

Uvodnik

Pri obravnavi iregularnih migracij v Evropo se običajno navaja tri glavne poti: zahodno, srednjo in vzhodno sredozemsko pot. Balkanska pot je del vzhodne sredozemske poti in označuje geografsko dokaj neopredeljeno območje, ki se začne v okolici Istanbula in Izmirja ter nato sega prek Grčije proti severu do širšega območja madžarske, avstrijske južne meje ter italijanske vzhodne meje. Shematični zemljevidi, ki rišejo smeri migrantskih poti prek Sredozemskega morja ali Balkana, močno poenostavljajo resničnost iregularnih migracij. Zdi se, kot da je njihov glavni namen, da ustvarjajo občutek invazije Evrope z bledo obarvano mejo Evropske unije, ki jo prečijo živo rumene puščice in dopolnjuje navidezno nevtralna statistika. Ravno statistika priča, da iregularne migracije predstavljajo majhen delež vseh migracij. Glede na podatke Evropske komisije naj bi v letu 2023 v Evropsko unijo po ustaljenih poteh dela, družine ali študija imigriralo 4,3 milijona ljudi. V istem letu je Evropska komisija naštel skoraj 280.000 iregularnih vstopov v Evropsko unijo, evropska mejna in obalna straža Frontex pa je številko postavila na 380.000 in pri štetju upoštevala še zahodno afriško pot v smeri Kanarskih otokov.

Te številke, s katerimi bi lahko letno napolnili kakšno manjše do srednje veliko evropsko mesto, znova ne povedo ravno veliko o ljudeh na poti, ki soočeni s tehnološkim aparatom evropskega mejnega režima dnevno prečkajo meje brez dovoljenj, skrivajoč se v prikolici tovornjaka ali na podvozju avtobusa ali vlaka. Nekateri poti prepešačijo globoko v gozdu, hodeč dneve ali celo tedne po ozemljih Bolgarije ali Hrvaške, da bi se izognili policijski patrolji, dronu in toplotni kameri. Spet druge je ulovila grška policija v raciji improviziranega šotorišča pri Solunu in strpala v zapor za pridržanje za leto dni. Nekdo je plačal deset in več tisoč evrov za vnaprej organiziran prehod meja od Turčije do Avstrije, drugi ponosen zatrjuje, kako je uspel v treh mesecih prečkati balkansko pot, ne da bi za to porabil cent za vodnike in tihotapce. Naslednji je preživel več let v Srbiji in delal na gradbiščih, vendar odpotoval naprej, ker ve, da v Beogradu ne bo dobil dokumentov. Eden je zapustil rodno mesto v Maroku, preden je zaključil srednjo šolo, tretji je po več letih zapustil begunsko taborišče v Turčiji. Množico migrantov na balkanski poti sestavlja množica osebnih zgodb, ki jih zemljevidi

in statistike zamolčijo, hkrati pa vsem zadajo eno oznako – nezakoniti, nedokumentirani oziroma iregularni migrant. Biti nezakonit ali iregularen pomeni bivati na območju države, tega modernega suverena, brez njegovega dovoljenja. Pa vendar – kako je sploh mogoče razglasiti zgolj bivanje neke osebe za nezakonito? Zdi se, kot da je ravno iregularni migrant slepa pega pravnega reda nacionalne države.

Nove oblike državnega rasizma in omejevanja dostopa do pravic se ne postavljajo po načelu barve kože, temveč glede na bivanjski status in legalnost osebe. Državljan uživa več pravic kot delavec migrant, ta več kot sezonski delavec, iregularni migrant pa se znajde v položaju brezpravnosti, kjer je veljavnost pravice do zaščite pred mučenjem in kolektivnim izgonom hitro pozabljena, če je takšna volja suverena. Okoliščine »ilegalca«, osebe, ki nima pravice do bivanja, pričajo o drugačni vlogi državnih meja, ki presejajo kontekst posamezne države. Vloga državnih meja v razmerah globalnega kapitalizma, ki ga definira neenak odnos med državami svetovnih centrov gospodarske moči nasproti državam polperiferije in periferije, je omejevanje posledic uničujočih pogojev sistema, ki te meje postavlja. Siromašenje prebivalstva držav, ujetih v neokolonialne odnose, ali pa vojno uničenje, ki ga poganjata zunanja politika in vojaška industrija bogatih držav, sta dejavnika, ki pospešujeta gibanje iregularnih migracij. V takšnih okoliščinah državne meje postanejo del evropskega mejnega režima, katerega glavni namen je nasilno odvrčanje poskusov nezakonitega prečkanja meja. Evropski mejni režim in z njim tudi balkanska pot predstavljata orodje ohranjanja obstoječih kapitalističnih razmerij, ki spravljajo množice na pot v iskanje pogojev za dostojno življenje. Iregularni migrant je temeljna realnost razmerij globalne neenakosti, ki se med drugim izkazuje tudi v neenaki pravici do gibanja. Ravno omejevanje pravice do gibanja ustvarja brezpravni položaj, ki omogoča skrajne oblike izkoriščanja na poljih v Italiji in Španiji ter na gradbiščih, klavnicah in tovarnah po Evropi. Na vsake toliko pa se vendarle zgodi, da takšne okoliščine privedejo množice v gibanje, ki ga mejni režimi ne uspejo omejiti. Tak dogodek je bilo *dolgo poletje migracij* leta 2015 in nato oblikovanje balkanskega koridorja, ko je bil evropski mejni režim začasno suspendiran in je v Evropo na iregularen način vstopilo več kot milijon ljudi.

Letos mineva desetletje od tega dogodka, ki je nepovratno spremenil dojemanje migracij tako s strani evropske javnosti kot politike in tudi samo gibanje ljudi na poti. Če so bile iregularne migracije pred letom 2015 bolj stvar črne kronike, so danes v ospredju politične debate, ko politiki tekmujejo, kdo bo obljubil več deportacij. V ospredju je tudi sam boj migrantov za lajšanje pogojev regularizacije bivanja; takšen primer je španska državljanska pobuda o regularizaciji pol milijona iregularnih migrantov iz leta 2024, v Sloveniji pa je tak primer nedavna uvedba možnosti prehoda od prosilca za azil v status migrantskega delavca. Ire-

gularne migracije na balkanski poti segajo daleč pred obdobje koridorja, vendar se zdi, da obdobje množičnih gibanj v letu 2015 in nato oblikovanje ter zaprtje mednarodno organiziranega koridorja marca 2016 predstavljajo točko nepovratnosti v dojetanju migracij in poteka samih migracijskih gibanj na Balkanu. V letih po zaprtju koridorja so države uvedle prakse brutalnega policijskega nasilja z namenom izvajanja politike odvracanja, hkrati pa so bile ravno te nasilne prakse policije in državni zločini točke politične mobilizacije, ki so povezale lokalne državljanske pobude in ljudi na poti v boju za enakopravnejšo družbo.

Z namenom refleksije tega, kaj predstavljata leti 2015 in 2016 in kako so se mejni režimi, gibanje ljudi na poti in politična organizacija migrantskega boja spremenili v zadnjih desetih letih, smo pripravili pričujočo številko Časopisa za kritiko znanosti. Prvi razdelek vsebuje nabor osebnih in kolektivnih izkušenj tistih, ki so spremljali ali pa bili udeleženi v dolgem poletju migracij leta 2015. Razdelek vsebuje prispevka dolgoletnega aktivista Hagena Koppa iz organizacije *No one is illegal - Hanau* in samostojne novinarki Nidžare Ahmetašević, ki deluje v Sarajevu, intervju z beguncem, ki je potoval prek balkanskega koridorja, ter dragocene izkušnje mreže Alarmphone s fokusom na vzhodnem Sredozemlju, ki jih je delila Marion Bayer. Prav tako so tu zbrane izkušnje migrantskih bojev proti nezakonitim izgonom iz Grčije, izkušnje migrantskega organiziranja v Italiji s strani mreže *Transnational Migrant Coordination* ter izkušnje delovanja migrantskega dnevnega centra pri Slovenski filantropiji. Številka vsebuje poseben sklop, namenjen znanstveno-raziskovalnemu vidiku obravnave balkanske poti s prispevki Marte Stojić Mitrović o desetletnem razvoju razmer na področju migracij v Srbiji ter aktualnim opisom policijskega nasilja na Hrvaškem in praksah sežiganja osebnih reči migrantov pri izvajanju nezakonitih izgonov, ki ga je pripravil Tristan Solf iz mreže *Border Violence Monitoring Network*. Znanstveni razdelek prav tako vsebuje študijsko obravnavo primera uspešne tožbe prosilca za azil proti Republiki Sloveniji zaradi izгона na Hrvaško, raziskavo smrti ljudi na poti na slovensko-hrvaško mejo ter kronološki pregled razvoja balkanske poti od njenih začetkov prek koridorja leta 2015 do današnje situacije.

Vsebina številke z namenom povezovanja različnih družbenih bojev in izmenjave izkušenj presega okvir balkanske poti in vključuje nabor raznovrstnih znanstvenih člankov. Člani skupine *Razredni broj* so pripravili prispevek s področja organiziranja migrantskih delavcev v Sloveniji, poglavje številke pa vsebuje tudi članke s področij spolnega nasilja v zaporih, zgodovinskega razvoja diskurza o migracijah v Sloveniji, homonacionalizma v azilnih postopkih v primerih kvir prosilcev za azil na Dunaju, zgodovinske obravnave antiimperialističnih diskurzivnih virov v ideologiji Islamske republike Iran ter vloge delitve javne in zasebne sfere v kapitalizmu. V poglavje je vključena tudi angleška poobjava novinarske reportaže Mihe K. Turka s protestov v Beogradu glede prvoosebne

izkušnje »domnevnega« zvočnega topa, ki je bil uporabljen proti protestnikom marca letos. Za dovoljenje za poobjavo članka se posebej zahvaljujemo medijski hiši Dnevnik. Poglavlje *Civilna družba* je namenjeno objavi javnih govorov in izjav za javnost. Ti zajemajo izbrane govore z dveh shodov proti militarizaciji v Ljubljani, in sicer 16. 10. 2024 in 27. 3. 2025, govore s skupne seje Odbora za obrambo in Odbora za zunanjo politiko Državnega zbora Republike Slovenije (9. 4. 2025), izjavi Fronte za skupno dobro s protesta za dostojen javni potniški promet (26. 9. 2025) in protesta pred Azilnim domom Vič zaradi nasilja varnostnikov nad prosilci za azil ter skrajnih oblik izkoriščanja delavcev migrantov (13. 6. 2025). S slednjega protesta je vključena tudi izjava Infokolpe, sklop pa zaključuje besedilo pobude za inkluzivni dostop do malic za vse otroke, ki je nastala v sodelovanju društev Adra Slovenija, Društvo Medkulturni dialog in KD Gmajna.

Posebno poglavje je namenjeno migrantskim razmislekom s prispevkom Angela Miguela Mercada Krajnca o življenju v Sloveniji, intervjujem z Dinnyuyem Kongnyuyem o dolgoletni izkušnji življenja brez dovoljenja za bivanje ter predavanjem Aigul Hakimove na temo lastne izkušnje migrantskega aktivizma. Predavanje je bilo izvedeno v okviru dogodka *Ali se (s)plača skrbeti?* (14. 12. 2024), za dovoljenje za poobjavo predavanja se zahvaljujemo *Zavodu Maska*. Literarno poglavje združuje pesmi Abir Aljondi in Alija Khanija ter esej Saše Hajzler. Številka se zaključuje z dvema knjižnima recenzijama, in sicer *Lenin: The Heritage We (Don't) Renounce* (Daraja Press in KickAss Books, 2024) ter *Moderna teorija migracij: Drugačen ekonomski pristop k spodleteli politiki Evropske unije* (Krtina, 2024).

Številka, ki jo držite v rokah, je nastala v uredništvu članov civilne iniciative Infokolpa, pri čemer gre za drugo številko, ki smo jo uredili. Besedila v njej so tako v slovenskem kot angleškem jeziku, določeni prispevki pa so objavljeni dvojezično ali celo trojezično. Prva številka je bila izdana konec leta 2024 z naslovom *Balkan Migration Route Revisted*. S tokratno številko smo želeli obeležiti desetletnico pomembnega dogodka, ki ga predstavlja obdobje dolgega poletja migracij in balkanskega koridorja v letih 2015 in 2016, za katerega se zdi, da predstavlja uvod v novo obdobje migracijskih bojev. Pri pripravi številke smo pogled uperili nazaj, da bi lahko jasneje doumeli obrise prihodnjih družbenih bojev. Če si bodo postavili za cilj enakopravnejšo in pravičnejšo družbo, bodo ti morali za eno svojih centralnih točk vzeti tudi migracije.

Editorial

When discussing irregular migration to Europe, three main routes are usually mentioned: the western, central, and eastern Mediterranean routes. The Balkan route is part of the eastern Mediterranean route and refers to a geographically relatively undefined area that starts in the streets of Istanbul and Izmir and then extends northwards through Greece to the broader areas of the Hungarian and Austrian southern borders and the eastern Italian border. Simplified maps used in the news showing the directions of migrant routes across the Mediterranean Sea or the Balkans hide the reality of irregular migration. It seems that their primary purpose is to create a sense of invasion of Europe with pale-coloured European Union borders crossed by bright yellow arrows, complemented by seemingly neutral statistics. Statistics show that irregular migration accounts for only a small proportion of all migration in Europe. According to data from the European Commission, 4.3 million people immigrated to the European Union in 2023 through established channels, such as work, family relations, or study. In the same year, the European Commission recorded nearly 280,000 irregular entries into the European Union, while Frontex, the European border and coast guard, put the figure at 380,000, including the West African route to the Canary Islands.

These figures, which could fill a small to medium-sized European city each year, once again tell us little about the people who cross borders without permits on a daily basis, hiding in the trailers of trucks or the undercarriages of buses and trains, despite the extensive technological apparatus of the European border regime. Some have travelled deep into the forest, walking for days or even weeks across Bulgarian or Croatian territory to avoid police patrols, drones, and thermal-imaging cameras. Others have been caught in a Greek police raid on an improvised camp on the outskirts of Thessaloniki and detained for a year. Some people have paid 10,000 euros or more for a pre-arranged crossing from Turkey to Austria, while others claim to have crossed the Balkan route in three months without spending anything on guides or smugglers. Someone else spent several years working on construction sites in Serbia and then moved on to the European Union because he knew he would not be able to obtain the necessary documents in Belgrade. One left his Moroccan hometown before finishing high school;

another left a Turkish refugee camp after spending several years waiting for a solution. The multitude of migrants on the Balkan route is made up of countless personal stories, which are concealed by maps and statistics while simultaneously being labelled as 'illegal', 'undocumented', or 'irregular migrants'. To be illegal or irregular means to live in a state's territory without its permission. This raises the question: how can a person's mere presence be declared illegal? It seems that irregular migrants are a blind spot of the national state and its legal order.

Today's forms of state racism and restrictions on access to rights are not based on skin colour, but on a person's residence status and legality. A citizen enjoys more rights than a migrant worker, who in turn enjoys more rights than a seasonal worker. In contrast, an irregular migrant finds themselves in a lawless position where the right to protection from torture and collective expulsion quickly becomes invalid if the sovereign so wishes. The circumstances of the *illegal*—someone who has no right to reside—testify to a particular role of state borders that transcends the context of individual countries. The role of national borders in the context of global capitalism, defined by the unequal relationship between the countries of the world's economic power centres and those of the semi-periphery and periphery, is to limit the consequences of the destructive conditions set by the system that establishes these borders. The impoverishment of the populations of countries caught up in neocolonial relations or war destruction driven by the foreign policy and military industry of richer states are factors that accelerate the movement of irregular migration. In such circumstances, national borders become part of the European border regime, whose primary function is to violently deter irregular border crossings. The European border regime, and with it the Balkan route, is a tool for maintaining the existing capitalist relations that drive masses of people to seek safety and a decent life abroad, despite travel restrictions. Irregular migrants are a fundamental reality of global inequality, as reflected in the unequal distribution of the right to movement. It is precisely the restriction of the right to movement that creates a situation of lawlessness, enabling extreme forms of exploitation in the fields of Italy and Spain and on construction sites, in slaughterhouses, and in factories across Europe. However, every now and then, the circumstances of these relationships lead to mass movements that even border regimes are unable to contain. One such event was *the long summer of migration* in 2015 and the subsequent formation of the Balkan corridor, when the European border regime was temporarily suspended and over a million people entered Europe irregularly.

This year marks a decade since this event irrevocably changed the movement of people and perceptions of migration among the European public and politicians. While irregular migration was more of a crime story before 2015, today it is at the forefront of political debate, with politicians competing with promi-

ses on who will provide more deportations. The challenges faced by migrants in their efforts to improve their chances of regularisation are also at the forefront, as demonstrated by the Spanish citizens' initiative to regularise half a million irregular migrants in 2024. In Slovenia, a recent example of this is the introduction of the possibility for asylum seekers to transition to migrant worker status. Irregular migration on the Balkan route dates back well before the corridor period, but it seems that the period of mass movements in 2015 and the subsequent formation and closure of the internationally organised corridor in March 2016 represent a point of no return in the perception of migration and the course of migration movements in the Balkans. In the years following the closure of the corridor, countries introduced practices of brutal police violence, intending to implement deterrence policies. While at the same time, it was precisely these violent police practices and state crimes that became points of political mobilisation, bringing together local civic initiatives and people on the move in the struggle for an equal and just society.

To reflect on what the years 2015 and 2016 represent and how border regimes, the movement of people, and the political organisation of the migrant struggles have changed over the last ten years, we have prepared this issue of the *Journal for the Critique of Science*. The first section contains a collection of personal and collective experiences of those who accompanied or participated in *the long summer of migration* in 2015. This section includes contributions from Hagen Kopp, a long-time activist from the organisation No One Is Illegal – Hanau, and Nidžara Ahmetašević, a freelance journalist working in Sarajevo. There is also an interview with a refugee who travelled through the Balkan corridor, and valuable insights from the Alarmphone network focusing on the eastern Mediterranean, shared by Marion Bayer. It also brings together the experiences of those who have struggled against illegal deportations from Greece, the experiences of migrant organising in Italy by the Transnational Migrant Coordination, as well as the experiences of operating a migrant day centre at Slovene Philanthropy. The issue includes a section dedicated to the scientific-research perspective on the Balkan route, with contributions by Marta Stojić Mitrović on the decade-long development of the migration situation in Serbia and a current analysis of police violence in Croatia and the practice of burning migrants' personal belongings during illegal expulsions, prepared by Tristan Solf from the Border Violence Monitoring Network. The scientific section also contains a study of a successful lawsuit brought by an asylum seeker against the Republic of Slovenia for pushback to Croatia, an investigation into the deaths of people on the Slovenian-Croatian border, and a chronological overview of the development of the Balkan route from its beginnings through the corridor in 2015, and to the current situation.

Intending to connect various social struggles and exchange experiences, the content of this issue goes beyond the Balkan route and includes a selection of diverse scientific articles. Members of the Class Issue have prepared a contribution on experiences of organising migrant workers in Slovenia. The issue also contains articles on sexual violence in prisons, the historical development of the discourse on migration in Slovenia, homonationalism in asylum procedures in cases of queer asylum seekers in Vienna, a historical examination of anti-imperialist discursive sources in the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the role of the division between the public and private spheres in capitalism. It also includes an English reprint of Miha K. Turk's journalistic report on his first-hand experience of the presumed sound cannon used against protesters in March this year, from the protests in Belgrade. We want to express our special thanks to the Dnevnik newspaper-publishing house for permission to reprint the article. The *Civil Society* chapter is intended for the publication of public speeches and statements. These include selected speeches from two rallies against militarisation in Ljubljana on 16 October 2024 and 27 March 2025, speeches from the joint session of the Defense Committee and the Foreign Policy Committee of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia (9 April 2025), statements by the Front for the Common Good from the protest for decent public transport (26 September 2025), and the protest against the violence of security guards against asylum seekers and extreme forms of exploitation of migrant workers in front of the Asylum Centre Vič in Ljubljana (13 June 2025). We have also included a statement from Infokolpa regarding the protest mentioned above. The section concludes with the text of an initiative for inclusive access to school lunches for all children. This initiative was created in collaboration with the associations Adra Slovenia, Intercultural Dialogue Society, and KD Gmajna.

A section of the issue is devoted to migrant reflections. Contributions include Angel Miguel Mercado Krajnc's account of life in Slovenia, an interview with Dinnyuy Kongnyuy about his long-term experience of living without a residence permit, and a lecture by Aigul Hakimova on her experience of migrant activism. The lecture was given as part of the event *Ali se (s)plača skrbeti? (Is it worth caring?)* on 14 December 2024. We would like to thank *the Maska Institute* for permitting us to republish the lecture. The literary section brings together poems by Abir Aljondi and Ali Khani, and an essay by Saša Hajzler. The issue concludes with two book reviews, namely *Lenin: The Heritage We (Don't) Renounce* (Daraja Press and KickAss Books, 2024) and *A Modern Migration Theory: An Alternative Economic Approach to Failed EU Policy* (Krtina, 2024).

The issue you are holding was created by the editorial team of the Infokolpa civil initiative, and this is the second issue that we have edited. The first issue was published at the end of 2024 under the title *Balkan Route Revisited*. In this

issue, we mark the tenth anniversary of the significant events of *the long summer of migration* and the Balkan corridor in 2015 and 2016. These events seem to represent the beginning of a new era of migration struggles. In preparing this issue, we took a retrospective look to gain a clearer understanding of the contours of future social struggles. If these struggles are to achieve more equal and just societies, migration must be one of their central concerns.