

# Right-wing extremism in Germany

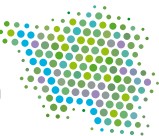
ideology, strategies and actors



ADOLF-BENDER-ZENTRUM  
für Demokratie und Menschenrechte

Ministerium für Arbeit,  
Soziales, Frauen  
und Gesundheit

**SAARLAND**



Gefördert vom

im Rahmen des Bundesprogramms



Bundesministerium  
für Familie, Senioren, Frauen  
und Jugend

Demokratie **leben!**

# Right-wing extremist attitudes

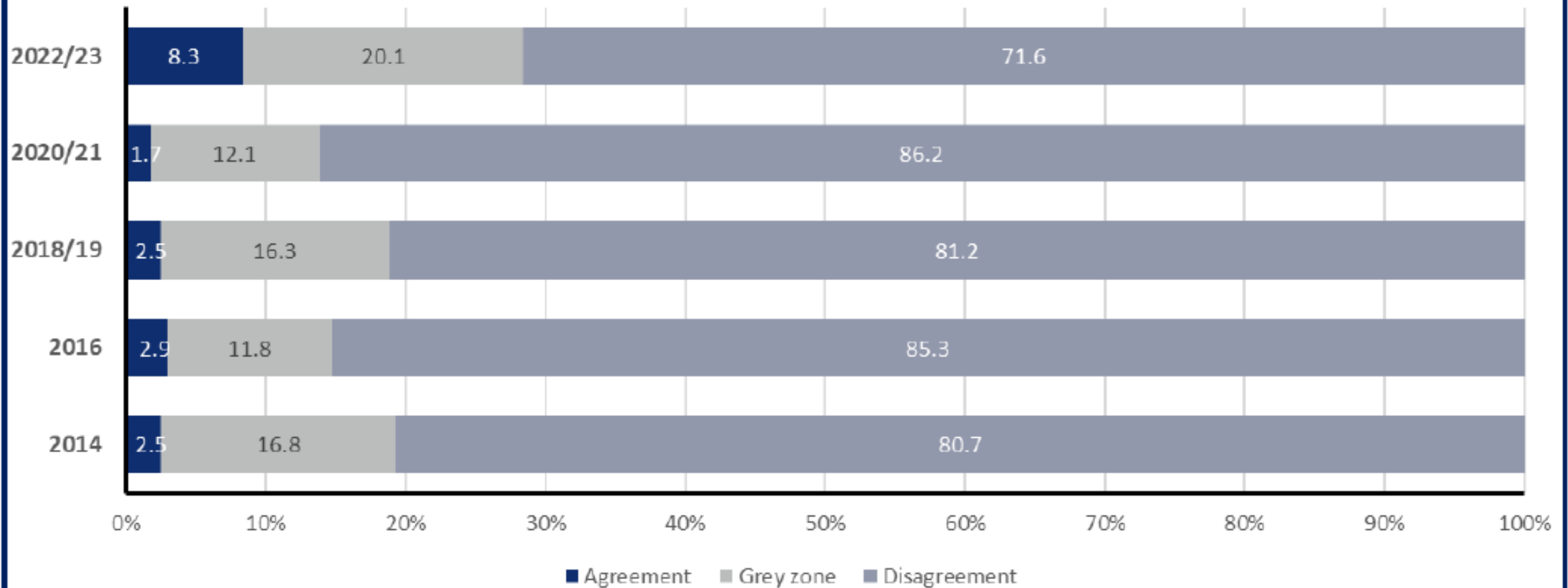
(Die geforderte Mitte; Zick, Küpper, 2023)

Statement	--	-	- / +	+	++
What Germany needs now is a single strong party that embodies the entire national community.	44.0	12.8	19.2	13.6	10.3
What our country needs today is a firm and energetic assertion of German interests abroad.	33.1	17.3	26.4	14.6	8.5
Most refugees only come here to exploit the welfare system.	19.1	17.4	29.3	15.1	19.0
Many Jews today try to derive an advantage from the past of the Thrid Reich	44.8	20.0	18.8	8.8	7.7
The crimes of National Socialism have been greatly exaggerated in historical accounts.	64.0	14.1	13.8	5.6	2.5
There are valuable and worthless lives.	66.5	9.7	12.0	6.0	5.8

# Right-wing extremist world view

(Die geforderte Mitte; Zick, Küpper, 2023)

Explicit extreme right-wing world views in Germany 2014-2023  
(in percent)



# Right-wing extremism in figures

Right-wing extremist crimes in Germany (BMI):

- 2013: 17.042
- 2016: 23.555
- 2019: 22.342
- 2024: 42.788
  - (+48 % cf.2023 / total: 84.172)
  - violent crimes: 1.488 (+ 17% cf. 2023)

Saarland 2023 (LfV):

- 312 crimes (+14% cf. 2022)
- Violent crimes: 18 (2022:18)

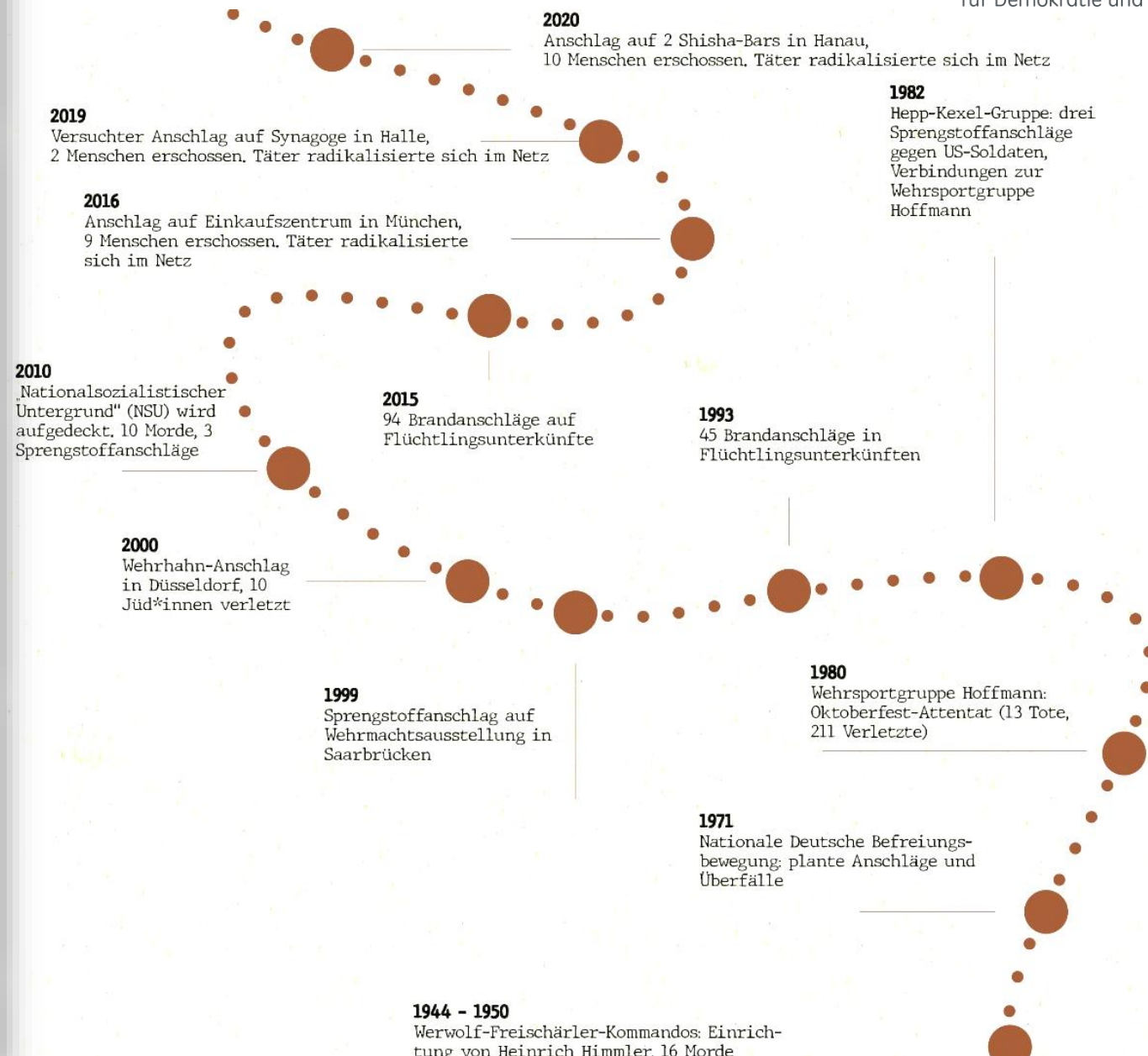




## Fatalities of right-wing extremist violence

**1990** Mahmud Azhar, 36 | Andrzej Frątczak, 28 | Amadeu Antonio, 17 | Nihad Yusufoglu, 17 | Alexander Selchow, 21 | Namentlich unbekannter Obdachloser, 31 | **1991** Jorge João Gomondai, 28 | Helmut Leja, 39 | Agostinho Comboio, 34 | Samuel Kofi Yeboah, 27 | Wolfgang Auch, 28 | Mete Ekşi, 19 | Gerd Himmstädt, 30 | Timo Kählke, 29 | **1992** Ingo Ludwig (Verdachtsfall), 18 | dreiköpfige Familie aus Sri Lanka | Blanka Zmigrod (Verdachtsfall) | 68 | Matthias Knabe, 23 | Dragomir Christinel, 18 | Ingo Finnern, 31 | Gustav Schneeclaus, 52 | Erich Bosse | Nguyen Van Tu, 29 | Thorsten Lamprecht, 23 | Emil Wendland, 50 | Sadri Berisha, 56 | Dieter Klaus Klein, 40 | Ireneusz Szyderski, 24 | Frank Bönisch, 35 | Günter Schwannecke, 58 | Waltraud Scheffler, 44 | Rolf Schulze, 52 | Karl-Hans Rohn, 53 | Alfred Salomon, 92 | Silvio Meier, 27 | Bahide Arslan, 51 | Yeliz Arslan, 10 | Ayse Yilmaz, 14 | Bruno Kappi, 55 | Hans-Jochen Lommatzsch, 51 | Şahin Çalışır, 20 | **1993** Karl Sidon, 45 | Mario Jödecke, 23 | Mike Zerna, 22 | Mustafa Demiral, 56 | Hans-Peter Zarse, 18 | Matthias Lüders, 23 | Jeff Dominiak (Verdachtsfall), 25 | Gürsün İnce, 27 | Gülüstan Öztürk, 12 | Hatice Genç, 18 | Hülya Genç, 9 | Saime Genç, 4 | Horst Hennersdorf, 37 | Hans-Georg Jakobson, 35 | Namentlich unbekannter Obdachloser, 33 | Bakary Singateh alias Kolong Jamba, 19 | **1994** Ali Bayram, 50 | Eberhart Tennstedt, 43 | Klaus R., 43 | Beate Fischer, 32 | Jan W., 45 | Gunter Marx, 42 | Piotr Kania, 18 | Michael Gäbler, 18 | **1995** Horst Pulter, 65 | Peter T., 24 | Dagmar Kohlmann, 25 | Klaus-Peter Beer, 48 | **1996** Monica Maiamba Bunga, 17 | Nsuzana Bunga, 7 | Christine Makodila, 17 | Christelle Makodila Nsimba, 8 | Sylvio Bruno Comlan Amoussou, 27 | Rabia El Omari, 17 | Françoise Makodila Landu, 32 | Jean-Daniel Makodila Kosi, 3 | Legrand Makodila Mbongo, 5 | Miya Makodila, 14 | Patricia Wright, 23 | Sven Beuter, 23 | Martin Kemming, 26 | Bernd Grigol, 43 | Boris Morawek, 26 | Werner Weickum, 44 | Achmed Bachir, 30 | **1997** Frank Böttcher, 17 | Antonio Melis (Verdachtsfall), 37 | Stefan Grage, 33 | Olaf Schmidke, 26 | Chris Danneil, 31 | Horst Gens, 50 | Augustin Blotzki, 59 | Mathias Scheydt, 39 | Georg Jürgen Uhl, 46 | Josef Anton Gera, 59 | **1998** Jana Georgi, 14 | Erich Fisk, 59 | Nuno Lourenço, 49 | **1999** Farid Guendoul alias Omar Ben Noui, 28 | Egon Effertz, 58 | Peter Deutschmann, 44 | Carlos Fernando, 35 | Patrick Thürmer, 17 | Kurt Schneider, 38 | Hans-Werner Gärtner, 37 | Daniela Peyerl, 18 | Ruth Zillenbiller, 59 | Horst Zillenbiller, 60 | Karl-Heinz Lietz, 54 | Jörg Danek, 39 | **2000** Bernd Schmidt, 52 | Helmut Sackers, 60 | Dieter Eich, 60 | Falko Lüdtke, 22 | Alberto Adriano, 39 | Thomas Goretzky, 35 | Matthias Larisch von Weitowitz, 35 | Yvonne Hachtkemper, 34 | Klaus-Dieter Gerecke, 47 | Jürgen Seifert, 52 | Norbert Plath, 51 | Enver Şimşek, 38 | Malte Lerch, 45 | Belaid Baylal, 42 | Eckhardt Rütz, 42 | Fred Blank, 51 | **2001** Willi Worg, 38 | Mohammed Belhadj, 31 | Axel Urbanietz, 27 | Abdurrahim Özudoğlu, 49 | Süleyman Taşköprü, 31 | Dieter Manzke, 61 | Klaus-Dieter Harms (Verdachtsfall), 61 | Dorit Botts, 54 | Habil Kılıç, 38 | Arthur Lampel (Verdachtsfall), 18 | Ingo Binsch, 36 | **2002** Jeremiah Duggan (Verdachtsfall), 22 | Klaus Dieter Lehmann, 19 | Kajrat Batesov, 24 | Ronald Masch, 29 | Marinus Schöberl, 16 | Ahmet Sarlak, 19 | **2003** Hartmut Balzke, 48 | Andreas Oertel, 40 | Enrico Schreiber, 25 | Günter T., 35 | Gerhard Fischhöder, 49 | Thomas K., 16 | Hartmut Nickel, 61 | Mechthild Bucksteeg, 53 | Alja Nickel, 26 | Petros C., 22 | Stefanos C., 23 | Viktor Filimonov, 15 | Waldemar Ickert, 16 | Aleksander Schleicher, 17 | Oleg Valger, 27 | Martin Görges, 46 | **2004** Mehmet Turgut, 25 | **2005** Oury Jalloh, 36 | Thomas Schulz, 31 | İsmail Yaşar, 50 | Theodor Boulgarides, 41 | Unbekannte Person, 44 | Tim Maier, 20 | **2006** Mehmet Kubaşık, 39 | Halit Yozgat, 21 | Andreas Pietrzak, 41 | **2007** Andreas F., 30 | Michèle Kiesewetter, 22 | M. S., 17 | Jenisa (Verdachtsfall), 8 | **2008** Peter Siebert, 40 | Bernd Köhler, 55 | Hans-Joachim Sbrzesny, 50 | Karl-Heinz Teichmann, 59 | Rick Langenstein, 20 | Marcel W., 18 | Marwa El-Sherbini, 31 | Sven M., 27 | Kamal Kilade, 19 | **2011** Duy-Doan Pham, 59 | André Kleinau, 50 | **2012** Burak Bektaş (Verdachtsfall), 22 | Klaus-Peter Kühn, 59 | Karl-Heinz L., 59 | Andrea B. (Verdachtsfall), 44 | **2013** Konstantin M., 34 (Verdachtsfall) | **2014** Charles Werabe, 55 | Dano, 8 (Verdachtsfall) | **2015** Luke Holland, 31 (Verdachtsfall) | **2016** Chousein Daitzik, 17 | Selcuk Kilic, 15 | Sabina Sulaj, 14 | Armela Sehasi, 14 | Giuliano Josef Kollmann, 19 | Can Leyla, 15 | Sevdä Dag, 45 | Janos Roberto Rafael, 15 | Di Jamant Zabergja, 20 | Eugeniu Botnari, 43 | Daniel Ernst, 32 | **2017** Ruth K., 85 | **2018** Christopher W., 27 | **2019** Walter Lübcke, 65 | Jana L., 40 | Kevin S., 20 | **2020** Gökhan Gültekin, 37 | Sedat Gürbüz, 30 | Said Nessar Hashemi, 22 | Hamza Kurtović, 20 | Vili Viorel Păun, 23 | Fatih Saraçoğlu, 34 | Ferhat Unvar, 22 | Kaloyan Velkov, 33 | Gabriele Rathjen, 72

Quelle: Opferfonds CURA der Amadeu Antonio Stiftung



1944 - 1950

Werwolf-Freischärler-Kommandos: Einrichtung von Heinrich Himmler. 16 Morde

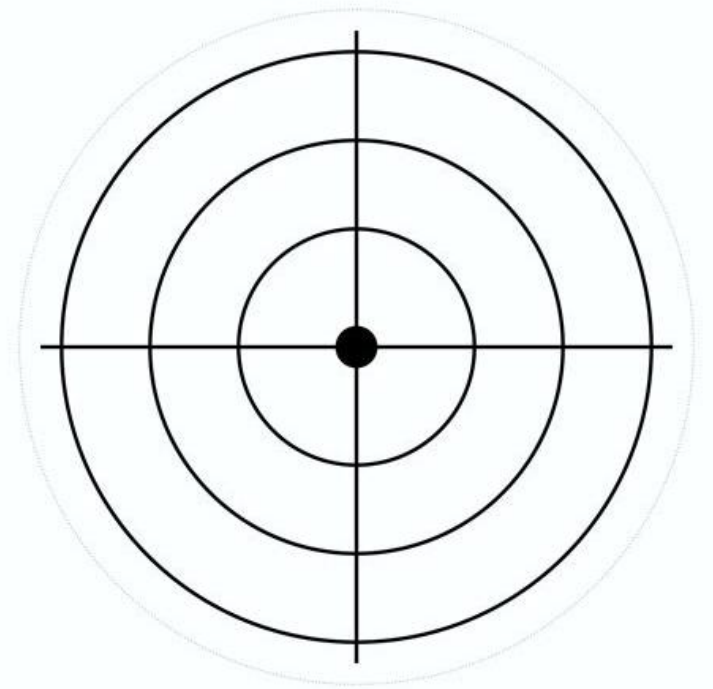


# Far-right ideology

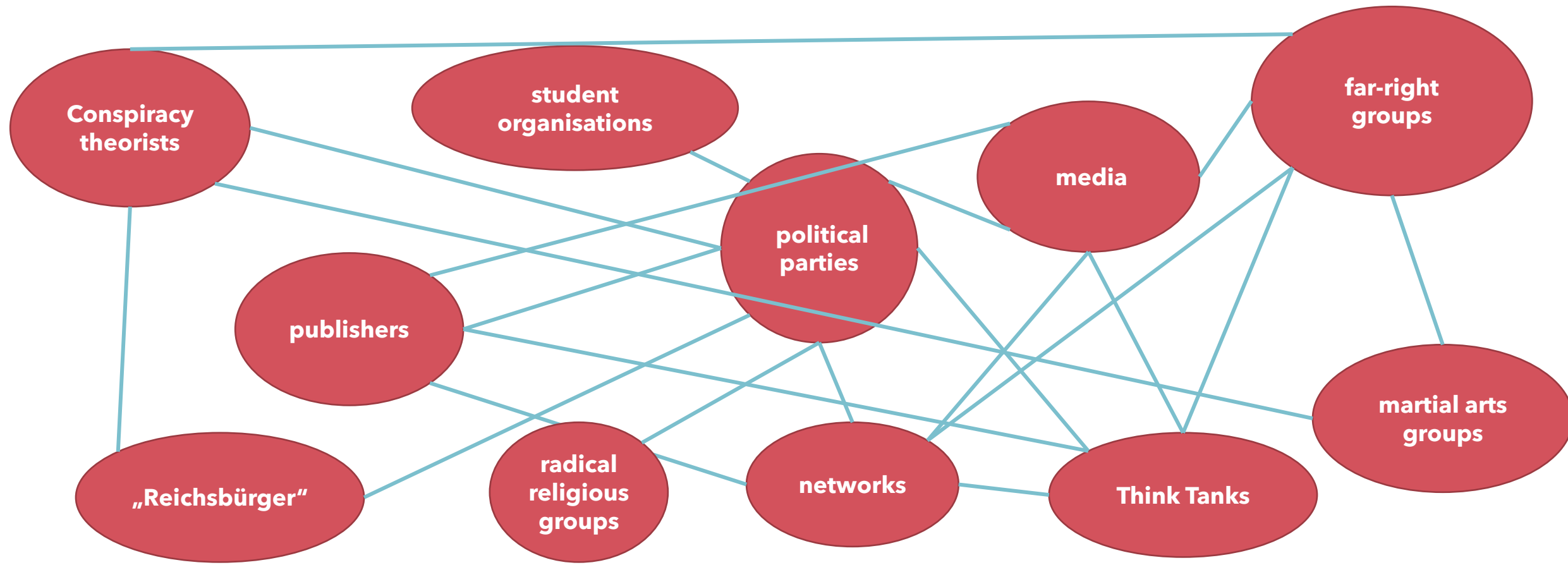
- Ideology of inequality
- Restoration of a homogeneously imagined nation
- It is not nationality that counts, but ethnicity.
- Belonging to the German people through culture, origin, descent
- → Culture - the new race:
  - People are reduced to their cultural identity
  - Cultural identity is unchangeable and cannot be discarded.
  - Cultures must be separated
  - → People with a Muslim background are not accepted as Germans.

# Concept of enemy

- Jews, immigrants, Muslims, etc.
- The elite (politicians, journalists, etc.) -> people vs. the elite: the people = good, honest, hard-working, etc.; morally superior to the elite
- Liberalism, feminism, etc. → everything that rejects the far-right view of society



# Networks: Right-wing extremism, right-wing populism, "mixed scenes"





# Strategies of right-wing actors

- Construction of enemy
  - Groups are seen as the cause of problems (e.g., housing shortages, crime, etc.).
- Continuous crisis mode
  - Germany is on the brink of collapse
- Shift in discourse
  - Degradation of groups such as refugees, Muslims, LGBTQ, etc.; defamation of democratic parties, the media, science
- Trivialization/denial of Nazi crimes
  - construction of a positive identity as German nation



# Remigration

*"We must take up the fight against the impending death of our people through population replacement."*

*"In addition to protecting our national and European external borders, a large-scale remigration project will be necessary."*

*And in this case, I fear that there will be no way around a policy of "well-tempered cruelty". This means that human hardship and unpleasant scenes cannot always be avoided."*

(Björn Höcke, AfD, 2018)





# Femo-nationalism

- The white woman as victim
- No general discussion of violence against women
- Exploitation of women's rights/women's issues to spread racism



# far-right conspiracy theories

- “Feminism is to blame for the declining birth rate in the West, which is the cause of mass immigration. And the root of these problems is the Jew.” (Halle terrorist, 2019)
- Conspiracy theory of the Great Replacement (feminism = Jewish conspiracy to destroy the white race/the German people)



# Media on TikTok

Over 20 million users in Germany - over half of 14- to 19-year-olds → Main source of information



**96.6K** Follower **1.8M** Likes



**1.4M** Follower **46M** Likes



**43.1K** Follower **861.1K** Likes



**103.7K** Follower **1.9M** Likes



**45.6K** Follower **692.2K** Likes



**23.9K** Follower **935K** Likes



**37.7K** Follower **459.1K** Likes



**14.8K** Follower **90.1K** Likes



# Thanks for your attention!

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