



2 August 1944
Auschwitz-Birkenau

European Holocaust Memorial Day for Sinti and Roma

Commemorative act on the occasion of the European Holocaust Memorial Day for Sinti and Roma on 2 August 2022 at the former German Nazi concentration and extermination camp Auschwitz-Birkenau

Program

Roman Kwiatkowski, Chairman of the Roma Association in Poland

Romani Rose, Chairman of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma

Christian Pfeil, Holocaust survivor

Bodo Ramelow, President of the Bundesrat / Prime Minister of Thuringia

Helena Dalli, European Commission, Commissioner for Equality

Mateusz Morawiecki, Prime Minister; letter read by Leszek Kmita, Voivod of the Małopolska Region

Piotr Cywinski, Director of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum

Nataliia Tomenko, Dikh He Na Bister / ternYpe International Roma Youth Network



Speeches are available digitally (QR Code)

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The spoken word is valid!

Roman Kwiatkowski, Chairman of the Roma Association in Poland

Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I warmly welcome you on behalf of the Roma Association in Poland and the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma to the celebration of Roma Holocaust Remembrance Day. Today marks 78 years since the liquidation of our last sisters and brothers imprisoned in the so-called Zigeunerlager in Auschwitz-Birkenau.

For more than three decades, we have been commemorating the last 4300 Roma prisoners and Zigeunerlager prisoners killed in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. In their persons, we find a tragic summary of the fate of the Roma during the Second World War, when the criminal ideology of Nazism decided to annihilate the entire nation. We owe the fact that we survived to the defeat of the war machine of German Nazism against the allied forces, but also human solidarity and the firm will for the existence of our sisters and brothers. The Roma have survived, but unfortunately, ideologies have not been forgotten and, in the name of the superiority of one nation over others, will not shrink from terror and crime.

A year ago, I never thought our next meeting would occur in the shadow of war. Unfortunately, in the name of an incomprehensible lust for power, a sense of superiority, and an ideology of hatred, the blood of innocent victims is shed on the land of our eastern neighbour.

Ukrainian Roma are also fighting and dying in this senseless and cruel war. Their mothers, wives and daughters are fleeing from this war – also to Poland. Roma's sacred duty has always been to defend his family and home. Today, the Roma defend Ukraine, which is their home, and their Ukrainian confreres, who are their family. It is a pity that stereotypes and old prejudices persist even during difficult times. The world marvelled at the combat feat of the Kherson Roma, who deprived the enemy of an armoured personnel carrier. The tractor of a Roma farmer became for a moment a symbol of the triumph of good over the forces of evil. But even then, the harmful word "theft" was used, even though enemy tanks are not stolen in war. In war, they are acquired.

This time requires solidarity and understanding of the entire international community and each of us individually. The world cannot yield to the dictates of force. We have learned this lesson in the past – concession leads to further unlawful demands. There would have been no Holocaust, and there would have been no extermination of the Roma if the passivity of the civilised world had not assured the Nazis that they were unpunished.

There is also an essential dimension of solidarity for each of us. Most Polish society bore witness to selflessness and sacrifice, accepting millions of war refugees under its roofs. We see it as our duty. But unfortunately, we must mention that many Roma refugees have experienced different treatment than their fellow citizens. Although no border wall was built against them, they faced a wall of stigmatisation and discrimination that revealed the power of stereotypes and prejudices. From difficulties in accessing essential services to access to work, Ukrainian Roma, primarily women, have repeatedly experienced double standards. And yet they fled the same war and experienced the atrocities of the invaders; their husbands, sons and brothers were fighting in the same battle. They are also fighting on our behalf.

Respect and equal treatment are not privileges; they are an elementary condition for building a democratic society of free people. We, Roma, do not demand benefits or special rights. It is enough if we enjoy those rights that belong to all citizens, and the State supports those areas which, for every minority, are the essence of its identity — culture, language, literature and history — with the same rights as all other minorities.

We care about cultivating Roma traditions and culture. However, we do not believe that members of our community are deprived of the right to make their own choices of life and social paths, and merely belonging to the Roma nation does not mean social exclusion. Exclusion arises due to external action, stereotyping of Roma and failure to prevent discrimination against them based on ethnicity. Pursuing a Roma policy without the interested parties' participation is also discriminatory. Education, health and social policy should be implemented within the framework of general guidelines in these areas.

We do not want privilege. We want equal rights and obligations towards the societies we are a part of. If we need support and help, it is where our rights need to be protected, just as states should protect the rights of all citizens.

The drama of the present war makes us all aware that defending fundamental values requires unity and solidarity. Because of external threats, the European Union recognises the need to consolidate and expand its influence. We must not miss the situation of the Roma in the countries of the Union and in countries aspiring to belong to our community. The enlargement of the European Union cannot take place without taking care of the fundamental rights of its citizens. The current and future members of the Union must adopt the fundamental objectives of defending the rights of our community so that the further expansion of the Union serves to broaden the sphere of freedom and does not perpetuate exclusion and discrimination where they are a real problem.

We want to believe that in future Europe, the Roma will not be the target of forced displacement, segregation and resettlement, will not be discriminated against when they have access to water or electricity, and that Omsk children will not be segregated in schools and placed in separate classrooms or special classes.

Respect for fundamental rights is fundamental today when once again, criminal ideologies bring death, violence, and destruction. Over the graves of the victims to whom we pay tribute today, we must also reflect that future generation may share their fate. I am talking about it at a time when a leader of one of the European Union countries utters words about racial purity. It is happening in that part of Europe where Nazism has taken the bloodiest toll. The Holocaust did not start with the lighting of the crematorium furnaces. The Holocaust began with words like these.

It is only up to us whether we allow history to repeat itself or whether we will be strong enough to prevent it.

Romani Rose, Chair of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma

Dear President of the Bundesrat Ramelow,
Dear Commissioner Dalli,
Dear Mr Cywiński,
Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I am particularly pleased to welcome the genocide survivors who are with us today, especially Christian Pfeil from Germany, who will speak to us later.

We remember our people who suffered an agonising death 78 years ago today, in the night of 2 to 3 August 1944. They were the last 4,300 members of our minority who had survived the unimaginable suffering of the hell of Auschwitz until then and were driven into the gas chambers by the SS: Women and children, the old and the sick.

The name Auschwitz stands not only for the Holocaust of 500,000 Sinti and Roma and six million Jews, but at the same time for an unprecedented break with civilisation that dragged the whole of Europe into the abyss.

With Minister President Bodo Ramelow, a Federal Council President is now taking part in this commemoration ceremony for the first time in order to jointly remember the victims of the Holocaust against the Sinti and Roma and to represent the Federal Republic in a high-ranking manner through his person. Bodo Ramelow, as Prime Minister of Thuringia, has also been campaigning for the equality of the minority for many years and consistently opposes the worrying antigypsyism. Here, too, we see this as a clear sign that Germany is living up to its historically grown responsibility, also internationally.

In 2015, the European Parliament officially declared 2 August as European Holocaust Memorial Day for Sinti and Roma. The fact that the EU Commissioner for Equality, Helena Dalli, is here with us today shows that the European Commission shares our concerns and recognises that antigypsyism in Europe, especially in South-Eastern and Central Europe, represents a serious threat to the members of our minority, who are forced to live in apartheid-like conditions in the middle of Europe.

When the Hungarian President Orban, whose country is a member state of the European Union, again talks about race and ethnic purity and uses a vocabulary reminiscent of the darkest times in European history, then this is another attempt at division, which is dangerous for peace in our society, our community and our European values. We as Europeans must stand united against such attempts at division and not allow such inflammatory statements to go unchallenged.

Such examples show that the achievements of an open democratic society, which have long been taken for granted, are increasingly being called into question and that anti-Semitism and antigypsyism are once again leading to people's lives being threatened. This is true not only for Hungary, but for many countries in South-Eastern and Central Europe.

When I turn my gaze from this place where we have gathered today a few kilometres to the east and to what is happening in Ukraine, I think that it is precisely there that our failure in the face of the legacy of the victims of Auschwitz is revealed. I have in mind not only the Russian war of aggression, but also the often inhumane living conditions of the estimated 400,000 Ukrainian Roma.

Their men are also defending their country, Ukraine, from Russian aggression at the front, and their wives, children and elderly are also fleeing their homeland from the war, just like all Ukrainians.

Despite all this, Roma continue to be marginalised and discriminated against in Ukraine. There is evidence that they have been discriminated against in food distribution. In some cases, Roma who were accused of illegally appropriating food were openly abused in the pillory. This defamed, humiliated and degraded the entire minority.

This marginalises the minority and, as in the Middle Ages, makes them the guilty party and the scapegoat. Yet these people are citizens of Ukraine and have been at home there for centuries. The fact that antigypsyism is not a new phenomenon in Ukraine, but was already a serious problem before the war, can be seen in the numerous acts of violence to which Roma were subjected in the country. There were outright pogroms by nationalist and right-wing extremist groups, in which people also died, for example in Lviv in 2018.

But it is not only in Ukraine, but also in the host countries that the Roma fleeing the war in their homeland are met with rejection - also in Germany, as numerous incidents in different places have clearly shown. The reason for this recurring rejection, for the exclusion, for the humiliation and the sometimes deadly attacks throughout Europe is the antigypsyism that has been handed down for centuries. Outlawing it must be a priority goal for all of us, especially here and now, as we commemorate the victims of the Holocaust.

But what does remembering and commemorating mean, given the degrading circumstances in which members of the minority are forced to live, especially in the countries of South-Eastern and Central Europe? Where they have to endure a system of apartheid that deprives them of any opportunities in finding work, education or health care? Where they constantly have to fear for their lives and are threatened by antigypsyist hatred and violence? What is the use of demanding human rights worldwide if we ourselves forget and overlook the people on our own doorstep?

Ladies and gentlemen, we must not allow people to be deprived of their dignity again in the midst of the countries of the European Union or elsewhere. It is not only European politics that is called upon here, but we are all called upon here not to let these conditions go unchallenged and to assert our understanding of equality and law, which must be valid for all people. In this sense, I understand the legacy of all the people who died in a cruel way at this historic place.

Thank you.

Christian Pfeil, survivor of the Holocaust

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very moved to be able to speak today at the official Holocaust Memorial Day for the Sinti and Roma murdered under National Socialism as a representative of our survivors.

In May 1940, my entire family was deported from their hometown of Trier to the camps in German-occupied Generalgouvernement Poland because they were Sinti. My eldest sister Berta was 12 when she was deported to the camps, and my youngest brother was just three years old.

My siblings told me that all the children - even the very young ones - had to do hard forced labour in the camps. Just like my parents, they had to work in road construction and digging trenches. They suffered from great hunger throughout the years and were completely undernourished.

I myself was born in the Lublin ghetto in 1944. Even during her pregnancy, my mother had to do the hardest forced labour, she was mistreated and beaten.

I can imagine that it must have been hell to give birth to a child in the camp. The mortality rate of children in the camps was very high, the newborns almost all died.

I was told again and again that it was a miracle that I survived at all. Many of my family members, on the other hand, did not survive the Holocaust.

When I am here in Auschwitz, I think above all of the fate of my great-uncle's children, who were murdered here in this place.

His 14 children were first taken to a Catholic orphanage. We know nothing about the fate of most of these children. All we know is that four of the siblings: Clemens, Alfons, Luise and Willi Pfeil were deported from the home to the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp in August 1943. Clemens Pfeil was already deported in March 1943 and died only three months later. The exact dates of death of his siblings have not been handed down. Perhaps you were among the thousands of Sinti and Roma from all over Europe who were murdered by the SS 78 years ago today, on 2 August 1944.

Today, the siblings are finally commemorated by name. The street where the family lived in Trier until 1940 is to be named in memory of Willi Pfeil, my cousin, who was murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau when he was only 6 years old.

After the liberation from the camps, my father went back to Trier with our family as quickly as possible.

Because that was our home. And I would like to add at this point: I am proud to be Sinto, the whole city knows that we are Sinti, none of us would hide that.

However, the end of the war did not mean the end of persecution for us. I noticed that especially with my father. When he had an appointment with an authority in the 1960s, I

always had to go with him. He was afraid of the people who were now sitting in the offices again and who had taken him to the camps back then. He was always terribly excited and quick-tempered before every visit to an authority.

He never went there without his cane. He would use it to defend himself if he was attacked. The very same people who had persecuted him during the National Socialist era were again sitting in the administration. He recognised them all and now they were deciding whether to grant his applications.

The older ones among us had basically often withdrawn and ducked away. Just no problems with the authorities. This feeling is still strong, especially among our older people. Watch out when you go out in the evening - this sentence from my father still rings in my ears today. Today's young people stand up for their rights and fight back.

In the meantime I have the impression that discrimination against us Sinti has decreased somewhat in recent years. But I am afraid that something like National Socialism could come back.

To all the young people who are here today, I would like to say one thing: there are always crazy, obsessed and fanatical people who despise other people. Who persecute or even kill other people because of their skin colour, nationality or because they belong to a minority. Racist tendencies exist all over Europe today.

That is why courage is needed. That is why you must stand up for democracy and firmly oppose antigypsyism, anti-Semitism and racism.

Visit the memorials and places of persecution on site and see for yourselves what people went through.

With this appeal to the coming generations, who will carry the memory of the victims of the Holocaust into the future, I would like to conclude my speech and thank you for your attention.

Bodo Ramelow, President of the Bundesrat and Minister President of Thuringia

Dear contemporary eye-witnesses!
Ladies and gentlemen!

We stand together here at a place of horror.
4,300 children, women and men – killed in a single night.
On a night exactly 78 years ago.

4,300 human beings. 4,300 of the half a million Sinti and Roma who were murdered during the Nazi dictatorship.

One survivor commented about the direct impact of this anniversary:
“Every year, we are once again gripped all day long by fear of a terrible death.
We mourn as if this were our last day.
We will not know until tomorrow whether we have survived.”

We are here today to look the horror in the face and to make it visible by doing so.
We are here to honour and mourn the victims together.
And we are here to keep the memory alive with the survivors and with members of their families born after that era.

Ladies and gentlemen,
For me, remembrance above all means not forgetting the root causes underlying this crime.
Sinti and Roma were persecuted and killed, as were Jews and other minorities, because a racist ideology denied them the right to live.

The roots of racism run deep. It begins where people do not manage to live together with those perceived as different. In addition, there is the idea that some people are worth more than others and are thus entitled to use any form of violence against others. Racism is a form of exclusion that always leads to violence; under National Socialism it took the form of a crime organised and perpetrated by the state.

I still remember the racism towards Sinti and Roma in the small town where I grew up. This racism in everyday life is the foundation stone of the large-scale crime. Because people are conditioned from an early age to view other people with disdain. And because racism undermines the willingness to stand up for our fellow humans and help them when they are persecuted.

A long history of oppression thus predates the murder of the Sinti and Roma under National Socialism. And the aftermath continues to this day, for unfortunately, that oppression was anything but over for the Sinti and Roma when Europe was liberated in 1945.
They were once again criminalised – in some cases by the self-same Nazis who had retained their positions. To make matters worse, this criminalisation of an entire group meant they were long denied victim status. As if they were to blame for their persecution!
And how did things look when the survivors returned to their home towns?

The headmasters who had handed their children over to the Nazi henchmen were still there.
The same policemen who had taken them away.
The same doctors who had refused them treatment.

As President of the Bundesrat, I urged emphatically in my speech to the Bundesrat on 17th December last year that this “second-wave persecution” after 1945 be dealt with. In addition, we need a more pronounced research focus overall. Sinti and Roma have lived among us and with us for over 1,000 years.

Literature, film and television still pay far too little attention to the history, culture and life experiences of the Sinti and Roma, the Yenish and other minorities in Germany and Europe. And our culture of remembrance must become more comprehensive and visible. This includes preserving and maintaining the gravesites of Sinti and Roma persecuted by the National Socialists, for these play an important role in terms of awareness and in anchoring identity. Our schools and educational institutions also need to take an interest in these topics. We must break this eerie silence!

Ladies and gentlemen,

I stand before you today not just as Bodo Ramelow or as the Minister President of one of the German federal states, but as the President of the German Bundesrat. This month I also represent the Federal President, who conveys his most cordial greetings. That means, dear Romani Rose, that you and others in the minority group you represent are not commemorating alone today. Germany commemorates with you!

It is the responsibility of our societies as a whole to acknowledge the victims, to tell the survivors and their descendants that something like this will never happen again. And to do everything possible to achieve that goal! Because Germany and the other countries in which you live need you! You are an important part of our social and cultural life. You belong with us. Please do not hide away. Celebrate your identity and let us share it.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We can only live together if we meet on an equal footing. We are still far from achieving that in Europe. Dealing with each other as equals is not just about individual attitudes, but also involves tangible equality within society and political participation.

The Roma are Europe’s largest ethnic minority. And yet in many places they are again marginalised in a kind of tacit apartheid. In many countries they experience hatred, exclusion, racism, violence, and denial of civil and social rights. The period of transformation since the Cold War has not been kind to you. You have experienced too little of the dawn of a new Europe and consolidation of its values.

The Decade of Roma Inclusion has brought the problems of this population group into focus and as part of their Roma strategy the European Commission and the Council have stipulated specific goals for Roma integration for the Member States. However, in 2017, the Commission evaluated the implementation of the legislation in question; its findings concerning education, the labour market, housing and healthcare were devastating.

Other issues always seem more pressing in our countries, even when times are good. If a crisis emerges, the weaker are unfortunately the first to be left behind.

However, we must stick to our principles: there cannot and must not be a Europe without equal rights for the Roma. That is why I believe that the way Sinti and Roma are treated, and indeed how minorities in general are treated, is an important criterion when admitting new members to the EU.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I say all this at a time when war is once again raging in Europe. At a time when bombs are once again falling, cities and villages are being reduced to rubble, entire regions are being devastated. These are times when people flee their homes and are displaced. History – especially the Holocaust – teaches us that those minorities that have always been excluded are always particularly affected in this kind of situation. That is why we must pay special attention to how parties involved treat the Roma and other minorities during the war against Ukraine. The war must not be a backdrop or even a pretext for expelling the Roma from Ukraine. We want to welcome a Ukraine that respects the European Roma Conventions into the European Union.

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Romani Rose,

The “Holocaust” has become the established term to refer to the organised crime of genocide perpetrated by National Socialist Germany across Europe. It describes an all-encompassing conflagration. It is particularly striking here in Auschwitz, the place where the ovens stood that were used to burn those who had been murdered. Ashes were all that was to remain of human beings. The fire of racism was intended to devour entire groups of people.

Dear friends,

we can stand here today because that undertaking did not succeed.

You and the descendants of those who were to be destroyed on this site are still here. To mourn and to live. And to make it possible for us to embrace one another in this world, instead of devouring each other.

We mourn and embrace one another.

Helena Dalli, European Commission, Commissioner for Equality

President Bodo Ramelow,
Dear Mr Romani Rose,
Respectable survivors of the Holocaust,
Distinguished guests,

It is an honour for me to be here with you today, on an official visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau, to pay homage to the half a million Roma victims of the Holocaust.

Today, we remember the truncated lives of every Roma victim of the Holocaust and the impact that this historical fact continues to have on survivors, and Roma communities and individuals.

This is a sobering occasion, on which we are surrounded by the evidence of the most inhumane episode of European history.

It is for this reason that I consider the marking of European Roma Holocaust Day most necessary, especially at times when Holocaust deniers; far right politicians and their sympathisers; as well as antigypsyism, racism and xenophobia are on the rise.

We cannot allow the Roma genocide to go down as the ‘forgotten Holocaust’.

Nazis and their collaborators killed up to half of the European Roma population at that time, and were on a mission to kill all others.

Every year that passes, we have fewer Holocaust survivors alive to recount the greatest evil in the history of humankind first-hand.

Each year therefore it becomes more important to commemorate the European Roma Holocaust Day, which follows a 2015 European Parliament resolution.

We must be clear in our message:

Hatred and antigypsyism are a deadly concoction that may deliver unthinkable tragedies again if they are not addressed.

Distinguished guests,

The Russian aggression in Ukraine resulted in unprecedented scale of refugees fleeing the war – including Roma – since WWII.

The EU is committed to provide access to everyone fleeing the war in Ukraine regardless of nationality, ethnicity, or skin colour.

I have specifically asked all EU Member States to ensure that all Roma refugees on their territory are welcomed, and that the needs of the diverse groups are addressed in an intersectional approach, taking into account their particular needs.

This is in line with the commitment that we took in our Roma Strategic Framework, that is to push for Roma equality, inclusion and participation, even when they are stateless or do not hold EU nationality.

This year, the Commission will publish a first Report on the assessment of the National Strategies on Roma.

It will look at how Member States address the fight against antigypsyism and what measures they put in place to promote awareness of Roma cultures, language and history, including the memory of the Roma Holocaust and reconciliation processes.

In addition, I have invited all EU Ministers in charge of Roma affairs to this autumn's European Platform for Roma Inclusion to discuss the situation of Roma refugees coming from Ukraine.

I am also aiming to discuss how EU Member States are planning to take forward the work on Roma equality, inclusion and participation for the next 10 years.

May this Day's commemoration become an awakening experience and it enhances our understanding of the genocide that was perpetrated against Roma.

I thank you.

Nataliia Tomenko, Dikh He Na Bister, ternYpe International Roma Youth Network

Dear survivors,
President Ramelow, Commissioner Dalli,
honourable representatives, dear young Roma and non-Roma from all over Europe.

I stand here in front of you as a young Roma woman from Ukraine who survived a brutal war that takes place even in this very moment in front of our eyes. I have the honour today to address this commemoration ceremony on behalf of the Dikh He Na Bister youth remembrance initiative, but I also bring the voice of the Roma Council of Ukraine to this place where our Sinti and Roma ancestors were murdered during World War II.

In the last years, I attended Dikh He Na Bister together with hundreds of young Roma and non-Roma from all over Europe in order to learn about the genocide of Sinti and Roma, and to stand up against antigypsyism, antisemitism and racism nowadays. Nothing touched me more than the meeting with our Genocide survivors, who strongly inspired us to resist any form of injustice and to stand up for our rights. Let me remember and honour our heroes such as Raymond Gureme, Krystyna Gil and Peter Höllenreiner who passed away in the last two years.

When I came to the Auschwitz-Birkenau memorial for the first time, I learned important knowledge with historical facts and I listened to personal family stories of Roma and Sinti from across Europe. I tried to distance myself and to perceive this as some past that will never be repeated. I never expected that I will stand here at this commemoration and speak as a survivor of an ongoing war and genocide in nowadays Europe.

One thing that we learn from Auschwitz is that we should never again be bystanders of any genocide, atrocity and injustices. Here we are standing together today as witnesses of a current genocide committed by the Russian fascism in Ukraine. When we remember the Genocide during WWII today, we must speak out against the Russian distortion and falsification of the history of the Genocide. On 1 March, Russia even bombed the Babyn Yar memorial in Kiev, the place of Nazi mass killings of Roma and Jews during World War II, a particular sacred place for our communities in Ukraine.

It is painful to see the trauma of the Genocide survivors, who are suffering and struggle for survival nowadays. As my grandmother, that was born in 1944, and our Roma survivor Ivan Bilaszchenko, who also fought as a soldier in the Red Army against Nazi Germany and who attended with us the 75th anniversary of 2 August here at the Auschwitz memorial.

In order to help the Roma Genocide survivors we, young Roma from the Ukrainian Roma youth organization ARCA together with Dikh He Na Bister, the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma and the German aid network for the survivors of Nazi persecution in Ukraine, are launching today a fundraising campaign to support Roma Genocide survivors in Ukraine. We ask you for your support!

As Ukrainian citizens, Ukrainian Roma equally suffer from this war. The long history of antigypsyism in Ukraine as all over Europe, make our communities even more vulnerable. We, therefore, call upon all international organizations, governments and civil society to make sure

that Roma refugees are equally protected with full access to humanitarian aid and any necessary support.

The Russian war is an attack on our democracies in Ukraine and in Europe, it is a threat to our security and it steers up our deep transgenerational trauma facing such human suffering, in particular, what happened in Mariupol, Bucha, Irpin and many other places, that are still hidden from us. We all understand that today it happens in Ukraine and tomorrow it can be beyond. I will not stop resisting and raising my voice against this war until it finishes and until we get all the reparations and the justice of the international tribunal. We do not need the pity of Europe, we need your decisions, actions and solidarity.

I encourage the Roma youth, who are the main power of the nowadays and future Roma movement, to stand up in all the European countries, to raise their voices, to resist and remember the lessons from the past!

Dikh He Na Bister!
