz dokuz polisi ... Bir çiğlik atıp yola atıyorum kendimi, copların sesi ... Adam gık çıkarmadan yola savruluyor, beni es geçen dolmuş ona çarpıyor. Metalin kıldığı kafatasını duyuyorum. Taksim'de, bir arka sokakta, boyunluluklu bir kadın diz çökmüş ağlıyor. Kafasını, kırılmış bir boynuzu tutarcasına tutmuş, kanlar içindeki adama bakarak ağlıyor. Dönüş yolunun bittiğinin, ama sürgünün bitmediğinin, bitmeyeceğinin artık bilincinde ... Bir polis gülüyor, biri bağıriyor: »GİT BURADAN! Türkçe bilmiyor musun! HADİ GİT!«

## GEZİ NATION | GEZİ ÜLKESİ BY CAN DÜNDAR

Gezi is the name of the park where those who had given up on this country replenished hope. Suddenly, a generation appeared – we didn’t know where, when, or how they had been raised, but they wrote on the park in great letters – what sort of country they wanted, what sort of government they didn’t – and then they faded from the scene. But as they faded from view, they left some important messages behind. First, they wrote the name of the man who gave the order to have them shot, on the wall they were to be shot in front of. The shooters saw the strength of the people, organized, and so did those they shot. The former was afraid; the latter felt hope. Another important lesson was that the people have managed to live together, no matter how much the authorities try to divide them. Those tents were set up like banners heralding a nation of peace that might be possible tomorrow. As the evil withdrew, two chronic problems hinted at a solution: the age-old clash between religious and secular melted away on a simple table spread out along the ground. The reverence shown by secularists who shielded themselves from those who were praying, or the atheists who served the iftar to those who were fasting, was an image of the freedom of belief that is so often discussed. Gezi was a place where Kurds and Turks resisted together and danced the halay, a place of brotherhood where they dressed each other’s wounds. Courage was there, marching, telling police officers with guns in their hands, »Take off your helmet and put down your baton, then let’s see how big a man you are«. There was humour, too: »You can’t scare a nation that checks its gas canisters with a lighter with a bit of tear gas«. A mass resistance without a leader, even without a need for a leader, embracing people from all walks of life, of all ages, drawing its strength from its righteousness and innocence. A square of brotherhood where no one gets in the way of the others, where on the contrary everyone tries to make way for each other, where words that have been banned for years are spoken freely in the forums. An unorganized, spontaneous rebellion, carried out as a reflex unique to those who have run out of patience. The greatest and most magnificent show of resistance in Turkey’s history has taught us about the power of coming together and then went away.

## THE GEZİ FEELING | DAS GEZİ-GEFÜHL BY DENİZ YÜCEL

While, in the period between the end of May and the end of September 2013, between six and 13 people – depending on how you count – lost their lives, while at least 11 people lost an eye, while, according to the Turkish Medical Association, 7,832 people were injured through gas canisters, plastic bullets or water cannons [...] while all of these horrible things were happening, half a country and half a generation experienced something that, at that very same moment, was going down in Turkish history: the Gezi Feeling. But what makes up the Gezi Feeling? The Gezi Feeling is female: According to the Turkish police, 50 percent of the participants in the Gezi protests were female, it was probably even a bit more [...] The Gezi Feeling has a sense of humour: The Gezi Feeling expresses itself through tweets, chants and – when the coast is clear – through graffiti. Under slogans sprayed in the pathos of Marxism-Leninism, »Do not bow down – Stand up straight!«, the Gezi Feeling writes: »The solution is Pilates!« The Gezi Feeling is young: According to a representative poll conducted by Bilgi University, 40 percent of the people from Gezi Park were between 19 and 25 years old and an additional 26 percent aged 26 to 30. The Gezi Feeling is political: In the same poll, it was reported that 53 percent of the protesters had never participated in political actions before. But that doesn’t mean that they were all apolitical up to that point. [...] It’s important for the Gezi Feeling that no one is excluded. Because in Gezi Park everyone is an other. Everyone has their reasons for being there. And everyone speaks of freedom without meaning the same thing. The Gezi Feeling is romantic: Oh yes.

Gezi, bu ülkeden ümidi kesenlerin ümit tazelediği parkın adı ... Nerede, ne zaman, nasıl yetiştiğini bilmediğimiz bir nesil, aniden orada ortaya çıktı, nasıl bir ülke istediğini, nasıl bir iktidar istemediğini kocaman harflerle parka yazdı ve sahneden çekildi. Ama çekilirken arkada çok önemli notlar bıraktı. Önce, kendisinin vurulması için emir verenin adını yazdı, önünde vurulduğu duvara ... Vuran da gördü örgütlü halkın gücünü, vurulan da ... İlki korktu; ikincisi umutlandı. Bir başka önemli ders, »Sen ne kadar ayrıştırırsan ayrıştır, biz birarada yaşamayı başardık« mesajıydı. O çadırlar, yarının barış ülkesini müjdeleyen obalar gibi kuruldu parka ... Kötülük aradan çekilince, iki kronik sorun, oracıkta çözüm işaretini verdi: Asırlık dinci-laik çatışması, bir »yeryüzü sofrası« nda eridi gitti. Namaz kılanı ken-dini siper eden laiklerin, oruç tutana iftariyelik taşıyan ateistlerin dindarlara hürmeti, hep sözü edilen inanç hürriyetinin resmiydi aslında ... Kürtler ve Türklerin bir arada direndiği, halay çektiği, birbirinin yarasını sarabil-diği bir kardeşlik meydanıydı Gezi aynı zamanda ... Silah sıkın polislin üzerine, »Kaskını çıkar, copunu bırak, delikanlı kim bakalım« marşıyla yürüyen cesaret de oradaydı, »Tüp kaççağını çakmak yakarak kontrol eden bir milleti biber gazıyla korkutamazsınız« diyen mizah da... Önder arayışı, lideri olmayan, her kesimden, her yaştan insanı kucaklayan, gücünü haklılığından ve masumiyetinden alan bir kitlesel direniş ... Kimsenin diğerlerinin önüne geçmediği, tersine herkesin birbirine yol açmaya gayret ettiği, yıllarca yasaklanan sözlerin, forumlarda özgürce söylendiği bir kardeşlik meydanı ... Canına tak etmişlere özgü bir refleksle yapılmış, örgütsüz, kendiliğinden bir isyan hareketi ... Türkiye tarihinin en büyük, en görkemli direnişi, bize biraraya gelince ortaya çıkan gücümüzü öğretip gitti.

Während in der Zeit von Ende Mai bis Ende September 2013 – je nach Zählung – zwischen sechs und dreizehn Menschen ums Leben kamen, während mindestens elf Menschen ein Auge verloren, während, der Türkischen Ärztekammer zufolge, 7.832 Menschen durch Gaspatronen, Plastikgeschosse oder Wasserwerfer verletzt wurden, [...] während all diese schrecklichen Dinge passierten, erlebten ein halbes Land und eine halbe Generation etwas, das bereits im selben Moment in die türkische Geschichte einging: das Gezi-Gefühl. Was aber macht das Gezi-Gefühl aus? Das Gezi-Gefühl ist weiblich: Der türkischen Polizei zufolge waren 50 Prozent der Teilnehmer der Gezi-Proteste weiblich, vermutlich waren es sogar noch ein bisschen mehr. [...] Das Gezi-Gefühl hat Humor: Das Gezi-Gefühl drückt sich in Tweets, Sprechchören und – wenn die Luft rein ist – in Graffiti aus. Unter die im ML-Pathos gesprühte Parole »Beuge dich nicht – Halte dein Rückgrat aufrecht!«, schreibt das Gezi-Gefühl: »Die Lösung heißt Pilates!« Das Gezi-Gefühl ist jung: Laut einer repräsentativen Umfrage der Bilgi-Universität sind 40 Prozent der Leute vom Gezi-Park zwischen 19 und 25 Jahre alt, weitere 26 Prozent im Alter zwischen 26 und 30. Das Gezi-Gefühl ist politisch: Aus der eben zitierten Umfrage geht hervor, dass sich 53 Prozent der Demonstranten nie zuvor an einer politischen Aktion beteiligt hatten. Das heißt aber nicht unbedingt, dass sie alle vorher unpolitisch waren. [...] Dem Gezi-Gefühl ist es wichtig, niemanden auszuschließen. Denn im Gezi-Park ist jeder ein Anderer. Jeder hat seine Gründe, dort zu sein. Und jeder spricht von Freiheit, ohne dasselbe zu meinen. Das Gezi-Gefühl ist romantisch: Oh ja.

*Aus: Taksim ist überall, die Gezi-Bewegung und die Zukunft der Türkei (2017)*

## GEZİ.INSPIRATION.RESILIENCE BY PETER STEUDTNER

The penguin. Absurd symbol of Gezi. Having observed the Gezi protests and resistance from afar, the penguin stayed on and represents for me especially the care and diversity, diversity that I associate with the »uprising of solidarity« in Istanbul 2013. Turkish and Kurdish friends tell me of the amazing solidarity these days in taking care of those affected by the current earthquakes. It reminds them of the solidarity of Gezi. If this link is possible, then Gezi was and is an ongoing inspiration and connection. Resisting the killing of trees in 2013 ... resisting the killing of people in the aftermath of the 2023 earthquakes by political structural violence and conscious negligence. This continuation of resistance and resilience is a huge capacity: inspiring, motivating, questioning own activism here far away. This time no penguin, but blocking and restricting news. Still penguin moments. In between: 2017. My personal connection to resistance and resilience in Turkey: The detention of the #Istanbul10 including myself and later the inclusion of the 11th from Izmir: Taner Kılıç. A continuation of political repression in the aftermath and light of the Gezi protests: We were – amongst other hilarious and far-fetched and invented »crimes« – accused of secretly organizing for a new Gezi Uprising. What an honour and, at the same time, diminuation of the diversity and spirit of Gezi, which could not have been orchestrated by 10 people meeting for three days on Büyükkada. Looking back at the vestiges of oppression and resilience, creativity and diversity in the last decade that were triggered by the Gezi protests, I would like to exclaim with my fellow prisoners in Silivri of 2017: »Sohbet, hakkımız engellenemez!«

## FROM GEZİ TO KOBANÎ BY ZEHRA DOĞAN

»Gezi« is the name given to the resistance which arose in response to heavy-handed and government-supported attacks on the mass protests prompted by the people of Istanbul’s legitimate reaction to the planned construction of artillery barracks and a shopping centre in Gezi Park, Taksim in 2013. In May 2013, members of the »Stand Up for Taksim« platform and the BDP MP Sırrı Süreyya Önder picketed Gezi Park, hoping to obstruct heavy duty machines which had arrived to pull up the trees and destroy the park. The protests which followed were soon headline news across Turkey, and the situation was quick to become a talking point for the whole country. Though the protests began with thousands of people of no particular political affiliation, concerned about restrictions on freedoms and environmental issues, descending, unbidden, on Gezi Park at the same time and for the same cause, they also represented the fact that a line had been crossed in terms of the rights violations which had been taking place for years, and what the people were prepared to endure. The slogan »Everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is resistance« echoed across Turkey, with the protests not restricted simply to Taksim but spreading nationwide, revealing a significant spirit of defiance. The protests were borne out of an ecological issue, but they became a matter of the inevitability of the powerful demand for rights and freedoms worldwide. This is why Armenians, Arabs, Circassians, Syrians, Kurds, Laz, and many other groups across Turkey saw themselves as part of this resistance, and, perhaps for the first time, the dominant nation listened to what its minorities wanted to say. For the first time, sides which had been estranged for years by the dominant political propaganda found themselves shouting the same slogans in an atmosphere they could not have anticipated. People didn’t just protest in Taksim against the regime, but also their own deep-rooted prejudices about »other« communities.

Der Pinguin. Ein absurdes Symbol für Gezi. Nachdem ich die Gezi-Proteste und den Widerstand aus der Ferne beobachtet hatte, blieb der Pinguin und verkörpert für mich vor allem die Fürsorge und die Diversität, die ich mit dem »Aufstand der Solidarität« 2013 in Istanbul verbinde. Türkische und kurdische Freund\*innen berichten mir von der beeindruckenden Solidarität dieser Tage bei der Bewältigung der Folgen der aktuellen Erdbeben. Es erinnert sie an die Solidarität von Gezi. Wenn diese Verknüpfung möglich ist, dann war und ist Gezi ein andauernder Quell der Inspiration und der Verbindung. Widerstand gegen die Tötung von Bäumen im Jahr 2013 ... Widerstand gegen die Tötung von Menschen nach den Erdbeben von 2023 durch strukturelle politische Gewalt und bewusste Fahrlässigkeit. Diese Fortsetzung des Widerstands und der Resilienz ist eine große Leistung: inspirierend, motivierend, den eigenen Aktivismus hier in der Ferne in Frage stellend. Diesmal kein Pinguin, sondern das Blockieren und Einschränken von Nachrichten. Immer noch Pinguin-Momente. Dazwischen: 2017. Meine persönliche Verbindung zu Widerstand und Resilienz in der Türkei: die Inhaftierung der #Istanbul10, darunter auch ich, und die spätere Einbeziehung des Elften aus Izmir: Taner Kılıç. Eine Fortsetzung der politischen Unterdrückung im Nachgang und im Licht der Gezi-Proteste: Wir wurden – neben anderen lächerlichen und weit hergeholtten und erfundenen »Straftaten« – angeklagt, uns heimlich für einen neuen Gezi-Aufstand zu organisieren. Was für eine Ehre und zugleich Schmälerung der Diversität und des Geistes von Gezi, die von zehn Personen, die sich drei Tage lang auf Büyükkada versammelten, nicht hätten veranstaltet werden können. Wenn ich auf die Spuren von Unterdrückung und Resilienz, Kreativität und Diversität im letzten Jahrzehnt zurückblicke, die durch die Gezi-Proteste angestoßen wurden, möchte ich mit meinen Mitgefangenen in Silivri von 2017 ausrufen: »Sohbet, hakkımız engellenemez!«

Istanbul Taksim Gezi Parkı’nda 2013 yılında yapımı planlanan Topçu Kışlası ile AVM çalışmalarına yönelik İstanbul halkının gösterdiği yasal tepkiyle başlayan kitlesel eylemler ve buna karşı hükümetin onayıyla polislin gösterdiği ağır saldırıların hafızamıza kazındığı direnişin adidir Gezi. Mayıs 2013’te Gezi Parkı’na gelen iş makinalarının ağaçları sökerek parkı yıkmaya başlamasına engel olmak isteyen »Taksim İçin Ayağa Kalk Platformu« üyeleri ve BDP Milletvekili Sırrı Süreyya Önder’in parkta nöbet tutmasıyla başlayan eylemler kısa sürede tüm Türkiye gündemine oturdu ve bu durum tüm ülkenin ortak meselesi haline dönüştü bir anda. Bir siyasi partiye ait olmayan, kendiliğinden gelişen, özgürlükleri kısıtlanan ve çevre sorunlarına duyarlı binlerce insanın bir anda aynı sebeple Gezi parkına dökülmesiyle başlayan eylemler aynı zamanda bir halkın yıllardan bu yana süregelen hak ihlallerine karşı ortak bir dayanma sınırının aşmasını da temsil ediyordu. »Her yer Taksim her yer direniş« sloganının tüm Türkiye’de yankılanmasıyla birlikte direnişin sadece Taksimle sınırlı kalmayıp tüm Türkiye’ye yayılmış olması çok önemli bir ruhu açığa çıkardı. Mesele ekolojik bir sorun üzerinden doğan bu direnişin tüm dünyadaki hak ve özgürlüklere dair yoğun ve güçlü bir talebin kaçınılmazlığı meselesiydi. İşte bu yüzden Türkiye’de Ermeni, Arap, Çerkez, Süryani, Kürt, Laz ve birçok halktan insanlar kendilerini bu direnişin bir parçası olarak gördüler ve belki de ilk defa baskın millet azınlık halkların ne demek istediklerine kulak verdiler. Birbirinden yıllardır belli başlı siyasi propogandalarla uzaklaştırılan taraflar ilk kez kendilerinin bile tahmin edemeyecekleri bir atmosferin altında aynı sloganları atarken buldular. Bu durum doğallıkla inanılmaz bir sinerjiyi de yaratmış oldu. İnsanlar Taksim’de sadece iktidarla mücadele etmediler, aynı zamanda »öteki« kesimlerle ilgili zihinlerinde kalıplaşmış önyargılara karşı da mücadele ettiler.



Photo: Ulaş Yunus Tosun

# FORUM

## PUBLIC TALKS ABOUT POLITICS

#HERŞEYGÜZELOLACAK

What made the Gezi Uprising so engaging was the fact that it assembled groups and political parties that had been impossible to bring together before. Moreover, the people who came to the park spoke to each other and interacted in solidarity. After the eviction of Gezi Park, the grassroots spirit resumed in the form of neighborhood fora spreading throughout Turkey. Some of these collectives are still active in one form or another. Commemorating the experience of radical democracy a decade ago, the forum meetings at the Gorki will respond to the heated agenda following the elections in Turkey.

Was den Gezi-Aufstand so mitreißend machte, war die Tatsache, dass er Gruppen und politische Parteien versammelte, die zuvor unmöglich zusammenzubringen waren. Zudem sprachen die Menschen, die in den Park kamen, miteinander und wirkten solidarisch zusammen. Nach der Räumung des Gezi-Parks lebte der Geist der Graswurzelbewegung in Form von Nachbarschaftsforen in der ganzen Türkei wieder auf. Einige dieser Kollektive sind nach wie vor auf die eine oder andere Weise aktiv. In Erinnerung an die Erfahrung radikaler Demokratie vor einem Jahrzehnt werden wir zusammenkommen und gemeinsam mit allen interessierten Berliner\*innen diskutieren, planen, essen und trinken.

26/MAY | 16:00–18:00 | STAGE

### OPENING FORUM INCL. OPENING INTERVENTION

What is happening in Turkey? How are the election results to be assessed? What do we want to talk about in the following weeks? All participating curators will come together with the audience on our mainstage to share their views on the current state of affairs at the beginning of the festival.

Was passiert in der Türkei? Wie sind die Wahlergebnisse zu bewerten? Worüber wollen wir in den folgenden Wochen sprechen? Alle beteiligten Kurator\*innen kommen mit dem Publikum auf unserer großen Bühne zusammen, um sich über den Stand zum Beginn des Festivals auszutauschen.

This will be followed by a collective public intervention marking 90 years to the Nazi Book Burning in May 1933. The action offers a new ritual form of collective commemoration.

Im Anschluss findet eine kollektive öffentliche Intervention als Auseinandersetzung mit der Bücherverbrennung der Nazis vor 90 Jahren im Mai 1933 statt. Die Aktion bietet eine neue Ritualform des kollektiven Gedenkens.

27/28/MAY | 14:00–16:00 | STAGE  
FORUM

4/11/18/JUNE | 11:00–14:00 | CAFÉ  
FORUM & BRUNCH *Bring food to share!*



Photo: Eren Aytuğ / NarPhotos

# LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE DIVERGING ROADS OF HISTORY

CURATED BY NIL MUTLUER & MURAT ÖZBANK

#GEZİKÜTÜPHANE

In May and June 2013, two roads leading to Turkey's future diverged.

One of them was the road that embraced Turkey's ideational, religious, ethnic and gender/sexuality diversity in all its different colors and promised to lead it to a pluralist, egalitarian, libertarian, and peaceful democracy premised on respect for human rights.

The other was the road that dragged Turkey into becoming one of the most ruthless examples of populist authoritarian regimes, of which many examples were to mushroom throughout the world in the years that followed, from Trump's America to Putin's Russia, from Bolsonaro's Brazil to Orbán's Hungary, from Morawiecki's Poland to Meloni's Italy.

The first road to democracy was opened with the cry for freedom that arose from Gezi. What brutally suppressed that cry and dragged Turkey into the dark swamp of a mafia-like, corrupt and violent authoritarianism, was Erdoğan's populist tyranny.

Today, Turkey is once again at a historic juncture: The May 14th, 2023 presidential and parliamentary elections will either reopen the road to democracy that was first opened 10 years ago in Gezi, or Erdoğan's tyranny will succeed in closing that road for good.

So how come Turkey, where ten years ago Gezi paved a clear pathway to a pluralistic democracy, finds itself struggling to emerge from the dark swamp of populist authoritarianism ten years later? What social ruptures, conflicts and political calamities have Turkey's peoples gone through in those ten years to reach a historic crossroads that once again diverges between darkness and

Im Mai und Juni 2013 gabelten sich zwei Wege in die Zukunft der Türkei. Einer davon war der Weg, der die ideelle, religiöse, ethnische und geschlechtliche bzw. Gender-Diversität der Türkei in all ihren unterschiedlichen Farben begrüßte und versprach, sie zu einer pluralistischen, egalitären, libertären und friedlichen Demokratie zu führen, basierend auf der Achtung der Menschenrechte. Der andere war der Weg, der die Türkei zu einem der skrupellosesten Beispiele populistischer autoritärer Regime werden ließ, nach dessen Beispiel in den folgenden Jahren viele andere auf der ganzen Welt wie Pilze aus dem Boden schießen sollten, von Trumps Amerika bis zu Putins Russland, von Bolsonaros Brasilien bis zu Orbáns Ungarn, von Morawieckis Polen bis zu Melonis Italien. Der erste Weg zur Demokratie wurde mit dem Schrei nach Freiheit eröffnet, der sich aus Gezi erhob. Was diesen Schrei brutal unterdrückt hat und die Türkei in den dunklen Sumpf eines mafiösen, korrupten und gewalttätigen Autoritarismus hinabgezogen hat, war Erdoğan's populistische Tyrannei. Heute befindet sich die Türkei erneut an einem historischen Scheideweg: Die Präsidentschafts- und Parlamentswahlen am 14. Mai 2023 werden entweder den Weg zur Demokratie, der zum ersten Mal vor zehn Jahren in Gezi gebahnt wurde, wiedereröffnen oder aber Erdoğan's Tyrannei wird es gelingen, diesen Weg endgültig zu verschließen.

Wie also kommt es, dass die Türkei, wo Gezi einen klaren Pfad zu einer pluralistischen Demokratie geebnet hat, zehn Jahre später damit zu kämpfen hat, sich aus dem dunklen Sumpf des populistischen Autoritarismus zu befreien? Welche sozialen Brüche, Konflikte und politische Misere haben die Völker der

light? In the May 14th, 2023 elections, which of these diverging roads will Turkey take? And what lessons can human rights defenders learn from Turkey's decades-long teetering between tyranny and democracy?

Based on what happened in Gezi and its aftermath in the Turkey, *LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE* and *Diverging Roads of History* exhibitions, the *Sounds of Gezi* installation, *living book* and panel discussions, will invite participants to read, listen, talk, discuss and think about the future of democracy and authoritarianism in Turkey and the world. The *Library of Resistance* is a collection of over 200 printed works (books, articles, albums, etc.) that should be required reading for those who want to understand Gezi and Turkey's authoritarian decade after Gezi. *Diverging Roads of History* is a visual and thematic chronology that will take visitors on a circular journey in time starting and ending at the Gezi Library, in other words, at the juncture where the divergent roads of history meet – and diverge again.

The panel series of LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE is funded by the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Federal Agency for Civic Education)

## 2/JUNE | 17:00–18:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK DIVERGING ROADS OF HISTORY THE AUTHORITARIAN DECADE OF TURKEY AFTER GEZI

With Zeynep Gambetti, Nil Mutluer & Murat Özbek

This panel raises and addresses the question: how come Turkey, where Gezi paved a clear pathway to a pluralistic democracy, finds itself struggling to emerge from the dark swamp of populist authoritarianism ten years later? Incidentally, this is also the question around which the *Diverging Roads of History* which accompanies the *LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE* is organized.

## 3/JUNE | 17:00–18:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK KEPÇE! URBANIZATION FROM GEZI TO EARTHQUAKE

With Yaşar Adanalı, Emre Gönlügür & Begüm Özden Fırat

The controversy between democracy and populist authoritarianism easily translates into a myriad of controversies about urban spaces, development plans and construction practices. The spirit of solidarity, which brought together the Gezi activists to defend an urban park in Istanbul against the Erdoğan government's re-development plans, was the same spirit of solidarity that came to the rescue of the victims of Erdoğan's populist, authoritarian urbanization policies after the recent earthquake. This panel addresses the question of democratization from the perspective of urbanization.

## 4/JUNE | 17:00–18:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK STRATEGIZING RESILIENCE WORKING WITH TRAUMA

With İpek Demirok, Zeynep Kivilcim, Hakan Mertcan & Peter Stuedtner

Deliberately pursued policies of societal polarization, purges from universities, human rights violations like political show trials and the arbitrary detention of opposition politicians, human rights defenders and journalists, bombings and political killings, which mark the authoritarian decade in Turkey after Gezi, have left a debris of traumas and trauma victims in their wake. This panel addresses the ways of dealing with trauma both from sociological and psychological perspectives.

Türkei in diesen zehn Jahren durchgemacht, um an einen historischen Wendepunkt zu gelangen, der sich erneut zwischen Dunkelheit und Licht gabelt? Welchen dieser Wege wird die Türkei nach den Wahlen vom 14. Mai 2023 einschlagen? Und welche Lektionen können Menschenrechtsverteidiger\*innen aus dem jahrzehntelangen Taumeln der Türkei zwischen Tyrannei und Demokratie lernen?

Ausgehend von den Geschehnissen während Gezi und ihren Nachwirkungen in der Türkei, laden die Ausstellungen *LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE* und *Diverging Roads of History*, die Installation *Sounds of Gezi* und Panelveranstaltungen, Teilnehmende zum Lesen, Zuhören, Reden, Diskutieren und Nachdenken über die Zukunft der Demokratie und des Autoritarismus in der Türkei und der Welt ein. Die *Library of Resistance* ist eine Sammlung von über 200 gedruckten Werken (Büchern, Artikeln, Alben etc.), die für alle, die Gezi und das autoritäre türkische Jahrzehnt nach Gezi verstehen wollen, Pflichtlektüre sein sollte. *Diverging Roads of History* ist eine visuelle und thematische Chronologie, die die Besucher\*innen mitnimmt auf eine zirkuläre Zeitreise, beginnend und endend an der Gezi Library, in anderen Worten an der Weggabelung, an der sich die divergierenden Wege der Geschichte treffen – und wieder auseinanderlaufen.

Dieses Panel wirft die Frage auf, wie es kommt, dass die Türkei, in der Gezi vor 2023 einen klaren Weg hin zu einer pluralistischen Demokratie geebnet hat, zehn Jahre später damit zu kämpfen hat, sich aus dem dunklen Sumpf des populistischen Autoritarismus zu befreien. Dies ist zugleich die Frage, um die sich die Ausstellung *Diverging Roads of History* dreht, die die *LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE* begleitet.

Das Spannungsfeld zwischen Demokratie und populistischem Autoritarismus lässt sich leicht in unzählige Kontroversen über städtische Räume, Entwicklungspläne und Baupraktiken ausweiten. Der Geist der Solidarität, der die Gezi-Aktivist\*innen zusammengebracht hat, um einen städtischen Park in Istanbul gegen Erdoğan's Bebauungspläne zu verteidigen, war derselbe Geist der Solidarität, der den Opfern von Erdoğan's populistisch-autoritärer Urbanisierungspolitik nach dem jüngsten Erdbeben zu Hilfe kam. Dieses Panel befasst sich mit der Frage der Demokratisierung aus der Perspektive der Urbanisierung.

Die bewusst verfolgte Politik der gesellschaftlichen Polarisierung, Säuberungsaktionen an Universitäten, Menschenrechtsverletzungen wie politische Schauprozesse und willkürliche Verhaftungen von Oppositionellen, Menschenrechtsverteidiger\*innen und Journalist\*innen, Bombardierungen und politische Morde, die das autoritäre Jahrzehnt der Türkei nach Gezi kennzeichnen, haben eine Flut von Traumata und Traumaopfern hinterlassen. Dieses Panel untersucht Möglichkeiten des Umgangs mit Traumata aus soziologischer und psychologischer Sicht.

## 10/JUNE | 17:00–18:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK PLURALITY THEN IN GEZI, NOW AT BALLOT BOXES

With Yiğit Aksakoğlu, Gizem Aksu, Gamze Elvan, Evin Kışanak, Erden Kosova & Emine Uçak

Gezi was the common cry for freedom from a host of societal actors that embraced Turkey's ideational, religious, ethnic and gender diversity in all its different colors. Incidentally these are also the differences with which today's, anti-authoritarian opposition block is formed. In this panel numerous participants representing this diversity of backgrounds address the question of how and why it was possible for them »to act in concert« in all their plurality against the authoritarian excesses of a repressive government – then in Gezi, now at the ballot boxes.

## 11/JUNE | 17:00–18:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK RESISTANCE AND PEACE AT THE CROSSROADS OF EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

With Shadi Amin, Aleksandros Apostolidis, Omer Krieger, Neşe Özgen, Buket Türkmen & Nazan Üstündağ

Neither the rise of populist authoritarianism, nor democratic resistance to it, is a phenomenon unique to Turkey. This panel brings together activists from around the world who resist populist authoritarianism in their respective countries.

## 17/JUNE | 17:00–18:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK HUMAN RIGHTS! THE DETERIORATION OF THE RULE OF LAW IN TURKEY AFTER GEZI

With Feyza Akinerdem, Hülya Dinçer, Asena Günal & Emma Sinclair-Webb

Turkey's authoritarian decade after Gezi was marked by blatant human rights violations and, particularly after the attempted coup of June 2016, the almost total collapse of the rule of law in the country. This panel discusses the human rights situation in Turkey both from an activist and a legal perspective.

## 18/JUNE | 17:00–18:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK GEZI GOES GLOBAL THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM IN TURKEY AND THE WORLD

With Robin Çelikateş, Ayça Çubukçu, Nil Mutluer & Murat Özbek

This panel takes a look at the future of democracy and authoritarianism in Turkey and the world. In the concluding event of the panel series, the participants will take a look at the future of democracy and authoritarianism from the perspective of Turkey's post-gezi era. They will adress, among others, questions like: What can right defenders and democratic activists from all around the world learn from Turkey's decade-long teetering between radical democratic and populist authoritarian paths? Can populist authoritarians ever be beaten through democratic means? If yes, how? If not, why not?

Gezi war der gemeinsame Schrei nach Freiheit einer Vielzahl gesellschaftlicher Akteur\*innen, die die ideelle, religiöse, ethnische und Gender-Diversität der Türkei in all ihren unterschiedlichen Farben begrüßten. Dies sind übrigens auch die Merkmale, die den heutigen antiautoritären Oppositionsblock ausmachen. Bei diesem Panel gehen zahlreiche Teilnehmende, die diese Vielfalt repräsentieren, der Frage nach, wie und warum es ihnen möglich war, bei all ihrer Verschiedenheit »im Einvernehmen« gegen die autoritären Auswüchse einer repressiven Regierung vorzugehen – damals in Gezi, heute an den Wahlurnen.

Weder der Aufschwung des populistischen Autoritarismus noch der demokratische Widerstand dagegen sind ein rein türkisches Phänomen. Dieses Panel versammelt Aktivist\*innen aus aller Welt, die in ihren Ländern Widerstand gegen populistischen Autoritarismus leisten.

Das autoritäre Jahrzehnt der Türkei nach Gezi war gekennzeichnet durch eklatante Menschenrechtsverletzungen und, insbesondere nach dem Putschversuch im Juni 2016, den fast vollständigen Zusammenbruch der Rechtsstaatlichkeit im Land. Dieses Panel diskutiert die Menschenrechtssituation in der Türkei aus aktivistischer und rechtlicher Sicht.

Dieses Panel befasst sich mit der Zukunft von Demokratie und Autoritarismus in der Türkei und der Welt. In der abschließenden Veranstaltung der Podiumsreihe werfen die Teilnehmer\*innen einen Blick auf die Zukunft von Demokratie und Autoritarismus aus der Perspektive der Türkei nach der Ära Gezi. Sie werden sich unter anderem mit folgenden Fragen befassen: Was können Rechtsverteidiger\*innen und demokratische Aktivist\*innen aus der ganzen Welt aus dem jahrzehntelangen Hin und Her der Türkei zwischen radikaldemokratischen und populistisch-autoritären Pfaden lernen? Können populistische Autoritäre jemals mit demokratischen Mitteln geschlagen werden? Wenn ja, wie? Wenn nicht, warum nicht?

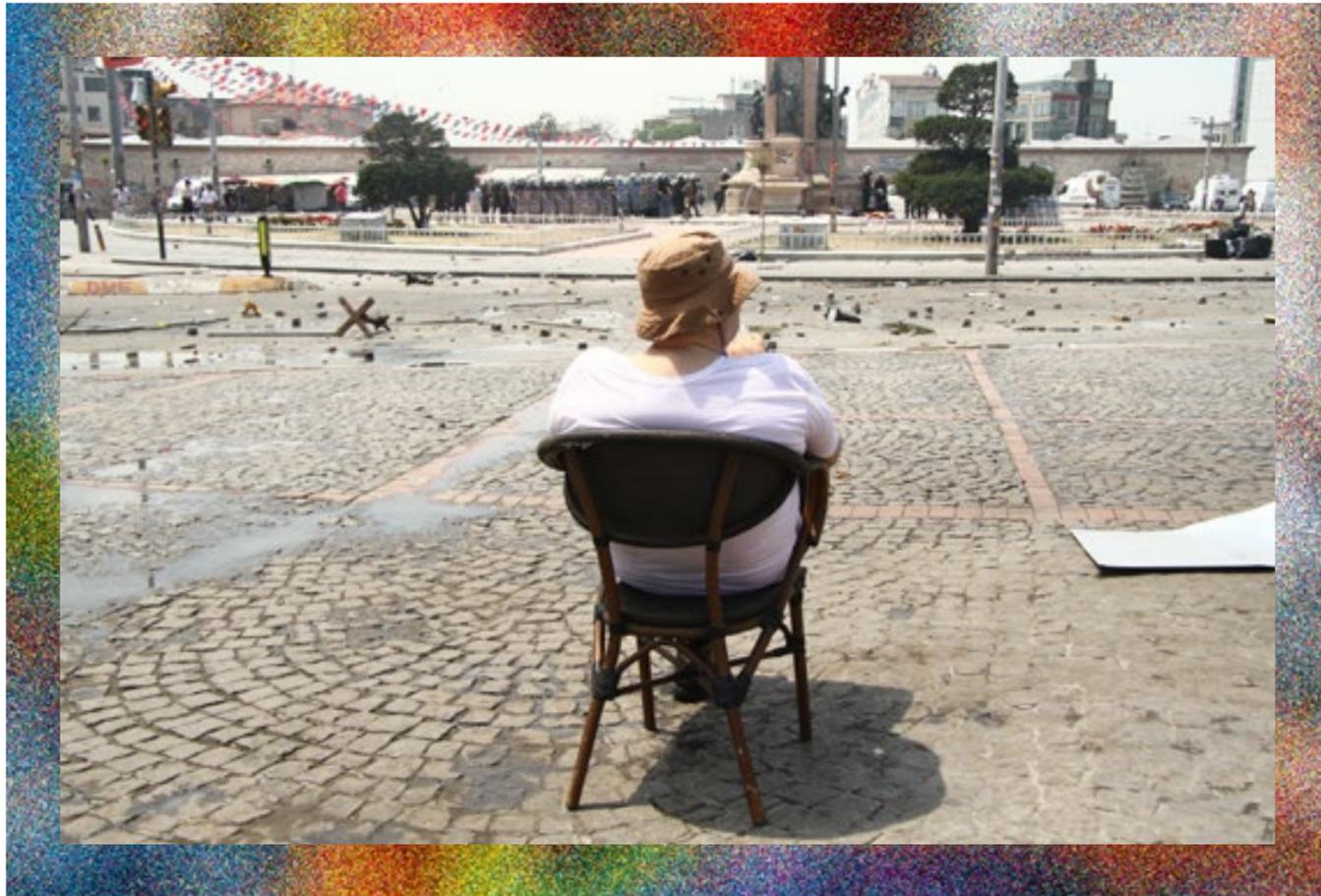


Photo: Ulaş Yunus Tosun

# GEZİNEMA

## WORLD CINEMA DOCUMENTARIES

#HERYERTAKSİMHERYERDİRENİŞ

CURATED BY ŞİRİN FULYA ERENŞOY & NECATİ SÖNMEZ

While a decade has passed since the Gezi Park Protests, citizens worldwide have continued to protest corrupt governments, economic inequality, and injustice, demanding action and change. While each struggle emerged as a result of specific political, social and economic conditions, they share commonalities in that there was a demand for a new social contract between citizens and the state, where power structures could be reconfigured, leading to more democratic and participatory cultures. These uprisings were characterized by a surge of hope, where the possibility of change seemed feasible. This event series raises awareness about and provides new insight into this turbulent decade in order to reimagine the politics of our present. Films shot at the epicentre of protests, witnessing, recording and disseminating the stories of social movement makers, will provide a space to discuss solidarity against growing political oppression, reflect upon the representative force of such films and celebrate the courageous acts of their protagonists. Each screening will be followed by talks with special guests that will contextualize the films and provide a framework for understanding the events and the developments since.

Seit den Protesten im Gezi-Park sind mittlerweile zehn Jahre vergangen, doch in aller Welt protestieren Bürger\*innen weiterhin gegen korrupte Regierungen, wirtschaftliche Ungleichheit und Ungerechtigkeit und fordern Aktivität und Wandel ein. Auch wenn jeder dieser Proteste aus bestimmten politischen, sozialen und ökonomischen Gründen resultiert, so eint sie doch das Bedürfnis nach einem neuen Gesellschaftsvertrag zwischen den Bürger\*innen und dem Staat, durch den Machtstrukturen umgestaltet werden könnten, was zu einer demokratischeren und partizipativeren Kultur führen würde. Diese Aufstände waren von einer Welle der Hoffnung gekennzeichnet, in der die Möglichkeit der Veränderung machbar erschien. Die Veranstaltungsreihe schärft das Bewusstsein für dieses turbulente Jahrzehnt und schafft neue Einblicke, um die Politik unserer Gegenwart neu zu denken. Filme, die im Epizentrum der Proteste gedreht wurden und die Geschichten der Macher\*innen sozialer Bewegungen bezeugen, aufzeichnen und verbreiten, bieten einen Raum, um über Solidarität gegen wachsende politische Unterdrückung zu diskutieren, über die repräsentative Macht solcher Filme nachzudenken und das mutige Handeln ihrer Protagonist\*innen zu feiern. Im Anschluss an die Filmvorführungen finden Gespräche mit Special Guests statt, die die Filme kontextualisieren und einen Rahmen bieten, um die Ereignisse und die weiteren Entwicklungen zu verstehen.

In collaboration with the H2020 MSCA-IF project, VIDEOACT, a project funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant.



26/MAY | 20:30 | STAGE Q&A with Mario Rizzi  
**THE OUTSIDER**  
 Mario Rizzi (29 min, 2015, Italy)

The film delves into the social contract established in the Gezi community and the new forms of public agency explored in/after Gezi. It focuses on the group dynamics and narratives as well as the individual interactions within three civil movements: Northern Forests Defense, an environmentalist group acting against the neoliberal exploitation of Istanbul's main natural lungs; Kamp Armen, a non-violent occupation protecting a historical Armenian orphanage; and the Istanbul's LGBTQIA+ community, which acquired a higher level of social visibility after Gezi.

Der Film befasst sich mit dem Gesellschaftsvertrag, der in der Gezi-Gemeinschaft geschlossen wurde, und mit den neuen Formen des öffentlichen Handelns, die in/nach Gezi erforscht wurden. Er tut dies, indem er sich auf die Gruppendynamik und die Erzählungen sowie die individuellen Interaktionen innerhalb von drei Bürgerbewegungen konzentriert: Northern Forests Defense, eine Umweltgruppe, die sich gegen die neoliberale Ausbeutung der wichtigsten natürlichen Lungen Istanbuls einsetzt; Kamp Armen, eine gewaltfreie Besetzung, die ein historisches armenisches Waisenhaus schützt; und die LGBTQIA+-Gemeinschaft Istanbuls, die nach Gezi eine größere soziale Sichtbarkeit erlangte.



27/MAY | 16:30 | STAGE Q&A with Senem Aytaç (Emek Bizim İstanbul Bizim) and Mert Kaya  
**AUDIENCE EMANCIPATED THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EMEK MOVIE THEATRE**  
 Emek Bizim İstanbul Bizim inisiyatifi (48 min, 2016, Turkey)  
**AŞK BİTTİ (LOVE IS OVER)**  
 Mert Kaya (47 min, 2017, Turkey)

*Audience Emancipated:* The chronicle to save the century-old Emek Movie Theatre from being turned into a shopping mall. Starting in 2010, when the venue was scheduled for demolition despite a huge outcry from the public, the struggle for Emek has become a pivotal event in Turkey's recent political history, one that eventually paved the way for the Gezi Park protests. Using footage collected from various activists who joined the struggle, the film offers a powerful testimony for those who are striving to reclaim the right to their city.

*Audience Emancipated:* Die Chronik zur Rettung des jahrhundertalten Emek-Filmtheaters vor der Umwandlung in ein Einkaufszentrum. Der Kampf um das Emek-Kino, der 2010 begann, als das Gebäude trotz eines großen öffentlichen Aufschreis abgerissen werden sollte, war ein zentrales Ereignis in der jüngeren politischen Geschichte der Türkei, das schließlich den Weg für die Gezi-Park-Proteste ebnete. Anhand von Aufnahmen verschiedener Aktivist\*innen, die sich dem Kampf angeschlossen haben, bietet der Film ein starkes Zeugnis für diejenigen, die sich bemühen, das Recht auf ihre Stadt zurückzufordern.

*AŞK BİTTİ* is a documentary about the June 2013 protests in Brazil aiming to refresh our own memories of struggle by listening to the stories from another part of the world from the viewpoint of a Gezi protestor from Turkey.

*AŞK BİTTİ* ist ein Dokumentarfilm über die Proteste im Juni 2013 in Brasilien, der unsere eigenen Erinnerungen an den Kampf auffrischen soll, indem wir die Geschichten aus einem anderen Teil der Welt aus der Sicht eines Gezi-Protestlers aus der Türkei hören.



28/MAY | 20:30 | STAGE Q&A with Noel Keserwany  
**BEIRUT: EYE OF THE STORM**  
 Mai Masri (75 min, 2021, Libanon/Frankreich)

Four young women in Beirut document a turbulent period in recent Lebanese history, from the uprising against the ruling regime to the subsequent lockdown and then, just months later, the gigantic explosion at the port.

Vier junge Frauen in Beirut dokumentieren eine turbulente Zeit in der jüngeren libanesischen Geschichte, vom Aufstand gegen das herrschende Regime über die anschließende Abriegelung bis hin zu der gigantischen Explosion im Hafen nur wenige Monate später.



29/MAY | 20:00 | STAGE  
**WHOSE STREETS?**

Sabaah Folleyan & Damon Davis (103 min, 2017, USA)

*Whose Streets?* is an unflinching look at the Ferguson uprising, told by the activists and leaders who live and breathe this movement for justice, when unarmed teenager Michael Brown is killed by police and left lying in the street for hours, it marks a breaking point for the residents of St. Louis, Missouri. Grief, long-standing racial tensions and renewed anger bring residents together. As the National Guard descends on Ferguson with military grade weaponry, these young community members become the torchbearers of a new resistance.

Ein schonungsloser Blick auf den Aufstand in Ferguson, erzählt von den Aktivist\*innen und Anführer\*innen, die diese Bewegung für Gerechtigkeit leben und vorantreiben. Als der unbewaffnete Teenager Michael Brown von der Polizei getötet und stundenlang auf der Straße liegen gelassen wird, ist das ein Wendepunkt für die Einwohner von St. Louis, Missouri. Trauer, seit langem bestehende rassistische Spannungen und neue Wut bringen die Bewohner\*innen zusammen. Als die Nationalgarde mit militärischen Waffen in Ferguson auftaucht, werden diese jungen Gemeindemitglieder zu Fackelträgern eines neuen Widerstands.



2/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO R Q&A with Ayşe Çavdar, Diren Demir  
**YERYÜZÜ AŞKIN YÜZÜ OLUNCAYA DEK**

(LOVE WILL CHANGE THE EARTH)  
Reyan Tuvi (105 min, 2014, Turkey)

On the last days of May 2013, the Taksim Square at the center of Istanbul witnessed one of the largest civic uprisings in the history of modern Turkey. Millions took to the streets in a movement triggered by the local authorities' attempt to demolish Gezi Park – the only remaining green area in the center of the city – by bulldozing the trees in order to build a shopping mall in its place. This documentary narrates how people from very diverse lifestyles and ideologies fought together to convert Gezi into a model of the world they dreamt of.

In den letzten Tagen des Mai 2013 kam es auf dem Taksim-Platz im Zentrum Istanbuls zu einem der größten Bürger\*innenaufstände in der Geschichte der modernen Türkei. Ausgelöst durch den Versuch der lokalen Behörden, den Gezi-Park – die einzige verbleibende Grünfläche im Stadtzentrum – abzureißen, um an seiner Stelle ein Einkaufszentrum zu bauen, gingen Millionen auf die Straße. Dieser Dokumentarfilm erzählt, wie Menschen mit ganz unterschiedlichen Lebensstilen und Ideologien gemeinsam dafür kämpften, Gezi in ein Modell der Welt zu verwandeln, von der sie träumten.



3/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO R Q&A with Rüzgar Buşki (with sign language translation)

**TORNİSTAN**

Ayşe Kartal (4 min, 2013, Turkey)

**ONE MILLION STEPS**

Eva Stotz (21 min, 2015, Germany)

**#DİRENAYOL**

Rüzgar Buşki (55 min, 2016, Turkey)



*Tornistan*: A self-censored film criticizing press censorship on Gezi Park protests which happened between May and July in Turkey

*Tornistan*: Ein selbst-zensurierter Film, der die Pressezensur bei den Gezi-Park-Protesten kritisiert, die zwischen Mai und Juli in der Türkei stattfanden.

*One Million Steps*: A tap dancer performs, while elsewhere people run from the tear gas of the police. Two worlds apart if it wasn't for an unexpected opening in the floor, right in front of the dancer.

*One Million Steps*: Eine Steptänzerin tritt auf, während anderswo Menschen vor dem Tränengas der Polizei fliehen. Zwei Welten trennen sich, wäre da nicht eine unerwartete Öffnung im Boden, direkt vor der Tänzerin.

*#direnayol* accompanies trans\* activist Şevval Kılıç during the 21st Istanbul LGBTQIA+ Pride caught up in the reflections of carnivalesque Gezi Park Uprising. *#direnayol* is a turbulent audiovisual journey witnessing a wind of hope, humor, and solidarity wished to be remembered in the politics of Turkey today.

*#direnayol* begleitet die Trans\*-Aktivistin Şevval Kılıç während des 21. Istanbul LGBTQIA+ Pride, der in den Spiegelungen des karnevalesken Gezi-Park-Aufstands gefangen ist. *#direnayol* ist eine turbulente audiovisuelle Reise, auf der ein Wind der Hoffnung, des Humors und der Solidarität weht, an den man sich in der heutigen Politik der Türkei erinnern möchte.



4/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO R Q&A with Marlon Miguel  
**YOUR TURN**

Eliza Capai (93 min, 2019, Brazil)

When Brazil's crisis deepened, students protested and occupied hundreds of schools, demanding better public education. The film depicts the Brazilian student movement from the protests of 2013 until the election of the new president, Jair Bolsonaro, in 2018. The documentary is narrated by three high school students, who represent central points with their struggle. The narrators' jostling for space exposes the movement's conflicts and complexity.

Als sich die Krise in Brasilien verschärfte, protestierten Studenten und besetzten Hunderte von Schulen, um eine bessere öffentliche Bildung zu fordern. Der Film zeigt die brasilianische Student\*innenbewegung von den Protesten im Jahr 2013 bis zur Wahl des neuen Präsidenten Jair Bolsonaro im Jahr 2018. Der Dokumentarfilm wird von drei Oberschüler\*innen erzählt, die zentrale Punkte ihres Kampfes darstellen. Das Ringen der Erzähler\*innen um Raum macht die Konflikte und die Komplexität der Bewegung deutlich.



9/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO R Q&A with Zahra Moein

**EVERYDAY REBELLION**

The Riahi Brothers (118 min, 2014, Austria / Switzerland / Germany / Belgium)

*Everyday Rebellion* is a cross-media documentary about creative forms of non-violent protest and civil disobedience worldwide.

*Everyday Rebellion* ist ein medienübergreifender Dokumentarfilm über kreative Formen des gewaltfreien Protests und zivilen Ungehorsams weltweit.



10/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO R Q&A with Aliaksei Paluyan and activists Maryna Yurevich & Pavel Haradnitski

**COURAGE**

Aliaksei Paluyan (90 min, 2021, Belarusia)

Maryna, Pavel and Denis belong to an underground theatre group in Minsk, Belarus. Over the course of the 2020 presidential elections, they take part in the peaceful mass protests, together with thousands of people.

Maryna, Pavel and Denis gehören zu einer Untergrundtheatergruppe in Minsk, Belarus. Im Zuge der Präsidentschaftswahlen 2020 nehmen sie gemeinsam mit tausenden Menschen an friedlichen Massenprotesten teil, zusammen mit Tausenden von Menschen.



11/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO R  
**THE MONOPOLY OF VIOLENCE**

David Dufresne (86 min, 2020, France)

As anger and resentment grow in the face of social inequalities, many citizen-led protests are being repressed with an ever-increasing level of violence. In *Monopoly of Violence*, David Dufresne gathers a panel of citizens to question, exchange and confront their views on the social order and the legitimacy of the use of force by the state.

Während Wut und Unmut angesichts sozialer Ungleichheiten wachsen, werden viele von Bürger\*innen initiierte Proteste mit immer größerer Gewalt unterdrückt. In *Monopoly of Violence* versammelt David Dufresne eine Gruppe von Bürger\*innen, um ihre Ansichten über die soziale Ordnung und die Legitimität der staatlichen Gewaltanwendung zu hinterfragen, auszutauschen und zu konfrontieren.



16/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO 9 Q&A with Roopa Gogineni

## SUDDENLY TV

Roopa Gogineni (19 min, 2022, Sudan)

## MYANMAR DIARIES

The Myanmar Film Collective (70 min, 2022, Myanmar)

*Suddenly TV*: How does it feel to be forgotten by the world? After the military coup in 2021, these film diaries of young opposition activists in Myanmar use the cinema screen to communicate with the world in a different way than the authorized TV news does.

*Suddenly TV*: Wie fühlt es sich an, von der Welt vergessen zu werden? Nach dem Militärputsch im Jahr 2021 nutzen diese Filmtagebücher junger Oppositioneller in Myanmar die Kinoleinwand, um mit der Welt auf eine andere Weise zu kommunizieren als die erlaubten Fernsehnachrichten.

*Myanmar Diaries*: Using a cardboard replica of a camera and a plastic bottle »microphone«, young revolutionaries interview demonstrators at the 2019 mass protests against Sudan's military regime.

*Myanmar Diaries*: Mit einer Pappnachbildung einer Kamera und einem »Mikrofon« aus einer Plastikflasche interviewen junge Revolutionär\*innen Demonstrant\*innen bei den Massenprotesten 2019 gegen das sudanesisches Militärregime.



17/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO 9 Q&A with Samaher Alqadi

## AS I WANT

Samaher Alqadi (82 min, 2021, Egypt)

In 2013 a crowd of enraged women took to the streets after a string of severe sexual assaults occur in Tahrir Square on the second anniversary of the revolution in Cairo.

Im Jahr 2013 ging eine wütende Menge von Frauen auf die Straße, nachdem es am zweiten Jahrestag der Revolution in Kairo auf dem Tahrir-Platz zu einer Reihe schwerer sexueller Übergriffe gekommen war.



18/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO 9 Q&A with Patricio Guzmán & Lena Ulbricht

## MI PAÍS IMAGINARIO? (MY IMAGINARY COUNTRY)

Patricio Guzmán (83 min, 2022, Chile)

*Mi país imaginario?* portrays the protests that explode onto the streets of Chile's capital of Santiago in 2019 as the population demanded more democracy and social equality around education, healthcare and job opportunities.

*Mi país imaginario?* porträtiert die Proteste, die 2019 auf den Straßen der chilenischen Hauptstadt Santiago ausbrachen, während derer die Bevölkerung mehr Demokratie und soziale Gleichheit in den Bereichen Bildung, Gesundheitsversorgung und Beschäftigungsmöglichkeiten forderte.



Photo: Serra Akcan / NarPhotos

# MUSEUM OF SMALL THINGS AND MORE

CURATED BY CAN DÜNDAR & TEAM

#YAŞASINBAĞZIŞEYLER  
#KAHROLSUNBAĞZIŞEYLER

Over the last decade, the authoritarian regime in Turkey has imprisoned hundreds of critical journalists, academics, activists and opposition politicians. The documentary exhibits presented in the lightsalon and adjacent rooms provide insight into the repression that has marked Turkey's recent history. While Can Dündar's *Silivri. Prison of Thought*, a replica of a prison cell at the high-security Silivri prison, illustrates the claustrophobic reality of confinement and *Silivri Müzesi* plays with the utopian idea of a museum via VR, the video installation *Museum of Small Things* traces the prisoners' attempts to defy intimidation. To support the ridiculous narrative that the Gezi Uprising was not a genuine protest by the masses but an external conspiracy against the government, the judicial system, tightly controlled by Erdoğan, also punished a group of public figures with trumped-up charges. Courtroom sketches, expert reports, court documents and a video documentary describing the crucial aspects of the Gezi trial are part of the material that exposes the ruthless retaliation of the regime.

In den letzten zehn Jahren hat das autoritäre Regime in der Türkei Hunderte kritische Journalist\*innen, Akademiker\*innen, Aktivist\*innen und Oppositionspolitiker\*innen inhaftiert. Die dokumentarischen Exponate, die im Lichtsaal und in den angrenzenden Räumen präsentiert werden, geben einen Einblick in die Repressionen, die die jüngste Geschichte der Türkei geprägt haben. Während Can Dündars *Silivri. Prison of Thought*, eine Nachbildung einer Gefängniszelle im Hochsicherheitsgefängnis Silivri, die klaustrophobische Realität der Gefangenschaft veranschaulicht und *Silivri Müzesi* mit der utopischen Idee eines Museums per VR spielt, spürt die Videoinstallation *Museum of Small Things* dem Streben der Gefangenen nach, sich der Einschüchterung zu widersetzen. Um das lächerliche Narrativ zu untermauern, dass die Gezi-Revolution kein echter Protest der Massen, sondern eine externe Verschwörung gegen die Regierung war, hat die Justiz, die von Erdoğan streng kontrolliert wird, auch eine Gruppe von Persönlichkeiten des öffentlichen Lebens mit erfundenen Anklagen belangt. Gerichtsskizzen, Sachverständigengutachten, Gerichtsdokumente und eine Videodokumentation sind entscheidende Aspekte des Gezi-Prozesses und bilden einen Teil des Materials, das den rücksichtslosen Revanchismus des Regimes aufdeckt.

## LICHTSAAL | VIDEO INSTALLATION

# MUSEUM OF SMALL THINGS

The *Museum of Small Things* by Can Dündar and Hakan Savaş Mican tells the stories of political prisoners in Turkey with everyday objects. The seemingly little things from the daily lives of 12 prisoners – a song hummed over the telephone, a letter in a bottle, or an undershirt used as a screen – serve as the starting point for actors Sesede Terziyan and Taner Şahintürk to invoke something much larger: Thoughts cannot be locked away. »You will all see, once again, that no ban, no repression, no isolation will ever be capable of limiting a thinking mind.« (Can Dündar)

Das *Museum of Small Things* von Can Dündar und Hakan Savaş Mican erzählt die Geschichten von politischen Gefangenen in der Türkei anhand von Alltagsgegenständen. Die scheinbar kleinen Dinge aus dem täglichen Leben von 12 Gefangenen – ein über das Telefon gesummtes Lied, ein Brief in einer Flasche oder ein Unterhemd als Leinwand – dienen als Ausgangspunkt für die Schauspieler\*innen Sesede Terziyan und Taner Şahintürk, um etwas viel Größeres zu beschwören: Gedanken lassen sich nicht wegsperren. »Ihr werdet alle sehen, einmal mehr dass kein Verbot, keine Unterdrückung, keine Isolation jemals in der Lage sein wird, einen denkenden Geist zu begrenzen.« (Can Dündar)

## LICHTSAAL TERRACE | (VR) INSTALLATION

# SİLİVRİ. PRISON OF THOUGHT | SİLİVRİ MÜZESİ (2023)

Silivri, the high-security prison for men outside Istanbul, is more than a prison. It is a symbol, not only for the precarious situation of critical thinkers in authoritarian systems, but also for their fighting spirit which is nearly impossible to break. Because thinking continues behind walls as well. Numerous journalists, intellectuals and human rights activists are held in Silivri, which is known as the »largest journalist prison«. »What you see is not merely a prison cell, it is much more a miniature of Turkey, the largest journalist prison in the world« (Can Dündar).

Silivri, das Hochsicherheitsgefängnis für Männer außerhalb Istanbul, ist mehr als ein Gefängnis. Es ist ein Symbol, nicht nur für die prekäre Situation kritisch Denkender in autoritären Systemen, sondern auch für ihren kaum zu brechenden Kampfgeist. Denn das Denken geht auch hinter Mauern weiter. In Silivri, das als »größtes Journalistengefängnis« bekannt ist, sind zahlreiche Journalisten, Intellektuelle und Menschenrechtsaktivisten inhaftiert. »Was Sie sehen, ist nicht nur eine Gefängniszelle, es ist vielmehr eine Miniatur der Türkei, das größte Journalistengefängnis der Welt« (Can Dündar).

*Silivri Müzesi (2023)* takes its title from the utopian hope back in 2021 that, in the 100th year of the Republic of Turkey, Silivri prison will have turned into a museum. In virtual reality, however, the museum is already open and allows visitors to enter various places, such as an individual prison cell or the room from which prisoners must all too often participate in their trials merely through video.

*Silivri Müzesi (2023)* hat seinen Titel von der utopischen Hoffnung aus dem Jahr 2021, dass im 100. Jahr der Republik Türkei das Silivri-Gefängnis in ein Museum verwandelt worden sein wird. In der virtuellen Realität ist das Museum jedoch bereits geöffnet und erlaubt den Besucher\*innen, verschiedene Orte zu betreten, wie zum Beispiel eine einzelne Zelle oder den Raum, von dem aus die Gefangenen allzu oft nur per Video an ihren Prozessen teilnehmen müssen.

## LICHTSAAL | DOCUMENTARY EXHIBITION

# THE GEZİ TRIAL & THE GEZİ SEVEN

The Gezi trial is the embodiment of hostile criminal law. Within the scope of this case, actions which, in an average democratic country, would amount to gathering and marching in demonstration, have been criminalized due to certain »political motives« at the highest level of the state. Due to the gaps, irrational inconsistencies, and arbitrary specifications they contain, the indictments have done irreparable damage to Turkey's justice system. Eight people who are alleged to have organized the demonstrations were sentenced to 18 years in prison under TCK 312/1, one of the most severe charges in the Turkish Criminal Code (»attempting to overthrow the government of the Republic of Turkey or prevent it from performing its duties by use of force and violence«), with one sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment. There is an ongoing threat of prosecution, or – more accurately – punishment, for nine individuals for whom an arrest warrant has been issued. Despite ten years having passed since the events, dozens of people who took part in the investigation led by specially authorized prosecutors have yet to appear before the court and are said to be in the »second chamber«, and are still facing the same threat of punishment.

Gezi davası düşman ceza hukukunun vücut bulmuş halidir. Ortalama demokratik bir ülkede toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü kapsamında değerlendirilebilecek eylemler bu dava çerçevesinde devletin en üst kademesinden bir takım »siyasal saikler« ile kriminalize edilmiştir. İddianameler içerdikleri boşluklar, akıldışı tutarsızlıklar ve keyfi tanımlamalar nedeniyle Türkiye'deki yargı sistemi üzerinde onarılmaması güç bir tahribat yaratmıştır. Eylemleri organize ettikleri iddia edilen 8 kişi hakkında Türk Ceza Kanunu'nda bulunan en ağır suçlamalardan biri olan TCK. 312/1 maddesi kapsamında (»Cebir ve şiddet kullanarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümetini ortadan kaldırmaya veya görevlerini yapmasını engellemeye teşebbüs etme suçu«) biri ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası olmak üzere sanıklara 18'er yıl hapis cezası verilmiştir. Dava kapsamında haklarında yakalama kararı bulunan 9 kişi hakkında kovuşturma, daha doğrusu ceza tehdidi devam etmekte. Ayrıca olayların üzerinden on yıl geçmiş olmasına rağmen özel yetkili savcılar tarafından yürütülen soruşturmada yer alıp, bugüne kadar haklarında dava açılmamış, »ikinci çemberde« olduğu söylenen onlarca kişi de halen aynı ceza tehdidi ile yüz yüze.

## #YAŞASINBAĞZIŞEYLER #KAHROLSUNBAĞZIŞEYLER

### CAN ATALAY

»We did not long for the illicit, we did not do wrong, we did not use the state for our own interests, we did not seize the power of the state and make our supporters rich. We did not commit a crime. We worked as lawyers, architects, and urban planners. This is not judicial activity. If the problem is to embrace the Gezi resistance, we do. This is not the end. This is just the beginning, the struggle continues.«

### HAKAN ALTINAY

»I have said what I have to say, I demand my acquittal.«

### MÜCELLA YAPICI

»I don't think that this is my last word. I am a professional of 50 years. I tried to be as enlightened as possible. I have never been in favor of violence. I carried out my profession with honor for the benefit of society. To this day, I have never fed any of my children a forbidden bite. I did not commit theft, evil, or corruption. I used my profession for the sake of my profession. I am proud of my life. I hope that you will experience the same pride when you are my age. The verdict is yours.«

### ÇİĞDEM MATER

»I condemn being prosecuted for these allegations. I do not accept being tried as a coup plotter. I would have expected those who killed young people during the protests to be pursued, but instead this case was opened. You cannot give back the 4.5 years you stole from Osman Kavala's life. I deny all charges and demand my immediate acquittal.«

### MİNE ÖZERDEN

»I demand the end of the tutelage of the executive over the judiciary and the victory of the power of law over the law of the powerful, and I demand my acquittal.«

### TAYFUN KAHRAMAN

»There is no word left for the last word. A trial is being held here for a crime that does not exist. The Gezi protest was successful because Gezi was preserved as a park. This is perhaps the only success we have achieved in Istanbul. We are on trial for opposing urban crimes. You will make a decision with your conscience. We ask you to reject this trial on demand and close this case.«

### OSMAN KAVALA

»It is against the law for me to be sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment on the basis of evidence that is not evidence. None of the evidence presented against me after the ECHR's decision on the violation of rights has linked me to a crime and has not created reasonable suspicion. This is an act of assassination by the use of the judiciary, just like the accusations in the second indictment.«

These are excerpts of the prosecuted's last words at the Gezi Trial.

### CAN ATALAY

»Harama el uzatmadık kul hakkı yemedik, devleti kendi çıkarlarımız için kullanmadık, devletin gücünü ele geçirip yandaşlarımızı zengin etmedik. Suç işlemedik. Avukatlık, mimarlık, şehir plancılığı yaptık. Bu yargılama faaliyeti değil. Eğer sorun Gezi direnişini sahiplenmekse, sahipleniyoruz. Bu bir son değil. Bu daha başlangıç, mücadeleye devam.«

### HAKAN ALTINAY

»Söyleyeceklerimi söyledim, beraatimi talep ediyorum.«

### MÜCELLA YAPICI

»Son sözüm olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Ben 50 yıllık bir meslek insanıyım. Olabildiğince aydın olmaya çalıştım. Hiçbir zaman şiddetten yana olmadım. Toplum yararına mesleğimi onurla yürüttüm. Bugüne kadar tek bir çocuğuma haram lokma yedirmedim. Hırsızlık, uğursuzluk, yolsuzluk yapmadım. Mesleğimi mesleğim doğrultusunda kullandım. Yaşamımdan onur duydum. Aynı onuru benim yaşıma gelince sizin de yaşamanızı umuyorum. Hüküm sizindir.«

### ÇİĞDEM MATER

»Bu iddialarla yargılanmayı esefle karşılıyorum. Darbeci olarak yargılanmayı kabul etmiyorum. Protestolar sırasında gençleri öldürenlerin peşine düşülmesini beklerdim, ama onun yerine bu dava açıldı. Osman Kavala'nın hayatından çaldığınız 4.5 yılı geri veremezsiniz. Tüm suçlamaları reddediyor, derhal beraatimi talep ediyorum.«

### MİNE ÖZERDEN

»Yürütmenin yargı üzerindeki vesayetinin son bulmasını, güçlünün hukukun yerine hukukun gücünün galip gelmesini talep ediyorum ve beraatimi talep ediyorum.«

### TAYFUN KAHRAMAN

»Son sözün bittiği yerdeyiz. Olmayan bir suçla ilgili burada yargılama yapılıyor. Gezi başarıyla sonuçlandı çünkü park olarak korundu. İstanbul'da elde ettiği-miz tek başarı belki de budur. Kent suçlarına muhalif olmaktan dolayı yargılanıyoruz. Vicdanen bir karar vereceksiniz. Talimatla yürütülen bu yargılama sürecini reddetmenizi ve bu davayı kapatmanızı istiyoruz.«

### OSMAN KAVALA

»AİHM'in hak ihlali kararından sonra aleyhime sunulan delillerin hiçbiri beni suçla ilişkilendirip makul şüphe yaratmadığını açıkladıktan sonra delil olmayan delillerle hakkımda ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis istenmesi hukuki değildir. Bu aynen ikinci iddianamedeki suçlar gibi yargı kullanılarak yapılan bir suikast eylemidir.«

Gezi Davası'ndaki sanıkların son sözlerinden alıntılar.





Photo: Erhan Arık / NarPhotos

# RESISTING RADIO

## CURATED BY ZEHRA DOĞAN

A resistance radio is usually a radio station founded by social movements during times of resistance, to broadcast alternative news, discussions, and music. Shortwave radio is one of the indispensable methods that those involved in resistance movements use in mass protests where there have been authoritarian efforts to interfere with means of communication.

Radio Tahrir, founded during the Tahrir Square protests in Egypt in 2011, was one such radio station. And during the Gezi Park protests in Turkey in 2013, Gezi Radyo was a »pirate« shortwave broadcast on a 109.1 frequency, created by those defending the park. This radio station was used as a means for listening to the real voices of protestors and to provide an alternative source of news because major media outlets were reporting events either inaccurately or with gaps.

Kobanî radio station, founded during the struggle for Kobanî, is another such example. This radio station was founded in Kobanî, Syria, in 2015. Kobanî Radio was intended to provide news and information for the local population in Kobanî and the wider Kurdish population. The station broadcasted in Kurdish, Arabic, and Syriac, and addressed various topics such as politics, culture, and

Direnîş Radyoları, genellikle toplumsal hareketler ve direnişler sırasında kurulan, alternatif haberlerin, yorumların ve müzik yayınlarının yapıldığı bir radyo istasyonudur. Otoriter sistemler tarafından iletişim araçlarının el konulduğu kitlesel protestolarda direnişçilerin başvurdukları kaçınılmaz yöntemlerden biridir kısa dalga radyo. 2011 yılında Mısır'da gerçekleşen Tahrir Meydanı protestoları sırasında kurulan *Radio Tahrir* bunlardan biridir. Ve yine 2013 yılında Türkiye'deki Gezi Parkı eylemleri sırasında, Gezi Parkı'nın savunucuları tarafından *Gezi Radyo* adında 109.1 frekansından »korsan« kısa dalga yayın yapan bir direniş radyosudur. Bu radyo, eylemcilerin seslerini duyurmak için bir araç olarak kullanıldı ve ana akım medyanın olayları yanlış veya eksik bir şekilde aktarması nedeniyle alternatif bir haber kaynağı sağladı.

Benzer bir örnek Kobanî direnişi sırasında kurulan Kobanî Radyosu anılabilir. Bu radyo, Suriye'nin Kobanî kentinde 2015 yılında kurulmuştur. Kobanî Radyosu Kobanî'deki yerel topluluğa ve daha geniş Kürt topluluğuna haberler ve bilgi sağlama amacındaydı. Kürtçe, Arapça ve Süryanice dillerinde yayın yapmakta ve siyaset, kültür ve sosyal konular gibi çeşitli konuları ele alan radyonun kuruluş hikayesi, Kobanî kentinde IŞİD'in saldırılarına karşı direnişin

## #JİNJIYANAZADÎ

social issues, and the story of its foundation stretches back to the beginning of the efforts to resist attacks by ISIS in Kobanî. Despite facing difficulties such as censorship and obstruction from the Syrian government and various armed groups in the region, Kobanî Radio continues to broadcast today.

The working practices of resistance radio stations, which both inform the public at large and allow for communication between those involved in the resistance, still often maintain the singularity and importance of broadcasting via »stray frequencies« or »shortwave«.

Gorki's programme, which hopes to provide a reading of Turkey in the ten years since the Gezi protests will thus address a panorama looking at the rights violations to which the peoples of Turkey, who adhere to various beliefs and ways of thinking, have been exposed since the country's foundation.

We, the *Resistance Radio* team, will discuss the experience of Gezi Radyo, which broadcast shortwave via alternative channels during the Gezi protests, and which created a great unifying strength unique in Turkey's history, and Radio Kobanî, which broadcast straight from the battle zone so that the Kurdish people were able to receive accurate news during the Kobanî resistance.

We will remember that period in time via documentary video and sound installations and, at the same time, we will use the radio station we created to broadcast on the ecological destruction which has occurred in Turkey and Kurdistan since then, and the efforts underway to resist the destruction. We will hold a broadcast using our #JinJiyanAzadî hashtag, in which we will also include a programme on the women's resistance which is continuing in Iran and Rojhilat Kurdistan, which is part of Iran. We will discuss the origins and philosophy of the Jin Jiyan Azadî slogan in our broadcast, which will focus first on the protests that spread to Rojhilat Kurdistan and all of Iran following the murder of the Kurdish woman Jîna Emînî on September 16 in Tehran, at the hands of the regime's morality police.

In our programme, we will be discussing with Kurdish women – to whom the slogan really belongs – as to how #JinJiyanAzadî has been a win for the struggle for Kurdish freedom, and we will gain a better understanding of why activists involved in the Gezi protests, which had an ecological basis at first, joined the Kobanî resistance. The slogan suggests a way of life founded on democracy, ecology, and women's liberation. We will talk about why Kobanî, which is where the philosophy of the Jin Jiyan Azadî slogan came to life, was targeted by ISIS. We will get together with listeners both before a panel and online for a two-hour broadcast, at 3pm on 4, 11,18, and 23 June.

As we prepare for the programme, which will take place at the Maxim Gorki Theater to mark the 10th anniversary of the Gezi protests, we hope to see an end to the authoritarian presidential system and to be able to greet a more democratic Turkey following the general election due, at the time of writing, to be held on May 14, 2023. We wish to see a change in the current government and for the country to exist according to a model of democracy and freedom, and we invite everyone to listen in to our radio broadcast.

26/MAY–25/JUNE | CAFÉ | SOUND INSTALLATION  
**#KESİLMEMİŞAĞAÇLAR**  
SOUND INSTALLATION FROM THE ARCHIVES OF  
GEZİ RADYO AND RADIO KOBANÎ

26/MAY–25/JUNE | CAFÉ | VIDEO INSTALLATION  
**#GEZİDENKOBANİYE**  
By Zehra Doğan

başladığı döneme kadar uzanır. Kobanî Radyosu, Suriye hükümeti ve bölgedeki çeşitli silahlı gruplar tarafından sansürlenme ve engellenme gibi zorluklarla karşılaşmış olsa da, hala yayın yapmaya devam etmektedir.

Hem kamuoyunu bilgilendiren, hem de direnişçiler arasındaki iletişimi sağlayan direniş radyoları deneyimleri hala sıklıkla »kaçak frekanslar« ve »kısa dalga« üzerinden yayın yapma özelliğini ve önemini koruyor.

Gezi direnişinin üzerinden geçen 10 yıldan bu yana bir Türkiye okumasının yapılacağı Gorki programında bu sayede Türkiye'nin kuruluş tarihinden bu yana farklı inanç ve düşünceye sahip halkların maruz bırakıldıkları hak ihlallerine odaklanan bir panorama ele alınacak.

Biz de »Direniş Radyosu« ekibi olarak Türkiye tarihinde büyük bir birleştirici güç yaratan Gezi direnişinde alternatif yollarla kısa dalga yayın yapan Gezi Radyosu ile Kobanî direnişinde Kürt halkının haberleri doğru bir şekilde alması için savaş alanının tam ortasında yayın yapan Radyo Kobanî deneyimini ele alacağız. Belgesel video ve ses yerleştirmeleriyle o dönemi tekrar hatırlayacağız ve aynı zamanda oluşturduğumuz radyo istasyonu ile o günden bu güne Türkiye ve Kürdistan'da yaşanan ekolojik tahribatlar ve buna karşı direnme yöntemleri üzerine yayın yapacağız. #JinJiyanAzadî hashtagiyle gerçekleştireceğimiz yayınımda aynı zamanda İran ve İran parçasında kalan Rojhilat Kürdistanında hala devam eden kadın direnişine dair program gerçekleştireceğiz. İran'ın Tahran kentinde rejim muhafızlarının 16 Eylül'de Kürt kadın Jîna Emînî'yi katletmesinden hemen sonra ilk olarak Rojhilat Kurdistanında ve hemen beraberrinde tüm İran'a yayılan protestolara odaklanacağımız yayınımda Jin Jiyan Azadî sloganının çıkış noktası ve felsefesi üzerine tartışacağız.

Kürt özgürlük mücadelesi açısından bir kazanım olan bu sloganın gerçek sahipleri olan Kürt kadınlarla gerçekleştireceğimiz programımızda ekoloji temelli çıkış noktası olan Gezi direnişinde yer alan aktivistlerin neden Kobanî direnişine de katıldığını da daha iyi anlamış olacağız. Demokratik, Ekolojik, Kadın Özgürlüklü bir yaşam modeli anlayışı anlamına gelen Jin Jiyan Azadî sloganı felsefesinin hayat bulduğu Kobanî'nin de neden IŞİD'in hedefi haline geldiği üzerine konuşacağız. 4, 11, 18, 23 Haziran tarihlerinde 15.00'da yapacağımız iki saatlik yayınlara hem panel havasında hem de internet ortamında dinleyicilerle bir araya geleceğiz. Gezi'nin 10'ncü yılı nedeniyle, Maxim Gorki Tiyatrosu'nda gerçekleşecek olan programa hazırlanırken bu yazının yazıldığı tarihte 14 Mayıs 2023 tarihinde yapılacak genel seçimlerde otoriterleşmiş başkanlık sisteminin son bulmuş olmasını ve daha demokratik bir Türkiye ile karşı karşıya gelmeyi ümit ediyoruz. Mevcut hükümetin değişmesi ve demokratik, özgürlüklü bir yaşam modelinin gerçekleştirilebileceği bir ülke temennisinde bulunuyor, herkesi radyo yayınına dinlemeye davet ediyoruz.

4/JUNE | 15:00 | CAFÉ | TALK  
**GEZİ RADYO EXPERIENCE**

With Olcay Bingol & Ahmet Öğüt Moderation Alp Ocak

11/JUNE | 15:00 | CAFÉ | TALK  
**ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION IN  
ISTANBUL AND BEYOND**

With Havin Al-Sindy, Zehra Doğan & Haja Hasan Moderation Şermin Güven

18/JUNE | 15:00 | CAFÉ | TALK  
**JİN JİYAN AZADÎ**

With Zeynep Beyani, Solin & Leyla Toprak Moderation Nilgün Yelpaze

23/JUNE | 17:00 | STUDIO 9 | TALK  
**#DİRENAYOL**

With Atiye Güney, Esmeray Özadıkti & Destina Tokmak Moderation Kıvılcım Arat

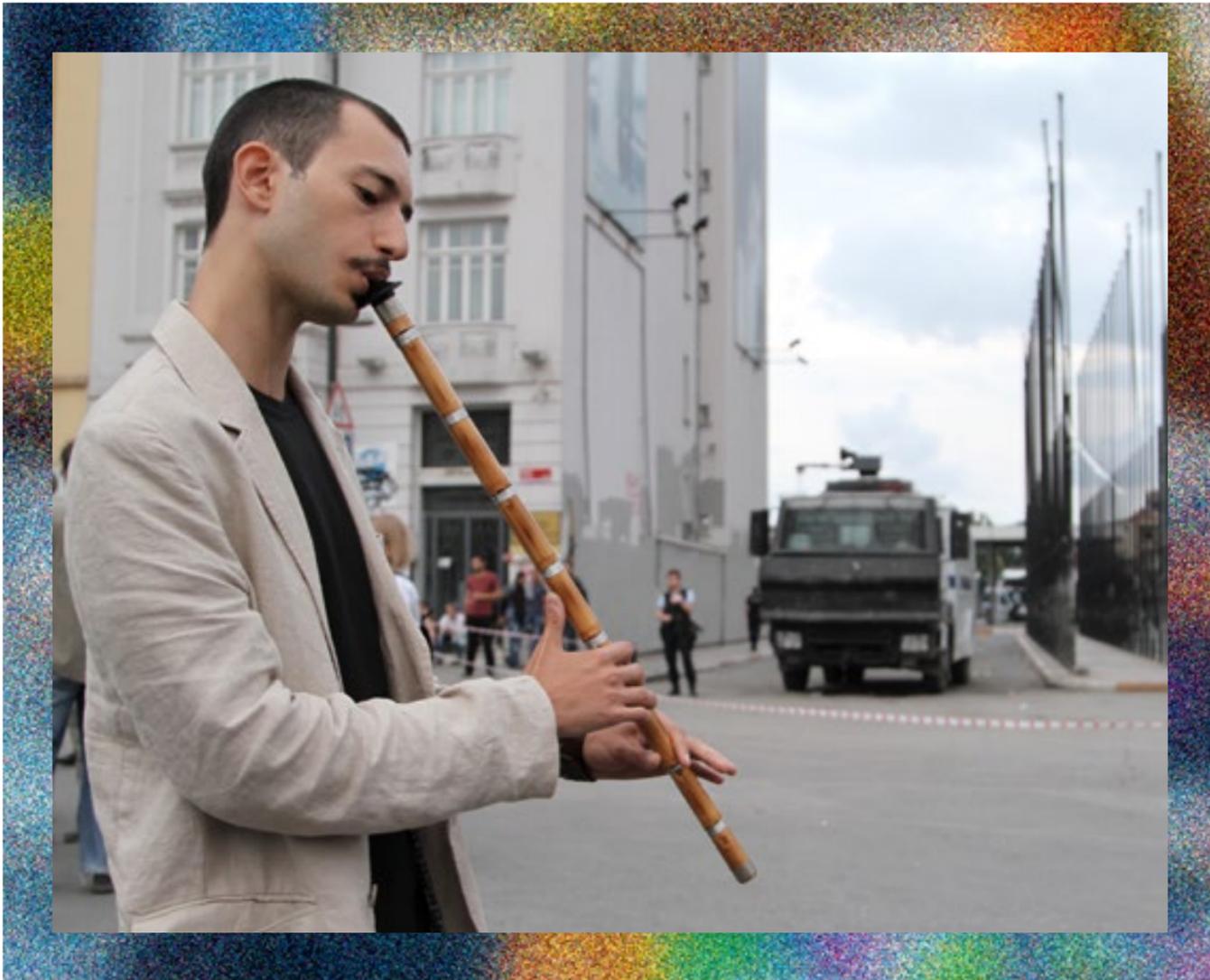


Photo: Ulaş Yunus Tosun

# THE YURT RESILIENCE IN PRACTICE

CURATED BY PETER STEUDTNER

#SOLIDARITY

Speaking up, facing injustice, countering disinformation. All of these are required for social change and human rights and humanitarian work and engagement. But the results are hard to see, the struggles are not over tomorrow. How to sustain and endure our activism and engagement?

Sustaining the »Gezi-Spirit« in Berlin, *THE YURT* is the place to recharge energies, engage in creative discussions and practice community care and self-care.

Workshops on sustainable and regenerative activism are interwoven with conversations around the *Hammock of Solidarity* by Peter Steudtner. Together with other holistic security and care practitioners, we turn *THE YURT* into a mutual learning, exchange, regenerative and grief space for everybody, who wants to make use of the space. Groups and individuals are welcome to connect and exchange. While practical hammock weaving can be learned and practiced in and around the YURT, it also turns into a space for exploring and practicing networking and cohesion in solidarity.

Die eigene Stimme erheben, Ungerechtigkeit entgegenreten, Desinformation kontern. All das braucht es für sozialen Wandel, Menschenrechte, humanitäre Arbeit und Engagement. Doch die Ergebnisse sind kaum sichtbar, die Kämpfe werden morgen noch nicht vorbei sein. Wie können wir unseren Aktivismus und unser Engagement anhaltend und nachhaltig gestalten?

Um den »Geist von Gezi« in Berlin wachzuhalten, dient die *YURT* als Ort, um neue Energie zu tanken, kreative Diskussionen zu führen und Gemeinschaftspflege und Selbstfürsorge zu praktizieren. Workshops zu nachhaltigem und regenerativem Aktivismus werden mit Gesprächen rund um die *Hängematte der Solidarität* von Peter Steudtner verknüpft. Gemeinsam mit anderen Praktiker\*innen holistischer Sicherheit und Fürsorge verwandeln wir die *YURT* in einen Raum des gemeinsamen Lernens, des Austauschs, der Regeneration und der Trauer für alle, die den Raum nutzen möchten. Gruppen und Einzelpersonen sind eingeladen, miteinander in Kontakt zu treten und sich auszutauschen. Während in und um the *YURT* ganz praktisch das Weben einer Hängematte erlernt und ausprobiert werden kann, wird diese zu einem Ort, wo sich Netzwerken und solidarischer Zusammenhalt praktisch erproben lassen.

3/JUNE | 13:00–16:00 | YURT | WORKSHOP 1

## GRIEVING AND RECHARGING SOLIDARITY COPING WITH THE EARTHQUAKES

The terrifying earthquakes in Turkey and Syria triggered huge waves of local and international solidarity. Amazing support was organized from Germany as well. This workshop is for people who were in active solidarity from a geographical distance but who, in their efforts to help, suffered from being far away. We will take the space to grieve, to mourn, for the frustrations about political earthquakes linked to the geographical ones. We will provide care for the exhaustion and care for the care takers.

Die erschreckenden Erdbeben in der Türkei und in Syrien haben eine große Welle der lokalen und internationalen Solidarität ausgelöst. Auch aus Deutschland wurde großartige Unterstützung organisiert. Dieser Workshop richtet sich an Menschen, die aus der geografischen Entfernung aktiv solidarisch waren, aber darunter litten, dass sie weit weg waren in ihren Bemühungen zu helfen. Wir werden uns Raum nehmen, um zu trauern, um die Frustrationen über politische Erdbeben, die mit den geografischen Erdbeben verbunden sind. Wir werden uns um die Erschöpfung und für die Betreuer sorgen.

10/JUNE | 12:00–16:00 | YURT | WORKSHOP 2

## COPING WITH PRISON A RESOURCING WORKSHOP ON DEALING WITH REPRESSION

Taking activists and journalists into detention not only impacts the individual detainee, but whole families and communities. This workshop is about inspiration, reflecting on different contexts and approaches to supporting detainees, their families, lawyers and supporters starting from [coping-with-prison.org](http://coping-with-prison.org). We will create space for both hands-on actions of solidarity as well as reflecting on our roles within support for detainees.

Die Inhaftierung von Aktivist\*innen und Journalist\*innen hat nicht nur Auswirkungen auf den einzelnen Inhaftierten, sondern auch ganze Familien und Gemeinschaften. Dieser Workshop inspiriert und reflektiert verschiedene Kontexte und Ansätze zur Unterstützung von Inhaftierten, ihren Familien, Anwälte und Unterstützer, ausgehend von [coping-with-prison.org](http://coping-with-prison.org). Wir schaffen Raum für praktische Solidaritätsaktionen und reflektieren unsere Rollen bei der Unterstützung von Inhaftierten.

17/JUNE | 12:00–16:00 | YURT | WORKSHOP 3

## WEAVING RESILIENCE DIVERSITY, PRIVILEGES AND DISCRIMINATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

When everyone fights for a good cause, everyone must be good ... Behind the good intentions of our social movements, we are continuously entangled in the power structures, privileges and/or painful burdens of our societies and communities. While social movements celebrate diversity, they also need to care for the pain and harm caused by clinging to privileges and power. This reflective workshop weaves together do-no-harm practices, while acknowledging the long and winding road to go towards social justice in social movements.

Wenn alle für die gute Sache kämpfen, müssen alle gut sein ... Hinter den guten Absichten unserer sozialen Bewegungen sind wir immer wieder in die Machtstrukturen, Privilegien und/oder schmerzhaft Belastungen unserer Gesellschaften und Gemeinschaften verstrickt. Während soziale Bewegungen die Vielfalt feiern, müssen sie sich auch um den Schmerz und Schaden kümmern, der durch das Festhalten an Privilegien und Macht verursacht wird. Dieser reflektierende Workshop verwebt Praktiken des »Do no Harm« und erkennt gleichzeitig den langen und kurvenreichen Weg zu sozialer Gerechtigkeit in sozialen Bewegungen.

24/JUNE | 12:00–16:00 | YURT | WORKSHOP 4

## CELEBRATING RESILIENCE AND CONTINUING TO CARRY THE WEIGHT CARING SUSTAINABLY IN CRISIS AND STRESS

Gezi inspired many of us with the cohesion, creativity and resilience of the diverse resistance. Celebrating these and reflecting on how to carry this inspiration and energy into ongoing social and political struggles is part of the workshop around the *Hammock of Solidarity*. Weaving together stories of resistance and resilience while being aware of the energies needed for activism brings us closer to a kind of sustainable activism and resistance, which is needed every day.

Gezi hat viele von uns zu Zusammenhalt, Kreativität und Widerstandskraft des vielfältigen Widerstände inspiriert. Diese zu feiern und darüber nachzudenken, wie wir diese Inspiration und Energie in die laufenden sozialen und politischen Kämpfe tragen können, ist Teil des Workshops rund um die *Hängematte der Solidarität*. Geschichten von Widerstand und Resilienz zu verweben, während wir uns der Energien bewusst sind, die für Aktivismus benötigt werden, bringt uns einer Art von nachhaltigem Aktivismus und Widerstand näher, den wir jeden Tag benötigen.

# BİZ ZALİME GÜLERİZ BİZİM ORADA CARICATURE, STAND UP AND MORE

26/MAY-25/JUNE | CAFÉ | EXHIBITION

CURATED BY EZGİ ASAR & SERKAN ALTUNİĞNE

#ORANTISIZZEKA

From Nasreddin Hoca to Karagöz, Diogenes to GırGır – in Turkey humour has always been a forum in which to tackle oppressive regimes. As governments, sultans, and sultanas spent years choking the people, eventually the pressure exploded out of us, as humour. The people chose to mock those who tormented them, they always chose to laugh at them, even as they were tending their wounds. There have always been those no good tyrants who become the butts of jokes because they don't know how to laugh. They've never been able to respond to a reaction if they didn't know where it was coming from. Thanks to this awareness, this tradition, and this sense of being stuck, the Gezi resistance had the country beside itself with laughter. They put restrictions on the internet, but they couldn't put restrictions on the streets, on the walls; they couldn't stop pen and paper, they couldn't silence comedians. They were mocked, crushed before the eyes of the public. If the park they hoped to destroy ten years ago is still standing today, then the reason for that is not simply the people's resistance, it's down to the reflex for mockery that Turkey exhibited back then – and which can be seen on the walls of this café now. Today, when we think back to those days and remember our friends who died, we do not forget to laugh at tyrants.

Nasreddin Hoca'dan Karagöz'e, Diyojen'den GırGır'a Türkiye'de mizah, hep baskı rejimlerine karşı bir mücadele alanı oldu. Yıllar yılı iktidarlar, padişahlar, sultanlar halkın boğazını sıkıtkça bir yerlerden gülmece olarak patladı Türkiye'de. Bu halk acıları bal eylerken kendisine zulmedenlerle dalga geçmeyi, onlara gülmeyi seçti hep. Gülmeyi bilmedikleri için gülünç duruma düşen vasıfsız zalimler oldu hep muktedirler. Bilmedikleri yerden gelen tepkiye de hiç bir zaman cevap veremediler. Gezi direnişi; bu bilinçle, gelenekle ve sıkışmışlıkla bir mizah kusması yaşattı ülkeye. İnterneti kısıtladılar ama sokakları duvarları kısıtlayamadılar, kağıtları kalemleri engelleyemediler, komedyenleri susturamadılar. Hem dalga geçildiler hem ezildiler halk karşısında. 10 yıl önce yıkmak istedikleri park bugün hala yerinde duruyorsa bunun sebebi sırf halk direnişi değil aynı zamanda o zamanlar Türkiye'nin, bugün ise bu kafenin duvarlarında olan dalga geçme refleksi idi. Bugün o günleri düşündükçe öldürülen arkadaşlarımızı anarken zalime de gülmeye unutmuyoruz.

2/3/JUNE | 22:30 | STUDIO A | TÜRKÇE STAND-UP  
DENİZ GÖKTAŞ

He was born in 1994 in Ankara. Graduated from METU, Psychology. He wrote in Uykusuz Magazine between 2020 and 2023. While running the podcast series *I Have No Time for Deniz Göktaş*, he has been also doing politically charged stand-up performances in the recent years.

1994 Ankara Doğumlu. ODTÜ Psikoloji mezunu. 2020-2023 yılları arasında Uykusuz Dergisi'nde yazdı. *Deniz Göktaş'a Ayracak Vaktim Yok* isimli bir podcast serisi var. 4 yıldır stand-up yapıyor. Gösterisi politik ve kara mizah ağırlıklı.

10/JUNE | 22:30 | STUDIO A | TÜRKÇE STAND-UP  
DENİZ ÖZTURHAN

Comedian, author, radio host and podcaster born in 1979. She has been performing as Turkey's first female stand-up artist since 2011. In 2015, she founded Turkey's first female stand-up group, Çok da Fifi, with her 5 other colleagues. Previously she performed in many cities around Turkey, at Maxim Gorki Theater and Theater 28. Apart from her stand-up performances, she still runs the podcast series *Positive World*.

1979 doğumlu komedyen, yazar, radyo programcısı ve podcaster. Türkiye'nin ilk kadın standup sanatçısı olarak 2011'den beri sahne alıyor. 2015 yılında 5 meslektaşı ile birlikte Türkiye'nin ilk kadın standup topluluğu Çok da Fifi'yi kurdu. Türkiye'nin birçok şehrinde Berlin'de Maxim Gorki Theater ve Theater 28'de sahne aldı. Halen sahne gösterilerinin dışında, *Olumlu Dünya* isimli podcast'i yayınlamaktadır.

17/JUNE | 22:30 | STUDIO A | TÜRKÇE STAND-UP  
KAAN SEZYUM

Born in 1976, musician, writer, radio host, DJ. He wrote for humour magazines, daily newspapers and weekly magazines such as Penguin, Uykusuz, BirGün Radikal and Tempo. He has been playing drums since he was 12 years old and performs with his band Kök on stage.

1976 doğumlu, müzisyen, yazar, radyo programcısı, DJ. Penguin, Uykusuz, BirGün, Radikal, Tempo gibi yayınlarda yazarlık yaptı. 12 yaşından beri davul çalmakta, halen grubu Kök'le birlikte sahne almaktadır. Kaan Sezyum gösterisinde politik gündeme ve gezi olaylarının Türkiye siyasetine etkilerini konu alıyor.





Photo: Saner Şen / NarPhotos

# THE QUEER WEEKEND

**CURATED BY ANTHONY HÜSEYİN & YUNUS ERSOY  
WITH YEŞİM DUMAN & ZEHRA DOĞAN**

**#DİRENAYOL**

This year it's the 10th anniversary of the Gezi Uprising. During the annual Pride Month, **#DİRENAYOL** puts on a queer lens to look at the uprising and focuses towards the end of the festival on the impact the queer community had on the protests as well as the support that was derived from the broad alliance. Pride Month commemorates the powerful uprising of queers in New York: the Stonewall Riots of 1969. After police had tried to silence the Stonewall Bar, especially black trans women fought back, and violent riots continued for several days. Many years later, during the Gezi Uprising, the biggest and the most important Pride march in Istanbul took place. After years of small or forbidden marches, for one year there was the impression that a different world is possible: a pride march with almost 100,000 of queers and allies. During the Gezi park protests, other groups – be they religious, environmentalist or football fans – finally joined the queers who had been resisting for decades. Marching side by side for a brief moment, they all shared one cause: liberation. One powerful tool to overthrow the ideology centering masculinity and heterosexuality has always been humor. Linguistic strategies like irony and sarcasm, but also reclaiming slurs and prejudice with pride, spread across the whole resistance movement. #DirenAyol called everyone to resist and is an example of how different spheres also met in slang expressions. The queer focus gathers in that spirit once more.

At the beginning of the festival, Berlin and Istanbul are connected through the screening of *Trans X İstanbul*, Maria Binder's documentary with Ebru Kirancı. On the second day, Anthony Hüseyin present their *Project O*: a concert, lec-

In diesem Jahr ist der zehnte Jahrestag der Gezi-Proteste. Während des jährlichen Pride Month betrachtet **#DİRENAYOL** den Aufstand durch die queere Brille und beschäftigt sich zum Ende des laufenden Festivals mit dem Einfluss, den die queere Community auf die Proteste hatte, sowie mit der breiten Unterstützung, die diese erfuhr.

Der Pride Month erinnert an Stonewall, den einflussreichen Aufstand queerer Menschen 1969 in New York. Nachdem die Polizei versucht hatte, die Bar Stonewall Inn zu schließen, setzten sich vor allem Transfrauen zur Wehr, was zu tagelangen gewaltsamen Ausschreitungen führte. Viele Jahre später fand während der Gezi-Proteste der größte und wichtigste Pride-Marsch Istanbul statt. Nach Jahren kleiner oder verbotener Umzüge schien es in dem Jahr, als ob eine andere Welt möglich sei: eine Pride-Parade mit fast 100.000 queeren Menschen und ihren Verbündeten.

Während der Gezi-Park-Proteste schlossen sich endlich auch andere Gruppen – religiöse, ökologische oder fußballbegeisterte – den Queers an, die schon seit Jahrzehnten Widerstand geleistet hatten. Als sie für einen kurzen Moment lang Seite an Seite marschierten, hatten sie alle ein gemeinsames Ziel: die Befreiung.

Ein mächtiges Instrument, um die Ideologie der Männlichkeit und des Heterosexismus zu überwinden, war schon immer der Humor. Linguistische Strategien wie Ironie oder Sarkasmus, aber auch die Wiederaneignung von Beleidigungen und Vorurteilen verbreiteten sich in der gesamten Widerstandsbewegung. #DirenAyol rief alle zum Widerstand auf und ist ein Beispiel dafür, wie sich

ture performance, and party all at once, centering their nonbinary journey and its relation to Islam, Zeki Müren and Urfa while deconstructing the cis-heteronormative patriarchal constructions and emphasizing the genderless third person pronoun O. The third day of the festival within the festival will take place entirely in Turkish: on a panel, Kıvılcım Arat will talk to guests Atiye Güney, Esmeray Özadikti and Destina Tokmak. Everyone, from moderator to the panelists, has been and still is active in the queer struggle: before, during, and after the protests. The movie *Köçek* from 1975 will be a stepping stone to dive into the struggle of queers in the past: the first and maybe the only movie in the history of Turkish cinema about the tragedy of an intersex person who is read as female and pushed to be female. The day will be completed with the Stand-Up program *Kestirmeden Hikayeler* by Esmeray and end in a chill-out in the studio foyer of Studio Я. The fourth day of the festival will take a look at music and activism: starting with a lecture by Yaprak Melike Uyar, a session of *Resistance Karaoke Xpress*, curated by Yeşim Duman and dedicated to protest songs, and rounded off with an open stage that has two acts as an intro and as an outro: Keil Li Divön (ft. Dallaa Alsham & Patricia) and the collective Gazino Neukölln. The last day opens with a space, curated again by Yeşim Duman, that enters the cis-hetero occupied sphere of backgammon and chess places. After this, the festival will focus on parents and their queer children: after a reading by and with Burçin Tetik of *Annemin Kaburgası (My Mother's Rib)*, the parents themselves speak in Can Candan's documentary movie *Benim Çocuğum (My Child, 2013)*.

## 21/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO Я | FILM TRANS X İSTANBUL

Maria Binder (DEU, 109 min, 2014) Q&A with Maria Binder & Ebru Kirancı conducted by Sinem Deniz

## 22/JUNE | 20:30–22:30 | STUDIO Я | PERFORMANCE PROJECT O

By and with Anthony Hüseyin

## 23/JUNE | 17:00 | STUDIO Я | TALK #DİRENAYOL

With Atiye Güney, Esmeray Özadikti & Destina Tokmak Moderation Kıvılcım Arat

## 23/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO Я | FILM & TALK KÖÇEK

Nejat Saydam (TUR, 82 min, 1975) Q&A with Sinem Deniz, Anthony Hüseyin a. o.

## 23/JUNE | 22:30 | STUDIO Я | TÜRKÇE STAND-UP KESTİRME DEN HİKAYELER

By and with Esmeray

## 24/JUNE | 17:00 | STUDIO Я | LECTURE SONGS OF RESISTANCE MUSIC AND ACTIVISM IN THE POST-GEZİ ERA

By and with Yaprak Melike Uyar

## 24/JUNE | 18:00–22:00 | CAFÉ RESISTANCE KARAOKE XPRESS

By and with Yeşim Duman

unterschiedliche Sphären auch in Slangausdrücken begegneten. Der queere Festival-Fokus versammelt sich einmal mehr in diesem Geist.

Zu Beginn des Festivals werden Berlin und Istanbul durch die Filmvorführung von *Trans X İstanbul*, dem Dokumentarfilm von Maria Binder mit Ebru Kirancı, miteinander verbunden. Am zweiten Tag präsentiert Anthony Hüseyin das *Project O*, welches Konzert, Lecture Performance und Party in einem ist. Darin geht es um os nicht-binäre Geschichte, die Beziehung zum Islam, zu Zeki Müren und der Stadt Urfa, während zugleich cis-heteronormative patriarchale Strukturen dekonstruiert werden und das genderneutrale Personalpronomen O hervorgehoben wird. Der dritte Tag des Festivals im Festival läuft komplett auf Türkisch ab: Bei einem Panel unterhält sich Kıvılcım Arat mit den Gästinnen Atiye Güney, Esmeray Özadikti und Destina Tokmak. Sowohl die Moderatorin als auch die Podiumsteilnehmerinnen waren und sind vor, während und nach den Protesten im queeren Kampf aktiv. Der Film *Köçek* von 1975 dient als Sprungbrett, um in die queeren Kämpfe der Vergangenheit einzutauchen: der erste und vielleicht einzige Film der türkischen Kinogeschichte, der die Tragödie einer intersexuellen Person erzählt, die als weiblich gelesen und dazu gedrängt wird, als Frau zu leben. Der Tag endet mit dem Stand-Up-Programm *Kestirmeden Hikayeler* von Esmeray, bevor das Foyer des Studios noch zu einem gemütlichen Ausklang einlädt. Der vierte Festivaltag steht ganz im Zeichen von Musik und Aktivismus: Los geht es mit einem Vortrag von Yaprak Melike Uyar, es folgen eine Karaoke-session zum Thema Protestsongs, kuratiert von Yeşim Duman, und ein Open-Stage-Abend mit zwei Acts zu Beginn und zum Ende: Keil Li Divön (ft. Dallaa Alsham & Patricia) und dem Kollektiv Gazino Neukölln. Der letzte Tag beginnt mit einem erneut von Yeşim Duman kuratierten Raum, der sich in die cis-hetero-besetzte Sphäre von Backgammon- und Schachspielorten begibt. Danach befasst sich das Festival mit Eltern und ihren queeren Kindern: Nach einer Lesung von und mit Burçin Tetik aus Annemin *Kaburgası (Die Rippe meiner Mutter)* kommen die Eltern in Can Candans Dokumentarfilm *Benim Çocuğum (Mein Kind, 2013)* selbst zu Wort.

## 24/JUNE | 22:00 | STUDIO Я GULLÜM NIGHT OPEN STAGE!

Intro & Outro conducted by Keil Li Divön (ft. Dallaa Alsham & Patricia) & Gazino Neukölln Moderation Anthony Hüseyin

followed by

## PARTY with DJ Jilet Sebahat

## 25/JUNE | 12:00–17:00 | CAFÉ BRUNCH (Bring food to share!) QUEER CHESS & TAVLA CLUB

By and with Yeşim Duman

incl. lecture ZEKİ MÜREN AND THE GEZİ PROTESTS  
By and with Gürsoy Doğtaş

## 25/JUNE | 17:00 | STUDIO Я | READING & TALK ANNEMİN KABURGASI

By Burçin Tetik

## 25/JUNE | 19:00 | STUDIO Я | FILM & TALK BENİM ÇOCUĞUM

By Can Candan (TUR, 82 min, 2013) Q&A with Can Candan Moderation Sinem Deniz



Photo: Ulaş Yunus Tosun

# THEATRE / GUEST PRODUCTIONS / PERFORMANCES

#BURASIOYUNAGELDIĞINYER

Over the course of the festival, our stages host performances, readings and full productions – both selections from the Gorki repertoire as well as visiting productions and performances from around the world.

Im Festivalzeitraum zeigen wir auf unseren Bühnen Performances, Lesungen und Inszenierungen – sowohl aus dem Gorki-Repertoire als auch internationale Gastspiele und Performances.

#BURASIOYUNAGELDIĞINYER



Photo: Esra Rotthoff

PREMIERE | 26/27/MAY | 20:30 | STUDIO R  
**ALLES WIRD SCHÖN SEIN.**

Text and directed by **Hakan Savaş Mican** Stage design **Alissa Kolbusch** Costumes **Sylvia Rieger** Music Director **Peer Neumann** Video design **Sebastian Lemp** Dramaturgy **Holger Kuhla** Cast **Emre Aksızoğlu, Taner Şahintürk** Live music **Merve Akyıldız, Peer Neumann**

A man receives a fatal diagnosis. He will die before his daughter is born. So he tries to record a tape for her and asks himself if it is even possible to preserve something beyond one's own death. What will remain of him? Disappointments? Sins? Wounds? Ideals? The sounds of the waves on the Black Sea, the zombie films of the 80s, rented from a West-Berlin video shop, the mood in a country after a military coup. How is someone supposed to talk about himself when all he wants is to forget the dark sides of his past just like the country he grew up in: Turkey. He doesn't have the words, so he sings the songs that shaped his life and tells of repressed truths that haunt him, of a country that he loves and hates.

Ein Mann bekommt eine tödliche Diagnose und wird sterben, noch bevor seine Tochter auf die Welt gekommen ist. Also versucht er für sie eine Tonkassette aufzunehmen und fragt sich, ob es überhaupt möglich ist, etwas über den eigenen Tod hinaus zu bewahren. Was bleibt? Enttäuschungen? Sünden? Verletzungen? Ideale? Das Geräusch der Wellen am Schwarzen Meer, die Zombie-Filme der 80er Jahre, ausgeliehen in einer West-Berliner Videothek, die Stimmung in einem Land nach einem Militärputsch? Doch wie soll einer von sich erzählen, der die dunklen Seiten seiner Vergangenheit einfach nur vergessen will, so wie das Land in dem er aufgewachsen ist, die Türkei. Ihm fehlen die Worte, also singt er die Lieder, die sein Leben bewegten und erzählt von verdrängten Wahrheiten, die ihn verfolgen, von einem Land, das er liebt und hasst.

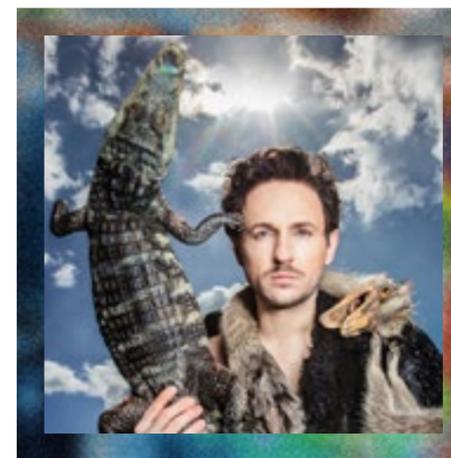


Photo: Esra Rotthoff

PREMIERE | 8/11/14/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**PLANET B**

By **Yael Ronen & Itai Reicher** Directed by **Yael Ronen** Stage design **Wolfgang Menardi** Costumes **Amit Epstein** Music **Yaniv Fridel & Ofer Shabi** Video **Stefano di Buduo** Light design **Connor Dreibelbis, Wolfgang Menardi** Dramaturgy **Clara Propst, Irina Szodruch** Outside Eye **Yunus Ersoy** Cast **Maryam Abu Khaled, Niels Bormann, Jonas Dassler, Aysima Ergün, Orit Nahmias, Dimitrij Schaad, Alexandra Sinelnikova**

A not-so-distant future: climate change has continued unimpeded, with many areas becoming barely habitable. Then, all of a sudden, aliens show up and inform mankind about their decision to continue the path taken by the sapiens towards a sixth mass extinction. And now it would be the turn of the sapiens themselves to become extinct. However a randomly chosen spokesperson for humanity successfully fights for one last chance: He's allowed to participate in *Will Life Find a Way?*, one of the aliens' entertainment programmes, and jumps into the battle for survival, competing with a chicken, a panda, an ant and others. Who has taken the most convincing evolutionary steps? Who has more development potential? A scathing science-fiction comedy about the next mass extinction.

Eine nicht so ferne Zukunft: Der Klimawandel hat sich ungebrochen fortgesetzt, viele Gebiete sind kaum noch bewohnbar. Da erscheinen plötzlich Aliens und informieren die Menschheit über ihre Entscheidung, den von den Sapiens eingeschlagenen Weg hin zu einem sechsten Massenartensterben weiter voranzutreiben. Und nun seien die Sapiens selbst dran mit aussterben. Doch ein zufällig auserwählter Sprecher der Menschheit kämpft schließlich erfolgreich für eine letzte Chance: Er darf teilnehmen bei der Alien-Entertainment-Show *Will Life Find a Way?* und schmeißt sich in den Kampf ums Überleben in Konkurrenz zu Huhn, Panda, Ameise und Co. Wer hat die überzeugendsten evolutionären Schritte hinter sich? Wer weiteres Entwicklungspotential? Eine bitterböse Science-Fiction-Komödie über das nächste Massenartensterben.



Photo: Tomer Appelbaum

## 26/27/MAY | 19:00 | STARTING POINT GORKI EVICTION PUBLIC ACTION BY OMER KRIEGER

By Omer Krieger Project management Lianne Mol & Yael Sherill, Curatorial Collective for Public Art Performers Laure Fleitz, Katherine Maria Gorsuch, Yulia Mezhetskaya, Marcos Zoe Nacar, Rima Nasereddin, Victor Manuel Gonzalez Reyes, Luana Rossetti & Melodi Yüce Dramaturgy Yael Sherill Additional choreography & rehearsal management Tomer Zirkilevich Set design Franz Thöricht & Jascha Kretschmann Costume design Anna Mirkin Sound design Binya Rechtes Production management Uwe & Silke Buhrdorf, die wellenmaschine Assistant director Filip Rutkowski Dramaturgy intern Clemens Zoller Stunt coordination Florian Hotz Project administration Lianne Mol Video Rebellab First edition team Yael Cohen, Itay Doron & Shani Granot Israel Festival artistic direction Itay Mautner & Michal Vaknin

Every year millions of people all around the world are evicted from their homes by forces of state and capital. At the same time conflicts about public space are intensifying. People stand up for their human right for housing. Moving on a spectrum between the aesthetic and the political, the spectacular and the useful, the documentary and the forthcoming, this action serves as a space to learn and exchange practices of togetherness and collective resistance.

*Eviction* is a project by Omer Krieger, produced by the Curatorial Collective for Public Art, and presented at the Maxim Gorki Theater. The Berlin edition is supported by the National Performance Network, and its mediation programme by the Federal Agency for Civic Education. It premiered at the Israel Festival, Jerusalem in September 2022.

Jedes Jahr werden Millionen von Menschen überall auf der Welt aus ihren Wohnstätten vertrieben. Kapitalmacht und politische Interessen versuchen, den privaten Raum ihren Zwecken zuzuführen. Gleichzeitig entstehen Konflikte um öffentliche Räume. Menschen setzen sich für ihr Recht auf Wohnen ein. Die Aktion bewegt sich in einem Spektrum zwischen Ästhetik und Politik, Spektakulärem und Nützlichem, Dokumentarischem und Kommendem und dient als Raum zum Lernen und zum Austausch von Praktiken des Miteinanders und des kollektiven Widerstands.



Artwork: Hüseyin Özkan

## 31/MAY | 1/JUNE | 20:30 | STUDIO 8 GOODBYE ERDOĞAN

By and with **Betal Özay**

In the depths of the world's grandest courthouse lies a hidden treasure trove – an evidence room brimming with real and surreal artifacts utilized in the commission of heinous crimes. Enter Şevki Duru, the enigmatic ruler of this subterranean realm, poised to unveil his most prized possessions: a captivating collection of crime weapons, each with its own remarkable tale. Hailing from a land where Big Brother still reigns supreme, Duru arrives with a daring agenda. But is he merely a humble clerk, as he professes, or a masterful raconteur, a cunning fraudster, or perhaps a desperate asylum seeker?

The solo performance by Betal Özay won the Best of Fringe Award 2022 at the Amsterdam Fringe Festival.

In den Tiefen des größten Gerichtsgebäudes der Welt liegt eine verborgene Schatztruhe – eine Asservatenkammer voll mit realen und surrealen Artefakten, die in der Ausübung abscheulicher Verbrechen benutzt wurden. Auftritt Şevki Duru, der rätselhafte Herrscher dieses unterirdischen Reiches, bereit seinen wertvollsten Besitz zu enthüllen: eine fesselnde Sammlung von Tatwaffen, jede mit ihrer eigenen bemerkenswerten Geschichte. Duru kommt aus einem Land, in dem Big Brother immer noch über allem steht und hat eine gewagte Agenda. Aber ist er bloß ein einfacher Sachbearbeiter, wie er behauptet, oder ein meisterhafter Anekdotenerzähler, ein gerissener Betrüger, oder vielleicht ein verzweifelter Asylsuchender?

Die Solo-Performance von Betal Özay hat den Best of Fringe Award 2022 beim Amsterdam Fringe Festival gewonnen.



Photo: Berrin Brüggemann

Founded in 2008, Mekan Artı specializes in contemporary theatre between site-specific performances and political staging. The group, which is based in Istanbul and Berlin, will be showing two works at the festival. One is the production *Avzer*, the other *Üftade*, which will have its world premiere at *GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER*: *Avzer* tells the events of the Gezi resistance from the perspective of a street child. *Üftade* is the story of a small theatre that was right next to Gezi Park at the time and which was turned into a hospital by the protesters. During the Gezi resistance, this theatre did what it did best: Heal wounds, heal people and give them some air to breathe.

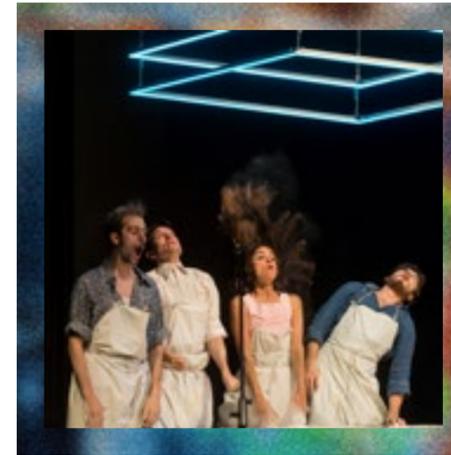


Photo: Penelope Gerasimou

## 6/JUNE | 20:30 | STUDIO 8 AVZER

Text Didem Kaplan Directed by Ufuk Tan Altunkaya Dramaturgy Egemen Kalyon Music Coşkun Akmeriç Cast Ahmet Özer, Sandra Ruffin, Ufuk Tan Altunkaya

## PREMIERE | 7/JUNE | 20:30 | STUDIO 8 ÜFTADE

Text Şamil Yılmaz Directed by Ufuk Tan Altunkaya Dramaturgy Egemen Kalyon Music Ömer Sarıgedik Cast Ahmet İlker Ergin

2008 gegründet, spezialisiert sich Mekan Artı auf zeitgenössisches Theater zwischen site-specific Performances und politischer Inszenierung. Im Rahmen des Festivals zeigt die zwischen Istanbul und Berlin beheimatete Gruppe zwei Arbeiten. Zum einen die Inszenierung *Avzer*, zum anderen *Üftade*, das bei *GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER* Uraufführung feiert: *Avzer* erzählt die Ereignisse des Gezi-Widerstands aus der Sicht eines Straßenkinds. *Üftade* ist die Geschichte eines kleinen Theaters, das damals direkt neben dem Gezi-Park lag und das von den Protestierenden in ein Krankenhaus umgewandelt wurde. Während des Gezi-Widerstands tat dieses Theater, was es am besten konnte: Wunden heilen, Menschen heilen und ihnen etwas Luft zum Atmen geben.

## 16/JUNE | 17:00 & 20:30 | STAGE THE REPUBLIC OF BAKLAVA

Cast Katerina Mavrogeorgi, Cem Yigit Üzümoğlu, George Katsis, Gary Salomon Play development and directed by Anestis Azas Text Anestis Azas, Gerasimos Bekas, Michalis Pitidis & Ensemble Stage design Eleni Stroulia Costumes Vassilia Rozana Light design Eliza Alexandropoulou Music Panagiotis Manouilidis Video Dimitris Zachos Choreography Zoe Chatziantoniou

Der griechische Theatermacher Anestis Azas inszenierte *The Republic of Baklava* für das Epidauros Festival Athen 2021 zum 200. Jahrestag der Souveränität Griechenlands. Die fiktive Handlung erzählt von einem binationalen Paar, einem griechischen Mann und einer türkischen Frau, die beschließen, einen eigenen Nationalstaat zu gründen und ihr Haus und ihr privates Geschäft als Hauptquartier zu nutzen. In einer Reihe von absurden und komischen Situationen werden die Figuren mit den Widersprüchen der zeitgenössischen griechischen Gesellschaft seit der Revolution, der Problematik der nationalen Identität und der utopischen Realität einer zukünftigen, globalen digitalen Nation konfrontiert und nehmen uns mit auf diese Reise in eine spezielle europäische Zukunft.

## #BURASIOYUNAGELDIĞİNYER



Photo: Esra Rotthoff

With the distance provided by Berlin, a Kurdish artist reflects on his life in Turkey. He observes the recent protest movements, and the state, social, cultural and artistic responses to them. One day the artist gets up and tries out the uprising himself; against neighbours, fellow artists, gallerists. He complains about those who wave the Turkish flag, people from Istanbul, the general course of events, and dares to ask if it was really wise to install electricity in every Kurdish village.

In *Aufstand (Uprising)*, Mely Kiyak processes her experiences as an eyewitness to the protests in Turkey and describes her perspective on the uprising; beyond the images of tear-gas clouds, marching policemen, and people with gas masks.

14/JUNE | 17:00 Q&A with Mely Kiyak | 20:30 | STUDIO A  
**AUFSTAND** MONOLOG EINES WÜTENDEN KÜNSTLERS

By Mely Kiyak Directed by **András Dömötör** Cast **Mehmet Yılmaz**

Ein kurdischer Künstler reflektiert sein Leben in der Türkei aus dem fernen Berlin. Er beobachtet die Protestbewegungen der jüngeren Vergangenheit und die staatlichen, gesellschaftlichen, kulturellen und künstlerischen Reaktionen darauf. Eines Tages steht der Künstler auf und probt den Aufstand; gegen die Nachbar\*innen, die Künstlerkolleg\*innen, den Galeristen. Er beklagt Türkische-Fahnen-Hochhalter\*innen, die Istanbuler\*innen, den Lauf der Dinge, und wagt zu fragen, ob es wirklich sinnvoll war, dass in jedem kurdischen Dorf Strom gelegt wurde. Mely Kiyak verarbeitet in *Aufstand* ihre Erfahrungen als Augenzeugin der Proteste in der Türkei und beschreibt ihre eigene Sicht auf den Aufstand – jenseits der Bilder von Tränengas-Wolken, aufmarschierenden Polizisten und Menschen mit Gasmasken.

## REPERTOIRE SELECTION All plays in German with English surtitles.

23/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**AMERIKA**

18/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**ANTIGONE**

24/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**BERLIN ORANIENPLATZ**  
1. TEIL DER STADT-TRILOGIE

13/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**DIE NACHT VON LISSABON**

28/MAY | 17:30 | 12/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**DSCHINNS**

10/JUNE | 20:30 | STAGE  
**EINE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG VON ALLEM, WAS WAR**

25/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**FUTURELAND**

9/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**GESCHWISTER**

19/20/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**IN MY ROOM**

29/MAY | 17:30 | 21/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**MOTHER TONGUE**

4/JUNE | 13:30 | STAGE  
**MUTTER COURAGE UND IHRE KINDER**  
2. TEIL DER KRIEGSTRILOGIE

22/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**OPERATION MINDFUCK**  
BASED ON A TRUE STORY, BUT NOT REALLY

22/JUNE | 20:30 | STUDIO A  
**PROJECT O**

4/JUNE | 20:30 | STAGE  
**SCHLACHTEN**  
3. TEIL DER KRIEGSTRILOGIE

17/JUNE | 19:30 | STAGE  
**UND SICHER IST MIT MIR**  
**DIE WELT VERSCHWUNDEN**

15/JUNE | 20:30 | STUDIO A  
**YEKI BUD YEKI NABUD**  
(ES GAB JEMANDEN, ES GAB NIEMANDEN)

More information on our repertoire online at [www.gorki.de/en/this-season/repertoire](http://www.gorki.de/en/this-season/repertoire)



Photo: Ulaş Yunus Tosun

## CONCERTS AND OTHER SPECIALS

### #YERYÜZÜAŞKINYÜZÜOLUNCAYADEK

Resistance takes place in a multitude of ways – both small and large, loud, quiet, colourful, danceable, internal, contemplative, serious, funny and powerful. *GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER* aims to trace out the diverse forms of global protest movements and life in exile. There will be concerts on the mainstage and on our other stages, we are looking forward to spontaneous interactions, both lectures as well as readings, and spaces will be created for partaking in silence and revelry together.

Of course, we will also show many pieces from the Gorki repertoire during the festival period, which we would like to explore in subsequent follow-up discussions with the audience and to place in the »context of Gezi«. The latter also applies to a selection of artistic-documentary works that we have exhibited in past *Berliner Herbstsalons* and are showing again.

Widerstand findet in vielerlei Weise statt – im Kleinen wie im Großen, laut, leise, bunt, tanzbar, innerlich, nachdenklich, ernst, lustig und kraftvoll. *GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER* versucht den vielfältigen Formen globaler Protestbewegungen und des Lebens im Exil nachzugehen. Es finden Konzerte auf der großen und unseren weiteren Bühnen statt, wir freuen uns auf spontane Interaktionen, Vorträge sowie Lesungen und es entstehen Räumen, um gemeinsam zu schweigen und zu schwelgen.

Selbstverständlich zeigen wir im Festivalzeitraum auch viele Stücke aus dem Gorki-Repertoire, die wir in anschließenden Nachgesprächen mit dem Publikum ergründen und in den »Kontext Gezi« stellen möchten. Letzteres gilt ebenfalls für eine Auswahl an künstlerisch-dokumentarischen Arbeiten, die wir in vergangenen *Berliner Herbstsalons* ausgestellt haben und erneut zeigen.

## 26/MAY | 22:00 | STAGE | CONCERT AYLİN ASLİM & DOĞAN DURU

Since her 2000 debut album *Gelgit*, Aylin Aslım has been writing and singing original songs and has released four solo albums and many singles to date. In her songs, Aslım touches on social issues such as women's rights and and has, among other things, contributed her music to the soundtrack of the film *Gegen die Wand*. She has been performing for more than 25 years. Doğan Duru is a founding member of the rock band Redd. As a tenor, he also worked in opera houses in Italy and Turkey.

## 27/MAY | 22:00 | STAGE | CONCERT COLLECTIF MEDZ BAZAR

Ezgi Sevgi Can, Shushan Kerovpyan, Vahan Kerovpyan, Elâ Nuroğlu, Marius Pibarot & Nicolas Vercambre

The band Collectif Medz Bazar was founded in Paris in 2012. In their stage shows, Armenian, Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic and Persian song traditions meet explosive rhythms and pop elements. The group combines traditional repertoire with original compositions full of musical and textual creativity. On stage, Collectif Medz Bazar offers a successful balance between tempered instruments and music from the modal traditions, Middle-Eastern percussions and Parisian voices of various origins.

## 1/JUNE | 17:00 | STUDIO A | READING & TALK IN DER ZUKUNFT SCHWELGEN WORAUF KOMMT ES IM LEBEN AN?

With Luise Amtsberg, Dr. Alia Mossallam, Dr. Antonie Nord, Rebekka Rexhausen, Abraham Zeitoun & Gorki ensemble members

At the centre of the protest movements in North Africa and the Middle East is the desire for a dignified life. But what happens when life and dignity are mutually exclusive? In their texts, the authors confront defeat, loss, the curse of survival in exile with the power of chants, prayers and curses.

## 3/JUNE | 10:30–12:30 | YURT | WORKSHOP EVICTION THE POWER OF CHOREOGRAPHIC ACTION IN PUBLIC SPACE

With Omer Krieger

Using choreographies of protest, forms of physical disobedience and moments from the performance *Eviction*, participants in the workshop will experiment making politics with their bodies in public space. The workshop will serve as a space to learn and exchange practices of togetherness and collective resistance. Bring your bodies!

## 3/JUNE | 20:30 | STAGE | CONCERT MENGENE

With Onur Akova, İrfan Akpınar, Barış Atay, Mehmet Kartal, Mişel Kocamahhul & Nihat Mugil

The rock band Mengene combines ethnic music styles with alternative and modern rock. Mengene will delight audiences with their »Deyiş«, Alevi musical narratives, compositions and new interpretation of Turkish folk songs.

Seit ihrem Debütalbum *Gelgit* aus dem Jahr 2000 schreibt und singt Aylin Aslım ihre eigenen Lieder und hat bis heute vier Soloalben und zahlreiche Singles veröffentlicht. In ihren Liedern berührt die Künstlerin soziale Themen wie die Rechte von Frauen und hat mit ihrer Musik unter anderem zum Soundtrack des Films *Gegen die Wand* beigetragen. Doğan Duru ist das Gründungsmitglied der Rockband Redd. Als Tenor arbeitete er auch an Opernhäusern in Italien und der Türkei.

Die Band Collectif Medz Bazar hat sich 2012 in Paris gegründet. In ihren Bühnenshows treffen armenische, kurdische, türkische, arabische und persische Lied-Traditionen auf explosive Rhythmen und Pop-Elemente. Dabei verbindet die Gruppe traditionelles Repertoire mit Eigenkompositionen voller musikalischer und textlicher Kreativität. Auf der Bühne bietet Collectif Medz Bazar ein Gleichgewicht zwischen temperierten Instrumenten und Musik aus den modalen Traditionen, nahöstlichen Percussions und Pariser Stimmen verschiedener Herkunft.

Im Zentrum der Protestbewegungen in Nordafrika und dem Nahen Osten steht der Wunsch nach einem würdigen Leben. Was aber, wenn Leben und Würde einander ausschließen? In ihren Texten begegnen die Autor\*innen der Niederlage, dem Verlust, dem Fluch des Überlebens im Exil mit der Kraft von Gesängen, Gebeten und Flüchen.

Anhand von Protestchoreografien, Formen des körperlichen Ungehorsams und Momenten aus der Performance *Eviction* werden die Teilnehmer\*innen des Workshops experimentieren, wie sie mit ihren Körpern im öffentlichen Raum Politik machen. Der Workshop dient als Raum, um Praktiken des Miteinanders und des kollektiven Widerstands zu erlernen und auszutauschen. Bringt eure Körper mit!

Die Rockband Mengene kombiniert ethnische Musikstile mit Alternative und Modern Rock. Mengene wird das Publikum durch ihre »Deyiş«, den alevitischen musikalischen Erzählungen, ihre Kompositionen und ihre neue Interpretation türkischer Volkslieder begeistern.

## 4/11/18/JUNE | 14:00–15:00 | GARDEN / YURT | WORKSHOP RESIDANCE!

By Modjgan Hashemian

Modjgan Hashemian looks back on a diverse dance and choreographic past, one component of which is the examination of her Iranian roots, always in a political context. On three Sundays she will get us moving (even without prior experience!): Because dance is political and dancing can mean resistance.

## 7/JUNE | 18:00 | STUDIO A | SOUND INSTALLATION THE SOUNDS OF RESISTANCE

By Erdem Helvacıoğlu

*The Sounds of Resistance* is a work composed of field recordings by Erdem Helvacıoğlu that were recorded during the Gezi protests, not just in Istanbul but around Turkey during May and June 2013. The sound performance will take place in a pitch black space. As an »aural safari/phonography«, the piece is structured as a narrative made up of cinematic flashbacks.

## 9/JUNE | 17:00 | STUDIO A | TALK MEDIA WITH(OUT) BORDERS

Discussion with Banu Güven, Maximilian Popp & Deniz Yücel Moderation Ebru Taşdemir

Three award-winning journalists who report, who are supposed to contribute to public debate, but whose experiences themselves sometimes attract a lot of attention. They talk about the freedom of the word in unfree times, the tasks and challenges for political journalism and their own time in the media world of the Turkish Republic.

## 9/JUNE | 19:00 | CAFÉ | READING & TALK ASLI ERDOĞAN

In discussion with Arno Widmann Readings by Gorki ensemble members

Aslı Erdoğan is one of the most renowned and important journalists and authors of recent years. In the aftermath of the Gezi protests, she was imprisoned and eventually left for Berlin. Here she is closely associated with the Gorki and is also part of the festival's Curatorial Advisory Board. After the reading from her works, she will talk about the personal, political and the irrepressible will to express oneself artistically.

## 15/JUNE | 17:00 | CAFÉ | TALK GEZİ AND ARTISTIC PRACTICE

What was so new about the iconography and language of protest we encountered during the Gezi Uprising in comparison with the long history of resistance in Turkey? How was it understood by the contemporary art scene which was then preparing for the next Istanbul Biennale concentrating on public space? The session assesses the ways in which the Gezi Uprising and other Occupy movement protests worldwide in the last decade left an impact on the politics of art.

Modjgan Hashemian blickt auf eine vielfältige tänzerische und choreographische Vergangenheit zurück, wobei ein Bestandteil die Auseinandersetzung mit ihren iranischen Wurzeln ist, die immer in einem politischen Kontext steht. An drei Sonntagen bringt sie uns (auch ohne Vorkenntnisse!) in Bewegung: Denn Tanz ist politisch und tanzen kann Widerstand bedeuten.

*The Sounds of Resistance* ist ein Werk, das aus Feldaufnahmen von Erdem Helvacıoğlu besteht, die während der Gezi-Proteste im Mai und Juni 2013 nicht nur in Istanbul, sondern in der ganzen Türkei aufgenommen wurden. Die Klangperformance findet in einem stockdunklen Raum statt. Als »akustische Safari/Phonographie« ist das Stück als Erzählung aus filmischen Rückblenden aufgebaut.

Drei preisgekrönte Journalist\*innen, die berichten, die Öffentlichkeit herstellen sollen, deren Erlebnisse aber teilweise selbst große Aufmerksamkeit erregten. Sie sprechen über die Freiheit des Wortes in unfreien Zeiten, Aufgaben und Herausforderungen von politischem Journalismus sowie ihre eigene Zeit in der Medienwelt der türkischen Republik.

Aslı Erdoğan ist eine der renommiertesten und wichtigsten Journalistinnen und Autorinnen der vergangenen Jahre. Im Nachklang der Gezi-Proteste wurde sie inhaftiert und reiste schließlich nach Berlin aus. Hier ist sie mit dem Gorki eng verbunden und ebenso Teil des Curatorial Advisory Boards des Festivals. Nach der Lesung aus ihren Werken spricht sie über Persönliches, Politisches und den unbändigen Willen, sich künstlerisch auszudrücken.

Was war so neu an der Ikonographie und der Sprache des Protests, die wir während des Gezi-Aufstands erlebten, im Vergleich zur langen Geschichte des Widerstands in der Türkei? Wie wurde sie von der zeitgenössischen Kunstszene aufgefasst, die sich damals auf die nächste Istanbul-Biennale vorbereitete, die sich auf den öffentlichen Raum konzentrierte? Die Sitzung bewertet die Art und Weise, in der der Gezi-Aufstand und andere Proteste der Occupy-Bewegung weltweit im letzten Jahrzehnt einen Einfluss auf die Kunstpolitik hatten.

16/JUNE | 17:00 | STUDIO 9 | FILM & TALK

## EMEL ANNE

With Emel Korkmaz, Gürkan Korkmaz & Family and Deniz Yücel

Ali İsmail Korkmaz was 19 years old when he was attacked and abused by a right-wing nationalist mob on the fringes of a demonstration during the Gezi protests in Eskişehir. His injuries were so severe that he died a few weeks later, on July 10th, 2013. His family established the Ali İsmail Korkmaz Foundation, which facilitates educational projects for young people in many ways. His mother Emel and his brother Gürkan are coming to Berlin to talk to Deniz Yücel about their experiences and perspectives. Over the course of the event, we will show the documentary film *Emel Anne* by Kazım Kızıl.

Ali İsmail Korkmaz war 19 Jahre alt, als er am Rande einer Demonstration im Zuge der Gezi-Proteste in Eskişehir von einem rechtsnationalen Mob überfallen und misshandelt wurde. Seine Verletzungen waren so schwerwiegend, dass er wenige Wochen später, am 10. Juli 2013, verstarb. Seine Familie gründete die Ali-İsmail-Korkmaz-Stiftung, die Bildungsprojekte ermöglicht, und deren Gebäude durch das Erdbeben im Februar zerstört wurde. Auch Mitglieder der Familie fielen der Katastrophe zum Opfer. Emel und Gürkan Korkmaz kommen mit ihren Angehörigen nach Berlin, um mit Deniz Yücel über ihre Erlebnisse und Perspektiven zu sprechen. Im Zuge der Veranstaltung zeigen wir den Dokumentarfilm *Emel Anne* von Kazım Kızıl.

16/JUNE | 19:00 | CAFÉ | COLLECTIVE SINGING

## ÖTEKİLERİN KOROSU & WIDERKLANG CHOR BERLIN

The two choirs come to the Gezi Café to sing together with us. Members and audience get to know each other in their diverse similarities and rehearse together and present a selection of songs.

Die beiden Chöre kommen ins Gezi-Café um mit uns gemeinsam zu singen. Mitglieder und Publikum lernen sich in ihrer vielfältigen Gemeinsamkeit kennen und proben miteinander und präsentieren eine Auswahl von Liedern.

16/JUNE | 22:30 | STUDIO 9 | TALK

## WHILE HISTORY WRITES ITSELF

With Julia Cimafiejeva, Davit Gabunia, Natalia Graur, Kateryna Penkova, Ivana Sajko & Anastasiia Kosodii

How to tell of war, how to recount fleeing – and how can that be done while still under the immediate impression of the events? At present, this question is once again being asked with urgency. In the writing workshop *While History Writes Itself*, the authors are invited to search for dramatic forms of expressing their stories. They will introduce themselves and their work in a panel.

Wie vom Krieg erzählen, wie von Flucht unter dem unmittelbaren Eindruck der Ereignisse? Gegenwärtig stellt sich die Frage wieder mit Dringlichkeit. In der Schreibwerkstatt *While History Writes Itself* sind die Autor\*innen eingeladen nach dramatischen Formen des Ausdrucks ihrer Geschichten zu suchen. In einem Panel stellen sie sich und ihre Arbeit vor.

17/JUNE | 19:00 | CAFÉ | CONCERT

## CHRISTINA FRONISTA & JOHN STERGIYOU

The singer Christina Fronista and the multi-instrumentalist John Stergiou regularly produce joint projects. The two Berlin-based Greeks present a concert programme between traditional rembetiko and anti-fascist and anti-militarist songs by Mikis Theodorakis, among others.

Die Sängerin Christina Fronista und der Multiinstrumentalist und John Stergiou realisieren regelmäßig gemeinsame Projekte. Die beiden in Berlin lebenden Griech\*innen präsentieren ein Konzertprogramm zwischen traditionellem Rembetiko und antifaschistischen und -militaristischen Liedern unter anderem von Mikis Theodorakis.

26/MAY–25/JUNE | IN FRONT OF THE GORKI | VIDEO INSTALLATION

## AURORAS

By Atom Egoyan

In 1918, a film was made about Aurora Mardiganian, survivor of the Armenian Genocide. Seven doubles represented her in the subsequent publicity tour. The installation is an attempt to bring Aurora's story and spirit back to the screen.

1918 wurde ein Film über Aurora Mardiganian, Überlebende des Völkermords an den Armeniern, gedreht. Sieben Doubles vertraten sie bei der anschließenden Werbetour. Die Installation ein Versuch, Auroras Geschichte und Geist zurück auf die Leinwand zu bringen.

#YERYÜZÜAŞKINYÜZÜOLUNCAYADEK



Photo: Firat Aygün / NarPhotos

26/MAY–25/JUNE | PARKETTFOYER | EXHIBITION

## PAINTING THE DECADE

By Timur Çelik

The wall installation of Berlin-based painter Timur Çelik brings together decisive moments of oppression and hope that have shaped the collective memory of Turkish society and portraits of the main protagonists in the political struggle against the authoritarian regime in the recent past.

Die Wandinstallation des in Berlin lebenden Malers Timur Çelik vereint entscheidende Momente der Unterdrückung und Hoffnung, die das kollektive Gedächtnis der türkischen Gesellschaft geprägt haben, mit Porträts der wichtigsten Protagonist\*innen des politischen Kampfes gegen das autoritäre Regime in der jüngsten Vergangenheit.

26/MAY–25/JUNE | AROUND GORKI | EXHIBITION

## THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING

By NarPhotos & Ulaş Yunus Tosun

Exhibitions held in the venues of Gorki and in the exterior spaces in front of the main building will display the photographic archive of the events from the initial weeks of the Gezi Uprising taken by the collective NarPhotos and the photo artist Ulaş Yunus Tosun.

In den Räumen vom Gorki und in den Außenbereichen vor dem Hauptgebäude werden Ausstellungen des Kollektivs NarPhotos und des Fotokünstlers Ulaş Yunus Tosun gezeigt, die die Ereignisse der ersten Wochen des Gezi-Protests fotografisch dokumentieren.

26/MAY–25/JUNE | AT GORKI | EXHIBITION

## CONTINUITIES

With works by Damian Le Bas, Delaine Le Bas, Luchezar Boyadjiev, Alfredo Jaar & Oliver Ressler

Artworks by Alfredo Jaar, Damian & Delaine Le Bas, Luchezar Boyadjiev and Oliver Ressler were exhibited in previous editions of the *Herbstsalon* festival which explored issues such as belonging, discrimination and displacement. They remain as constitutive parts of the Gorki. During *GEZI – TEN YEARS AFTER*, they will be re-contextualised through another thematic framework defined by the political claim for public spaces and creative dynamics of the multitude.

Die Kunstwerke von Alfredo Jaar, Damian & Delaine Le Bas, Luchezar Boyadjiev und Oliver Ressler wurden in früheren Ausgaben der *Herbstsalon*-Festivals ausgestellt, die sich mit Themen wie Zugehörigkeit, Diskriminierung und Vertreibung auseinandersetzten. Sie sind weiterhin konstituierender Bestandteil des Gorki. Während *GEZI – TEN YEARS AFTER* werden sie durch einen anderen thematischen Rahmen, der durch den politischen Anspruch auf öffentliche Räume und eine Vielzahl kreativer Dynamiken neu definiert ist, neu kontextualisiert

# CALENDAR

Kiosk / Lichtsaal / Café / Yurt / Lichtsaal Terrace / Parkettfoyer / around Gorki

Opening 26/May 20:00–00:00  
Tuesday–Thursday 18:00–22:00  
Friday–Sunday 14:00–22:00

**EXHIBITIONS**  
**LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE / MUSEUM OF SMALL THINGS AND MORE / RESISTING RADIO / BİZ ZALİME GÜLERİZ BİZİM ORADA / AURORAS / PAINTING THE DECADE / THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING / CONTINUITIES**

## MAY 2023

<b>FR 26</b>	16:00–18:00 Bühne	<b>OPENING FORUM</b>	TALK
	18:00–19:00 Start at Gorki	<b>OPENING INTERVENTION</b>	INTERVENTION
	19:00–20:00 At Gorki	<b>EVICION – PUBLIC ACTION BY OMER KRIEGER</b>	PERFORMANCE
	20:30 Studio Я DEUTSCH	<b>PREMIERE ALLES WIRD SCHÖN SEIN.</b> Text & directed by Hakan Savaş Mican	THEATRE
	22:00 Bühne	<b>CONCERT AYLIN ASLIM &amp; DOĞAN DURU</b> Followed by a party in the foyer	CONCERT + PARTY
<b>SA 27</b>	14:00–16:00 Bühne	<b>FORUM</b>	TALK
	16:30–19:00 Bühne	<b>AUDIENCE EMANCIPATED: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EMEK MOVIE THEATRE</b> TUR, 2016, 48min By Emek Bizim İstanbul Bizim İnisiyatif	GEZINEMA II FILM + TALK
	19:00–20:00 Am Gorki	<b>EVICION – PUBLIC ACTION BY OMER KRIEGER</b>	PERFORMANCE
	20:30 Studio Я DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>ALLES WIRD SCHÖN SEIN.</b> Text & Regie Hakan Savaş Mican Followed by a Q&A	THEATRE
	22:00 Bühne	<b>CONCERT COLLECTIF MEDZ BAZAR</b> Followed by a party in the foyer	CONCERT + PARTY
<b>SO 28</b>	14:00–16:00 Bühne	<b>FORUM</b>	TALK
	17:30–19:45 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>DSCHINNS</b> Followed by a Q&A By Fatma Aydemir Directed by Nurkan Erpulat	THEATRE
	20:30–22:30 Bühne	<b>BEIRUT: EYE OF THE STORM</b> Followed by a Q&A LEB/FRA, 2021, 75min Directed by Mai Masri	GEZINEMA III FILM + TALK
<b>MO 29</b>	20:00–21:45 Bühne	<b>WHOSE STREETS?</b> USA, 2017, 103min Directed by Sabaah Folyan & Damon Davis	GEZINEMA IV FILM
	17:30–19:10 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>MOTHER TONGUE</b> Followed by a Q&A Text & directed by Lola Arias	THEATRE
<b>MI 31</b>	20:30–21:30 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>GUEST PERFORMANCE GOODBYE ERDOĞAN</b> By and with Betal Özay Followed by a Q&A	THEATRE

## JUNE 2023

<b>DI 01</b>	17:00 Studio Я ENGL. & DT.	<b>IN DER ZUKUNFT SCHWELGEN WORAUF KOMMT ES IM LEBEN AN?</b> With Sandra Hetzl, Alia Mosallam, Abraham Zeitoun & Gorki ensemble members	READING + TALK
	20:30–21:30 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>GUEST PERFORMANCE GOODBYE ERDOĞAN</b> By and with Betal Özay Followed by a Q&A	THEATRE
<b>FR 02</b>	17:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>DIVERGING ROADS OF HISTORY THE AUTHORITARIAN DECADE OF TURKEY AFTER GEZI</b>	LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE TALK
	19:00–21:15 Studio Я TÜRK. WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>YERYÜZÜ AŞKIN YÜZÜ OLUNCAYA DEK (LOVE WILL CHANGE THE EARTH)</b> TUR, 105min, 2014   Directed by Reyhan Tuvi	GEZINEMA V FILM
	22:30 Studio Я TÜRKÇE	<b>TÜRKÇE STAND-UP DENİZ GÖKTAŞ</b>	STAND-UP
<b>SA 03</b>	10:30–12:30 Jurte ENGLISH	<b>THE POWER OF CHOREOGRAPHIC ACTION IN PUBLIC SPACE</b> With Omer Krieger	WORKSHOP
	13:00–16:00 Jurte ENGLISH/DEUTSCH	<b>GRIEVING AND RECHARGING SOLIDARITY COPING WITH THE EARTHQUAKES</b> With Peter Steudtner	YURT WORKSHOP
	17:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>KEPÇE! URBANIZATION FROM GEZI TO EARTHQUAKE</b> With Yaşar Adanalı, Begüm Özden Fırat & Emre Gönülğür	LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE TALK
	19:00–21:00 Studio Я TÜRK. WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>TORNİSTAN</b> TUR, 2013, 4 min   Directed by Ayçe Kartal	GEZINEMA VI FILM
	20:30–22:00 Bühne	<b>CONCERT MENGINE</b> Followed by a party in the foyer	CONCERT + PARTY
	22:30 Studio Я TÜRKÇE	<b>TÜRKÇE STAND-UP DENİZ GÖKTAŞ</b>	STAND-UP

<b>SO 04</b>	11:00–14:00 Café ENGL./TÜRK./DT.	<b>FORUM &amp; BRUNCH</b> Bring food to share!	TALK
	13:30–15:00 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>MUTTER COURAGE UND IHRE KINDER</b> By Bertolt Brecht Music by Paul Dessau adapted by Daniel Regenberg Directed by Oliver Frljić	THEATRE
	14:00–15:00 Garten/Jurte	<b>RESIDANCE!</b> With Modjgan Hashemian	WORKSHOP
	15:00 Café ENGL./TÜRK.	<b>GEZI RADYO EXPERIENCE</b> With Olcay Bingöl & Ahmet Ögüt Moderation Alp Tekin Ocak	RESISTING RADIO TALK
	17:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>STRATEGIZING RESILIENCE: WORKING WITH TRAUMA</b>	LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE TALK
	19:00–21:00 Studio Я PORTUGUESE WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>YOUR TURN</b> Followed by a Q&A BRA, 2019, 93 min   Directed by Eliza Capai	GEZINEMA VII FILM
	20:30–21:45 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>SCHLACHTEN 3. TEIL DER KRIEGSTRIOLOGIE</b> With texts by Heiner Müller Directed by Oliver Frljić	THEATRE
<b>DI 06</b>	20:30 Studio Я TÜRKÇE WITH DT. & ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>GUEST PERFORMANCE AVZER</b> Followed by a Q&A By Mekan Artı Text Şamil Yılmaz Directed by Ufuk Tan Altunkaya	THEATRE
<b>MI 07</b>	18:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>THE SOUNDS OF RESISTANCE</b> By Erdem Helvacıoğlu Followed by a Q&A	SOUND-INSTALLATION
	20:30 Studio Я DT. & TÜRK. WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>GUEST PERFORMANCE   PREMIERE ÜFTADE</b> Followed by a Q&A By Mekan Artı Text Didem Kaplan Directed by Ufuk Tan Altunkaya	THEATRE
<b>DO 08</b>	19:30 Bühne DEUTSCH	<b>PREMIERE</b> Followed by a party <b>PLANET B</b> By Yael Ronen & Itai Reicher Directed by Yael Ronen	THEATRE
<b>FR 09</b>	17:00 Studio Я DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. TRANSLATION	<b>MEDIA WITH(OUT) BORDERS</b> With Banu Güven, Maximilian Popp & Deniz Yücel Moderation Ebru Taşdemir	TALK
	19:00 Café ENGLISH	<b>ASLI ERDOĞAN</b> in discussion with Arno Widmann	LESUNG + TALK
	19:00–21:45 Studio Я ENGL., FARSI, ARAB., ESP., RUSS. WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>EVERYDAY REBELLION</b> AUT/CHE/DEU, 2014, 118 min Directed by The Riahi Brothers Followed by a Q&A	GEZINEMA VIII FILM
	19:30–21:05 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>GESCHWISTER</b> Followed by a Q&A By Ersan Mondtag	THEATRE
<b>SA 10</b>	12:00–16:00 Jurte ENGLISH/DEUTSCH	<b>COPING WITH PRISON A RESOURCING WORKSHOP ON DEALING WITH REPRESSION</b> With Peter Steudtner	YURT WORKSHOP
	17:00 Studio Я TÜRKÇE WITH ENGL. TRANSLATION	<b>PLURALITY – THEN IN GEZI, NOW AT BALLOT BOXES</b> With Yiğit Aksakoğlu, Gizem Aksu, Gamze Elvan, Evin Kışanak, Erden Kosova & Emine Uçak	LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE TALK
	19:00–21:00 Studio Я BEL./RUS. WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>COURAGE</b> Followed by a Q&A BLR, 2021, 90 min Directed by Aliaksei Paluyan	GEZINEMA IX FILM
	20:30–21:45 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>EINE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG VON ALLEM, WAS WAR</b> By Rasha Abbas Directed by Sebastian Nübling & ensemble Followed by a Q&A	THEATRE
	22:30 Studio Я TÜRKÇE	<b>TÜRKÇE STAND-UP DENİZ ÖZTURHAN</b>	STAND-UP

<b>SO 11</b>	11:00–14:00 Café ENGL./TÜRK./DT.	<b>FORUM &amp; BRUNCH</b> Bring food to share!	TALK
	14:00–15:00 Garten/Jurte	<b>RESIDANCE!</b> With Modjgan Hashemian	WORKSHOP
	15:00 Café ENGL./KURM./TÜRK.	<b>ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION IN ISTANBUL AND BEYOND</b> With Havin Al-Sindy, Zehra Doğan & Haja Hasan Moderation Şermin Güven	RESISTING RADIO TALK
	17:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>RESISTANCE AND PEACE AT THE CROSSROADS OF EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST</b> With Shadi Amin, Aleksandros Apostolidis, Omer Krieger, Neşe Özgen, Buket Türkmen & Nazan Üstündağ	LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE TALK
	19:00–21:00 Studio Я FRANÇAIS WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>THE MONOPOLY OF VIOLENCE</b> FRA, 2020, 86min Directed by David Dufresne Followed by a Q&A	GEZINEMA X FILM
	19:30 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>PLANET B</b> Followed by a Q&A By Yael Ronen & Itai Reicher Directed by Yael Ronen	THEATRE
<b>MO 12</b>	19:30–21:45 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>DSCHINNS</b> By Fatma Aydemir Directed by Nurkan Erpulat	THEATRE
<b>DI 13</b>	19:30–21:40 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>DIE NACHT VON LISSABON</b> Based on the novel by Erich Maria Remarque Directed by Hakan Savaş Mican Followed by a Q&A	THEATRE
<b>MI 14</b>	17:00–18:15 Studio Я DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>AUFSTAND BACK AGAIN MONOLOG EINES WÜTENDEN KÜNSTLERS</b> By Mely Kiyak Directed by András Dömötör	THEATRE
	19:30 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>PLANET B</b> By Yael Ronen & Itai Reicher Directed by Yael Ronen	THEATRE
	20:30–21:45 Studio Я DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>AUFSTAND MONOLOG EINES WÜTENDEN KÜNSTLERS</b> By Mely Kiyak Directed by András Dömötör	THEATRE
<b>DO 15</b>	17:00 Café ENGLISH	<b>GEZI AND ARTISTIC PRACTICE</b>	TALK
	20:30–21:30 Studio Я DT. & FARSI WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>YEKI BUD YEKI NABUD (ES GAB JEMANDEN, ES GAB NIEMANDEN)</b> By Modjgan Hashemian Followed by a Q&A	DANCE PERFORMANCE
<b>FR 16</b>	17:00–18:40 Bühne ELL./ENGL./TÜRK. WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>GUEST PERFORMANCE REPUBLIC OF BAKLAVA</b> Text Anestis Azas, Gerasimos Bekas, Michalis Pitidis & ensemble Idea & Directed by Anestis Azas	THEATRE
	17:00 Studio Я TÜRK. WITH ENGL. TRANSLATION	<b>EMEL ANNE</b> With Emel Korkmaz, Gürkan Korkmaz & family in discussion with Deniz Yücel After the film by Kazım Kızıl	FILM + TALK
	19:00–20:00 Café	<b>ÖTEKILERIN KORSUSU &amp; WIDERKLING CHOR BERLIN</b>	CHOR
	19:00–21:00 Studio Я ARABIC WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES / BURMESE WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>SUDDENLY TV</b> SDN, 2022, 19min Directed by Roopa Gogineni	GEZINEMA XI FILM
	20:30–22:10 Bühne ELL./ENGL./TÜRK. WITH ENGL. SURTITLES	<b>GUEST PERFORMANCE REPUBLIC OF BAKLAVA</b> Text Anestis Azas, Gerasimos Bekas, Michalis Pitidis & ensemble Idea & Directed by Anestis Azas	THEATRE
	22:30 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>WHILE HISTORY WRITES ITSELF</b> With Julia Cimafiejeva, Davit Gabunia, Natalia Graur, Anastasiia Kosodii, Kateryna Penkova & Ivana Sajko	TALK

SA	17	12:00–16:00 Jurte ENGLISH/DEUTSCH	<b>WEAVING RESILIENCE</b> DIVERSITY, PRIVILEGES AND DISCRIMINATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS With Peter Stuedtner	YURT WORKSHOP
		17:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>HUMAN RIGHTS!</b> THE DETERIORATION OF THE RULE OF LAW IN TURKEY AFTER GEZI With Begüm Başdaş, Hülya Dinçer, Asena Günal & Emma Sinclair-Webb	LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE TALK
		19:00–21:00 Studio Я ARABIC WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>AS I WANT</b> Followed by a Q&A EGY, 2021, 82 min Directed by Samaher Alqadi	GEZINEMA XII FILM
		19:00 Café	<b>CONCERT</b> <b>CHRISTINA FRONISTA &amp; JOHN STERGIOU</b>	CONCERT
		19:30–21:10 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>UND SICHER IST MIT MIR DIE WELT VERSCHWUNDEN</b> By Sibylle Berg Directed by Sebastian Nübling	THEATRE
SO	18	11:00–14:00 Café ENGL./TÜRK./DT.	<b>FORUM &amp; BRUNCH</b> Bring food to share!	TALK
		14:00–15:00 Garten/Jurte	<b>RESIDANCE!</b> With Modjgan Hashemian	WORKSHOP
		15:00 Café ENGL./KURM./TÜRK.	<b>JİN JİYAN AZADİ</b> With Zeynep Beyani, Solin & Leyla Toprak Moderation Nilgün Yelpaze	RESISTING RADIO TALK
		17:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>GEZİ GOES GLOBAL</b> THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM IN TURKEY AND THE WORLD With Feyza Akınerdem, Hülya Dinçer, Asena Günal & Emma Sinclair-Webb	LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE TALK
		19:00–21:00 Studio Я ESPAÑOL WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>MI PAÍS IMAGINARIO?</b> [MY IMAGINARY COUNTRY] Followed by a Q&A CHL, 2022, 83 min Directed by Patricio Guzmán	GEZINEMA XIII FILM
MO	19	19:30–21:10 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>ANTIGONE</b> Followed by a Q&A Based on Sophokles By Leonie Böhm & ensemble Directed by Leonie Böhm	THEATRE
		19:30–22:00 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>IN MY ROOM</b> A project by Falk Richter & ensemble	THEATRE
		19:30–22:00 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>IN MY ROOM</b> Followed by a Q&A A project by Falk Richter & ensemble	THEATRE
		19:00–22:00 Studio Я TÜRK. & DT. WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>TRANS X İSTANBUL</b> Followed by a Q&A DEU, 2014, 109 min Directed by Maria Binder Moderation Sinem Deniz	#DIRENAYOL FILM
		19:30–21:10 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>MOTHER TONGUE</b> Followed by a Q&A Text & directed by Lola Arias	THEATRE
DO	22	20:30–22:30 Studio Я ENGLISH & TÜRKÇE	<b>PROJECT O</b> By and with Anthony Hüseyin	#DIRENAYOL PERFORMANCE
		19:30–20:50 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>OPERATION MINDFUCK</b> BASED ON A TRUE STORY, BUT NOT REALLY By Yael Ronen & Dimitrij Schaad Directed by Yael Ronen	THEATRE

FR	23	17:00 Studio Я TÜRKÇE	<b>#DİRENAYOL</b> With Atiye Güney, Esmeray Özadikti & Destina Tokmak Moderation Kivılcım Arat	#DIRENAYOL TALK
		19:00–21:00 Studio Я TÜRKÇE / TALK IN ENGL.	<b>KÖÇEK</b> Followed by a talk TUR, 1975, 82 min Directed by Nejat Saydam Moderation Sinem Deniz	#DIRENAYOL FILM + TALK
		19:30–21:20 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>AMERİKA</b> Followed by a Q&A By Franz Kafka Directed by Sebastian Baumgarten	THEATRE
	22:30 Studio Я TÜRKÇE	<b>TÜRKÇE STAND-UP</b> <b>KESTİRMEYEN HİKAYELER</b> By and with Esmeray	#DIRENAYOL STAND-UP	

SA	24	12:00–16:00 Jurte ENGLISH/DEUTSCH	<b>CELEBRATING RESILIENCE AND CONTINUING TO CARRY THE WEIGHT</b> CARING SUSTAINABLY IN CRISIS AND STRESS With Peter Stuedtner	YURT WORKSHOP
		17:00–18:00 Studio Я ENGLISH	<b>SONGS OF RESISTANCE</b> MUSIC AND ACTIVISM IN THE POST-GEZI ERA By and with Yaprak Melike Uyar	#DIRENAYOL LECTURE- PERFORMANCE
		18:00–22:00 Café ENGLISH	<b>RESISTANCE KARAOKE</b> By and with Yeşim Duman	#DIRENAYOL KARAOKE
	22:00 Studio Я TÜRKÇE/ENGLISH	<b>BERLIN ORANIENPLATZ</b> 1. TEIL DER STADT-TRILOGIE Followed by a Q&A Text & directed by Hakan Savaş Mican	THEATRE	
		<b>GULLÜM NIGHT</b> Open Stage! Intro & Outro conducted by Keil Li Divön (ft. Dallaa Alsham & Patricia) & Gazino Neukölln Moderation Anthony Hüseyin Followed by a party with DJ Jilet Sebahat	#DIRENAYOL OPEN STAGE + PARTY	

SO	25	12:00–17:00 Café DEUTSCH/ENGLISH	<b>BRUNCH &amp; QUEER CHESS &amp; TAVLA CLUB</b> By and with Yeşim Duman Bring food to share! incl. ZEKİ MÜREN AND THE GEZI PROTESTS Lecture by Gürsoy Doğtaş	#DIRENAYOL SPIELEN + LECTURE
		17:00 Studio Я TÜRKÇE & DEUTSCH	<b>ANNEMİN KABURGASI</b> By Burçin Tetik	#DIRENAYOL LESUNG + TALK
		19:30–21:00 Bühne DEUTSCH WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>FUTURELAND</b> Followed by a Q&A A project by Lola Arias	THEATRE
	22:00 Studio Я TÜRKÇE WITH ENGL. SUBTITLES	<b>BENİM ÇOCUĞUM</b> Followed by a Q&A TUR, 2013, 82 min   Directed by Can Candan Moderation Sinem Deniz	#DIRENAYOL FILM	

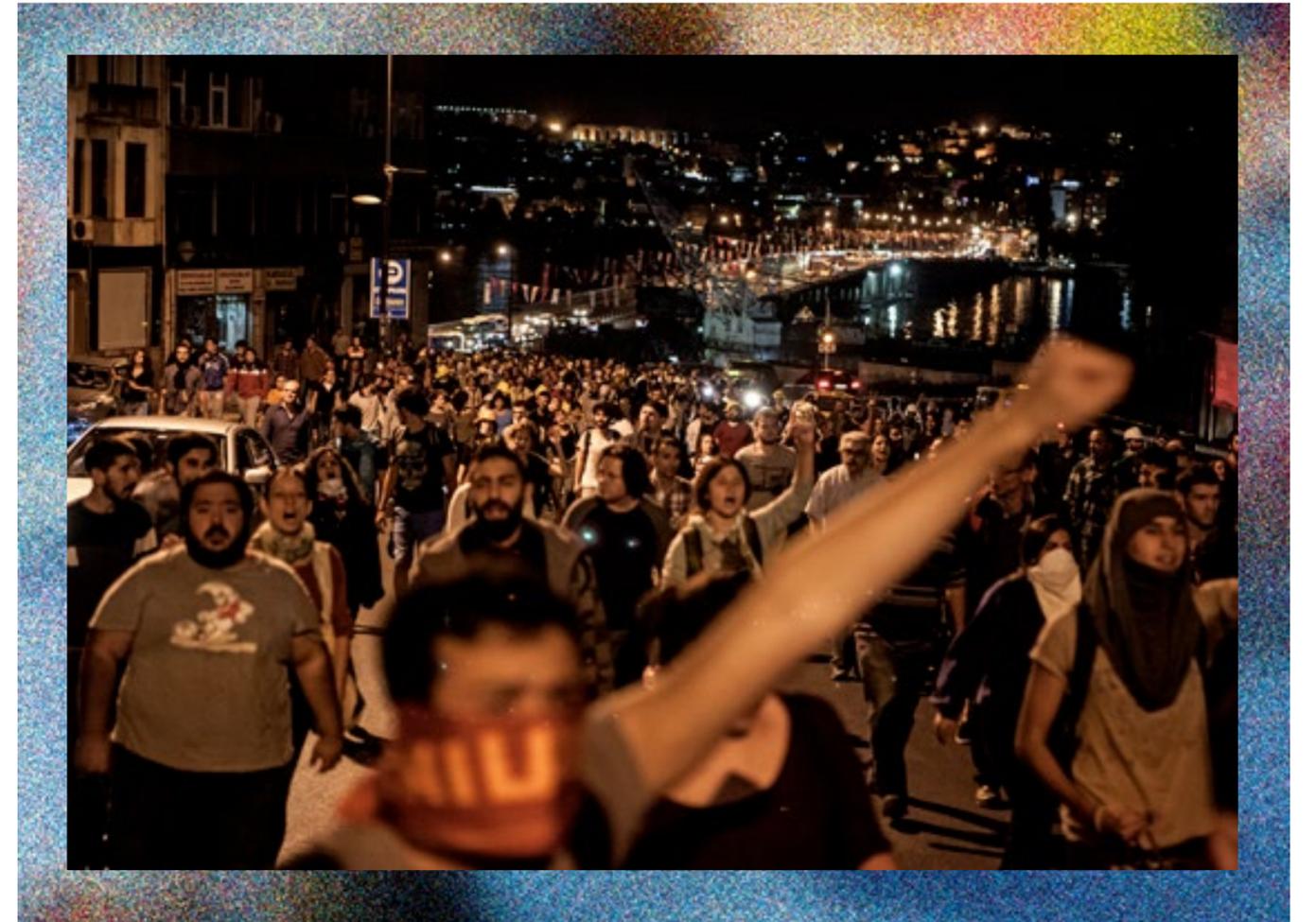


Photo: Mehmet Kaçmaz / NarPhotos

## TEAM

### 6. BERLINER HERBSTSALON, A PROLOGUE IN SPRING: GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER

Curated by Shermin Langhoff Co-Curator Erden Kosova Assistant Curator Nele Lindemann Dramaturgy Simon Meienreis Curatorial Advisory Board Zehra Doğan, Can Dündar, Peter Stuedtner, Deniz Yücel, Aslı Erdoğan Co-Curators of Spaces and Projects Serkan Altuniğne, Ezgi Asar, Zehra Doğan, Yeşim Duman, Şirin Fulya Erensoy, Yunus Ersoy, Anthony Hüseyin, Nil Mutluer, Alp Tekin Ocak, Murat Özbek, Necati Sönmez, Peter Stuedtner Dramaturgs and Consultants for Spaces and Projects Ivo Dreger, Yunus Ersoy, Oliver Frlijić, Valerie Göhring, Johannes Kirsten, Holger Kuhla, Çiğdem Özdemir, Clara Probst, Theresa Welge Assistant Filip Rutkowski Intern Clemens Zoller Scenography GEZİ/Pia Grüter Scenography Assistant Alice Faucher, Luise Brinkmann Scenography Studio Я / Foyer Marco Michelle, Felix Remme Art Direction Esra Rotthoff Graphic Design Jona Dienst Production Management Festival René Dombrowski Production Management Duygu İzdeş, Lucia Leyser, Juliane Prochnow Guest Productions Johanna von Rival Technical production management Joachim Hering, Laura Krupka

**HOUSE** Maryam Abu Khaled, Silke Adolf, Yavuz Akbulut, Emre Aksizoğlu, Mazen Aljubbeh, Marie Altenhofen, Claudia Atay, Markus Bäuerle, Silke Bauermeister, Christian Baumann, Ricco Behm, Olaf Beniers, Christian Binner, Karen Bitter, Dirk Blötner, Jenny Blumenthal, Wolfgang Boesler, Annette Bogadtke, Jeanett Bogan, Christopher Bonte, Josephine Boog, Michael Casper, Yanina Cerón, Karim Daoud, Andreas Dexel, Andreas Dick, Andreas Diedrich, Jona Dienst, Sophia Dietz, Zehra Doğan, René Dombrowski, Ewelina Donejko, Lea Draeger, Ivo Dreger, Connor Dreibelbis, Can Dündar, Susanne Dyck, Katharina Edel, Frank Entrich, Aslı Erdoğan, Aysima Ergün, Nurkan Erpulat, Yunus Ersoy, Petra Freigang, Tim Freudensprung, Philipp Friesel, Oliver Frlijić, Jens Gebhardt, Jürgen Gebhardt, Anne Gehrke, Sabine Gehrke, Christian Gierden, David Gierth, Valerie Göhring, Marta Górnicka, Alexa Gräfe, Hans-Michael Gschladt, Doğa Güler, Babett Hagenow, Peter Hanslik, Carolin Hartwich, Modjgan Hashemian, Jan Heimke, Stefan Heinemann, Michael Helmbold, Joachim Hering, Alfredo Herrera Gonzalez, Christoph Hill, Kenda Hmeidani, Kinan Hmeidani, Thomas Hoepfner, Anja Hofmann, Lucas Hubrig, Tobias Jentsch, Melanie Juhl, Eugenia Kaganski, Wolfgang Kaldenhoff, Paula Karer, Frans Katzwinkel, Andreas Keller, Ingo Keller, Vural Keser, Johannes Kirsten, Mely Kiyak, Marcel Klett, Lutz Knosp, Jan Kohilaw, Alissa Kolbusch, Martin-Stefan Koschwanez, Erden Kosova, Nick Koßack, Jesse Jonas Kracht, Lina-Magdalena Kramer, Daniel Krawietz, Jens Krüger, Laura Krupka, Holger Kuhla, Sabine Kühne, Manuel Kühne, Carsten Kuphal, Lidia Kuryatova, Anna Laletina, Laura Landsberger, Lars Lange, Maya Lange, Shermin Langhoff, Ute Langkafel, Lindy Larsson, Berit Lass, Lucia Leyser, Nele Lindemann, Manina Janis Lintzmeyer, Lena Loxterkamp, Jana Lüpke, Thomas Maché, Gioia Magelli, Hendrik Manns, Mila Mazić, Nino Medas, Simon Meienreis, Yannik Mersch, Anita Michalek, Marco Michelle, Orit Nahmias, Christopher von Nathusius, Manuel Niedermeier, Detlef Nitschke, Sophia Nitschke, Finn Noga, Daniel Nußbaum, Bettina Nußbaum, Keng Sen Ong, Çiğdem Özdemir, Janka Panskus, Marc Paykowski, Astrid Petzoldt, Xenia Mo Pfeifer, Vidina Popov, Sema Poyraz, Clara Probst, Jana Radünz, Robert Rammelt, Burkhard Rauch, Emily Reck, Bettina Reimann, Mayk Reimann, Felix Remme, Thais Ribeiro Jibaja, Tim Riedel, Maryvonne Riedelsheimer, Johanna von Rival, Anne-Kathrin Ritter, Ron Rosenberg, Gregor Roth, Esra Rotthoff, Detlef Ruder, Filip Rutkowski, Taner Şahintürk, Christina Schabert, Hanna Katinka Schäfer, Marcel Schmitz, Norbert Schmunz, Simone Schmunz, Jonathan Schnell, Christoph Schön, Edgar Schönberg, Ringo Schultheiß, Andrea Schulz, Sibylle Schulz, Melanie Schwarzlose, Falilou Seck, Thomas Seeland, Benjamin Seidler, Arndt Sellentin, Corinna Siewert-Scherzer, Jens Singer, Maik Spät, Klemens Stark, Nadine Stelling, Raimund Stoll, Pierre Stolper, Fritz Stötzner, Thomas Streidl, Oliver Szewc, Bircan Tarım, Kerstin Teich, Anja Teichmann, Çiğdem Teke, Jan Termin, Sesede Terziyan, Marion Theimann, Uwe Thiel, Hanh Mai Thi Tran, Marcus Trettow, Hannes Trölsch, Duygu Türel, Heiko Vent, Claudia Vogel, Olga Weber, Karl Wedemeyer, Moritz Weiß, Theresa Welge, Lars Welz, Arno Widmann, Mara Wild, Robert Wolf, Till Wonka, Simay Yaşar, Mehmet Yılmaz, Luis Zehmisch, Hannes Zieger, Volker Zimmermann, Sandra Zirzow

## TICKETS & INFORMATION

### TICKET OFFICE

Tel. 030 20221-115  
E-Mail [ticket@gorki.de](mailto:ticket@gorki.de)

### In the Gorki Kiosk:

Dorotheenstraße 3, 10117 Berlin

Mon–Sat 12:00–18:30

Sunday and holidays 16:00–18:30

### BOX OFFICE

The box office in the foyer for the mainstage opens an hour before the performance begins.

Am Festungsgraben 2, 10117 Berlin

The box office in the Studio Я opens 45 minutes

before the performance begins.

Hinter dem Gießhaus 2, 10117 Berlin

### PRICE CATEGORIES MAINSTAGE

Category I	38 €
Category II	31 €
Category III	24 €
Category IV	17 €
Category V	10 €
Concessions/Discounts	8 €
Additional fee for premieres	4 €
Theatre Day	10 € for all seats

STUDIO Я PRICES 16 € / conc. 8 €

### GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER

Talks	5 €   conc. 3 €
Films / Readings	5 €   conc. 3 €
Workshops	5 €   conc. 3 €
Guest productions / Performances	16 €   conc. 8 €
Stand-Ups	16 €   conc. 8 €
Concerts	24 €   conc. 16 €

Songs of Resistance	5 €   conc. 3 €
Resistance Karaoke Xpress	5 €   conc. 3 €
Queer Chess & Tavla Club	5 €   conc. 3 €
The Sounds of Resistance	8 €   conc. 6 €
Güllüm Night	8 €   conc. 6 €

Public Intervention	free
Eviction	free
Gezi Radyo Experience	free
Ecological Destruction ...	free
Jin Jiyan Azadî	free
Köçek	free
In der Zukunft schwelgen	free
Residance!	free
Gezi and Artistic Practice	free
Ötekilerin Korosu & Widerklang	free
Christina Fronista & John Stergiou	free

EXHIBITIONS  
FORUM (& BRUNCH) FREE  
FREE

### ACCESSIBILITY

Mainstage, Kiosk, Café, Garden, Yurt step-free access  
Studio Я main entrance has steps, back entrance accessible with a wheelchair lift

Rangfoyer, Kantine, Terrace no step-free access

More info [www.gorki.de/en/accessibility](http://www.gorki.de/en/accessibility)

If you want to visit a performance at the mainstage or Studio Я with a wheelchair, please contact us at the latest four days before your visit at [ticket@gorki.de](mailto:ticket@gorki.de) or 030 20221-115.

### CHILD CARE

Every Saturday and Sunday in June 17:00–19:00 we offer child care for children above the age of 7. Meeting point: Café

### BRING FOOD TO SHARE

On Sundays at *Forum & Brunch*, we want to talk about politics with you over shared food. Just as it was practiced during the Gezi protests. Instead of paying for tickets, we would like everybody to bring something to eat to share with others. Çay will be served by the Gezi team.

## THE GEZİ FESTIVAL PASS

Discount tickets for the GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER festival from 26/May to 25/June

Ermäßigte Tickets im Rahmen von GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER vom 26/Mai bis 25/Juni

The pass costs 25 € and grants discounted entry to all events, including repertoire, during the festival.

Der Pass kostet einmalig 25 € und gewährt ermäßigten Eintritt in alle Veranstaltungen, einschließlich Repertoire, während des Festivalzeitraums.

## THANKS TO OUR FUNDERS & PARTNERS

### GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER

Gefördert durch die



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LIBRARY OF RESISTANCE panels



In der Zukunft schwelgen | Emel Anne | #DirenAyol panel



Single events in the frame of GEZİ – TEN YEARS AFTER are additionally funded by

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6. BERLINER HERBSTALON



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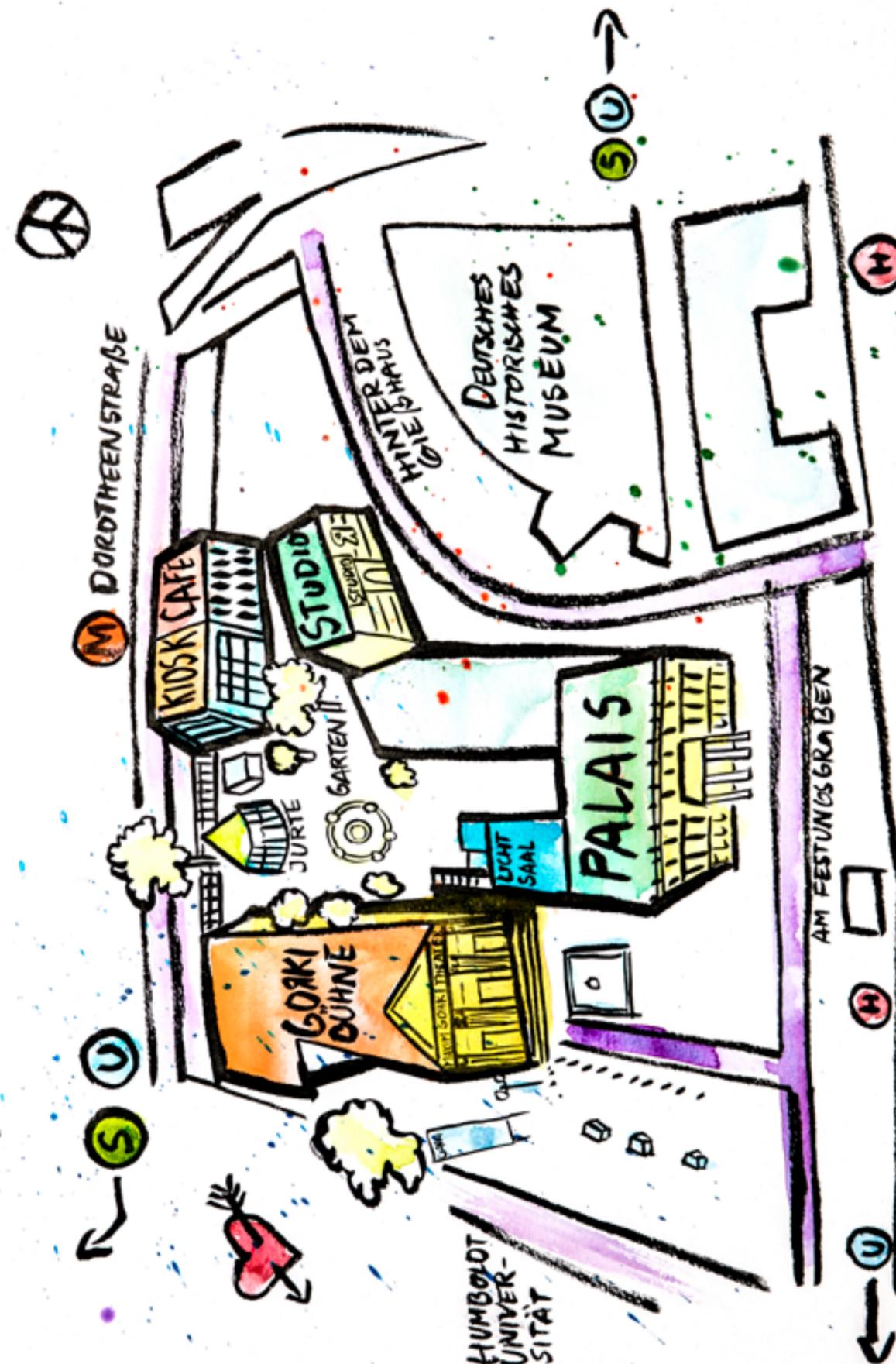


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Imprint Das Maxim Gorki Theater ist eine Kulturinstitution des Landes Berlin. Publisher Maxim Gorki Theater Artistic Director Shermin Langhoff Artistic Co-Director Oliver Frlić Executive Director Michael Helmbold Editing Dramaturgy, Artistic Administration Department, PR Translation Summer Banks, Barbara Wiebking, Ayça Türkoğlu Artistic Direction Esra Rotthoff Layout & Typesetting Cécile Kobel & Jona Dienst Final Artwork sign.Berlin GmbH Print A. Beig Druckerei und Verlag GmbH & Co. KG Editing deadline 04.05.2023 Photo page 22/23 Eren Aytuğ / NarPhotos Cover photo Ali Kabas / Alamy Back cover Tolga Sezgin / NarPhotos

# GORKI PARK MAP



6. BERLINER HERBSTSALON '23

CINEMA EXHIBITION MUSIC LIBRARY

# GE zi

TEN  
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AFTER

PERFORMANCE RADIO TALK WORKSHOP

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