



TÜRKİYE BÜYÜK MİLLET MECLİSİ
İNSAN HAKLARINI İNCELEME KOMİSYONU
GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY
THE COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
INQUIRY

**Inquiry Report on the
Murders Committed by
Neo-Nazis in Germany
Between 2000-2006**

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the committee dated
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**INQUIRY REPORT ON THE MURDERS COMMITTED BY NEO-NAZIS IN
GERMANY BETWEEN 2000-2006**

I. INTRODUCTION

Chairmanship of The Committee on Human Rights Inquiry of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has opened an observation file on 'racism and xenophobia in Europe' after it emerged that hostility to Islam, racism and xenophobic ideas are behind the bombed and armoured attack, which resulted in deaths of 77 people in Norway in 22nd of July 2011.

Right after that, when it emerged that the serial murders between 2000 to 2006 were committed by Neo-Nazis on the basis of racist incentives, the Committee has taken "the decision of working on the date of December 8, 2011 in order to investigate the Neo-Nazi murders, attacks and sabotages on the spot in the form of various delegations, pay necessary visits, arrange reports and observe the judicial process".

I.1. Scope and Purpose of Inquiry

The scope of the inquiry to be carried out in accordance with the taken decision is to investigate the attack, sabotage, threat and other actions involving violence committed by neo-Nazis and especially the serial murders committed against Turkish people between 2000-2006 and to observe the trial processes relevant to these murderers. Because of the reason that the trials were not launched on the date when the report was arranged, issues relevant to trial are out of report's coverage.

I.2. Method Applied in Inquiry

The Committee has adopted the method of joining the "memorial", which was organized in February 23, 2012 under Germany Federal Prime Minister, to remember those who fell victim to neo-Nazi serial murderers between 2000 and 2006, paying official visits in Germany, meeting with families of slains and taking the opinions of representatives of Turkish nongovernmental organizations and academicians and journalists in Germany.

In this regard, an official visit to Germany (Berlin) was performed on the dates of February 21-24 2012 in order to join the memorial and pay official visit. Visiting delegation consisted of Ayhan Sefer Üstün, Deputy for Sakarya and Chairperson of the Committee on Human Rights Inquiry; Nevzat Pakdil, Deputy for Kahramanmaraş; Malik Ecder Özdemir,



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Deputy for Sivas; Mustafa Erdem, Deputy for Ankara and Kenan Altaş, Legislative Expert of the Committee (Reporter).

The Delegation has met, within the mentioned visit, with Bundestag National Socialist Inquiry Committee on Underground Terrorist Group, Federal Government Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid Commissary (Marcus LONING) and peacekeeper (Barbara JOHN) who is responsible for providing communication between Government and families.

The Delegation, who has joined the commemoration, has met with Federal Government Prime Minister Angela MERKEL, President of Bundestag Prof. Dr. Norbert Lammert and President of the Constitutional Court Prof. Dr. Andreas Vosskuhle after the memorial. After that, a meeting has been carried out with the President of Republic (at that time a candidate) Joachim GAUCK, who has joined the occasion which was organized by Turkish Embassy in honour of families of slains. Families of slains were met separately and listened about what they experienced during and after the incident.

Delegation, after the occasion, met with representatives of nongovernmental organizations in the building of Turkish Embassy in Berlin. Besides, the opinions of academicians and journalists living in Turkey have been asked.

During the preparation time of the report, the Committee has benefited from the meetings mentioned above, information provided by Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other state institutions, news appeared in press, non-governmental organizations founded by Turkish community in Germany and data gathered from international organizations, essays and books.

I.3.Turkish Community in Germany

Turkish-German relations, which rose in the last century of the Ottoman Empire era, continued until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as a means of cooperation. Although defeated in 2. World War Germany made a huge industrialization move in such a short time that they needed intense labour force in developing course. She has signed labour force agreements with different countries to meet this requirement; after signing with Italy in 1955, Spain and Greece in 1960, Germany signed "Labour Force Agreement" with Turkey in 30th of October 1961 in city of Bad Godesberg.



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Turkish people, who have contributed too much into the development of German industry, have acquired the right of living permanently in Germany where they came as "guest worker". Approximately half of the Turkish community, who preferred continuing their generations in Germany instead of going back, is a German citizen. It is possible to meet with Turkish People not only among workers but also in branches like doctor, engineer, lawyer, manager, politician and the like now.

(by December 31,2011) 2.8 million immigrants, whose origin is Turkey, constitutes the 3 % of the total population of Germany whose population is 81 million 830 thousands. According to the data of Germany Federal Statistics Department, number of Turkish people (by December 31, 2011) living in Germany is 1.607.161. Distribution according to age groups within this number is below.

Table 1: Distribution relevant to age groups of Turks in foreign status. Source: Germany Federal Statistics Department www.destatis.de.

0-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	20-25 years	25-35 years	35-45 years
12,165	23,055	100,128	143,200	136,072	289,957	339,434
45-55 years	55-65 years	65-75 years	75-85 years	85-95 years	95 years and over	
220,605	148,613	153,934	37,657	2,219	122	

Average age of this group is 39,3; 32 % of them were born in Germany; 53,5 % is married and 36,3 is single. According to data of Federal Statistics Department, when compared with 2010, the number of Turkish citizens in Germany in 2011 has decreased by 22,976. Among other foreigners in Germany the only group whose number has decreased is Turkish people. Acquiring German citizenship and going back to Turkey can be shown as the reason of that.

By data of 2009 the number of German citizen whose origin is Turkey, is 1,120.000. Turkish community, whose approximately 2 of 3 has been living in this country for at least 10 years, has a young population. The number of those between 0-18 years is over 700.000, and those between 18-35 years constitute the largest group with their population



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reaching up to 800.000. In this regard, age average of Turkish (Turkish citizen and German citizen in total) people living in Germany is 29,5. Over than half of the Turkish community was born and got education in Germany.

There are 600.000 Turkish people who have the right to elect and be elected in Germany. These are all German citizens, and Turkish citizens do not have the right to elect and be elected even if they were born and grew in there. In consequence of Germany general elections in 27th October 2009, two from the Green Party, one from Social Democratic Party, one from Left-Wing Party and one from Liberal Democratic Party, totally 5 Turkish people have entered the Bundestag. And in State Assemblies there are 37 deputies of Turkish origin, in total. A deputy of Turkish origin is working in European Parliament on behalf of Germany. Among these there are people who were elected or appointed to high ranking assignments such as party co-chairman, minister at a level of state, senator, undersecretary. According to performed researches and results of elections, Turkish voters generally vote for Social Democratic Party, The Green Party or Left-Wing Party.

Total turnover of thousands of companies of Turkish community in Germany is around 35 billion Euros. Turkish companies over 70.000 has been employing over than 350.000 workers. On the other hand, in accordance with gradually decrease in need for labour force in some areas of working life in Germany, unemployment among Turkish citizens has rose. Unemployment, which is 7 % (2010) in general in Germany, is 20 % among Turkish people.

I.4. Basic Problems that Turkish Community Encounters

Individuals of Turkish community have a great contribution to Germany in almost every area from arts to sports, form politics to business. Despite the contribution of Turkish people to economy, culture and politics, it is seen that some of them is facing a lot of basic problems ranged below.

a. EU-Association Law Turkish citizens do not have the right to benefit from the rights provided by judiciary framework which was constituted by Turkey-EU Association Agreement and Association Council. Some Turkish citizens seek their rights by applying to European Union Court of Justice (ABAD). Until now ABAD, especially within the framework of numbered 1/80 provision of Turkey-EU Association Council, constituted a



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considerable preliminary ruling on behalf of Turkish citizens. No step has been taken on application of the provisions, which was decided by ABAD on behalf of Turkish citizens especially about visa regime applied to Turkish citizens, by German authorities. Present visa regime is a contrast to "retrospective deterioration ban" which is proposed by Turkey-EU Association Agreement.

b. Political Rights Turkish citizens living in Germany, don't have the right to elect and be elected and take place in a political activity. Right to vote in local elections, which is available for citizens of EU countries, does not exist for Turkish citizens.

c. Immigration Law. With "Residence, Employment and Integration of Foreigners Living in Germany - Law Relevant to Application of Directives Accepted by European Union on Residence and Asylum Right" which was put into force in 27th August 2007, the obligation of learning German beforehand in their countries for people who are going to go to Germany within the scope of family reunification has been put into action. Additionally this Law involves provisions such as foreigners should attend the adaptation courses as an indication of they are ready for adaptation and acquiring citizenship, they should have information about German constitutional and juridical system, they should have a certain amount of income to acquire citizenship, and provisions again makes it hard to acquire permanent residence because of requiring language knowledge and income level, to make family reunification because of other criteria and provisions which is an obstacle to acquire German citizenship.

Putting the obligation of language knowledge into force exclusive to only "the citizens of countries to whom Germany applies visa" means clearly discrimination. It is seen that Germany aims to reduce the number of families coming from Turkey and be an obstacle on family reunification by means of obligation of German language knowledge.

It is claimed that obligation to learn German is qualified as a "pre-adaptation" for visa of family reunification and this practice is going to prevent forcing into marriage. Besides, attendance to "adaptation courses" is presented as prior condition for family reunifications. This practice in question, before anything else, means violation of Turkish citizens' rights based on international law and EU Association Law and discrimination. The most certain indicators of discrimination are that the conditions of language and income inside the Law



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don't comprise the EU members and "countries which Germany is in close economic relations with". To be more precise, if a German citizen marries up with a Turkish person s/he has to prove that his/her partner knows German in order to take his/her partner into German borders but if a German citizen marries up with an American or a Greek s/he doesn't have to meet any criteria.

When it is taken into account that those who don't know German, can't go out, benefit from health services fully and find job, requirement of German language knowledge at a certain level may be understood as on behalf of person coming to country. However, German knowledge shouldn't be an obstacle before entering into Germany borders.

d. Civil law In accordance with new German Civil Law put into force in 1st January 2000, after this date of Law, children of foreigners, born in Germany, can acquire German citizenship automatically only on condition that their father or mother has been living legally for at least eight years continuously in Germany or father or mother has the right of habitation or has the permission for three years. Many of Turkish people have also benefited from this law. However, this right, which is given to these children, is valid until they reach the age of 18 and between the ages of 18 to 23 it is an obligation to choose (option model) one of the German or Turkish citizenship. In fact citizens of European Union countries or Switzerland have the right for dual-nationality. In this regard, it is evaluated certainly as a discrimination not to provide this opportunity for Turkish citizens. In consequence of involving judiciary discrimination, consolidating adaptation problem, destroying the cultural belonging, removing this practice is going to be on behalf of Germany as well. Although Opposition parties presented a law proposal to Bundestag about removal of option model, this proposal was not accepted.

On the other hand, the condition of those, who abandon Turkish citizenship by permission so as to acquire German citizenship, but later acquire Turkish citizenship, again, causes problems. German authorities denaturalized the people of German citizenship when they determined their condition mentioned above. Until now 21.500 people were denaturalized of German citizenship as they had also Turkish citizenship at the same time. Solution of the problems of those people, who lost their crucial rights, is essential. It should



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be taken into consideration that dual-nationality can be helpful in terms of Turkish people's integration and belonging problem to public.

e. Language Issue One of the important problems existing on Turkish society is to speak German and Turkish. So that Turkish people in Germany are capable of speaking in the highest level both in Turkish and German and adapt to German society, issue of education in mother language and German language has a great importance. Language ability is a key factor to be successful in every field.

f. Turkish and Turkish Culture Courses Presentation of Turkish courses is still one of the basic problems for Turkish students. Turkish mother language courses, under the name of "Turkish and Turkish Culture (TTK)", is in the form of courses in the afternoon or private courses and out of compulsory courses. Germany doesn't contribute to the regulation of these courses and request that Turkey should take the substantial and organizational responsibilities of the courses. Mother language education is under the authority of states and in terms of regulations and practices there might be differences among cantons. In some states, TTK courses are given at the time when the other students take religious courses. Despite the fact that attendance to TTK courses is present in school report, it doesn't have an effect on passing through. This matter may cause that Turkish students do not pay attention to courses efficiently.

About 500 teachers, sent from Turkey, have been working in Germany in order to instruct the TTK courses in accordance with provision of Inter-Ministerial Mutual Culture Committee. Additionally there are 830 teachers charged in this office. Delays have been continuing on the visa transactions of the teachers sent from Turkey. This situation causes that teachers goes late to Germany and do not reach the beginning of the semester therefore Turkish and Turkish Culture courses are not provided for a while. It is also known that this is a matter of complaint among the German teachers.

g. Education Problem Number of Turkish children, studying in German education system, is approximately 350 thousands. (by 2011) 270 thousands of these students are studying in primary schools, 55.130 are studying in vocational education institutions and approximately 25 thousands are studying in universities. As like the other children of immigrants, there are problems for children, whose origin is Turkey, on continuing their



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education after primary school. German education system has a huge effect on this. German education system, based on classifying children at a young age according to their capacity of learning, has been criticized in international area because of the reasons such as causing discrimination for poor, immigrant and handicapped children and providing hardly opportunity for social mobility. According to data of German authorities, while the number of children, continuing primary school, is higher than the non-immigrants, the number of children, continuing high school, is less than the non-immigrants.

For instance, United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination claimed the concern in their report in 2009 about the situation that German authorities send children of immigrants to private school *Sonderschulen*, which is for 'unsuccessful ones', on account of the fact that their German is inefficient, and in return, number of children of immigrants studying in high schools and universities is limited. Committee has made suggestion on taking necessary precautions to make non-citizens of Germany take part in normal education system and reviewing the required conditions for the ones to be sent to *Sonderschulen*.

According to the report of European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) 2009, immigrant children have less opportunity within the education system although they are much more pertinacious than German children. Rate of immigrant children studying in lower level *Hauptschule* is two times more than rate of German children. At the same time rate of immigrant children studying at highest level (Gymnasium), where passing to university is possible, is less than half of the rate of German children. According to the report, rate of directing immigrants to private schools, where students without the ability of learning fast study, is three times of German children in state of Baden-Württemberg. ECRI found the high proportional contrast in education between Germans and non-Germans in terms of origin so worrying. Additionally in the report, they have declared that discrimination was applied to Turkish and Muslim children by non-governmental organizations and directing children, including some children who are in the capacity of studying in Gymnasium, to the lowest level schools was reported. According to ECRI, there should be focus on misguiding immigrant children to schools where there are economically disadvantaged students in



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general; teachers should be subject to in-service training programs in order to provide them evaluate objectively and not to direct children to this level of schools if it is not so necessary.

In the first article of the "Convention against Discrimination in Education", accepted by United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) in the meeting dated 14th December 1960, for the purposes of this Convention, the term 'discrimination' includes any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular:

- (a) Of depriving any person or group of people of access to education of any type or at any level;
- (b) Of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standard.

Germany, which is among the leader countries of international community, should urgently remove the obstacles which prevent the improvement of immigrant children by paying attention to these matters. Besides the disadvantages that the German education system brings, it is also observed that some Turkish families don't place emphasis on education of their children. Matters such as low education level inside the family, importance given to earning money rather than education can be counted as the main reasons. Among Turkish families there is a tendency of making children get vocational education rather than pursuing higher education, and desire to earn money immediately after having a job is one of the main reasons of this tendency.

Along with adverse policies, counted above, about education, some steps have been taken for solution from time to time. One of those is putting the "Equivalence Law", which removes the obstacles on recognizing the foreigners' diplomas acquired abroad, into force in 1st April 2012. In this way, the open discrimination and unfairness, which means recognizing the diploma of a person who studied law in France but not recognizing the diploma of a person who studied law in Turkey, was removed. But we need to remember that this law was put into force not for removing the discrimination and unfairness but to meet the huge gap in qualified positions. For example, it is known that there is a deficit of 80.000 personnel in field of engineering. Additionally there is too much concern among Turkish community on the way



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that so many limitations can take place in practice. These concerns unite in that bureaucratic obstacles are going to appear in accepting diplomas, and regulations such as directive, notice, which are going to show the practice of law, are going to involve limitations, and when the gap begins to close obstacles are going to rise. It is expected that approximately 300 thousands of foreigners, who had to work in the fields different than their own branches, are going to benefit from this law.

h. Religious Education In addition to equal opportunities in education "religious education" is also within the requests of Turkish community. Turkish people constitute almost the 80 % of the total Muslim population in Germany. In respect of German constitution, religious courses can be given complying with principles based on religious association. In the framework of approach known as "Erlangen Model" in Germany, the context of the lesson is decided by the religious association and state is responsible for only controlling its legal aspect, regulation of the lessons and providing substantial source. Courses are not practiced appropriate to the model in question by German authorities, claiming that a structure, which possess the qualification of presenting Muslims and takes the responsibility of the context of the courses, is not present. Therefore lessons of Islam are given within the methods determined by each state separately in regard to their own conditions and without the corporation mentioned in constitution. However opportunities should be provided so that the Islamic lessons according to Erlangen Model can be given by Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIP) or other associations addressing to wide masses, in terms of general idea among Turkish people, who constitutes the 80 % of the Muslim community.

Another issue to be claimed about Islamic lessons is the idea of training these teachers in Germany. Within the year of 2012, efforts to train religious officials in Germany have gained momentum. As a concrete indicator of this, in addition to scientists, German Science Council consisting of representatives of states and federal state, has made the suggestion of founding "Islamic Research Centers" under the roof of German universities with the aim of training teachers of Islamic courses and religious officials; and suggested founding these centers, in question, in two or three universities for an education the same as education model of Christian theology. As a matter of fact it was determined to found Islamic Research Center in four universities (Munster-Osnabruck, Tubingen, Frankfurt-Giessen and Nurnberg-



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Erlangen) at the first stage. Official opening of Tübingen University Islamic Research Center, which began education and training in 1st October 2011, was done on the date of 16th January 2012. After Tübingen University, it is also expected that Erlangen University Department of Islamic Theological Research is going to begin education and training in the education year of 2012-2013.

In the same regard, "Islamic Religious Foundation Chair" was founded in Goethe University. Additionally, students have been educated in Divinity Schools of Ankara and Marmara Universities in the framework of "International Theology Program" in accordance with appointing the students in the countries where they came from following the graduation of Turkish students from high schools in Europe. However, it is not wrong to say that German authorities regard the Islamic research as more of a "security" at this point.

i. Labour Market Another basic problem that people from Turkey are facing is the discrimination they are exposed to. According to the "Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention" numbered 111 of International Labour Office, which was approved by Germany by signing in 1961, "Each Member for which this Convention is in force undertakes to declare and pursue a national policy designed to promote, by methods appropriate to national conditions and practice, equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation, with a view to eliminating any discrimination in respect thereof". In reference to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights Germany became in 2010 one of the countries where discrimination was determined at a high level, with other countries; Belgium, France and Holland. Agency says that people with Turkish names are encountering obstacles in the process of founding business. European Commission against Racism and Intolerance has stressed the same matter in its report of 2009; furthermore immigrants, compared to rest of the population, are facing so many difficulties to find a qualified job. In some job advertisements, some companies, which require "German knowledge as a mother language", are met.

As part of a research, researchers, who analysed the 528 internship advertisements as a part of vocational training, declared that students with Turkish names have a less chance than students with German names in a rate of 14 %, and this is even more in local businesses. Already in the report of ECRI, despite the fact that the number of immigrant-origin, who



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applied to internship, is more than Germans, it was presented strikingly that the rate of immigrants in the total number of interns is limited.

During the operations of our delegation in Germany, some Turkish tradesmen claimed that they had to change their name with a German name to make trade and some Turkish people, who have been appointed to higher levels, tragically declared that they pronounce their names as if it is a German name to be out of pressure.

In addition to those problems, practices of Department of Youth in Germany occupy another part of the complaints of Turkish community. Department took 32.300 children under protection in 2011. 23 % of these are immigrant-origin children. For instance, while the rate of immigrants within the children under protection is 24 percent, this rate is 44 percent in Hamburg. Department of Youth claims that problem inside the family, ignorance of child, maltreatment, adaptation problem of child, criminal act of the child, education and schooling problem of child take the lead while determining the protection. Turkish families assert that Department of Youth performs a tough attitude on taking children under protection, doesn't show tolerance towards Turkish families but German families deteriorates the situation by taking them under protection immediately rather than helping in solving problems. Focus point of the complaints is that Turkish children are sent to dormitories and families where there is no respect for their religion and cultural situation.

I.5 . Racism and Xenophobia in Germany

I.5.1.Racism and Xenophobia in General

The definition racism is hating or underestimating people whose defined physical characteristics are different than the individual's own. The evident opinions in racism are, that people are separated in terms of their physical characteristics naturally, linked to culture, personality and intelligence, and lastly some groups are genetically superior than others. Idea of superiority justifies separating people under sub-groups and legalizes the inequality of power, reputation and welfare among those groups.

Nowadays racism is defined differently rather than "superior race". It is also used to define the prejudice and intolerance against the ethnic and religious groups besides racist groups. Hence racism shouldn't be approached in terms of racist basis. There is a close link to



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some concepts such as xenophobia, discrimination, intolerance, cultural diversity; fundamentalism, Racism and xenophobia result from fear and insecurity of people about future and gain strength from unemployment and poverty. Therefore, matter of immigrant takes the lead in this new form of racism. Immigrant is isolated or hated owing to the reasons like economic and social factors rather than racist belonging. In this regard, actually economic factors are important in this form of racism and the target is immigrant workers.

Xenophobia, which is linked to racism directly and usually seen as an element of racism, can be defined as fear, insecurity or hate to an individual or groups perceived as foreign in the presence of a culture established under an identity. In the framework of this concept foreigners have been seen as a potential danger to the national integrity.

'Foreigners', separated by factors like culture, religion and identity, are creating fear not only because of their unknown culture but also of the perception that they are going to change the well-known culture, be the leader and alienate that culture as well. Persons, who have this perception, make a protection on behalf of his/her culture by neutralizing the foreigners inside the society. On the other hand xenophobia appears as a result of socialization. Foreigner is seen as 'evil' in good-evil perception, therefore individual believes that all the evil comes from foreigners and identifies himself with 'good' in this socialization process.

Anxiety and fear of foreigners do not only stem from that they are foreigner but in fact from the worry that they are an element of danger for the future. And in this regard, xenophobia is in fact related to the factors, which is mentioned with foreigners, such as fundamentalism, mafia, and drug trafficking, criminal rather than racist approach.

Despite that, it is seen that racism and xenophobia are triggered by same factors. Racism causes prejudices, taboos and discrimination. Even more, xenophobia and racist belief and behaviours are put into a logical frame by individuals as a consequence of inference and generalization.

Racism entered the universal law by taking place in international texts after the painful experience of World War II. Firstly it was stressed in United Nations Declaration of Human Rights that everybody, without the discrimination of race, is going to utilize from the right and freedoms. United Nations stated that all the types of racist discrimination should be



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eliminated immediately and the necessity for the respect to the honour of human should be taken into account by means of International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination dated 20th November 1963. Additionally it was stressed that discrimination based on racism in labour market and education shouldn't be allowed and should be taken precautions for this in Convention against Discrimination, accepted by UNESCO in 1960 with Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention accepted by International Labour Office in 1958.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was opened for signature in 21st December 1965. Within the convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

And according to European Council Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, utilization from the rights and freedoms, given in the convention, should be realized without the discrimination based on race. Racial discrimination ban is reviewed by including the 'all the rights given by law' not only the rights given by Convention, by stressing the racial discrimination ban mentioned in Convention, with the 12 Protocol Addition to Convention, opened for signature in 4th November 2000.

Besides, there are so many decision-suggestion-directive-declaration, published by both United Nations and European Council and European Union on the matter of elimination of racism. And what is more, European Council against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination are the leading universal and regional mechanisms which actions exclusively on observing racism and xenophobia.

1.5.2. Reasons of Emergence and Rise of Racism and Xenophobia in Europe

Racism is a concept whose origin is Europe, and was born and grew in this continent. Especially, it is not wrong to say that it emerged as a result of colonial system. While it was defined as to make the difference of human between ruling and colony certain, it legalized the



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pejorative treat of ruling to colony: In this regard, white race was superior to brown, blonde and black race in the eyes of Europeans.

While the theory and practice of racism emerged in Europe, the concept spread all around the world and caused so much pain, which cannot be expressed easily, with its consequences. Though the racist ideas have recessed from time to time in Europe they never died out. On the contrary it is a worry that it gained momentum recently. In this regard, it may be useful to look at the reasons of racism and xenophobia in European Union to have information in broad terms.

I.5.2.1. Reasons of Emergence and Rise of Racism and Xenophobia in European Union

European Union which came out of the destruction of World War II caused by racism and co-founded by European countries in order to eliminate the conflicts with each other, tackle the problems by integration, eliminate the sharp borders of nation-state organization, is witnessing increasingly racism and xenophobia recently contrary to the founding purposes. There are some reasons for these ideas, even partly, that emerged against non-European in general or those who are not from western civilization. Problems of European Union stemmed from integration and extension, globalization, terrorist acts, immigration and political discourse are the leading of these reasons.

European Integration EU integration defines the process as opening to new political fields and extension by means of welcoming new members. EU integration, which aims to gather the European societies in a common ground of welfare, has also been the trigger of an isolation process. While process of deepness and extension presents the dynamism of international forming for EU, on the other hand, this triggered the nationalist feelings owing to interrupting welfare, society structure within the nation state.

European integration, in terms of fear of sharing welfare created by extension and extreme right's utilization of this worry, has been leading up to racism and xenophobia even indirectly.

Rising Terrorist Activities While September 11 attacks against United States of America became turning point in a very kind of fields like the change of national and



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international security policies, it also can be accepted as an important factor in the way of having a more negative tendency towards foreigner as a consequence of rise of fundamentalism danger. Since the radical groups, who attacked, were Muslim, this led to see the Muslims as a more problematic community compared to other immigrants. Terrorist attacks Madrid 2004 and London 2005, meeting of Europe with the reality of global terrorism brought these groups into the focus point of fear and worry by turning this process to the detriment of foreigners.

Mass Migration Mass migration, started in order to meet the demand of labour force during the time of reconstruction of Europe after World War 2, has become an issue discussed in political and social fields because of the changes in structure of society. Structure of globalization, which lets mobility of labour force and make multiculturalism more visible, and reflection of worries, created by global crisis, in a manner that isolates national policies and especially immigrants open this issue up for discussion relevant to racism and xenophobia. Furthermore, changing demographic structure of Europe and social integration problems put the mass migration on the ground of racism and xenophobia problems in Europe in the sense that it carries the immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers to the top of the list of groups exposed to social exclusion with racist discourses and activities.

Economic Problems Dynamism in economical field in twentieth century has brought a mutual interaction and mutual dependency widening rapidly worldwide by surpassing the national borders.

Economic crisis affected the welfare levels of Western societies and who were most damaged from this situation is middle and lower classes. The reason of these damages was tried to burden on foreigners. Change in the structure of societies in economic aspects, which is a result of globalization, affected the ground negatively and strengthened extreme right's hand politically. Perception, that local people are unemployed because of foreigners, foreigners brings an economic burden and this results the fall of welfare in society, has been contributing to the ideas of racism and xenophobia in nation state be supported.

Political Discourse and Activities Negative aspects, which are reflecting to the society, of migration and security depression seen in new world order and EU integration, establish a ground for racism and xenophobia. However, what makes this ground visible is



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that politicians have been using, and the policies, presented as a solution to problem by governments, legalizes that instead of eliminating the wrong perceptions within the society.

Although the discrimination based on race and ethnicity is visible in the areas of employment and settlement, efficient awareness can't be provided in political platforms on the subject of effective and comprehensive precautions; furthermore political forms, where foreigners are shown as the source of existing problems, causes a discriminatory awareness by consolidating the definition of "the other".

There is a table below showing the tendency of crimes, done by racist incentive, entered into official record in member countries of EU. As seen on table, a general increase tendency of crimes, practiced by racist incentive, is in question in a very big part of member countries of EU. In France, a 100 percent increase of crimes relevant to racist basis is seen in 2009 compared to 2008. England and Wales stand out as the countries where the most crimes with racist incentive have occurred. Germany has been following that with almost 150 thousands of crimes which entered into official records for a decade.

Table 2: Table of crime tendency practiced by racist incentive, 2000-2009 (reference: EU Fundamental Rights Agency, Fundamental rights: challenges and achievements in 2010)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2008-2009 percentage change	2000-2009 percentage change
Belgium	757 crime	751	727	848	1.021	1.272	1.375	1.304	1.188	1.053	%11.4	%8.5
Czech Rep.	364 crime	452	473	335	364	253	248	196	217	265	22.1%	6.0-%
Denmark	28 incident	116	68	53	37	87	227	35	175*	306	%74.9	%89.1
Germany	-	14.725 Crime	12.933	11.576	12.553	15.914	18.142	17.607	20.422	19.468	4.7%	8.2% 2001-2009
France	903 report	424	1.317	833	1.574	979	923	723	864	1.841	113.1%	6.1%
Ireland	72 report	42	100	62	84	94	173	214	172	128	25.6%	27.9%
Austria	450 complaint	528	465	436	322	406	419	752	835	791	5.3%	11.3%
Poland	215 crime	103	94	111	113	172	150	154	122	109	10.7%	1.5 -%
Slovakia	35 crime	40	109	119	79	121	188	155	213	132	38.0%	31.6%
Finland	495 crime	448	364	522	558	669	748	698	1.163*	1.385	19.1%	33.1%



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Sweden	2.703 crime	2.785	2.391	2.436	2.414	2.383	2.575	2.813	4.826**	4.707	2.5%	10.3%
England & Wales	47.701 incident	53.121	54.858	49.344	54.157	57.863	60.926	62.071	58.445	55.862	4.4%	2.2%
Scotland			1.699 attack	2.673	3.097	3.856	4.294	4.474	4.543	4.564	0.5%	18.1% 2002-2009
North Ireland							1.006 incident	1.183	1.044	1.036	-0.8%	0.5-% 2002-2009

*It shouldn't be compared with the year before owing to the change in the form of recording of incidents.

**It shouldn't be compared with the year before owing to the change in definition of hate crime.

Crimes practiced by extreme right motive are present on the table below. Germany takes the lead in crimes practiced by extreme right motive, recorded officially in only four European countries, by 2010 and a general increase is seen in these crimes since the year of 2001. Therefore it is understood that there is an important mass of people in Germany utilized from extreme rightist ideas. It is necessary to say that cybercrimes, which increased in recent years, have a large portion in the definition of crime mentioned before.

Table 3: Table of crime tendency practiced by extreme right motive, 2000-2009. (reference: EO Fundamental Rights Agency, Fundamental rights: challenges and achievements in 2010)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2008-2009 percentage change	2000-2009 percentage change
Austria	291	301	261	264	189	188	204	280	333	356	6.9%	1.8%
Germany	-	10.054	10.902	10.792	12.051	15.361	17.597	17.176	19.894	18.75	5.8 %	16.6% 2001-2009
France	207	198	179	148	461	419	301	247	129	181	40.3%	0.1%
Sweden	566	392	324	448	306	292	272	387	667*	538	19.3%	2.3%

*Because of the amendment on definition of crime of rightist pattern, it shouldn't be compared to the year before.

Amadeu Antonio foundation, active in Germany, has stated in its research that 182 racist murders had been committed after Germany had been united. According to the foundation, among the victims are not only foreigners but also cops, gypsies, punks, lawyers and kids. According to the data The Republic of Turkey Department of Foreign Affairs has, 24 people of Turkish origin had been killed with a racist incentive until now, first of which was in 1988. Murders have often happened as assaults or bundles.

Some examples of the racist or xenophobic acts that occurred against those of Turkish origin and against their businesses or NGOs in the first quarter of 2012, in official records of Turkish Department of Foreign Affairs, are those:



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Table 4: Examples of racist or xenophobic acts in the first quarter of 2012

	Date	Country	City	Act	Event
1	2012-01-01	Germany	Hamburg	Mosque assault	Molotov's had been thrown to Hamburg DITIB Central Mosque Campus; windows of an enterprise had been broken in the mosque campus.
2	2012-01-03	Germany	Köln	Mosque assault	An insulting phrase about Turks had been written on Düren DITIB Fatih Mosque wall and across the mosque.
3	2012-01-04	Germany	Frankfurt	Bundle	A doner stall owned by a Turk had been attacked in Neuhof.
4	2012-01-05	Germany	Frankfurt	Bundle	There has been an attempt to fire up the supply depot of a mosque foundation.
5	2012-01-07	Germany	Frankfurt	Bundle	Flammable substance had been thrown to Darmstadt Turk-Islam Foundation.
6	2012-01-12	Germany	Frankfurt	Threatening Letter	A letter containing the announcement of a meeting featuring insults to Prophet Mohammad and the claim that Islam does not belong to Germany had been delivered to Dientzenbach DITIB Mosque.
7	2012-01-11	France	Lyon	Wall Slogan	Swastika had been drawing on Montbrison Turkish Culture Foundation wall.
8	2012-01-12	Austria	Salzburg	Threat	Pig blood had been spilled and pig hoofs had been dropped in front of the house of a person of Turkish origin.
9	2012-01-20	Bulgaria	Burgaz	Bundle	Molotov cocktail had been thrown to Varna Aziziye Mosque in an attempt to burn it.
10	2012-01-22	Germany	Munich	Assault	A 28 years old neo-Nazi well known by the police had assaulted a Turkish taxi driver insulting him and broke his nose.
11	2012-02-06	Germany	Karlsruhe	Assault	In the traffic jam a German said racist insults to the Turkish couple he got angry with and physically harmed another Turkish woman. The women who had been assaulted had physical and psychological treatment.
12	2012-02-09	Germany	Berlin	Threatening Letter	A letter of threat had been sent to two mosques stating that foreigners must abandon Germany in six months or they would start acting, by a group named "New Sorcerers' Consortium ". Same letter had also been sent to a mosque in Stuttgart.



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13	2012-02-16	Greece	Gümülçine	Assault	Tomb stones had been broken or casted down in a cemetery also including tombs remaining from the Ottoman era.
14	2012-02-16	France	Lyon	Racist Slogan	A letter campaign containing racism and xenophobia aimed at Turks had been started.
15	2012-02-16	Germany	Mainz	Threatening Letter	A letter of threat had been sent to DITIB Selimiye Mosque.
16	2012-02-18	Belgium	Brussels	Racist Propaganda	A plastic pig mask with the writing of `go home` on it had been hung on Charleroi Marchienne au Port Turkish - Belgian Solidarity Foundation Alaaddin Mosque.
17	2012-02-20	Switzerland	Zürich	Racist Slogan	It had been claimed in 22.02.2012 dated issue of high rated 20 Minuten Newspaper that on the website of Switzerland Public Party Widen establishment are racist slogans such as " pig Turks ", " filthy Yugoslavians " Claim had been confirmed.
18	2012-02-20	Germany	Berlin	Assault	A person with Turkish origins had been verbally assaulted in a racist way by a German, in the evening of the same day his house had been investigated by the police thinking that he had had guns in his house, and he had been badly beaten without being taken his statement of fact.
19	2012-02-21	Germany	Nürnberg	racist slogan	The statement of “Turks out “had been written on DITIB Foundation building in Neumarkt and a dead bird had been left under it.
20	2012-02-21	Germany	Berlin	Verbal Assault	During the field trip of a primary school named E.O. Plauen, whose students are mostly Foreign origined and Turks, students had been harassed in subway by a middle aged man with the words “you all should be in camps, in gas chambers” loudly: meanwhile none of the passengers objected the man, a female passenger even supported him.
21	2012-02-25	Germany	Hannover	Assault	A doner stall had been attacked in Munich by a group of six. He was threatened that if he did not close his stall by April 20th, the birthday of Hitler, he would be new victim. The individual could not open his stall for a long time for he feared.



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22	2012-02-28	Germany	Hannover	Threatening Letter	A letter of threat stating that foreigners should abandon Germany in six months or they were going to act which was sent to mosques in Berlin and Stuttgart had been sent.
23	2012-03-02	Germany	Hannover	Racist Slogan	Swastika and other Nazi symbols had been drowning on the wall of Bad Essen DITIB Sultan Murad Mosque.
24	2012-03-07	Germany	Köln	Assault	A person of Turkish origin who was taken to the police headquarters for driving without license was victim to disproportional force for recording voice without permission. The person claims that he had been treated so because he was Turk.
25	2012-03-08	Germany	Hannover	Threatening Letter	A letter of threat stating that foreigners should abandon Germany in six months or they were going to act which was sent to mosques in Berlin and Stuttgart had been sent.
26	2012-03-20	Ukraine	Odessa	Assault	Tomb stones had been smashed and fresh graves had been over drown in Muslim region of Akmescit area Sarayli Kiyat (mirnoye) village.
27	2012-03-22	France	Paris	Threatening Letter	A letter containing the statements of "Islam is the religion of filthy outsiders", "France is a filthy Jewish - Arab trash hole", "death to Judaism - Islam threats" had been sent to Turkish Consulate General.
28	2012-03-23	Germany	Berlin	Harassment	As ninth graders of Berlin Carl-von-Ossietzky High School, most of whose students are Turks, were getting into the train for their field trip in Ostbahnhof Train Station, a Station worker used the statement " here is a train full of outsiders for you " (using the insulting word of Kanaken). The police had been informed but they took the students and their curators aside and checked their IDs.
29	2012-03-27	France	Lyon	Harassment	Those who were praying in Bourgion-jailieu Turkish-Culture Foundation had been loudly insulted from the building site across.

It has been learned that besides crimes committed by civil individuals, in some countries in Europe public servants responsible for public security are acting with a racist and



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xenophobic cause and committing extreme violence against Turkish citizens. In July 2011, 22 years old Ihsan Gurz, living in the city of Beverwijk in Holland, was to be arrested because of a fight in a stall. As he resisted he had been interfered roughly and taken to the police headquarters and he had lost his life at the headquarters. It is claimed that Gurz had lost his life because of the extreme violence he had faced at the headquarters. Marks of the violence he had been exposed to had been detected in the photographs before his death. According to the data, it is seen that the inquiry about the case proceeds very slowly.

The way racism and xenophobia rises in Europe in general is quite concerning. It is also seen in the petitions and in the last elections made that right wing extremist parties are getting more and more support and are on a rise.

Tableau 5: The table showing that right wing extremist parties are on the rise in Europe.

Country	Party	Rate of Votes Gotten in Last Election
Switzerland	<i>Public Party of Switzerland</i>	%29
Norway	<i>Progressive Party</i>	%29
Finland	<i>Party of the Real Finnish</i>	%19
France	<i>National Front</i>	%18 (Vote Ratio of Party Leaders in Presidential Election)
Austria	<i>Austrian Freedom Party</i>	%17.5
Hungary	<i>Jobbik, Movement of a Better Hungary</i>	%17
Holland	<i>Party of Freedoms</i>	%15
Denmark	<i>Public Party of Denmark</i>	%12.3
Greece	<i>Golden Dawn</i>	%7

Tableau 6: Right Wing Extremist Parties in Parliaments of some European Parties

Austria	<i>Austrian Freedom Party</i>	The party which had %27 and reached the peak of the votes in 1999 elections heightened its vote ratio relative to previous election and got %17,5 of the votes. AFP which was the third party is now seen as the first party in Austria. AFP known with Neo-Nazi expressions gives importance to xenophobia and Islam phobia.
Denmark	<i>Public Party of Denmark</i>	Public Party of Denmark which had 430 thousands votes in 2011 elections is known as a right wing extremist party. The party clearly expressing its xenophobia objects the multi-cultural society and advocates that foreigners should be assimilated.



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Finland	<i>Party of the Real Finnish</i>	Party of the Real Finnish got %19 of the votes in 2011 elections and became the third biggest party in Finland. The Party Antagonist to European Union supports rough policies against immigrants.
France	<i>National Front</i>	The party founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen was in the parliament until 1986. But with the barrage system they could not enter the parliament after that date. Basic policy of the party is based upon antagonism on immigrants. As a matter of fact, Le Pen had lots of punishments because of his racist expressions. Party established its expressions upon Islam antagonism. The new leader of the party Marine Le Pen, daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen, had %18 of the votes with 6 million votes in the presidential elections of France, which had its first lap in 22th April 2012, and became the third party. The vote ratio of the party in 2007 general elections was %4,3.
Holland	<i>Party of Freedoms</i>	The party leaded by right wing extremist Geert Wilder's looms large Islam, Turkey and foreigners antagonism. The party which had %6 of the votes in 2006 elections took 1,5 million votes which checks with %15 of the votes in 2010 elections and became the third biggest party.
Switzerland	<i>Public Party of Switzerland</i>	The party is the first party with %29 vote ratio it had in the last elections and is the party which had the most votes in Switzerland. The party supporting restricting and rough interferences against foreigners is also responsible for the minaret ban in 2009. The party objects the punishments to racism and wants to abolish the Committee of struggle with racism.
Hungary	<i>Jobbik, Movement of a Better Hungary</i>	The party is described as enemy of the Gypsies, Romans and Homosexuals due to its expressions and acts of its supporters. While vote ratio of the party was %2 in 2006, it became %17 in 2010 general elections. It is the third biggest party in the country.
Norway	<i>Progressive Party</i>	The second biggest party of the country, Progressive party, has % 29 vote ratios. The party supports rough cautions against refugees and says that their family unions must be restricted.
Greece	<i>Golden Dawn</i>	Golden Dawn Party known as the most racist party in European parliaments is described as Neo-Nazi and Fascist. Party supporters acts violently to immigrants and ethnic groups from time to time.

1.5.3. Racism and Xenophobia in Germany

Founding its national unity in late 19th century, Germany got in the international arena and became one of the important actors of 1st World War which had occurred by the effect of



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mandatory race. Failed in the war, Germany made Versailles pact with the glorious countries and its statements was to strike Germany down so that she could never get back up.

The economic life downgraded with the expenses of war, heavy burden of Versailles Pact, and economical depression in 1929. This combined with the fear of communism could spread in Germany and Nazi ideology of Adolf Hitler began to grow in the country. Fast spreading Nazism was based on racism: Superiority of the German race, exiling those who are not from the pure race, mainly the Jewish and Gypsies, and a society homogenized on races. This ideology looked down upon the other races and had an antagonism especially to Jews. Nazism, spread through the Germany after Adolf Hitler, was appointed as prime minister with the thinking that he could keep the Germany that is in depression united. Hitler`s idea of superior race, and his not respecting the Versailles Pact and his military development policy lit a sparkle of hope in Germany.

Hitler`s racist policy was firstly towards the unity of the German race in one state. During the war millions of Jews and Gypsies had been killed for racist causes. The war started with Germany`s racist policy caused 50-70 millions of people die through the world.

With the destruction of Nazi Germany, all the Nazi traces had been tried to be erased in the newly founded Western Germany. Firstly they made a new constitution aiming to prevent right wing extremism. Important Nazis was trialed and executed in Nurnberg Courts. It was forbidden to praise Nazism, and the massacre to Jews was accepted as genocide and denying it became a crime. Germany turning back to democracy from dictatorship took various legal cautions against racism which made her and the entire world suffered a lot. Nevertheless despite all the cautions taken, roots of Nazism and racism could not be erased.

After the war it has been seen that extreme right wing was born and increased in politics in Western Germany. Right after the war national socialist parties was banned but thanks to the change made in political parties` law some racist neo-Nazi parties was founded. (Sozialistische Reichpartei and Deutsche Reichpartei). Those parties managed to get %5 of the votes in the first federal parliament founded after the war. Between 1949 - 1952 other right wing extremist parties was presented in national and regional parliaments. But they lost support in time, their 1 millions of vote in 1949 downed to 1 thousand 1961. Right wing



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extremist party "Sozialist Reichpartei" was closed by constitutional court. Besides the electoral barrage of %5 1953 prevented the extreme right wing.

In 1964 Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland's (Germany National Democratic Party) (NPD) was formed and this caused right wing extremists come back alive. Though it had %4, 3 of the votes in 1969 elections, it could not keep up the good work. Votes of NPD slid through central left or right wing parties who had nationalist discourses. Wanting to increase their votes, NPD started to unite Nazi organizations under its own roof. In fact in late 1990s while numbers of neo-Nazi organizations members' decreases, an increase in NPD members had been recorded. Though NPD could not enter Bundestag because of the national electoral barrage, it still is able to win chairs in regional elections. It managed to get % 9,2 of the votes in 2004 Saxonia State Parliament elections. NPD congressman's takes place in two state parliaments (Saxonia and Meclenburg-Western-Pomerania) for now.

The extreme right wing kept politically organizing also outside of NPD. The Republikaner, founded in 1983, had successful results in regional elections. It managed to get %7,5 of the votes in Western Berlin elections. The party kept rising after 1990s. It got %10,9 of the votes in Baden-Wurttemberg and got the right to be represented in a state parliament for the first time. Another party founded in right extremist wing is Deutsche Volksunion (DVU) which was founded in early 1970s. Its greatest success had been the vote ratio of %6,3 it got in Schleswig-Holstein 1992 elections. The party had united with NPD in 2011.

Though those parties had little effect as one, it is seen that they affected central parties' policies and expressions in Germany. It is seen that Central parties included those parties' expressions into their own in order to stop the right wing extremists. The strongest establishment is the unity of NPD and DVU in our day. This entity had %1,5 vote ratios in 2009 federal parliament elections. Despite their low vote ratio in general elections, strategy of NPD and DVU partnership is to win chairs in local parliaments and strengthen up with the support of young voters. The party using the slogan of "war to survive" has clearly antagonist expressions against Islam, globalization and idea of multi-cultural society in Europe. NPD has over 7 thousand members the current day. With the murder of 7 foreign originated people between 2000-2006 with a racist cause, they have pushed the button for abortion of NPD.



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Political, social and economic reasons and European Union and view on immigrants are effective on Extreme right wings rise in Germany. Different from other countries, Germany having a Nazi history has social structure in which racism and xenophobia has already existed. But basic elements plays an important role on rising of those ideas since 2000s. First of them is the tendency of western world for seeing Islam as enemy using the terrorist attack in 11th September 2000 as an excuse. Right after the 11th September attack London and Madrid terrorist attacks occurred and the organizations who undertook those guilty's were ascertained to be structuring in many European countries. This fact developed a fear from Muslims and this feeling became mental and physical assaults. The Thought of Islam is spreading through the Europe and downgrading its civilized and progressive society began to spread.

Islam`s perception as a disproportion instead of a richness because of its differences with Christianity and the wrong perception of Jihad caused an increasing interest to the extreme right. Media also gave place often to migrations and immigrants problems, Muslims especially the Turks have always seen as bad examples, and the faith to democratic values which should be given to everyone including foreigners began to fade.

The modernization movement which Germany speeded in 1980s created a class in society who has a high standard of welfare roughly 2/3 of the population. The rest (1/3) was workers with low pay, middle section workers, unqualified workers, youngsters and those without job for long. The number of unemployed people increased reasonably with the economic crisis` that occurred in different periods. It would not be wrong to say that those individuals who feel uncertain about their economical futures have more tendencies to the extreme right wing and the xenophobia which sometimes can be violent is more common amongst these people. Those of foreign origin who are able to create employment for them are target to these groups for this reason.

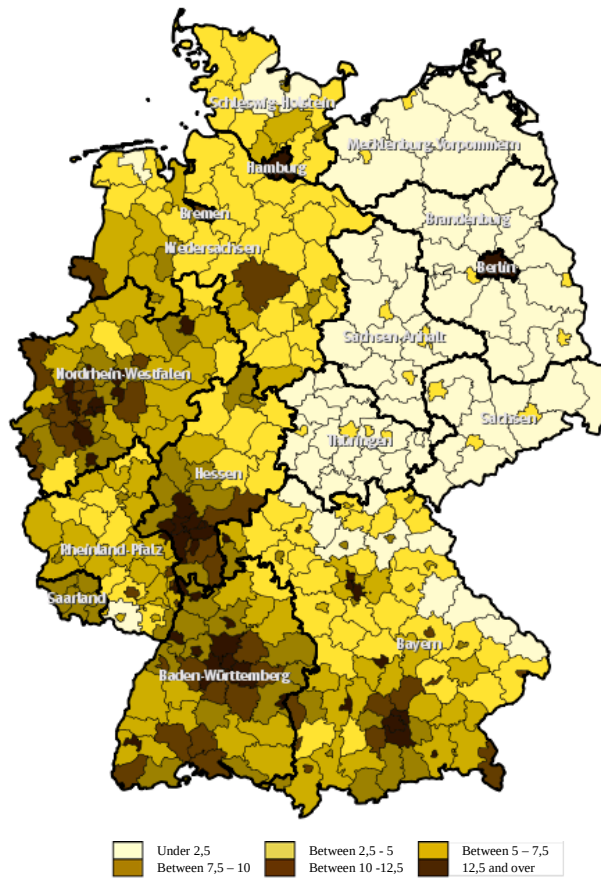
16 million people who have at least one foreign originated parent live in Germany. (%19). By December 31, 2011 the number of foreign country citizens in the country is 7.369.909. The biggest number in this amount consists of those from Turkey. Turkey is followed by Italy, Poland, Serbia-Montenegro-Kosovo, Greece, Croatia and Russian Federation. When those who has German citizenship are accounted too, amongst immigrants



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with their old and new citizenships Turkey is on the lead again and is followed by Russian Federation, Italy, Romania and Greece. The most Immigrant populated states are Bremen (%26.3), Hamburg (%26.3) and Baden-Wurttemberg (%25.5). After the unity of west and east new states came into existence and in those state (in east) immigrant population is much lower that western or southern states. Proportion of foreign country citizens who reside in Germany according to the regions is shown on the map below:

Table 7: Proportional Dispersal of foreigners in Germany from 31.12.2011



Source: German Federal Department of Statistics, www.destatis.de

Immigrants' population is over %30 of the total population in some cities. For example in Munich %35, in Nurnberg %38.3, in Dortmund %30.8 are immigrants. In many cities over %55 of those under 6 are immigrant kids. In Frankfurt am Main this ratio is %67.5.

In a research made in 1992 it has been ascertained that %51 of the Eastern Germans and %60 of the Western Germans want immigrant back in their own countries. In another



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research made in the same year it has been stated that %37 of the Germans sympathizes right wing extremist parties. As a matter of fact cases of violence against foreigners increased from 309 to 2639 between 1990 - 1992.

According to the data of German Constitution Protection Agency, 31 thousand in 2007, 30 thousand in 2008, 26 thousand in 2009, 25 thousand in 2010 people was members to right wing extremists. The reason of this decrease has been shown to be the decreased number of right wing extremist parties and right wing extremists` decrease focused on subculture. But the number of neo-Nazis has increased: 4,200 in 2006, 4,400 in 2007, 5000 in 2009, 5,600 in 2010.

The number of racist motivated crimes being 18,750 became 15,905 in 2010. 762 of those are violent. Violent Extreme right crimes are %4.8 of all extreme right crimes. From all extreme motivated crimes %80.6 include outlaw publicity activities (2010: 11.384; 2009: 13.280) and hatred agitation and violence against persons or specific groups (2010: 1.433; 2009: 1.997)

Federal Crime Department seized 811 weapons in the inquiry they made between 2009-2011 as a response to German Left Wing Party`s proposal of censure motion to Federal Department of Internal Affairs. Amongst the weapons police has seized are 15 handguns, 16 long barrel rifles and 8 heavy weaponry. Besides 40 explosive mechanisms, 331 sharp weapons, 210 gas guns and tear gas sprays were found.

If needed to example extreme right motivated crimes in states, in North Ren-Vestfalya state being the biggest state of Germany with its population over 17 million, 3.015 extreme right motivated crimes has been detected and 190 of them are violent. Types of those crimes and their details due to eras in year are:

*Table 8: Northern Ren-Vestfalya cabinets response to Union 90/ Party of the Greens
Congresswoman Verena Schaffer`s 12th October 2012 Motion of Censure.*

Type of Crime	2011/phrase			
	1. Quarter	2. Quarter	3. Quarter	4. Quarter
Murder	0	0	0	0
Bundle	1	0	2	0
Bombing	0	0	0	0
Disturbing Public Peace	2	1	0	2
Endangering the Freedom of Transportation	0	0	0	0



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Psychical Assault	34	42	44	49
Resisting	2	1	3	4
Robbery	0	2	0	1
Blackmail	0	0	0	0
Threatening Freedom	0	0	0	0
Sexual Crimes	0	0	0	0
Threat/exploitation	5	10	8	8
Damaging Property	56	57	127	53
Violation of 86. and 86a articles of the penal code	461	515	507	491
Encouraging Hatred in Public	69	109	70	70
Disturbing Public Peace	0	2	1	2
Humiliating	30	37	42	25
Violating Foundations law	0	0	0	0
Violation of Meetings Parades Law	7	8	17	6
Other	5	9	14	4
Total Crime	672	793	835	715

Because of the crimes committed above at the year 2011, 156 suspects were arrested. When we classified according to gender and age most of the crimes committed by the 18-25 years old young boys. At the year 2011 because of the extreme right crimes 3.627 inquiries were opened. The numbers of opened public case are 774. 392 judgements were done or have been done, 2.905 inquiries are stopped.

Turks, who are the most crowded foreign group, are the most exposed to bundle, armed-unarmed attack, pounding, blackmail or any other violence and treat based deeds in the most parts of the Germany,. Some of the examples about this;

December 17 1988 in Nurnberg city one of the Turkish family's house was bundled, from the can family; Osman Can, Fatma Can and Mehmet Can were killed. Offender judged and smited to 12 years jail sentence.

In the city of Solingen in May 19, 1993 Turkish family Genc's house was bundled by extreme rights. From the Genc family including two children Saime, Hulya and Hatice Genc and Gulistan Ozuturk and Gulsum İnce were killed. 14 people were injured. Four suspects aging between 16-23 were detected related to neo-Nazi organization. Suspects were accused directly from racism and xenophobia, in the name of a young act, sentenced to 10-15 year. In the memorial of the event a monument was made in Solingen, every year at 29 may an anniversary is being made.



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In April 30, 1994 in a school from Nippes neighborhood in Köln, a class giving special lessons for Turkish children was destroyed, class materials were ruined and gammadions were drawn to the walls.

In July 9, 2004 in Keup Street Mulheim neighborhood, Köln where most of the Turkish tradesmen are bombing attack were made by neo-Nazi organization named nationalist socialist underground. In the event, 22 people were injured, one was serious.

In March 20, 2008 neo-Nazi symbols were drawn and racist slogans were written to the walls of department of religious affairs Turkish Islamic association Idstein mosque. At the Year 2010, four bundle attempts to the berlin's biggest mosque "Sehitlik mosque" were being made. Some parts of the mosque material damage were occurred.

In December 8, 2011 one Turkish strolling with his child and mother in law was exposed to 25-26 years old German's words including profanities and patters; attacker said treats "Turks, we will cut your heads; cut your children's head too." by pulling his knife from his pocket.

These are some examples from hundreds of injuring, battery, armed attack, bundle and treat events. In all neighborhoods Turks living same events are still can be seen. When the times serial murders between 2000-2006 were being committed by neo-Nazis were exposed and the event in most German public opinion and in German's top-levels were cursed, many violence based deed were occurred. After the killers were exposed rising attacks and protests against Turks and Muslims were seen in an anxiety.

Racism and xenophobia can be seen in most parts of the life in Germany. Education and working life are majors. Up above, how the Turks are exposed to racism in education and working life was stated. Racist and xenophobic deeds are not only seen as physical violence but also seen in the area of music, literature, press.

The music band named "Gigi and the Brown Town Musicians" song in their 2009 album by praising the event of killing of 8 Turks and a one Greek, in their song "Doner murder" saying "Doner killer viciously killed 9 times, but it didn't satisfied, watchers want a new crime... fear and the terror will win doner, doner will stuck their throat. Cause 9 is not



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enough."¹They include racism and hatred in their lyrics. In the same album again song named “till Istanbul”, all the Turks deporting are stating.

Social Democrat Party member Thilo Sarrazin when the time he was a board member in Germany central bank (year 2010) published a book named “Germany destroys itself” and made a statement clearly assaulting foreigners and raising xenophobia in his book. Sarrazin made statement in his book; while Chinese, Russians, Vietnamese or Polish immigrants living in harmony and enriching the country, main problem is from the Muslims, despite raising population in the area of education and working area according to Germans they are represented less; Muslim immigrants will not contribute to problem of demographic development, contrary it will bring economic and social problems alongside, with the demographic development Germans started to extinct, not only in Germany but also other West and North countries have similar problems with Muslims; Muslims suffer from in the working area and education, they are tend to make a parallel society; number of Muslims attending crime and terror are raising, raising numbers of Muslims in Europe are cause an anxiety; “passing violence and terrorism are not as easy as apart from the Islam”; hijab is the waving flag of an obscurant ideology. Worse, this book sold above one million and became Bestseller. Book and ideas are discussed for weeks in German press.

The agreement “International Agreement on Preserving all Immigrant Workers and Family Members’ Rights” opened for signature in November 18, 1990 shows Germany’s attitude to immigrants.

Besides, German polices’ attitude including racism and xenophobia against foreigners continues to exist. The fact that many blackmail against Turks has been ignored is known by the press. Threatened people had stated that police even didn’t record and think it necessary. For example, Mehmet Simsek who has a market chain and reporting blackmail was said “Don’t worry. Just a paper. There is no point in recording. We will throw it anyway”. Again on February 20, 2012, a German citizen of Turkish origin, named Halil Benli Bastas, because of the intentionally wrong report about keeping gun in the house, was beaten by security detachment who broke into his house at midnight. Moreover, his requirement for doctor wasn’t listened and he wasn’t permitted to talk on the phone in Turkish.



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II. SERIAL MURDERS COMMITTED BY NEO-NAZIS BETWEEN 2000-2006

II.1. CHRONOLOGY OF MURDERS

Between 2000 and 2006, eight Turks and one Greek were shot in the head in six cities in Germany. In all murders guns labeled Ceska 83 with silencer were used. The only common feature of the victims is that they are small business owners (or it is supposed). Furthermore; in murders, using silencer, some of them there is no spent bullet, to choose a moment there was no one to witness and not to leave a trace are the common traits of professional murder series.

Murders first started with the murder of Enver Simsek at Nurnberg in 2000, and came to an end with the murder of Halit Yozgat at Kassel in 2006. Chronological order of the murders is in that way:

Table 9: Neo-Nazi murders against Turks between 2000-2006 in Germany





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1. Enver Simsek who was living in Schlüchtern town in the state of Hessen and making flower business, had flower shops in various cities including Nurnberg. On Saturday September 9, 2000 Mr.Simsek was working at his shop in Nurnberg because his staff was sick. At the hours between 12.45-14.45, he was injured in his minibus with 8 bullets from two different guns with silencers where he had gone for delivery.

Due to the bullets, hitting his head, Simsek went into a coma and died after two days. He was born in December 4, 1961 and at the time he was murdered, he was 38. His registered province was Isparta, Şarkikaraağac in Turkey and Mr. Simsek left two children named Kerim and Semiya and a wife behind.

After the event, his wife Adile Simsek had health problems both physically and mentally and closed her shop belonged to family in Friedberg and returned to Turkey. Because of the serious depression she is having, she couldn't work since 2000 and because of the serious depression she even can't live with her children. At her times in Germany she stays in his brother's house but most of the time she lives by herself in Turkey. But the children still stay in Germany to continue their education.

2. Abdurrahim Ozudogru who was a machine technician in a watch factory was going to his job as well as taking care of tailor shop in Nurnberg for his wife. In July 13, 2001 Wednesday Ozudogru who was trying to finish his job in his shop at the corner of Gyulaer Street, he was murdered between 16.15-17.00 hours with two different silenced guns by the terrorists who entered his shop. Murderers were too vicious to film the victims' corpse. In that way they were disappeared from the murder scene after a little mess around. Some witnesses claimed that one man looks like an east European was escaped.

His registered province was Yenişehir, Bursa; Ozudogru left a girl and a wife behind. His wife Gonul Ozudogru and his daughter Tulin Ozudogru were both physically and spiritually damaged. Because of the psychological problems they were caught a variety of illnesses. His daughter Tulin caught hepatitis and was treated; Mrs. Gonul caught cancer.

After the murder owner family of Ozudogru were became needy indigent people. To make ends meet and to be educated mother and the daughter worked in such jobs: dish washing, cleaning, security guarding, salesperson, and librarian. But, because of the serious



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trauma and illnesses Gonul Ozudogru became unfunctional and since 2006 she was trying to make living with unemployment pay.

During the event, Tulin Ozudogru who was studying at the Department of Electronics Engineering at Wiesbaden University, could not attend the school because of his burial ceremony in Turkey. Despite her excuse she was not allowed to enter the make-up exams and she had to suspend her school. Because of the mental and physical illnesses alongside her necessity of working, she still couldn't finish her school.

3. Suleyman Taskopru who was selling fruits and vegetable in a small shop at Schützen Street in Bahrenfeld neighborhood in Hamburg, on Wednesday, July 27, 2001 between the hours 10.45-11.15, was murdered with two silenced guns hitting his head, by terrorists entering his shop. Murderers both broke the communication connections by pulling of the phone cables and carried spent bullets with them to leave no trace.

Borned May 4, 1970 Taskopru's registered province was Afyonkarahisar, Şuhut, and he left a three years old girl behind. Suleyman Taskopru's shop was making his own, his parents' and his sisters' life. After the murder, the family never went to shop whose sons were killed and closed the shop.

Taskopru's parents are taking care of the three years of girl. Although Suleyman Taskopru's parents didn't want to stay in Germany after the murder, they are still living in Germany to take care of his child.

4. Habil Kılıc, who was working in a fruit-vegetable market at Munich and running a fruit shop with his wife in the same city's Ramersdorf neighborhood, was murdered in the head on Wednesday, August 29, 2001 between the hours 10.35-10.50 by the killers entering his shop. The shop was near the police station, furthermore sometimes police cars were parking in front of the shop.

Borned in January 1, 1963 Kılıc's registered province was Artvin-Borcka, Kılıc left a wife and a girl behind. After the event because the shop and the house above the shop were closed by police, his wife couldn't live and was obliged to abandon the house with his daughter. While they had their job, they became needy. They couldn't abandon Germany because people would think they had run away. His wife Pinar Kılıc was obliged to dish



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washing and cleaning to live off. Because of the claims about her husband's killing, her job application wasn't accepted and exposed to mobbing.

His daughter was alienated and obliged to leave the school because it is assumed that the cause of her father's killing is his relation with mafia.

5. Mehmet Turgut, working for four weeks in a doner stall in Martin Niemoller Street in Toitenwikel district of Rostock, was killed with gunshot from his head on Wednesday February 25, 2004 around 10.00 and 10.20 while he was alone in the stall. An identity for the name of Yunus Turgut was found on Turgut who was not residing legally in Germany. As he was not residing legally in Germany, the fact that he was using his brother's identity would be understood hardly after 7 years.

Mehmet Turgut was born on January 3, 1979 and registered in Kovancilar, Elazığ had come to Germany 5-6 months ago with big hopes. Upon not entering legally he had applied to reside illegally. However he was arrested by the police and imprisoned. After his relatives took legal actions to prevent his deport he was released rapidly. Though they were surprised and happy to have been released easily they still did not know about the fate that is waiting them.

After the murder, some families living in Germany lived serious problems because of the security offices' pressure. His relative who was running the stall closed the stall and was to abandon the city.

6. Ismail Yasar who was running doner stall in the Scharrer Street in Nurnberg and was liked much by his clients was shot with gun from his head by the murderers having entered into his stall around 9.50 and 10.15 on 9 September 2005.

Born on 1 January 1955 in Suruc, Sanliurfa, Ismail Yasar was 50 years old. Although he was divorced short time before the case he was still living in connection with his wife. He had one child from his ex-wife.

A week before the murder he was introduced as the best doner stall owner of Nurnberg in a newspaper. After his murder, this time they reported such groundless claims as mafia and drugs connections about Yasar under the same news in the newspapers. After Yasar's being



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murdered, his ex-wife who was running a small dressmaker took responsibility of all of his ten thousand euros debts.

His ex-wife Belgin Agırbas who was corroded from her neighbourhood seriously both physically and mentally and was excluded because of inculpatory negative news took psychological treatment. Though she was in Turkey during treatment for short time, she went back to Germany and opened dressmaker again. Belgin Agırbas whose physical and mental problems continue because of the murder goes on under difficult conditions and her son Kerem goes on his vocational education.

7. Mehmet Kubasık who was running a stall where products such as newspapers and magazines were sold in Mallinckrodt Street, Dortmund was murdered with a gun with silencer from his head on Tuesday, April 24, 2006 around 12.55 by two people passing by the stall.

Born on 1 May 1966 and registered in Kahramanmaras, Turkey civil registry office, Kubasık was a German citizen. Coming to Germany in 1991, Mehmet Kubasık set up his own business upon working in different areas such as building and transportation. He left a wife and two sons and one daughter oldest one of whom is 11 (at murder date) behind.

After the murder, all the responsibility with his three children was on his wife, Elif Kubasık. Upon their stall's being closed for months by the inquiry authorities they became unable to pay their debts and closed the stall. The family was able to live with the unemployment subvention between 2006 and 2009. They have been living by with the retirement salary since 2009.

Elif Kubasık took psychological treatment for 5 years because of the case effect upon her husband's death. After the murderers were found, her disease recurred and she took treatments again.

8. Running an internet cafe with his father in Hollander Street of Kassel where he was born and grew up, **Halil Yozgat** was killed with two gunshots with gun with silencer from his head by the murderer having entered into the cafe while there were clients around 17.00 on April 6, 2006.



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Born on February 6, 1985 and 21 years old when he was shot, Halit Yozgat had had both German and Turkish citizenship. Halit Yozgat, who was son of the family registered in Yozgat civil registry was the youngest and the last one of the victims.

Halit's sorrowful parents closed the internet cafe after the event. They started a thorough challenge to make murderers to be found. Ismail Yozgat's, the father, only wish was his son's name to be given to the street where the cafe existed. Halit Yozgat's name has been given to a small square in the same city.

II.2. Attitude of Investigation and Inquiry Authorities

It has been claimed that the security units and prosecution offices which were responsible for investigating the murders during the inquiry process from the first having started in 2000 to the last had worked meticulously.

After Enver Simsek was murdered which was the first murder, the investigators focused on domestic violence or mafia showdown which were thought to be prevailing among Turks by investigators.

Enver Simsek, in spite of his young age, had nearly started over from scratch, made bigger his works and evolved them into a big flower distribution company. As the case was like this, investigators focused their inquiries on fiscal matters. Firstly domestic violence was suspected: Simsek's brother in law who had called the police unknowingly half an hour after the murder was to answer the query of the police whether he called the police to know if he was dead or not. His wife who was taken under a thorough query was exposed to such questions as "Did you planned it with your siblings? Where did you hide the money?". By the way, both mafia and drug connection matters were focused on. As a matter of fact after a while, when other different murders become seen it was approved that it was not rooted from domestic violence and this time mafia or drug connections suspect were begun to be focused on more and more. The police was directed to the similar matters by the Turks who were consulted or giving information voluntarily. Especially some people having Turkish roots who were having difficulties in taking residence permit were trying to make their residence longer in return for information by giving (false) information like this. These claims were investigated seriously by the police but no results were found.



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According to family, inquiry authorities were investigating with the logic and prejudice of "they were murdered because they had a guilt". Thus they were focusing on such matters as domestic wrangle, professional competition, mafia ties, drugs and ignoring the extreme right wing terror. Inquiry authorities which were trying to find the relation of Simsek's with drug by correlating with his youth, were by no means suspected from extreme right wing terror which was lived mostly in Germany in the past.

As in the first murder case, family members were seen guilty in all the other murders or they were exposed to very long, tiring and abrasive investigations and inquiries as they were thought to have known the cause of the murder. Family of Suleyman Taskopru were inquired for 8-10 hours. After Mehmet Kubasık was murdered, his family was inquired for 8-9 hours. Besides Abdurrahim Ozudogru's wife and daughter who were inquired for long time, even his 71 years old mother was inquired and her split sample was taken. Old mother had reacted against this case with this pursuant and meaningful sentence "While murderers are walking around you strive with the families!". Habil Kılıç's wife and daughter, who were in Turkey for vacation on the day her husband was killed, were exposed to such queries as "Why did you go to Turkey twice?" Kılıç's old mother also was inquired. Ertan Olgun, the mother, who was told to come to the Criminal Office shortly after the murder was kept waiting for three hours in a room in Criminal Office without being informed any. After three hours a clerk said to her that her son in law Habil Kılıç was killed and his organs were steady and healthy. Olgun was not able to give any meaning to the fact that why she was kept in there for as such long time and why she was told that his organs were steady and healthy. The family members were inquired times and times again during the inquiry process. In spite of the all of insists of the family daughter Deniz Damla Kılıç who was 12 at that time was not exempted from the inquiries. Fingerprints and samples for DNA test were taken repeatedly. And even all photos of the all family members were taken and they were treated as if they were suspects.

In same way, relatives of Mehmet Turgut who was murdered in Rostock were exposed to inquiries 4-5 times and not less than 10 hours every time. And even they were sent to courts as their statements were not believed. Once, the trial lasted for 13 hours and went on again the day after. Inquiry was conducted with the prejudice that his relatives knew the case but hid it.



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On inquiry phase, family members' phone calls were listened and nearly all of the people they talked and met and family members were inquired again after every phone calls. They were focused on whether having any relation with PKK, blood revenge, domestic violence and mafia.

After the murder of Ismail Yasar, his wife from whom he divorced shortly before his death but with whom they have partnership was constantly inquired. Once, inquiry lasted 12 hours. Because of the fact that their economic partnership was continuing, investigations on his ex-wife was thoroughly being conducted. His ex-wife who was running a small tailor stall was often called by the police for inquiry and she was blocked to work.

While some families were not giving any possibility to racism on murders others gave voice to this issue. Ozudogru family had emphasized on xenophobia from the first moment. Because they knew that Abdurrahim Ozudogru was a quiet and homebody person who had life between his work and home.

But according to the investigators, causes of the murders were monetary issues. They were so sure that they had said to Mehmet Turgut's relative, who had said there could be xenophobia, there were no relation between murders and xenophobia, they were sure that the cause was such issues as mafia, money, drug and big monetary issues had been framed up. Thus after some murders prosecution offices were expressing that the murder had not have a relation like xenophobia and they had eliminated that alternative.

A while after Habil Kılıc murder, his wife Pınar Kılıc realized that a 35-40 years old man was prying into the stall. She went to that man and asked why he was prying into the stall and she saw that there were some wounds on the neck of that man. When she asked who had done these she took the answer of "neo Nazis. She instantly went to nearest police office and wanted help; however, they stated that they were not authorised. Upon this they called criminal police. Police came shortly after and pursued the man. Then she was told that the case had no relation with the murder.

Both the way of investigation of authorities and their prejudiced attitudes discomforted the families of the deceased harshly. While Enver Simsek is under intensive care his 13 and 14 years old two children were inquired while they were waiting their father alone and were through trauma. Habil Kılıc's 12 years old daughter were inquired and was subjected to DNA



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test. Ismail Yasar's wife who came on-scene during his death fainted when she was informed about death and she was forced to declare after having been brought to the police office while she was in that condition. Police was coming to the stall constantly and were causing their work to be blocked by saying them to close the stall and come to the police office. They were stating to Belgin Ağırbaş "Are not you afraid of running the stall alone? Your husband was also working alone." which was tracassery. Mehmet Kubasık's house was investigated by the police with dogs on condolence day while there were 200-300 people inside the house. They were constantly inquired and their phone calls started to be listened. DNA samples and fingerprints of members of Kubaşık family were taken again and again. Even DNA samples of 6 and 7 years old children were taken. Even react of his wife Elif Kubasık like "Who killed? From where did they shoot?" was taken as issue of inquiry. Inquiries were lasting from morning to the evening.

Stalls where murders were lived were not given entrance permission by sealing for weeks or months with the excuse of investigation. These stalls which were not any cleaned and full of blood prints everywhere were delivered to the families. Habil Kılıç's stall were held closed for 3 months sealed after his being murdered. When the stall was delivered after 3 months, the family realized that fingerprints had been badly cleaned and the stall was full of worms. The family was to clean the on-scene on themselves. This event caused a deep agitate on the family. The families which were to clean the prints of the murder lived the sorrow again. After these events none of them were able to open the stalls again. The things that Ali Taskopru, Suleyman Taskopru's father, said is important in this view. : "I would have never entered into the place again in which I cleaned the blood prints of my son.

The fact that their stalls' being held closed not only made them live the sorrow again but also it brought serious inconvenience. The products in the markets decayed and the families were to pay the bills of the stalls like electricity, rent even they were closed.

As a result, inquiries which were conducted for hours and days without distinguishing the age, DNA tests done, photos taken, constant inquiry calls, wire-tappings, stalls being closed for weeks and months, stalls delivered to the families with blood trails inside, offending questions and statements, claims serviced to the media, one-way inquiries, treatments which shows murdered ones "accused" and families "suspected" wore down the



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families more, caused pressure on themselves and they were not be able to live and share their sorrow thoroughly. Inquiry offices were not able to set out a good administration during the investigation-inquiry processes. Prejudice and stereotype thoughts were effective on their treatments.

Did the investigators not take into consideration xenophobia whether intentionally or with negligence while focusing on such issues as mafia and drug connections and domestic violence for all murder events during the inquiry? This question came out from the fact that the murders had not been solved for years and strong claims about security offices.

In fact there were various indications such as the fact that there was racism under the murders. The fact that there was not any relation among the murders, they were carried out professionally, it was determined that murdered ones did not know each other, though it had passed long time and murders went on it was not come about any prints about the suspects focused on (mafia connection etc.), there were no coherent and enlightening information on enunciations needed taking into consideration the possibility of the racism and xenophobia. Because Germany is a country record of which is highly spoilt country where this movement was prevailing and many murders lived among foreigners only because of racist matters. In this sense the fact that this possibility was ignored must not be defended with any excuse.

German police set up special inquiry groups with the name of Ceska by Ministry of Federal Internal Affairs and Bosphorus by Ministry of Internal Affairs of Baviera State. Thinking that the case had relation with Turkey, inquiry groups got help also from Turkish security units. Turkish security units shared every type of investigations with German police such as cash inflow and outflow to Turkey from murdered ones and their relatives included in interview with relatives of murdered ones. However, no result was taken from the works conducted. As the inquiry went on, the German offices focused on international drug smuggling. Although the families talked about xenophobia, such a possibility was never brought forward.

One of the interesting details is the fact that photofits that was drawn by witnesses after murders resembled the murderers found years after. In fact there were information and photos of neo-Nazi trio on the police. As it will be intentioned below, these murders were not the only action of neo-Nazi group. Uwe Bohnhardt, a group member, was judged and given 2



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years and 6 months of prison sentence because he had hanged a doll having a Magen David on her neck and it was written "Attention! Bomb!" on her in 1996, Jena. And they were begun to be investigated for making bomb and organizing actions with bomb in 1998.

In 2008 in an event on which one police commander who had been conducting studies on counter-extreme right had been stabbed in front of his house, witnesses declared that they saw one man and one woman on scene. Today when compared, the photofit which was drawn for the woman corresponds one to one with Beate Zschaepe. When it is thought that the police had photos of three terrorists there emerges deficiency in the inquiry.

In 2007 the German police claimed that they started a large movement which was unprecedented in Germany upon they failed to solve the murders committed with the same gun since 2000. Only 150 police were conducting movements in Germany to illuminate the murders. 276 clues were acquired, statements of 326 suspects were taken and 1900 people were controlled only in Hamburg. When it is assumed that liaison offices from different parts of Germany conducted similar movements there comes up a paramount inquiry (!). It is understood that inquiries were being conducted in some directions.

The data of inquiries conducted through Germany in 2008 are as stated: the number of people about whom inquiries were conducted is 11 thousand; the number of data compared from computer is 32 million. After a while these data would increase up to 3500 clues and 40 million compared computer records.

Upon the police understood that they would not be able to solve the murders, for example, the organization reduced the number of police working in the special committee of murder in Nurnberg from 48 to 9. The head of this special committee stated that the police officers withdrawn from the inquiry would be charged again in case of continuation of serial murders, which reveals that the police preferred waiting after this date. From now on, it is understood that murders were waited to come out at random.

In fact extreme rightists were in constant action against foreigners in that period. Sabotage attempts, attacks, threat letters were frequently encountered. Security units had pursued suspect of illegal activities for years. In fact it is known that reveal of murders committed by interest gangs will not last so long. Thus it must have been thought about that they should not have investigated the same cause on back seat of the murders for all these



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years. If the German offices at least one moment had left the suspect of illegal activity had pursued from different channels, probably they would have reached the solution in short time and not at random but voluntarily and purposely.

An interesting issue is that the group named "Gigi and Musicians of Brunet City" which is a well-known group by neo-Nazi groups mentioned about murders and the ones committed murders on the lyrics of "Doner Murders" the song that they have entered into the market in their album in 2009. While there is thanks to the murderers, neo-Nazis are implied and "nine is not enough" is said implying nine people one of whom is Greek and eight of whom are Turkish and were murdered. And even the album in which that song took place was banned in 2010 with the reason of racist lyrics. Despite of this, inquiries were not conducted around suspect of extreme right.

One of the other false attitudes of investigation and inquiry authorities after the murders came around is that they showed the scenes that murderers had taken after the murders to the families. This practice meant relive of the calamity for the all families. While they needed to inform the families in this respect, the fact that they did not give any information about the phases is separate contradiction. And even families learned the fact that murders had been carried out by neo-Nazis from the media. They did not think it necessary to inform the families about this proof. The principle of privacy of the inquiry must not prevent informing about general information on inquiry and needs of principle of privacy.

Because of the seriousness that encountered 450 people 300 of whom were detective were assigned to investigate the actions of the terrorist group.

II.3. Attitude of Media

The news heard about the murdered ones on the press right after the murders worth to be analysed. After every murder, claims, comments and names related to the murders on headlines of newspapers deteriorated the trauma which families lived and caused them to experience more sorrow. The families told their feelings to the Committee closely.

All press organs wrote that victims could have been murdered as they had connections with drug and extortion gangs from the first murder, Enver Simsek to the last murder Halit Yozgat. The claims went to such points that it was claimed on capital press organs that illegal



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formations that Abdullah Catlı had set in Germany could have committed and even this events could have been conducted by extents of Turkish deep state.

For example, while the Bild newspaper captioned Ismail Yasar as "Nurnberg's best doner stall", it wrote the inculpatory claims regarding drug and extortion gangs connections of him under the same photo right after the murder.

The issue that the families mostly complaint about because of the news mentioned is that the victims were positioned as "criminal" among German community. Because of this the view of the community to them changed abruptly and they began to be behaved not as the family of the "victim" but as the family of a "criminal" or "a foreigner killed as s/he had done dangerous things". Their connections with their neighbours reached breakaway point, they encountered with difficulty in finding job, their children were wanted to be sent away from the school, they lost their profession, they were introduced as a negative pointed at specimen. The fact that the families were brought under suspicion gave place to the sorrow rather than grief.

The news in which the murder of Habil Kılıc who was murdered on 29 August 2012 was committed with mafia connections or drug trade took place caused exclusion of family from the community. Further to that they did not employ Pınar Kılıc (Habil Kılıc's wife) who had taken professional education as retail staff by putting this accusatory news forward.

Again, the administration of the school to which their daughter Deniz Damla Kılıc went said them to register the child to another school by not wanting the child as astudent. They showed reason the fact that Deniz Damla Kılıc is under death risk because of her father's gang connections and this created a threat to other students and they were not be able to carry this load. Deniz Damla Kılıc was not able to go on his education for one year. These events caused deep spiritual injuries on family members mainly on Pınar Kılıc and Deniz Damla Kılıc.

Such news as Abdurrahman Ozudogru had drug or mafia connections and had another girlfriend was also produced. His wife and daughter were excluded from the community because if this speculative news, their connections with neighbours ruptured and even they were stamped as wife-daughter of drug seller. Reading the news on the newspapers about his father, Tulin Ozudogru realized that she had lost her sense of hearing because of extreme



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stress when she woke up next morning. Taking treatment, Tulin Ozudogru were not be able to gain her sense of hearing for a long time.

Mehmet Kubasık's daughter Gamze Kubasık could not go out for a year because of the news in the way that her father was murdered because of mafia connections; and could not go her business place which is 100 km far away where she had shuttled daily to take professional education. She started to be introduced a negative pointed at specimen.

The thing that was intended to be done indeed with such various claims as drug, mafia, PKK, idealists, extortion gang, bet gang and gambles gangs is trying to tell "how dangerous foreigners are".

The worst attitude of the media about murders is that the name of "doner murders" (Doner-Morde) was given to the murders by German press as all of the victims except one is Turkish since the murders were understood to be serial murders. Both families of victims and Turkish community were insulted with this and they tried to imply that the murders could be an internal feud among Turkish families. This statement is a simple example of the opprobrious attitude of the media and also is a big impiety to both the victims' memories and families. They were held collocutor of such a saying that contains insult and racism upon putting their being human aside whatever claim about them was put forward. The fact that the murders took place in German press with this name raised the sorrow of the families so much more. However, after it was understood that the murders were committed by neo-Nazis, the media examined its role and gave up using this statement. Thusly, the common shame that all parts of the community share bewilderedly provided the media to take a share. After a while "doner murders" statement was selected worst statement of 2011 by German Linguistic Sciences Institute. Thereby this slur was emphasized formally.

Not only German press but also Turkish press called the murders as "Doner (Makers) Murders" with the effect of German press. The fact that this statement went on using after the murders were understood is bewildering.

The attitude that press maintained after the murders were understood is rather positive. The events that were solved in rapid succession and attendantly scandals related to the role of the state that carried out took place on the press completely. The media's interest on deep



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backgrounds of the murders and large news that it created contributed highly to the minds and strong community policy.

But some provocative news was made during the shock and slur lived. On 23 February 2012 during commemorative ceremony when Halit Yozgat's father pointed out that he wanted his son's name to be given to the street where his son was born, grew up and was murdered, a channel took a poll and it was informed that neighbourhood residents did not wanted to change the name of the street. How much false the fact that a channel took this survey rapidly on such a sensitive issue is obvious. The fact that German press made it problem to change the name of the street is first of all a statement of prejudice.

III. THE PROCESS OF REVEALING OF MURDERERS AND THE AFTERMATH

III.1. Making Murderers Reveal

Two masked men robbed a bank in Eisenach of Thüringen State on September 7, 2011. These two men who run after with bicycles tried to shelter in caravans in out of way part of the city. But the police pursued them and started to find their tracks with some witnesses' statements.

A police team found the white caravan owned by bank robbers on November 4, 2011. By the way, the robbers learned from the police's transmitters that they were about to be found. The officials heard two gunshots from inside of a car while they were approaching to the car. While backing police teams were waited the car burnt abruptly into flames. Being inside of the car, Uwe Mundlos had killed his comrade Uwe Bohnhardt with one gunshot from his head. And after that he had sabotaged the car and he committed suicide with the same gun. It was better to die rather than being captured by the police according to robbers. After the fire was extinguished gun and ammunition were found in the caravan.

Only three hours after the fire another fire started in Zwickau, city of Saxony State. Here was the house in which Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Bohnhardt and a woman named Beate Zschaepe lived together. Beate Zschaepe had fired the house with the precept that she was to fire the house when she learned that Mundlos and Bohnhardt were about to be found. Her aim was to sweep away all the evidence inside the house. But the house did not burn completely.



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By the way a revolver was found among the ammunition that was found in the caravan. It was confirmed that the revolver belonged to Michele Kiesewetter who was killed four years before. And it was determined that the robbers who were found dead in the caravan had lived together with a young woman in the house that burned in Zwickau. Beate Zschaepe surrendered to the police with her lawyer on November 8, 2011.

A great number of ammunition was found at the burned house. One of them was Ceska 83 gun with silencer and 4 CDs. It was understood at once that the gun was the gun with which 8 Turks and one Greek were murdered between 2000 and 2006. And there were murders, bombed attacks and other actions were being told and were informed that they would go on murders in CDs. The fact that murders were committed by an extreme right group was understood anymore. The name of the group was "National Socialist Underground" (*Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund-NSU*). It was seen that the group comprised of three people: Uwe Mundlos, Uwe Bohnhardt and Beate Zschaepe.

Triple neo-Nazi group, in fact, were together since 1990. After Germany's integration, a great number of young people were worried about future in Thüringen which was a part of the country and was to challenge against unemployment. They started to enter into extreme right world in this hopelessness atmosphere.

Uwe Mundlos, Uwe Bohnhardt and Beate Zschepe started to feel themselves near to the extreme right groups at young ages. They became acquainted with a group with the same name in Jena, Thüringen State. "The Jena Group" comprised of only 8 people in the middle 90s. The leader of the group in which Mundlos and Bohnhardt took part was a person named Andre. Also Zschape was among them. These three neo-Nazis took part in the world of extreme right in Thüringen. Being on target of Verfassungsschutz (Constitution Protection Organisation), the group attended all the meetings of "Thüringen Heimatschutz" (Thüringen Homeland Defence) which was founded by Tino Brandt who conducted the vice presidency of NPD Thüringen State in those years. Bohnhardt and Mundlos placed themselves on a different position from other extreme right groups by being more radical. Mundlos and Bohnhardt imitated SA uniforms which was Hitler's party's paramilitary war organisation by changing their pilot jackets and postals with brown shirts. Their hostility to foreigners, lefties and Jewish people had united these three neo-Nazi.



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Uwe Bohnhardt determined the slogan of extreme right terror group in 1996: Action rather than expression. Being unemployed and gun lovesick, Bohnhardt hanged a doll body without head and with Magen David on a runway bridge. He attached a tablet written "Attention! Bomb!" on it on baby's neck. Thüringen State Safety Police which was investigating the event by setting a special committee reached Uwe Bohnhardt directly. He was inquired with the suspect of agitation of population. The car of Uwe Bohnhardt who was on police target was stopped in November 1996 and was investigated. A knife, a gas tube and ninja stars two sides of which were made sharp were found in the car. Despite of this Uwe Bohnhardt was released.

Between 30 December 1996 and 2 January 1997, letters written gammadion on bomb trapped were sent to Jena Police Department and Municipality. Neo-Nazi triple group was seen among the suspects abruptly. Prosecution office started inquiry with the reason that "communal peace was under threat by committing crime". Within this frame Zschape, Mundlos and Bohnhardt were taken their statements but no result was taken. Inquiry was stopped on 18 June 1997.

A suitcase drawn gammadion on was found in front of a theatre in Jena on 28 September 1997. There was a bomb trapped letter in it. The bomb containing 10 gr TNT was probably made by Mundlos, Bohnhardt and Zschape. It did not explode as they did not put the igniter.

Few days after the attack made on theatre, in October, Uwe Bohnhardt was punished for 2 years and 3 months prison sentence with the reasons of "population agitation, weapon arsenal and breakdown of communal peace" because of the action that he had carried out with a doll in 1996. However he was released with suspense of the sentence by legal authorities. Thereby he gained time to go on his actions. Zschape and Mundlos made bombs in the shape of pipe. On 26 December 1997 a bombed trap inside a suitcase drawn gammadion on was found again. This time the target was the anti-fascist resistance monument in Nordfriedhof (North Cemetery), Jena. On the contrary to prior attacks, investigators reached evidences directly pointing triple Nazis. The resource for the materials of bombed traps was a farm in which he worked and his father was working. Officials inspected Bohnhardt.



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The police detected the bomb factory of neo-Nazis in a garage near Jena Purification Plant on 25 January 1998. Extreme right propaganda materials, bombs and 1.4 kg TNT were found in bomb factory. Besides completed four pipe shaped bombs, different materials to make bomb were also in the garage. It was understood that the garage was rented by Beate Zschape in 1996. Neighbours stated that Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Bohnhardt frequented there. Bohnhardt was able to escape from the police. Mundlos and Zschape also vanished. Criminals were started to be investigated with photos ten days after the event.

In January 1998, the police investigated house of 23 years old Beate Zschape who was living with her mother and they found extreme right propaganda materials and weapon at a raid. There was Empire War Flag (Reichskriegsflagge) on her room's wall. They found a changed Monopoly game in the room. The "prison" part was changed as "concentration camp", and a gammadion was stuck on "Start Area".

Officials investigated on a raid Uwe Mundlos' apartment in Plattenbaugebiet Winzerla region of Jena with the reason of near danger one day after they investigated the bomb factory. However Mundlos, Beate Zschape and Uwe Bohnhardt vanished together.

The tomb of Heinz Galinski who was an ex-chairman of Jewish Center Council in Germany was targeted a few times in a month. The police conducted thorough investigations but they were not able to reach any tracks regarding the offenders. On 27 July 2000 a cluster bomb exploded at traffic jam hour in train station in Düseldorf-Wehrhahn. Ten immigrants who were from east Europe were wounded heavily. An immigrant rooted pregnant woman lost her unborn baby. The bomb was placed in front of the place where young immigrants (between 24-28 years old) were taking German class and was exploded at the time on which they were exiting from the class. Ten immigrants many of whom were Jewish were injured. The police inquired approximately 1500 people and detected 451 evidences; however, despite of this the offenders could not be caught. There were such suspects that there was terror trio behind these attacks.

Neo-Nazi organisation started a serial murder by murdering florist Enver Simsek on 9 September 2000, Saturday.

An explosive fulminated in a market in Köln towards 7 a.m. on 19 January 2001. Daughter of market owners and a 19 years old German-Persian were injured heavily. The



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police transmitted photofit of the suspect and formed an inquiry committee containing 20 members; despite of this the murderers could not be found. However, when the confession video of Nazis was found everything would be cleared up.

After the murder of Enver Simsek, the murderers shot tailor Abdurrahim Ozudogru by attacking again on 13 June 2001. When two weeks passed after the event, neo-Nazis attacked again and killed fruit seller Suleyman Taskopru in Hamburg on 27 June 2001.

Nazi trio took place neatly in post office and bank robberies to finance their underground lives. Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Bohnhardt carried out a bank rob in a masked and heavy armed status in Zwickau on 5 June. Mundlos and Bohnhardt had become an experienced bank robbers on that date. They had robbed three post offices since 1999.

Fourth victim of killer Nazis was Habil Kılıc who were running a fruit market. Date.....29 August 2001. Upon the same gun was used as in the other three murders, Nurnberg, Hamburg and Munich homicide desks started to work together and set a special committee named "Hilal" from 2001. They were suspecting from drug-mafia connections.

It is also estimated that the event in which a Persian woman was injured with a booby trap can be among the actions of triple group in 2001.

This killer triple that were living underworld for 5 years, went on financing their lives with robberies. They robbed a bank in Chemnitz on 23 September 2003 and were able to escape. Again...on 25 September 2002 another bank rob was carried out in Zwickau. On the action that was thought to be carried out by Bohnhardt and Mundlos approximately 48.000 Euros was stolen.

While German police was investigating the murders with special committees they had founded, neo-Nazis killed their fifth victims in Rostock on 25 February 2004: Mehmet Turgut. Turgut was killed while he was working in a doner stall.

A bomb effect of which was risen up with ten cm long carpenter nails fulminated with a strong explosion in front of a hairdresser in Keupen Street, Köln where Turkish tradesmen lived densely. Shrapnels scattered all around the street. The windows of 16 houses were broken. Hand-made spiked bomb was placed on a bicycle and was exploded with a remote control. Some of 22 people were injured heavily and 21 of them were Turkish origin. But



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after 7 years it was confirmed that the attack was an action of Nazi trio from Zwickau. Because killers were being proud in their confession videos.

Nazi organisation murdered Ismail Yasar who was running doner stall in Nürnberg on June 9, 2005 one year after the bomb attack in Köln. The police officers found that the murder was committed with the same gun which was used in prior 5 murder cases. It was understood that 6 of serial murders were committed.

After 6 days on June 15, 2005 Nazi murderers murdered locksmith Theodoros Boulgaridis in Munich. Being alone in the stall, Boulgaridis was killed with three gunshots from his head around 18.00. Having two daughters aged 15 and 18 years old, he had opened his locksmith 15 days before.

Nearly one year after the last murder, on April 4, 2006 they murdered Mehmet Kubasık who had buffet in Dortmund. It was again understood from ballistic investigation of bullets that murder gun was the same brand. The security units who was conducting inquiries with special committees, were acting with the thought that murders were because of an international drug issue. Inquiries lasted also in Turkey with the help of Turkish security units.

On April 6, 2006 only two days after the last murder, they murdered Halit Yozgat who had Turkish origin but German citizenship in front of the witnesses. This was the last murder that they committed with Ceska mark gun. It was confirmed that Andreas Temme was also among clients inside who was a Constitution Protection Organisation worker. Despite of witnesses neo-Nazis were able to escape without being identified. This murder was the last ring of the serial murders committed by neo-Nazis. The bullets of Ceska brand gun were not encountered again after 2006.

But on 25 April 2007 police officer Michele Kiesewetter (22) was found dead near police car and his colleague was found heavily injured in Heilbronn. Kiesewetter had just completed his education. He was shot exactly from his head and the case was execution. Detectives found on scene that two service pistols and the manacles belonging to the police officers were stolen.



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Passau police officer Alois Mannichl who was known to have pursued severe policy against extreme groups was injured heavily with knife in front of his house in Furstenzell (Baviera) on September 13, 2008. The attacker had cried "Regards from national resistance" before stabbing. Inspectors concluded that the attack was radical right rooted attack and were not able to find the attacker. Upon it was understood that after years photofits resembled Beate Zschaepe and Uwe Bohnhardt the suspect whether this was an action of neo-Nazi triple came around.

Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Bohnhardt robbed a bank in Arnstadt, Thüringen State on September 7, 2011. This was the last successful robbery of Nazis. Bohnhardt and Mundlos were able to escape without being arrested.

It was understood that bank robbers who had committed suicide on the brink of being arrested at the last bank robbery were members of a terror organisation which committed a range of horrific racist murders and organised bombing actions. It was confirmed that they committed 10 precise murders and robbed 14 banks. There are many more murders and actions that were attributed to organisation. As the actions that they had organised came around, events and scandals started to be solved in rapid succession.

III. 2. Claims about Intelligence, the Police and Inquiry Authorities

Not only was the reason why these murders couldn't be solved until now although investigated for several times, also the questions such as how this terror group in question managed to keep itself secret, or why Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the domestic intelligence institution, and security units had not taken the necessary precautions against this organization were brought forward.

Sharing the information they have, the agents of Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution were claimed to have prevented the terror group from getting arrested and even contributed to the murders directly or indirectly. The reasons why German intelligence and security units failed to prevent the murders although they had known these three extreme rightists since 90s and why they didn't suspect these groups have been started to be questioned.



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Named Holger, the collaborator of the Nazis Trio was arrested in Lower Saxony, on 13th November 2011. Holger was found out to have provided driving license in 2007 and passport four months ago for the murders trio. It was also found that for several times Holger had rented caravans for the Nazis and one of those caravans was used by the terrorist group in April 2007 during the case when they murdered a police officer named Michele Kiesewetter, and that the caravan in which Mundlos and Bohnhardt had shot themselves was registered in the name of Holger. One curious argument claims that Holger has been engaged with extreme rightists and that authorized bodies had had some information about this personality before. Maren Brandenburger, the speaker of Lower Saxony Office for the Protection of the Constitution, confirmed that he had reached some information about Holger during the inquiry of 1999 stating that Holger had attended the demonstrations organized by neo-Nazis.

As a matter of fact Uwe Schünemann, Minister of the Interior of the State and the head of the Lower Saxony Department for the Protection of the Constitution, confessed that while they should have been controlling the extreme rightist named Holger, they had lost the track of him; thus had made a huge mistake.

In 1999, Holger was detained by Lower Saxony Office for the Protection of the Constitution for three days upon the demand from Thuringia Office for the Protection of the Constitution on suspicion of helping the terrorist group. He had tried to arrange an accommodation out of the country for the trio who committed serial murders via one person. After Holger was released, he had three different people whose IDs could not be determined for three times; however, despite of the fact that he was found out to be an extreme rightist he was not followed on the grounds that ‘this situation concerned the state of Thuringia’. Office for the Protection of the Constitution didn’t keep the record of the data on these neo-Nazis. Moreover the Office didn’t inform criminal office of the state and was qualified as the observer in this case in which it involved. In the year of 2002, the records regarding Holger were deleted on the grounds that he was only a ‘sympathizer’.

One of the most important factors which lead the suspicions about the intelligence to arouse is that Andreas Temme, the head of Hessen Office for the Protection of the Constitution was found out to have been in the café as a customer at the time of incident when Halit Yozgat was murdered or just a few minutes ago. Following the incident where Halit



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Yozgat had been murdered, Temme who is claimed to be considered as “the little Adolf” in his country was being investigated being one of those six people in the café that night. Following the police investigation upon the fact that even though five people told what they know testifying one witness didn’t testify, this person was found out to be Andreas Temme who was working in Hessen Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Being a suspect, Temme’s home was raided; thus after 10 days passed he could be questioned. In his testimony, Temme stated “I didn’t hear neither the murder committed in the café nor the sound of the gun. I checked some salacious pages online in the café and then I left. As I didn’t listen to the news I didn’t hear anything about the murder for ten days” concerning incident and the fact that he had not come to testify. In the investigation conducted in his house, an unregistered gun and a book on serial murders were found. However, after a short-term detention, Temme was released being found out to have no connection with the murder (despite the unregistered gun found in his house). The facts that Temme resides in another city and that he chose that internet café which is pretty far from his home are crucial details. One of those claims which gives rise to the suspicions even more is that this very person in question was found out to be in that city in six of the nine murders. The curious part is that the murders trio has never committed another racist murder since Temme was revealed and was removed from his office accordingly. Those murders which used to be repeated in every other one year or in every other 2 days stopped suddenly in 2006.

Another reason of the bewilderment concerning that intelligence units had been informed about the group of extreme rightists who committed the murders is that Federal Office for the Protection of Constitution had their informers around the Nazis and this was to everyone’s knowledge. For instance, in 2003, upon the application of Federal German Government, Federal Bundestag and the Assembly of States regarding the closing National Democratic Party (NPD), the extreme rightist party of the Germany, Constitutional Court of Federal Germany launched an inquiry, then the case was accepted by the Court and, thus, oral hearing were decided to be held. However; during those hearing held, the general accounted of the party who was called to testify was understood to be a former informer (spy) working for Westphalia State Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Upon this revelation, the close engagement between German intelligence service and NPD was understood; thus, on the grounds that “his right to self-defence and self-assertion freely and by his own will before the



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Constitutional Court was violated permanently”, hearing period of the case about the party was halted and the process for closing the party came to an end. Hence, NPD was claimed to have 150 spies within and 10 of those were allegedly collecting information on administrative level. Therefore, it is highly suspecting that these spies couldn’t obtain any information about the neo-Nazi groups most of which were related to NPD.

Claims related to the intelligence do not come to an end at this point. Helmut Roewer, former head of Thuringia Office for the Protection of the Constitution stated that they started to make Thomas Dienel, the former Thuringia state chairman of NDP, work for them as a spy. Dienel was found out to have received around 20 thousand Euros for this post until 1997. Later on, Dienel confessed that he used this money for the propaganda of the extreme rightists.

Tino Brandt, the former Thuringia state vice chairman of NDP, allegedly worked as a spy for the Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution during his term as a vice chairman. Working for the intelligence until the year of 1994, Brandt was also claimed to have received 200 thousand German marks until 2001 in return of the information he provided and to have founded the organization named Thüringen Heimatschutz (Thuringia Defense of the Country) with this amount of money. Hence, Uwe Mundlos, Uwe Bohnnhardt and Beate Zschaepe were found out to join this organization. Later on, the trio founded the organization called National Socialist Underground after they left Thüringen Heimatschutz.

Helmut Roewer, the former head of the Thuringia State Office for the Protection of the Constitution, stated that Thuringia State Office for the Protection of the Constitution transferred an amount of 1 million 500 thousand Euros to the neo-Nazis who worked as agents and spies within neo-Nazi groups between 1994 and 2000, the period when he worked in the Office as well.

Another claim which was revealed about the intelligence services suggests that there had been a couple opportunities in order to be able to arrest the murderers; however, since the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution stopped the cooperation with Thuringia State Criminal Office (LKA) suddenly, the murderers couldn’t be arrested. It was reported that as the intelligence service didn’t cooperate with LKA at other times as well, they



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managed to obliterate the murderers' traces. Thus, the neo-Nazis trio went underground and vanished without a trace in 1998. Along with the claims suggesting that when LKA was about to arrest the murderers the intelligence gave up on the cooperation suddenly, it has been also reported that an inscription was found on the papers collected from the Thuringia State Criminal Office suggesting that an officer in the Chamber had helped the trio to escape.

In the closed session held by Thuringia State Parliament Audit Commission concerning the responsibility of the intelligence, an officer from the State Office for the Protection of the constitution was claimed to have stated that the phone conversations of the gang had been tapped, in this way the gang was found out to be in need of money for fake passports and so an amount of "money for passport" to the tune of 2 thousand marks had been paid in order to obtain information on the place where the gang stays.

Another claim even suggests that passports of the kinds which were provided only for the officers of the intelligence service were found in the caravan where Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Bohnnhardt had died. In addition to this claim, among those documents which were obtained by the security units in the house which had been burnt in Zwickau there were some which were claimed to be 'legal illegal documents'. The expression of "legal illegal documents" is used for the papers and documents which are provided for the staff in contact with the intelligence service. As a result of these claims, a question asking whether or not the murderers were the spies of the intelligence service aroused. Although Office for the Protection of the Constitution (OPC) claimed that they had not heard any news from the trio since 1998, Beate Zschaepe is alleged to have made many contacts with OPC since the year in question.

Another scandal points out that the Neo-Nazis had weapon training in Switzerland. The members of NDP are told to have been to Switzerland as the invitees of the Swiss Democrats Party (SD) and to have had trainings with weapon staying in a special camp. Moreover when this claim was revealed the vice president of SD who had provided training with weapons for neo-Nazis had to resign from his post. Furthermore, the fact that made in Czech, the gun the brand of which is Ceska 83 came from Switzerland rose the question if Swiss extreme right had a connection with neo-Nazis regarding the murders. German polices have found out that made in Czech, in 1983, 24 Ceska type weapon were produced, and stated that these guns



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were sold to Switzerland. Cooperating with the Swiss polices thereon, German polices launched a raid in the Canton of Solothurn, but found out that the recordings on the sale of the arm which was used in the murder were deleted after a certain point.

Having even more importance, another claim is that neo-Nazi groups were trained by the German Army (Bundeswehr). The “paramilitary” organization named ‘the Community of the Reserves’ founded by the German Army is claimed to have given weapon training to the members of NPD, the extreme rightist party. After the correspondences of NPD were examined, working depending on the Ministry of the Defense the organization with 122 members among which active generals are mentioned was found out to have given weapon training to the administrators of NPD. After the incident was represented to the press and media, Michel Sauer, the deputy chief of the Community of the Reserves accepted that they were subsidized with 16 million Euros per year from the State and hereby gave weapon training for the members of NPD. This organization composed of army officers most of which are retired has also been found out to have provided weapon indirectly. It was revealed that German army provided the vehicles, the military service of which were ended, to neo-Nazi organizations.

Another scandal suggests that some important cell phone information which are significant for the murders to be solved were deleted by Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA). The news, released on the basis of the confidential documents, states that the data found in the cell phone which belongs to the person named Andre who were arrested on the grounds that “he helped the murders committed by neo-Nazi terror group” were ordered to be deleted with a paper dated December 9, 2011. This secret action is assumed to have probably been committed in order to prevent those spies who were among the extreme rightists from being revealed by BKA. It is also stated that within normal procedure, Federal Police shouldn’t delete such information found in a cell phone until the case is concluded.

Another scandal regarding the intelligence is the incident when Uwe Bohnhardt was about to get arrested, however managed to escape in 2000 when the murders had not started yet. Receiving a tip which claims that Uwe Bohnhardt was going to meet with a woman called Mandy in October 1, 2000, Saxony Office for the Protection of the Constitution did put a camera outside of the house however failed to recognize the person who came to that home.



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Hence, Enver Simsek became the first victim of the racists three weeks after this meeting in Chemnitz. If the person, spotted out, had been identified as Bohnhardt and arrested, these serial murders might have been prevented.

Berlin Anti-Fascist Press Archive and Education Center, the headquarter of which is found in Berlin, has reported that the terrorist group named NSU was referred, being mentioned “Thanks to NSU. They started to reap the fruits. The fight continues”, in a neo-Nazi magazine titled “Der Weisse Wolf” (White Wolf) 10 years ago. It is found striking to see that this statement laid down in the Magazine which was under the observation of the State Office for the Protection of the Constitution could escape the attention.

The claims regarding the intelligence are not limited to Federal Office for the Protection of the Institution. Claims related to Military Security Service have been pointed out as well. The equipment used by the trio for the bombing in Jena was claimed to be provided from the ammunition depot of the German Army. According to news, after the terrorist trio vanished in 1998, each place where they stayed was reported to the office of Military Security Service in Leipzig; however the center of Military Security Service in Köln ignored and didn’t utilize that information.

Finally, Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Bohnhardt are claimed not to have committed suicide in fact, on the other hand those murderers are claimed to have been killed in order to prevent them from revealing everything they had known. One reason why this claim was put forward is that no sign of gun powder was traced on the body of Uwe Mundlos who were claimed to have killed his friend and then committed suicide. Furthermore, one claim says that a person tried to pull away swiftly before the caravan burned. Moreover, while Mundlos and Bohnhardt were revealed to have committed suicide with rifles, this emerged as a suspicious way of suicide attracting considerable attention.

III. 3. Attitude of Politicians

III. 3. 1. Reactions

The German politics’ body is already composed of five political parties which won their place in the Federal Assembly passing the election threshold of 5% in 2009. Among these parties, representing the central right the duo of CDU (Christian Democratic Union) and CSU



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(Christian Social Union of Bavaria) have the majority in the assembly with 237 chairs and form the government. In center left, SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany), the main opposition party, is found with 146 chairs. The other parties of the Federal Assembly are composed of FDP (Free Democratic Party) with 93 chairs, Die Linke (The Left) with 76 chairs and Bündis 90/Die Grünen (Alliance '90/The Greens) with 68 chairs.

During the election of 2009, the government found by CDU/CSU and FDP largely included the subject of immigration and adaptation in coalition protocol giving the impression suggesting that there wouldn't be a difference in the strict and sharp attitude in terms of these policies within the recent years. Thus, both the parties in power and the main opposition party not only take a strict stance quoting the stress of adaptation in the immigration and immigrant policies at each and every chance they have, but also they delivers harsh speeches during the election periods. Recent legal arrangements which prevent the immigrants to go beyond the title of guests are the main, indicators of this fact.

As mentioned above, the effect of the racist discourses in the attacks against the foreigners shouldn't be ignored. The harsh statements against Arabic and Turkish immigrants by Thilo Sarrazin, a Social Democrat and the former member of the Executive Board of The German Central Bank, and Horst Seehofer, the Prime Minister of the State of Bavaria and the Leader of CDU, have promoted the fear and irritation against Muslims in the public opinion. In November 2010, Federal Minister of the Interior stated that there would be an Islamic Terrorist attack in the near future and this statement resulted in the new attitude against Muslims which became harsh. Likewise, Wolfgang Schaeuble, the Federal Minister of Economy, used stern words targeting Turks in newspapers. It is beyond doubt that these statements wakened and supported the ideas of racism and xenophobia.

While the subjects of immigration and immigrants were being kept in the agenda, serial murders between 2000 and 2006 against people of Turkish origin were revealed to be committed by neo-Nazis induced by racism and this fact shook German policy considerably. Particularly Christian Wulff, the President of that time and Angela Merkel, the Prime Minister, other representatives of the Federal Government and politicians at the state level criticized the activities severely and articulated the shock. Politicians paid visits to German Turkish community and promised to fight against the extreme right. While the relatives of the



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deceased people were accepted by Christian Wulff, the President, a common statement was made by the parties in the Federal Assembly condemning the murders and a session was held concerning the murders standing in silent homage for the victims of these murders.

The most important of all is that these statements tried to draw attentions to the questions in minds asking why the murders couldn't be prevented or solved until now and requested the incidents to be investigated deeply. Particularly, Christian Wulff, the President of that time, expressed the anger and the shame he felt because of the murders and enabled a commemorative ceremony for the victims of the murders in 23th February in 2012.

Stressing the subjects of immigration and immigrant frequently even sharpening her discourse sometimes, PM Angela Merkel had merely expressed her worries in the first statement she had made concerning the murders. However, sharpening her words in her statements later on, she stated that she was ashamed of the murders and was going to do everything necessary in order to illuminate the murders. In the speech she delivered during the commemorative ceremony of 23th February 2012, she apologized for the murders and for the fact those families and the deceased were brought under suspicion for years. Admitting the mistakes of the security units and that she failed to provide protection against the hostility and the threats caused by the extreme rightists, Merkel made a promise to reveal the incidents in all their parts.

All responsible federal and regional ministers expressed the weakness of not being able to solve the murders, the intention and negligence of the intelligence and the police services, the possibility that the intelligence may have been involved in the case and other intentions and possibilities. Once more, the grief and the regret felt because of the racist aspect of the murders and the fact that families were under suspicion were expressed in every stage.

In this respect, it is evident that both federal and state governments and leading opposition parties have adopted a positive attitude, did not avoid asking all kinds of questions, and looked for the responses of the questions which need to be answered to conduct an effective inquiry functioning various mechanisms.

On the other hand, when Ilkay Oney, the Integration Minister of Baden-Württemberg State of Germany issued a statement regarding the existence of the deep state in Germany to a Turkish news agency, he was exposed to the huge psychological pressure from the deputies of



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Christian Democratic Party. It became evident that as Oney was a politician of Turkish origin he was not welcomed to adopt a critical attitude. Considering that the case was mentioned frequently both by German media and by the politicians, inquiry commissions were formed regarding the case and that the German Prime Minister apologized from the public, the attitude which caused Oney to be kept under pressure is unacceptable. Being able to discuss the case freely is highly important in order to illuminate the incidents completely and prevent further murders of this kind.

While Politicians condemned these actions in every platform, public opinion and non-governmental organizations also condemned the murders in their activities and demonstrations. It is particularly important to mention that during the “commemorative ceremony” held in 23th February 2012, trade unions in all over the Germany observed a minute of silence. It is crucial to contently express to what extend these ceremonies held against this extreme rightist terror contribute for the foreigners to feel safe.

III.3.2. Concrete Steps

German politics resorted to a couple of inquiry mechanisms after the serial murders were understood to have been induced by racism and the negligence of the intelligence and security units was revealed. First of all, inquiry committees were founded in federal and state assemblies resorting to deputy supervisory ways. While German Federal Assembly Inquiry Committee on National Socialist Underground Terrorist Group was founded at federal level, two inquiry committees in states of Thuringia and Saxony, where Nazi terrorists were particularly active, were founded at regional level. Furthermore, Joint Experts Committee at Federal and States Level was founded with the initiative of the political offices.

By signatures of the representatives from five political groups (CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP, The Left and The Alliance 90/The Greens) German Federal Assembly founded a Inquiry Committee in order to investigate the murders committed by the neo-Nazis with the in 26th January 2012. Composed of 11 members, the Committee was presided by Sebastian Edathy, the deputy of Social Democratic Party (SPD), the main opposition party.

Within the founding motion of the Committee, it was laid down that first of all as a terrorist group NSU, members, activities, social environment and supporters of NSU, and the general outline regarding the question of how the group managed to most grave crimes



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without being revealed for such a long time would be discussed and the information obtained in this way would be used to reach some conclusions regarding the structures of the security and inquiry bodies, the cooperation between them, their authorizations and qualities and effective fight with the extreme right and to give some advices. It was also remarked that at that point, what information security and inquiry bodies had obtained during the period between 1st January 1992 and 8th November 2011 regarding Uwe Bohnhardt, Uwe Mundlos and Beate Zschaepe, people and organizations who supported them, and the offence charged to terrorist group NSU and NSU members, and how the authorized bodies evaluated these information would be tried to enlightened. In the text it was also laid down that the question of what kinds of activities authorized bodies conducted concerning these personalities and crimes was to be answered. Moreover, the subjects which need to be investigated were decided as follows:

1. Whether the negligence or the mistakes of the federal bodies simplified it for the NSU to be founded, to conduct its activities, to extend its network of supporters or not, or complicated the crimes committed by this terrorist group to be revealed and prosecuted or not;
2. The link between the extreme rightist people, environments and organizations and the members of this terrorist organization, known as the terrorist group named NSU at present, what kind of a contribution was made by extreme rightist people, environments and organizations for the preparation and the support of the terrorist activities;
3. Whether terrorist group NSU and its environment had international connections or not and if there was such a connection, then how the clues regarding this connection were evaluated by the authorized bodies;
4. The role assigning personalities who were referred as “trusted people” (stuff of the intelligence) played in terms of the terrorist group NSU, the supporters and the environment of the group; the factual and the legal basis to which the assignment were attributed, whether or not the assignment of “trusted people” and their posts were controlled and analyzed sufficiently; whether or not in terms of the assignment of “trusted people” and of fulfilling the missions assigned are in accordance with the



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valid rules and institutional instructions; whether or not NSU members' activities were supported financially or in another way via "trusted people";

5. Whether or not terrorist group NSU's –or its supporters' depending on the situation- provisions of explosive material, weapon, fake identity, secret accommodation and money were simplified, and if it were, what kinds of means were used;
6. Whether or not any clues which necessitates the authorization to conduct legal proceedings at federal level pursuant to the article 120(1) and (2) of the was founded and if it was found, the time and date when it was obtained and the reason why no inquiry was launched upon such a finding;
7. Whether or not evidences, clues and other information which may have a meaning in terms of the current inquiries concerning the members and supporters of the NSU were destroyed by the security.

The Committee has also decided to inspect the following points:

1. From the perspective of the extreme right, what conclusions would be made in terms of the organization and the structure of the Federation's security and inquiry bodies, the cooperation, information acquisition and sharing between the Federation and the security and the inquiry bodies of the federal states;
2. The need to effectively avoid the repetitions of actions which may refresh the pain and sufferings of the victims of the crimes committed by the extreme rightists or their relatives during the inquiries and how to avoid such risks;
3. The requirement to amend and develop the fight with the extremely rightist violence in every field (such as repressure, prevention, increasing the sensitiveness of the responsible units).

The Committee is planning to finalize its missions and works by the end of autumn 2013. Inquiry committees founded pursuant to the Article 44 of the Constitution of the German Federal Republic may hear the witnesses and the experts may request information and documents from the institutions, may ask the courts or the administrative authorities to conduct further inquiries. Inquiry committees summarize the results which they obtain in their reports and present these to the General Assembly. Inquiry committees founded in German Federal Assembly are generally described as "the most powerful weapon of the opposition" because the governments do not normally welcome the possible mistakes to be discussed in



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the open sessions. However, as the murders by neo-Nazis were in question and none of the prominent political parties wanted to face the allegation that they didn't do their best against the extremely rightist terror, all of them signed for this committee to be founded.

The first inquiry committee founded at the regional level was formed within the Thuringia State Parliament. While the Inquiry Committee of Thuringia State was expected to present their first interim report within a year's time regarding the subject in question, the Committee has announced that they are going to present the final report in the summer of 2014.

The last inquiry committee was founded as the committee for the inquiry of "criminal and illegal connections" in the Saxony, one of the states where the neo-Nazi terrorists' trio was largely active (one of their cell houses was located in the city of Zwickau). The purpose of the committee is to reveal the responsibilities and the roles of the authorized bodies of the states with regard to the murders.

In addition to the inquiry committees founded within the body of the parliaments, Federal Committee of Experts at Federal and States Level (Bund-Länder-Kommission) composed of four people was founded by the Government in 8th February 2012. The committee is a joint expert's committee founded within the collaboration of Federal government and the state governments.

While two members of the Committee were recommended by the government, the other two members were recommended by the Conference of the Ministers of Interior. The Committee is composed of Ehrhart Körting (SPD), the former Minister of the Interior of Berlin State and a social democrat, Heino Vahldieck (CDU), the former Minister of the Interior of the Hamburg State and a Christian social democrat, Eckhart Müller, an expert on the criminal law coming from Munich who was recommended by Free Democratic Party (FDP), and Bruno Jost, the former Prosecutor of the Federal Court of Justice who was recommended by the Greens. The purposes of the Committee are to bring the backstage of the serial murders out and solve the problems occurred between authorized security and intelligence units during the period when the murders were committed completely. The mission of the Committee is to evaluate the interim reports prepared by the inquiry committees founded by the assemblies and information obtained from various places and to bring some proposals for the cooperation between security units at federal and states level to



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be improved. The Committee has been reported to share its conclusions with public opinion in 2013.

Members of the Committee have reported that all of these committees will not act in a completely separate way; on the contrary they are going to share the documents and the information. A matter which is seen as a handicap in terms of the operation procedure is the term of operation. The operation period of the inquiry committees which is limited to three months in Turkey has the flexibility to last until the end of the legislative session. However, such a long term may lead disconnections within the works and cause the initial enthusiasm to fade away because of the fact that deputies are responsible not only for the committee but also for the elections, electors and other duties regarding the assembly.

Along with the investigation and inquiry committees, Supervisory Board of the Federal Assembly responsible for the monitoring the activities of the federal intelligence units has taken action upon the strong claims about the intelligence units. The Board started to analyze the files regarding the murders committed by neo-Nazis of Thuringia and Hessen States' Offices for the Protection of the Constitution (these are the states where the murderers settled, active and organized) and heard the employees of these Offices in closed sessions.

The communication of the political authorities with the families of the victims has continued within a positive channel up to now. Barbara John, the former officer responsible for the foreigners in the State of Berlin, have been assigned as the mediator (ombudsman) between the Government and the relatives of the deceased people, performing her duty as a counselor for the injured party. Listening the problems of the families, John has been welcomed for the fact that she has been taken a pretty close interest with the families and for her effort to make contribution to the resolution process making the necessary criticism about the Government.

German Federal Government has decided to pay a compensation from 5 to 10 thousands Euros to the families of the victims and the people who suffered without the need for them to prove how much damage they receive. While the idea of the compensation is positive, it is considerably far from reimbursing the material damage they received (see the part titled "Chronology of the Murders") not to speak of the moral damage they have been going through.



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The paid compensations are stemming from the principle of the social risk based on the understanding of objective responsibility envisaging the compensation of damages the prevention of which is under the obligation of the administration, which is yet something that the administration failed to do, without looking for any causal relation and the condition of deficiency. However this kind of compensations doesn't take the moral damages into consideration. It is highly important to consider the grief stemming from the fact that security units put the victims and their families into the places of "the criminals" and "the suspects" while they were deceased or the injured parties and the resulting lack of ease and security. Therefore, the idea of the government related to the compensation is expected to be rendered concrete in more serious amounts so that the positive and sharp statement of the politicians can be at least partially supported.

One of the behaviors which the families are expecting is the politicians to make efforts in order for a monument to be erected in each city where these incidents happened or at least the city where most of the murders were committed. As a matter of fact, with the very idea, a monument was erected for the honor of the police officer who was murdered by the terrorist group where he was killed. Therefore, even this situation on its own should be enough to enforce the request of the families. The initiatives in the past are promising in this respect. Furthermore, provided that this demand is fulfilled, the politician's statements will prove to be sincere. No apology or no initiative to repair the damages can bear a more effective result in teaching a lesson than building a monument.

IV. EVALUATION AND RESULT

On Racism and Xenophobia in Europe

The seeds of racism and the xenophobia were planted in Europe and seeing them shooting out again is highly worrying. As the huge immigrant groups being called as the labor forces in the reconstruction period of Europe after the Second World War and groups who immigrated to the political and economic wealth of the Europe running away from the economic and political troubles in their native country caused some changes in the structure of the society, these groups have formed one of the main topics discussed both in social and in political fields. The elements such as terror and the economic crisis of the recent decade have rendered this matter even more debated.



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Irregular immigration, foreigners increasing the populations day by day, immigrant becoming settled with the family reunifications, terrorist attacks, economic crisis, people of foreign origin becoming more and more visible in the work life and immigrants involving in criminal acts have created “the question of foreigners” in the European Society.

Globalization and the fact that it makes the multi cultureless in the work life even more visible leads ostracizing attitudes against the immigrants. The problems such as the changing demographic structure of the Europe and the social integration make mass immigration the basis of the racism and xenophobia in Europe.

The existence of foreigners most of which immigrated to the Europe for economic reasons in the job market pushes the youth who are in fear of future and worried about unemployment into extremely nationalist feelings and promote the hatred for the foreigners who are seen as competitors in the job market.

Furthermore, the terrorist attacks, committed in USA, UK and Spain by a group of terrorists who introduced themselves as Muslims, have become an excuse to grow fears and hostility against Muslims and anti-Islamism have spread all over Europe.

While these developments created a turning point in terms of the national and international security policies, they have also considerably affected the idea about the foreigners in a negative way. Being turned against the foreigners, this situation rendered the foreigners the focus of the fear and anxiety. Being “anxiously” released, the news suggesting that the Islam has been swiftly spreading in Europe, discourses against the Muslims which were shared through the social media, the growing fear that the Islam will conquer the whole Europe and the “classification” of the Muslims as “the dangerous foreigners” have further developed the fear and aggressive feeling against Muslim immigrants.

Immigrant and security have become two paradox concepts throughout Europe. The negative aspects of this depression which have represented themselves in the society serve as the basis for the xenophobia. Immigration and immigrant policies presented by governments as solutions to the problem cause the extremes to grow further. Instead of being promoted to fit into the society, the immigrants are being marginalized and shown as the main causes of the current problems.

Islam has been concretized as the main opposition of the extreme right in Europe. Racism which used to be concretized as the main opposition to the Jews in the past has now



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been replaced by anti-Islamism and the fear of Islam. Claiming that Islam will conquer all Europe or that national identities will vanish etc., some fear patterns have started to become effective even on those the educated and high segments of the society who didn't give credit to these ideas until today not confining with the base of the society.

The fact that ideas containing racism and xenophobia have been resulting in violence increasingly in the recent years is highly worrying. According to the international data, a growing tendency has been found out in crimes induced by racism in most of the EU Member States.

An increased can accordingly be observed in crimes motivated by extreme right and Germany takes the lead in this respect and starting from the year of 2001 a general increase can be observed. According to German non-governmental organizations, the number of the murders induced by racism is 182 since the reunion of the two Germanies.

According to the official records of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 29 physical attacks and threats with racist and xenophobic purposes have been found out to be committed against people of Turkish origin, their enterprises and non-governmental organizations within the first three months of 2012, in Germany, France, Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, Switzerland and Ukraine.

There is no doubt that the discourses of the politicians, the ideas extended in the society by the political parties and the governments' policies affected the increase in this violence. Politicians have a huge responsibility in eliminating this wave of violence containing xenophobia. It is important to remember that racist ideas which caused the Second World War had not spread on their own but been spread in the society when politicians dragged the masses along with themselves the nations.

The facts that racism and xenophobia throughout Europe is supported in the political arena and that these ideas have been expressed more and more politicians have reached in alarming extends. The rise of extremely rightist parties in Australia, Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Hungary and Greece attracts attention. Knowing the negative results of the extremely rightist politics very well, Europe needs to stop this rise before it's too late. It would be right to say that European Union has a critical role in this respect.



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Chasing terrorist groups containing Islamic discourses after September 11, the European Countries put racism on the top of the threat ranking following the incidents in Norway and Germany. The first concrete example of this is Denmark's ranking the racism as the number one threat for the first time in its history.

Surrounding the entire Europe, racism and xenophobia render Europe, the geography of which is under the sway of the democracy and human rights, the center of discrimination and hatred.

On Racism and Xenophobia in Germany

On the rise of the extreme right in Germany, historical, political, social and economical reasons and European Union and the approach to immigrants have been highly effective. Germany, because of its Nazis' history, has become a country where racism and xenophobia have always existed and sometimes even lead to violence.

Since 2000s, like in Western Civilization in general terms, a tendency to see Islam as an enemy have become concrete in Germany. As a result of this, this tendency developing against Muslims has unfortunately turned into physical and mental attacks. By spreading ideas like "Islam has begun to seize Europe", an atmosphere of fear has been created.

With the highest politicians' stating that multiculturalism has gone bankrupt, strict immigration and immigrant policies have been applied. In electoral periods severe discourses have begun to gain favor; a race to pull votes on immigrant policies has increased. Severe discourses towards immigrants have a considerable effect on these groups.

Since economic turmoil's as a result of international markets' dependency to each other have increased unemployment, prosperity share with immigrants has created discomfort, in labor market immigrants are seen as rivals and the thought that immigrants live by the people's taxes have been reasons to for racism and xenophobia to spread. The difference between Islam and Christianity is labeled as "inharmoniousness" instead of "wealth", Muslims', especially Turks', efforts to live their own cultures are perceived as "parallel society". A general opinion that foreigners cannot adapt their selves to the society, the idea of Jihad in Islam is known wrongly or that bad examples of foreign immigrants and especially Turks are always brought up, and foreigners have been held responsible for crime rates and unemployment and discussion platforms on immigrant and immigration problems are always created. These are the major factors in the formation of racism and xenophobia. When these



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developments combine with the thought that the democratic order destroys the society, interest in extreme right can easily continue its existence.

It is known that Germans especially who do not feel safe about their future economically tend to the extreme right more and xenophobia that even leads to violence spreads more among these groups. Because of this, those of foreign origin who can find themselves employment opportunities may become the goal of the extreme right groups.

As of now, in Germany's total population, there are 16 million people whose at least one parent is of foreign origin (%19). And there are 7,5 million people who have foreigner status. Within this number, Turks have the biggest population. Foreigners and those of foreign origin generally collect together the west of Germany, immigrant population in the east of Germany has a very low rate. But the matter that draws attention is that extreme right ideas and organizations that aim at violence are mostly from the east region.

According to the formal data in Germany, number of members of neo-Nazi groups has been increasing since 2006. Hence, there has been an increase observed in the demonstrations by these groups. Most of these crimes include provoking hatred through illegal propaganda activities and crimes of violence against individuals and certain groups.

As the most populated foreign group throughout Germany, Turks are a group that is most exposed to sabotage, armed and unarmed assault, battery, letter of threat and other forms of violent and threatening acts. It is anxiously followed that the attacks and demonstrations against Turks and Muslims continue without decreasing,

According to the registered data in the Turkish Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since 1988 24 Turks have been killed as results of attacks and sabotages induced by racism.

In Germany, it is possible to encounter signs of racism and xenophobia not only in the form of physical violence but also in all fields of life. Education and labor are the major ones of these. It is observed that in fields like music, literature, press these ideas are executed most harshly.

Although Germany is the country where the most strict precautions against racist acts and extreme right parties, it cannot stop the violent acts. Constitutional and legal bans are violated by practices and discourses. The biggest contribution to preventing racist violence will undoubtedly be realized when at first the politicians end their anti-foreigner discourses and policies.



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On Turks in Germany and Their Problems

There are about 2.8 million immigrants from Turkey in Germany which has a population of approximately 82 million. The number of the Republic of Turkey citizens among these is a bit more than 1.5 million. However, in 2011, on the contrary of previous years, a decrease has been seen in Turkish population. The fundamental reasons of this situation include developing economy of Turkey and harsh attitudes towards foreigners in Germany as well as problems in acquiring German citizenship.

Individuals of Turkish society contribute to Germany in every area ranging from art, sport, politics to business world. It is possible to come across people from Turkey not only as workers but also in every specialty such as doctor, engineer, lawyer, business manager, and politician and so on.

However, contributions of Turks to financial, cultural and political life are not admired adequately. Adaptation problem of Turks is stressed at every opportunity and “parallel society” disputes are brought into question. Politicians are always exemplifying failures in adaptation, education and social life by indicating Turkish society. Prejudices and stereotype opinions are never backed down. Individual negative examples such as honour killings, domestic violence, forced marriages, delinquency cases which involve some Turkish teenagers are brought to the public attention and the mentioned cases are implicitly attributed to the whole society of Turkish origin and it is conveyed as if these examples were common among all Turks.

Politicians think adopting harsh policies against foreigners is a method which provides added value in internal politics. Particularly center parties apply this method with their actions and utterances bordering racism/discrimination. It is seen that some restrictive applications against foreigners, especially Turks are brought to the public attention before every state election.

Even Turks, who were born in Germany and had education here, do not have equal rights with German citizens and citizens of countries which are European Union (EU) members. They are not allowed to enjoy rights which are provided by legal framework constituted by Turkey-EU Association Agreement and Council of Association. Verdicts, which are in favour of Turkish citizens who claim their rights by litigating to Court of Justice



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of European Union (CJEU), are not implemented. Especially verdicts, in favour of Turkish citizens, regarding visa are not implemented insistently.

Despite the verdicts of Court of Justice of European Union, the rigid and deterrent visa policy of Germany for Turkish citizens continues. This issue constitutes an explicit violation of "retroactive deterioration ban" prescribed by Turkey-EU Association Agreement. Turkey, an important commercial partner of EU, has been conducting negotiations with European Union which has strong inter-communal relations with Turkey. Considering all these facts, it is not reasonable to carry a rigid visa policy for Turkey.

Turkish citizens are also exposed to a variety of discriminatory practises in social and economic life. Job applications and inequality of opportunity in education are some of the areas Turks and other foreigners are exposed to discrimination in their daily life.

Turkish citizens in Germany do not have rights to vote and stand for selection or to engage in any political activity. Moreover, when they are allowed to vote in the elections of Turkey, German authorities do not support establishing ballot boxes in Germany.

There are some laws and practises of Germany which can be said to be directly against Turks. These aspects and elements draw the attention especially in the implementation of amendment made in Immigration Law in 2007. As per the law, stipulating the condition that only citizens of the countries Germany requires visa have to know German and rigidity of provisions regarding this insupportably prevent family reunification or founding a family and consequently constitutes a violation for international conventions Germany has acceded on fundamental rights and freedoms. It is in favour of those who come in Germany to require knowing German in minimum level considering the fact that those who do not know German cannot go out, benefit from healthcare services and find a job. However, knowing German must not be obligatory before coming to the country.

It is seen that Migration Law aims at preventing family reunification of Turks and reducing the number of spouses who will come from Turkey by targeting especially Turkish citizens. Thus, according to official statistics the number of Turkish citizens in Germany decreased in 2011.



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Foreigners' children born in Germany are conferred citizenship only if parents fulfil specific conditions. However, they are compelled to enjoy this right till a certain age and then prefer citizenship of their parents or German citizenship. This model (option model) undermines the adaptation process and causes identity conflict. Renouncement of dual citizenship by Germany leaves Turkish citizens in a difficult situation. The discriminative aspect of this practise is that citizens of many countries are allowed to have double citizenship.

One of the problems in this context is the situation of those who cease to be a citizen of Turkey in order to acquire citizenship of Germany and then acquire double citizenship by being a citizen of Turkey again. Those who are detected to have double citizenship in this way are denaturalized. This practise has resulted in crucial loss of rights. German authorities must take into account that double citizenship can help to solve the problems of participation in society and belonging of Turkish society.

Presentation of Turkish lessons for Turkish students continues to be a problem. Turkish native language lessons called "Turkish and Turkish Culture (TTK)" are still in the position of courses/private lessons. Material and organizational responsibility in organizing these lessons falls on Turkey but Germany is expected to contribute. Besides, attendance to Turkish and Turkish Culture lessons is not showed in school reports and these lessons are not evaluated as to affect passing the class. It is necessary to include these lessons in the school reports in order to ensure students attend and attach importance to the lessons.

TTK lessons are given principally by teachers sent from Turkey as per the agreement between Turkey and Germany; however, teachers charged by Turkey are always facing delays in visa procedures. This difficulty causes teachers to arrive late, miss the beginning of school year, and thus prevents them from giving lessons for a length of time.

Majority of the students of Turkish origin in German education system pursue their education at primary schools. However, the number of students who pursue higher education is very low in proportion to the population. Children of families of Turkish origin face problems in pursuing further education after primary education like children of all immigrants. The education system of Germany, which is based on the principle of dividing children into groups in early ages according to their learning capacity, causes discrimination



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against foreign and immigrant children and does not allow social mobility. While the number of the students of immigrant origin who attend secondary school is higher than the number of non-immigrant ones, the number of students of immigrant origin who attend high school is lower than the number of non-immigrant ones.

Most of the children of immigrants are directed to schools (Sonderschulen), which provide special education for those who have low level of success, on the grounds that their German knowledge is insufficient. It is rather worrisome that the number of immigrant students who pursue their education at secondary school and higher education is so low. As emphasized by Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, it is essential to take necessary measures to ensure those who are not citizens of Germany participate in common school system and it is necessary to review the conditions required for those to be sent to Sonderschulen.

Despite the fact that immigrant children are more successful than German children they are not given equal chance of success as European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) has expressed. Proportion of students attending primary and middle school units is lower compared to German children. High rate of contrariety in equality of opportunity between Germans and foreigners is alarming. It is necessary to address the tendency to orientate immigrant children to low-level schools where the economically disadvantaged students predominate. Teachers need to receive in-service training so as to ensure they evaluate objectively and do not send children to such schools as long as it is really necessary.

Germany, one of the outstanding countries of international community, is expected to remove the obstacles which prevent immigrant children from improving themselves without delay.

In addition to these unfavourable conditions, it is observed that children of some Turkish families do not attach enough importance to education. Education level of some families is low and some families value earning money more than education; these circumstances reduces success rate of children of foreign origin.

However, there are some solution-oriented steps regarding education in addition to negative policies specified above. It is satisfactory that Equivalence Law which eliminate the



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obstacles to recognition of degrees, foreigners received abroad, came into force on 1 April 2012. However, there are serious concerns among Turkish society about limited implementation of this act in practice, creation of bureaucratic obstacles, inclusion of provisions to limit the Act in administrative regulations and especially about increase of impediments with the filling of vacancies.

Religious education continues to pose a problem for Turks living in Germany. Muslims cannot avail themselves of "Erlangen Model" which stipulates that content of lesson shall be arranged by religious community; the state shall only supervise whether this is against the law and be responsible for organizing lessons and funding. German authorities claim that there is not an organization to represent Muslims and to assume responsibility for content of lessons. Germany can enable Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs accepted by Turks who correspond to 80 % of all Muslims in Germany or similar foundations, associations and unions to organize religious education pursuant to aforesaid Model. Considering this alternative shall be beneficial for Muslim community to take religious education properly.

Discrimination in having a part in the labour market continues to be one of the fundamental problems faced by those of Turkish origin. In 2010, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights determined that Germany is one of the countries which have the highest level of discrimination in business life as well as many other European countries. According to the Agency, people who have a Turkish name encounter with obstacles in having a part in labour market. Moreover, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance confirmed this fact in 2009. Immigrants have much difficulty in finding a job with high quality compared to the rest of the population. There are some companies which lay "German as mother tongue" down as a condition. Those with a Turkish name have less chance than those with a German name in both finding a job and doing their apprenticeship as a part of vocational training. European Commission against Racism and Intolerance has suggested surprisingly that the proportion of immigrants in the total number of apprentices is low despite the fact that the number of immigrants applying for apprenticeship is more than the number of Germans applying for apprenticeship. The level of discrimination is higher in



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small-scale businesses. Germany must take necessary measures against discrimination and impediments to enjoying a fundamental right even if it is connected with private law.

It is very desperate picture that owners of some businesses or top managers in German companies say they have to use a German name to administer their business properly. It is a highly challenging issue for a democratic country that individuals have to hide their self-identities.

Attitude of German police towards foreigners continue to include racism and xenophobia. There are many complaints about the fact that a number of letters of threat are not considered and they are underestimated. Besides, there are claims and determinations about the fact that the police resort to excessive violence against those of foreign origin. There are examples of use of disproportionate force by security forces not only in Germany but also in other countries such as Netherlands and Denmark.

Germany has not acceded to "United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families" yet. It must be important for Germany to show its sincerity as a country where so many immigrants live.

On Attitudes of Investigators in Neo-Nazis Murders

Eight people of Turkish origin and one person of Greek origin were killed by a neo-Nazi organization called National Socialist Underground in Germany between 2000 and 2006. Enver Simsek in Nurnberg on 9 September 2000; Abdurrahman Ozdogru in Nurnberg on 13 June 2001; Suleyman Taskopru, grocery operator, in Hamburg on 28 June 2001; Habil Kılıc, greengrocer, in Munich on 29 August 2001; Yunus Turgut in Rostock on 25 February 2004; Ismail Yasar, owner of a doner stall, in Nurnberg on 9 June 2005; Theodorus Boulgarides, of Greek origin, in Munich on 15 June 2005; Mehmet Kubasik in Dortmund on 4 April 2006 and Halit Yozgat in Kassel on 10 April 2006 were victims of serial murders. The common feature of those who were killed is that all of them were small business owners (or they were thought to have been small business owners).

Another remarkable matter is that murders began in September and in Nürnberg in which Adolf Hitler showed his mass power and started his activities. The terrorist organization aimed at putting fear in hearts and preventing foreigners from being an employer



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and proceeding beyond an employee by giving the message "our target is job owners of foreign origin" based on the fact that victims are small business owners.

Murderers were around twenty at the date of murders. There was nobody to witness around at the time of murders. Murderers had left no trace and used guns with silencer. Given the way murders were committed and provision of guns, all of these prove that murderers received help from professionals.

It had been claimed that public prosecutors and security units in charge to investigate the murders worked meticulously in inquiry processes from the first murder in 2000 to the last murder. Private committees were established after murders turned out to be serial and it was claimed that every detail was examined. From the first murder in 2000 to the last murder in 2006, authorities laid stress on the fact that murders resulted from domestic revenges or commercial revenges among Turkish people. Relatives who were in close relationship with family members were interrogated firstly and monetary background of cases were investigated after every murder. Afterwards, a variety of reasons such as drugs, extortion, bet, gamble gang, mafia, PKK, Idealists (Ülkücüler) and the deep state of Turkey are pointed out. However, extreme right factor was hardly taken into account; neither was there information about this issue nor investigated the police this suspicion. It is surprising and suspicious that extreme right factor was neglected although some families mention it insistently and every other possibility was eliminated. It was ignored that Germany had witnessed violent acts of extreme rights from past to present. Inquiries were conducted with the prejudice and thought that they were killed because they had guilt. The deceased were assessed as if they were "criminal".

Besides, it was seen that the police officers overworked to prevent the terrorist acts which were carried out by people who introduced themselves as Muslim and emphasized this identity but they ignored the extreme right.

In addition to their inability in solving the murders, attitude of investigators and inquirers toward family members is upsetting. It is an ordinary duty of police to investigate family members as closest people. However, police officers directed insistently very long, tiring and wearing interrogations and investigations to family members thinking that they committed the murders or they knew the reasons. Children at the ages of 11-12 were



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interrogated and they were subjected to DNA tests again and again. Their fingerprints and their photographs were taken as if they had been murder suspects. Just after the murders, the families, who were suffering yet, were subjected to interrogations precipitately in an offending way disregarding customs and traditions. The interrogations were conducted quiet prejudicedly and depreciatively.

Houses of some families and some shops where the victims were murdered were sealed and closed for examination for weeks and months. This situation caused great expenses for families; they had to pay such expenses as rent and electricity. Foods in shops decayed which caused great material damage. The most desperate situation is that shops which were closed for a long time were submitted to families without clearing blood trails of victims.

Interrogations conducted to all family members without considering their age, DNA tests, photographs taken, constant callings for testimony, wire-tappings, workplaces closed for weeks and months, shops submitted to families in blood, offending questions and statements, claims served to media, unilateral interrogations and treatments showing the deceased as "criminal" and families as "suspect" wore the families out more than murders and caused them to experience oppression. A decent method was not implemented in investigation and interrogation processes. Prejudice and stereotype opinions stood out in attitudes and behaviours.

On the Attitude of Media

Media organs wrote that all murders from the murder of Enver Simsek to the murder of Halit Yozgat in 2006 may have resulted from such reasons as drugs, extortion, connections of gamble gang, mafia revenge, woman affair and their illegal connections in Turkey. Claims in the media sometimes extended to connections of Turkish deep state in Germany.

This news made no contribution but made families suffer more. Because of the claims in news, the deceased were thought to be "criminal" by German society, viewpoint of the society to the families changed suddenly, the families were treated as if they had been "relatives of a foreigner who was a 'criminal' or who was killed as he did dangerous works". Consequently, they lost their social relations, they lost their jobs, they had great difficulty in finding job, their children were expelled from schools and they were put down as negative examples of society. There is no need to explain how striking these facts were for families.



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One of the worst attitudes of media in the murders is that murders are called as "doner murders" (Döner-Morde) because the victims are of Turkish origin. Consequently, both the deceased and their families were degraded clearly and it was implied that murders may have resulted from commercial revenge between Turks. This expression is disrespect not only for commemoration of the deceased but also for their families. An expression including indignity and racism was deemed appropriate for the victims disregarding that they were "human".

Moreover, this attitude clearly provided basis for interrogations conducted in the wrong direction. The media closed their eyes to the fact that the murders were committed with a racist incentive. The expression of "doner murders" used by media caused German society to assess the incidents from a single viewpoint.

Due to the shame felt for the murders and criticism about the expression, the expression of "doner murders" ceased to exist only after it was revealed that the murders were committed by neo-Nazis. This expression was chosen as the worst word of 2011 by German Linguistic Institute. Use of the expression is clear verbalization of prejudice in media. These cases are expected to be a staggering lesson for media not to assert similar imputations and claims against foreigners and those of foreign origin.

It is necessary to mention that a part of media adopted a positive attitude after murders were revealed. It is of importance to inform the public utterly and bravely about the role of government in murders and to express question marks.

On Claims Related to Public Officials

The murders were solved by "coincidence" although 11 years passed after the first murder and 6 years passed after the last murder. Besides, it was understood that the murders were committed by a group of neo-Nazis who committed a lot acts and about whom decisions to arrest were issued due to other crimes. All of these caused security and intelligence units to draw attention.

In conjunction with discovery of the fact that members of group were followed and investigated before because of other reasons, the question of why interstate intelligence agencies and security units did not take measure on time acquired currency.



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German intelligence and security failed to prevent murders despite the fact that they had known three extreme rightists well since 90s', so it is an important issue which have been investigated whether these institutions acted "neglectfully" or "purposefully". These inquiries will reach to fruition if they are conducted honestly and multi-dimensionally.

It was brought to light that reporters of Federal Agency for the Protection of the Constitution contributed directly or indirectly to murders. This fact was expressed by ministers at the level of state and presidents of Federal Agency for the Protection of the Constitution; consequently some arrests were made. It was revealed that reporters provided members of terrorist group with false identities, passports and arms and helped them to rent a place to stay and a caravan.

It is striking and worrisome that an agent working in Hessen Office for the Protection of the Constitution was determined to have been in that city in six of nine murders and in the internet cafe, where Halit Yozgat was killed at the time of the murder. Especially, it is remarkable that killer trio put an end to racist serial murders after this agent was divulged.

It is another striking point that plans and acts of these people could not be revealed although people who helped the terrorist group were members of Nationalist Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) and there are a number of informers, who were gathered from neo-Nazis, in NPD. Germany could not utilize from informers, who were made courier to follow activities of NPD, moreover she contributed directly or indirectly to their activities by transferring millions of Euros.

It was determined in closure case of NPD in 2003 by Federal Court of Justice of Germany that there were a large number of informers in NPD. For the very reason, the closure case was halted on the grounds that German secret service and NPD were highly interlocking.

It was seen that acts could not be prevented also due to the incoordination between Federal Agency for the Protection of the Constitution and security units along with military authorities. Sometimes intelligence units avoided cooperating with security units and sometimes military authorities did not pay regard to intelligences.

It is sadly worrisome that neo-Nazi groups were supported by not only intelligence and security units but also the armed forces. It is accepted by authorities that Association of



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Reservists which is the paramilitary institution of the German Armed Forces provided members of the NPD including neo-Nazis groups with weapon training and some equipment.

Authorities did not pay attention to terrorist trio in the process of murders and before they were unveiled despite the fact that the terrorist trio was mentioned in some places, which enhanced suspicions about intelligence and security units. A music group expressed clearly that the murders were committed with racist incentive and gushed over the terrorist group in 2009. The terrorist group was mentioned clearly in a magazine which was followed by neo-Nazis. It is necessary to deliberate these points.

On the Attitudes of Politicians

The harsh discourses of strong political parties in Germany about immigrants and immigrant policies are continuing increasingly. Disadaptation of immigrants is stressed at every opportunity, candidates enter contest to collect votes with harsh statements against foreigners in every electoral period. These discourses have been turned into concrete legal regulations in recent years and it is aimed to stop flow of migration and reverse this flow.

The political discourses bordering racist tone have a considerable effect on attacks against foreigners in Germany. Some senior politicians continue to make strict oral or written statements about Turks and other Muslim immigrants. It is necessary to point out that these attitudes trigger racism and xenophobic ideas.

It is tried to create the perception that all Muslims are terrorists by stressing the expression of "Islamic terrorism" constantly. It is a highly wrong and dangerous attitude to associate the violence acts committed by a few groups which assume they are Muslim with a religion in which billions of people believed. However, the expression of "Christian terrorism" was never used by any Muslim while Muslims were slaughtered by neo-Nazi groups. It is a must to use not dividing but uniting discourses in order not to cause inter-civilizational polarization and even conflicts.

It was seriously striking for German politics to learn that serial murders between 2000 and 2006 were committed by neo-Nazis with a racist incentive while discussions of harsh policies against immigration and immigrants were occupying the agenda.



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Especially President and politicians at the level of the Bundestag and state condemned the acts vehemently. They expressed their concerns and laid stress on question marks about the background of murders. Political parties in the Bundestag made a joint statement and stood in silence in order to show respect to victims of murders. They expressed their anger and shame they felt because of the murders and inability to prevent these. A commemorative ceremony was arranged for the victims and an apology was issued for leaving the families and victims under suspicion for years. Mistakes made in the past were expressed frankly and concrete steps were taken to reveal negligences and mistakes of authorized units. All of these were considered as hopeful developments for inspiring respect in Turkish society for German authorities.

However, it is not an acceptable attitude that Ilkay Oney, Integration Minister of Baden-Württemberg State was exposed to psychological pressure by deputies of Christian Democratic Party about her statement on existence of a deep government in Germany to a Turkish news agency. It is immensely important to discuss the issue freely in order to clarify the incidents and to prevent similar incidents in future.

In addition to all of these, it is necessary to mention with pleasure different activities and protests arranged by politicians and NGOs, street demonstrations to condemn the murders and such activities as standing in silence organized by worker unions.

On Concrete Steps Taken by Politicians

It is a hopeful development that a set of examination mechanisms have been put into force at the level of local and federal parliaments since it was put forward that the murders were committed with racist incentives and there were negligence and intention of intelligence and security units.

Inquiry Committee on National Socialist Underground Terrorist Group was established in Bundestag and committees of inquiry were established in Thüringen and Saxony states at the local level. Besides, Joint Committee of Experts at Federal and States Level which was assigned by political authorities was added to these.

It is necessary to mention expectations from Federal Committee of Inquiry and importance in terms of authorities they have and questions they aim to reveal in setting-up



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proposal. It is known that committees of inquiry at state level have similar objectives and it is satisfying that they mobilize the authorities they have. However, the length of working calendars, the committees aim, is worrying. The committees point out 2003 to finish their works at the earliest.

It is another positive development for conveying problems and complaints of families at first hand to the government that Government charged a person to provide the families of victims with consultancy and to establish communication between Government and families. The efforts of intermediary to contribute to solution processes and his/her contact with the families are welcomed.

A certain amount of compensation was paid to the families of victims and other people who got harmed. However, the compensations were too low to compensate material damage of the families let alone anguish they suffered. It is essential to stress that compensations must have been already paid as per the risk principle based on sense of objective liability in modern administrative law. What is important is to rebuild the trust of those who were pushed to the positions of "criminal" and "suspect" while they were just "victim" and "sufferer".

After dimensions of right-wing terrorism were revealed, concrete steps such as establishing a center for combating against extreme right within the body of Federal Ministry of Interior, setting up a telephone line for those threatened by extreme rightists, deciding to pool information in intelligence and security units about extreme right, starting to control closely the internet traffic used intensively by extreme rightist groups and extending the preservation period of information the intelligence has are appraised as positive developments.

In consequence of findings and assessments mentioned above;

1. Sense of justice of society and the families must be gratified by making an effective inquiry and an impartial judgement related to the murders. It is expected that all essential steps are taken to conduct the inquiry extensively but quickly. Underground supports must be revealed in addition to the tip of the iceberg.



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2. There is a common belief and strong claims in relation to the fact that intelligence and police services had negligence and intention in inefficacy to prevent the murders. It is of utmost importance to shed light on this issue in order to prevent similar cases in future.

3. The Committee of Experts and the committees of inquiry established by both Bundestag and state assemblies are expected to finish their inquiries as soon as possible or to publish their assessments from time to time about the information they have gathered.

4. The families learn the developments about judicial inquiry from the media. It is necessary to give information to the families from time to time about the details of judicial inquiry being conducted without violating the privacy principle.

5. It is determined that attitudes of authorities of investigation and inquiry include an explicit prejudice against the families in the inquiry process of neo-Nazi murders. Written warnings must be issued to ensure that inquiries be conducted objectively and multi-dimensionally without any prejudice or bias. It is a must to stop the practises disregarding human dignity in manners of inquiry immediately.

6. Unsolved and suspicious murders must be examined effectively again with a new inquiry and it is necessary to investigate whether they are related to extreme right-wing terrorism independently of the mentioned murders.

7. Those of foreign origin must be charged in public institutions and police offices as well. Thus, it is going to be viable to overcome prejudices easily and to create the possibility to think multilaterally.

8. The superfluity of acts of violence connected to extreme right in Germany is worrying. It is a must to prevent these acts immediately and strongly. All political or civil organizations which provide logistic and intellectual support to neo-Nazi groups must be precluded. The current legal regulations related to prevention or racism and xenophobia must be put into force.

9. It is a must to review the strategy for combating right-wing extremism. Especially, it is a must not to loss control over the practise of gathering informer from neo-Nazis. The strategy of Federal Agency for the Protection of the Constitution for following extreme right must be reviewed again.



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10. In addition to constitutional and legal prohibitions against extreme right, structural issues which dominate or deflect the enforcement must be determined and eliminated.

11. "Adaptation problem" of foreigners must not be turned into "foreigner problem". Necessary endeavours must be made to turn the perception bordering hostility about foreigners especially about Muslims into tolerance.

12. Systemic structural issues preventing Turks from pursuing further education must be settled by considering the recommendations of international institutions as well. It is a serious discrimination to send foreigners to the schools where students who have learning disability are educated on the grounds that knowledge of German of foreigners is inadequate. It is a must to stop this practise immediately.

13. It is necessary to ensure Turkish and Turkish Culture lessons, about which there are different and unsystematic practises in states, are provided properly. German authorities must contribute more to the organization of these lessons and it is necessary to facilitate visa procedures of the teachers sent from Turkey.

14. It is expected that Muslim community is able to benefit from Erlangen Model. For this, Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs or another similar institution must be accepted as roof organization.

15. Legal and judicial initiatives must be launched to remove the practises causing those with a Turkish name to face discrimination in labour market and to have difficulty in finding a job.

16. It is violation of international legal rules, European Union Law and human rights law to prevent family reunification with rigid visa regulations. Requirement to know German is in favour of immigrants but it must not prevent people to enter Germany. A more flexible regulation and practise are expected.

17. It is a must to comply with the verdicts of the Court of Justice of European Union with regard to visa regime implemented against Turkish citizens and to abolish unfair and discriminatory visa practises.



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18. 'Option model" which is enforced for certain countries in acquiring German citizenship must be abolished. It is known to have no contribution to adaptation. Therefore, prohibition of dual citizenship enforced against certain countries must be abolished as well.

19. Extreme rightist parties provoking violence against foreigners must be removed in political arena. There are strong determinations about the fact that these parties have become source of violence by supporting neo-Nazi groups.

20. The politicians are expected to stop harsh discourse in immigration and immigrant policies. It must not be forgotten that these discourses may contribute indirectly to violence. A small step taken by Political parties which have the capacity to pull the masses may trigger serious situations. Great torments suffered in the past must not be forgotten.

21. It is necessary for media to publish news and comments highlighting the sense of unity among people of different origins by considering the contribution of the media to the creation of social mentality. It is hoped for the media to learn lessons from their attitudes in neo-Nazi murders. It is necessary to scrutinize the concepts chosen in order to ensure they do not harm human dignity. The principle of innocence must not be violated or accusatory and implicative statements must not be made.

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