

American University of Central Asia

European Studies

Defending Democracy: post war Germany and extremist heritage

By

Kim Olesya

Supervisor: Beimenbetov Serik

*A thesis submitted to the European Studies] of American University of Central Asia in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts*

May, 2011

Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge several people whom I am deeply indebted for their support in writing my BA paper. First of all, I am grateful my parents who support me and give possibility to study in one of the best university in Central Asia. Also, I am highly thankful my husband who has endured the whole year apart from me in order I can finish my paper. This would have not been possible without his support, love and faith.

A special thanks to my supervisor Serik Turusbekovich who collaborated with me and gave me needfull and important advices, so I managed to write my senior. Big thanks to my external supervisor Kanat Kulzhanov for sparing his time to review and read my BA degree. Also, I would like thank all staff of European Department, namely: Lyubov Jdanova, Alexandr Komarov, Achim Merlo, Markus Kaiser, Yana Duemmler, Nadejda Ten, Frau Zimmerman and Sanat.

Abstract:

In my paper I aimed to answer the question: What measures had been taken to replace extremist heritage to democratic values in postwar Germany? It was extremely difficult task for German Nation as Germany was almost destroyed after war. Almost 8 million Nazis left after war in Germany¹ who according to Daniel Goldhagen were voluntary followed Hitler's ideology. Therefore, right-wing extremism had racist, anti-Semitic elements in Germany. It is governed by the idea that ethnic affiliation with a nation or race determines the value of a human being, thus rejecting principle equality which is specified in Article 3 of the Basic Law. Moreover right wing extremism called for an authoritarian political system.² Thus, right-wing extremism created serious challenge to Democracy. Moreover, state faced numerous problems related to the German political culture and mentality as people supported right-wing parties and their Nazi ideology which created difficulties in implanting Democracy both in state and society. To compound, strong right wing extremist parties such as NPD, DVU and the Republicaner which heritage from Hitler's NSDAP party provided right-wing representation and political accountability for government action. Those parties weren't considered as anti-constitution and, thus, could be freely elected and could use freely media, speech and assembly. And such situation made difficult to defend and build Democracy in such harsh conditions.

My research shows how Germany has been building its Democracy and how has been changing social values to democratic ones. In my paper I mostly analyzed how West Germany achieved its goals because there were no organized right-wing parties in East Germany

¹ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603. (Jan. 2006): 111-128. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan.Web. 12.04.2011 p.56

² Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603. (Jan. 2006): 111-128. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan.Web. 12.04.2011 p.20

until Unification. Western Allied forcers (USA, UK and France) immediately initiated 4d programs after war in order to denizify and democratize FRG. However, their 4D, the Educational programs (to compound German protestant churches initiated Stuttgart declaration of Guilt) weren't effective as German people were to busy with housing and food problems, also they didn't see prosperous of Democracy because First German Democracy was connected with humiliation and chaos. But, Germans accepted Democracy as Allied forcers had supreme power over them. And eventually, people realized all advantageous of Democracy. The first result of such social transformation was the National Election in 1965 where NPD didn't get enough votes to enter Bundestag.

Western Allied also dealt with the serious treat posed to Democratic stability by NPD, DVU and the Republicaner. Their platforms were elimination the existing democratic of Germany, saving culture of Germany, rejecting multiculturalism and est. German state undertook some measures against right-wing extremist parties such as legal and judiciary, controls; intelligence and administrative controls; educational controls and civil society control. Moreover, Germany made it difficult for extremist parties to enter Parliament as they must reach 5% hurdle to achieve its goals. As the result none of right-wing extremist parties have overcome this barrier.

Germany laid foundation for a stable Democracy in Germany through German Constitutions in 1949.³ Country took into consideration its past experience in Weimar Republic and made some amendments such as articles such as 21.1, 21.2; 1; 20; 79.3, 9.2 and 18 according to which Democracy can resist the threat of right-wing extremist parties. Those defense articles allows Federal Bureu for the Protection of Constitution (BfVS), Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV)), State Offices for the Protection

³ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." American Academy of Political and Social Science 603. (Jan. 2006): 111-128. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan.Web. 12.04.2011 p 112

of the Constitution (Landesämter für Verfassungsschutz (LfV), Federal Ministry of the Interior and The Federal Criminal Law to guard German Democracy. Therefore, recent research shows that there are no more than 15% dangerous organized extremist parties in Germany.⁴

⁴ Betz, Hans-Georg. "Politics of Resentment: Right-Wing Radicalism in West Germany ." *Comparative politics* 23.1 (Oct.,1990) : 45-60. *JSTOR*.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan.Web. 2. 10.2010.

Table of Contents:

List of Abbreviations:.....	8
Introduction	9-11
Chapter 1	
Historical Background:.....	12-20
1) Inter-war Germany.....	12-16.
2) Post-war.....	17-20
Chapter 2	
a) Extremist heritage in the West.....	21-23
b) Extremist right-wing parties:.....	24-26
NPD.....	26-27
DVU.....	28-29
The Republicaner.....	29-31
c) Strategies against extremist parties.....	29-31
Chapter 3	
Extremist heritage in the East.....	32-36
Chapter 4	
Defending democracy in post- war Germany:.....	37-52
a) Denazification programs of Allied' contributions	37-42
b) Constitution	42-47
c) The Office of Protection constitution.....	47-52

Chapter 5

Transformation of German Society.....	53-56
---------------------------------------	-------

Chapter 6

New wave of extremism after Unification.....	57-58
Conclusion.....	59-63
Work sites.....	64-68

List of Abbreviations:

1. BfV – Federal Office for Protection Constitution
2. BfVS – Federal Bureau for the Protection of Constitution
3. DVU- The German People's Union
4. FCC- Federal Constitutional Court
5. FRG – The Federal Republic of Germany
6. GDR- German Democratic Republic
7. LfV- State Office for Protection Constitution
8. MAD- Military Counterintelligence Service
9. NPD- The National Democratic Party
10. NSDAP- The National Socialist German Worker's Party
11. UK- United Kingdom
12. USA- United State of America
13. USSR- The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Introduction

Germany is Democratic State today. It enjoys stable Constitution which proved the cornerstone of one of the world's most stable democracies. It provides fundamentally democratic laws such as human rights, civil rights and states' rights, multiculturalism, patriotism and est. German politicians not only worked out such articles as 21.1, 21.2; 1; 20; 79.3, 9.2 and 18 according to which Democracy can resist the threat of right-wing extremist parties but also they developed some organization such as Federal Bureau for the Protection of Constitution (BfVS), Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV)), State Offices for the Protection of the Constitution (Landesämter für Verfassungsschutz (LfV), The Federal Ministry of the Interior and The Federal Criminal Law which were committed to guard German Democracy. Such defense laid foundation of stable Democracy which has right to protect itself from its enemies. ⁵

But not long time ago German state only dreamed about such results. It aimed to build democracy which was introduced and broken in Weimar Republic. And premature attempt of building Democracy led to authoritarian regime which was brought by Hitler and his Nazi Parties. In my paper the goal is to show how German state has been building and defending its

⁵*Merkel says German multicultural society has failed* (2010): n. pag. Web. 15 Dec 2010. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451>>.

Democracy against right-wing parties after WW2. It was extremely difficult task for German Nation as Germany was almost destroyed after war. Moreover, it was divided in four occupational zones (USA, USSR, France and GB) which provided different educational programs in order make Germans to accept their Guild in the Second World War. Another goal of Allied forciers was to build Democracy and wipe out right-wing extremism. But, there were 8 million Nazis after war in Germany⁶ And they didn't want to accept their Guilt as they voluntary followed Hitler (According to Daniel Goldhagen). And great majority who can run country were former Nazi people. Therefore, 4D programs which were initiated by Allies were ineffective. Not only had this made it difficult to implant democracy also Hitler's NSDAP party heritage its ideology to right wing parties such SRP, NPD, DVU and the Republicaner. In my paper I will focus my attention on right- wing extremist parties such as NPD, DVU and the Republicaner in Germany. Germany is considered as "party state". Parties compete with each other and provide both popular representation and political accountability for government action.⁷ After the Second World War right wing in Germany was closer relate to Hitler's ideology. Therefore, Right-wing extremist ideology has its roots in nationalism and racism. However, extremist parties comply with German Constitution and according to constitution any ideas can be accepted but violence cannot. In my paper I will write about organized and unorganized extremist movements. I will try to answer how such parties function and how Germany reacts to right-wing extremist parties.

The research question of my senior thesis is what measures had been taken to replace extremist heritage to democratic values in postwar Germany? The goal of my paper is to show the process of rescuing Germany from extremist heritage after the Second World War. But before, I need to clarify what is right-wing extremism and what is extremist heritage? Right-wing extremist ideology is characterized by nationalist and racist beliefs and anti-Semitic elements. Their beliefs are oriented on National Socialist notions of a totalitarian state based on racist

⁶ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603. (Jan. 2006): 111-128. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan.Web. 12.04.2011 p.56

⁷ *Ibid* p.57

principles and led by a Führer. Moreover right wing extremism called for an authoritarian political system.⁸ And What I understand using phrase “extremist heritage” is that the extremist ideology has roots long time ago and it has been getting up its force compiling all negative experience of German History such as Worlds Wars, Failure of Weimar Republic, and Hitler’s governing. And each time German state and German people faced troubles the wave of extremism either increasing or reviving in new generation” Thus, right-wing extremist creates serious challenge to Democratic stability. It occurs both in organized movements (political parties) and unorganized movements (Neo-Nazi extremists, skinheads, extremist Rock Bands and est). To compound extremism had roots far in German history. That made difficult to straggle with extremism after WW2. In my paper I also aim to answer the question how German people changed their values to democratic ones. As it wasn’t happened at once and extremist heritage was very strong. So, I am going to show what measure politicians has used to make their state Democratic after WW2. Also I will examine what measures they have made to wipe out extremist heritage from people minds and to make them more tolerant to other nations.

⁸ "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003"Web. P.20

Chapter 1.

Historical Background

Inter-war Germany

In my paper I aim to answer the question: What measures had been taken to replace extremist heritage to democratic values in postwar Germany till 1990? In order to give answer to this question I will examine what kind of experience of building and defending Democracy Germany had in Weimar Republic and what consequences were followed?

German state faced numerous challenges to overcome all barriers and implant democracy into state. There were thousands of agencies which aimed to preserve and build democracy in the state as well strategies and measures. The term can be reconstructed by “Defensive Democracy”. The concept was introduced by Karl Loewenstein which means that encompasses all activities, formal provisions or political strategies that are explicitly and directly undertaken to protect the democratic system from the threat of its international opponents. The definition and the typology focus on reactions to extremism by institutional (mainly state) actors, and therefore exclude civil society reactions against extremism.⁹ To achieve this goal it had taken many years because extremism release its roots in the far past. In my paper I will briefly

⁹ Capoccia, Giovanni. *Defending Democracy: reaction to extremism in interwar Europe*. USA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967. Print. pp. 47-48

mention the existence of extremism in Weimar Republic which outlast through WW2 and still denounced today

Extremism movements were strong in Germany. And Carpaccio's analyses show the reasons that made extremism really strong and imposed threats:

- 1) when Extremist parties can influence on parliamentary proceeding and constitute significant parliamentary representation;
- 2) when extremism takes the form of a Political party
- 3) it depend on percentage of seats held by extremist parties in the Lower Chamber¹⁰

Those challenges can harm "the core" of the system.¹¹

In inter-war Germany, aggressive extremist parties exploit the rights of Democracy to participate in political process. Anti-democratic parties played democratic game and authority didn't manage to weaken such parties. Such situation is called dilemma of "tolerance for intolerant" meaning that some political forces that exploit the right of democracy in order to undermine its fundamental basis.¹² In other Word if political representatives impose serious restrictions on civil and political rights they can end in authoritarian regime. And if they choose to tolerate anti-democratic extremist movements they can collapse the system. Karl Loewenstein compared Democratic Tolerance with Trojan horse by which the enemies enters the city. In other words, Democracy cannot deny any body of public opinion to use freely speech, press, and assembly and to participate in parliament. Because of democratic fundamental rights and rule of law Democracy led the penetration anti-democratic parties in political arena legally and such extremist parties were accorded all the opportunities of democratic institution. Thus, every democracy faced with the eternal dilemma "tolerance for intolerant" and Germany did as well.

¹⁰ Capoccia, Giovanni. *Defending Democracy: reaction to extremism in interwar Europe*. Ibid p.6

¹¹ Ibid p.6

¹² Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print. P.109

In attempt to response to democratic dilemma country used “militant democracy” prescribed by Loewenstein to indicate certain polities that help rule in the period between two wars.¹³ This term was intended to define the legal measures for use by European Democracies in order to deal with fascism. The term ‘militant democracy’ is derived from the German concept of wehr-hafte Demokratie. Wehrhafte Demokratie associated with the Democratic Constitution adopted by Germany in the wake of WW2. The statutory-judicial interpretation was: ‘wehr-hafte Demokratie is one that doesn’t open its doors to acts of subversion under the cover of legitimate parliamentary activity.’¹⁴ In other words wehrhafte or political system of FRG, parliament was given judicially extensive power to protect liberal democratic order against those bodies who aimed to destroy democratic order. Israeli judge Sussman made interpretation of “ Militant Democracy” terms, he said: ““Just as a man does not have to agree to be killed, so state too does not have to agree to be destroyed and erased from the map. Its judges are not allowed to sit back idly and to despair from the absence of a positive rule of law when a plaintiff asks them for assistance in order to bring an end to the state. Likewise, no other state authority should serve as an instrument in the hands of those whose, perhaps sole; aim is the annihilation of the State”’.¹⁵

First democracy failed in Weimar Republic (1918-1932) as it was dependent upon the support of the people. During that time extremism started to develop as many people were against of signing Versailles Treaty as it connoted Germany’ defeat in the WW1. To compound this period was marked by political instability and economic turmoil. Those conditions were good for people to prefer political extremity in times of crisis. That why one of the ruling groups was Nazis (1932-1933)¹⁶. During Weimar period presidents and parliamentary can freely elected; therefore, I can judge that extremist party can influence on parliamentary proceeding and

¹³ Ibid p. 109

¹⁴ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print. P.109

¹⁵ Pedanzur, Ami. "Struggling Challanges of right-wing extremism and terrorism without Democratic Boudaries: A Comparative Analysis." University of Haifa, n.d. Web. 1 Jan 2011.p.5

¹⁶ Snyder , Jack L. *Transitions to Democracy and the Rise of Nationalist Conflict*. Fisrt Edition. USA: W.W. Norton &Company, Inc., 2000. Print. p.99

constitute significant parliamentary representation. As This system contributed to emergence of proliferation parties such as The German People's Party (DVP), The Bavarian People's Party (BVP) (was a center-right party that became one of the more influential of the regional political parties), The Communist Party (KPD) (left-wing party), The Catholic Center Party (Zentrum), the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) and est. Basically, those consequences made extremism strong. Therefore, Weimar Republic took some measures to stop extremist movements by imposing Special Legislation called "Law for the protection of the Republic" which was passed in 1923 and reiterated in 1930 provided for restrictions in several areas.¹⁷ However, those measures were ineffective I think that Weimar Republic faced the same dilemma "tolerance for intolerant" and it choose to tolerate anti-democratic extremist movements and as the result, the result the system collapsed.

After failure of Weimar Republic Hitler came to power. Hitler's takeover was preceded by the crises of 1930 when the cabinet became presidential. During The Weimar Republic, especially with the period of ruling Heinrich Bruening until mid 1932, street disorder and political violence, rising unemployment the banking crisis increased. And also, The Germans who voted for Hitler in 1932 were the same part of the electorate who had voted for various nationalist parties throughout the 1920s.¹⁸ So, I can judge that extremist mood of enormousness part of population of Weimar Republic was preserved and transferred to Third Reich. Moreover, the main ruling group was Nazi party and the main political system was dictatorship of Hitler which made very strong extremist movements. And Head of state played a huge role in defending democracy in inter war in short run. However, wrong choice of actors or elites who were probably decisive in saving democracy led to weakening the defense strategies and to

¹⁷ Capoccia, Giovanni. *Defending Democracy: reaction to extremism in interwar Europe*. USA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967. Print. P.10

¹⁸ Snyder , Jack L. *Transitions to Democracy and the Rise of Nationalist Conflict*. Fisrt Edition. USA: W.W. Norton &Company, Inc., 2000. Print. P.99

breakdown of the system. Thus, Democracy couldn't exist in Third Reich as "Democracy was "killed" from above rather than from below"¹⁹ .

In this chapter I will analyze the defense strategies in short term as extremism is politically difficult to eliminate as it is controversial. And at this stage it is easier to create cooperation with incumbent democratic elites who can create stable political coalition against extremist movements. And as for long-term defense strategies they help to reinforce and stabilize the basic procedures. There were repressive such as Militancy and Purge strategies and accommodative such as Incorporation and Education strategies. *Militancy strategies* based on formal legislation, but also consisting of interventions in the real of "invisible" politics, which try to curb, de jure or de facto, the political and civil rights of certain subjects on the basis of their political opinions or activities which have been defined as harmful to survival of the democratic system.²⁰ *The Purge strategies* are normally enacted by passing and implementing rules with the goal of reinforcing the core of the state institutional and bureaucratic machinery by protecting it from extremist influence and reaffirming its loyalty.²¹ The goal of *the incorporation strategies* is to weaken the anti-system challenge by incorporating some parts of it, making sure that they no longer constitute a danger for the regime.²² The goal of *the educational strategies* is transmission of democratic values and practices, as well as for eradication of antidemocratic ones.²³ However, none of those strategies really work against the Nazi. Strategies of defense are not backed by stable political coalition. This was the case in Weimar Republic, in which the degrees of 1931-32 responded to the intention of antidemocratic cliques within the

¹⁹ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print. P.112

²⁰ Capocchia, Giovanni. *Defending Democracy: reaction to extremism in interwar Europe*. USA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967. Print. P.50

²¹ Ibid p.50

²² Ibid p. 211

²³ Ibid p.53

establishment to win the support of Nazis by negotiating from positions of strength rather than to preserve the stability of the democratic system of rule.²⁴

Post- War Germany

Erst kommt das Fressen, dann die Moral. Bertold Brecht

Better enjoy the war- the piece will be terrible. Germans Joke

The situation became even worse after the Second World War. After it German cities such as Hamburg, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Dresden and dozen of other German cities were laid waste by carpet-bombing from British and American planes. Because of damages of thousands houses 20 million people in Germany became homeless.²⁵ Transportation and communication were seriously disrupted. Germany state was not only suffered material damages but also human losses. The military losses were incurred with 4 million of casualties.²⁶ (Two out of three men born in 1918 did not survive). It made women to face more immediate difficulties after the WW2. Its economy, politics and law were crashed. It would take long time to recover and Allied forciers made huge contributions to make this dream true.

Germany was divided in four occupation zones such as the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, in addition to USA, USSR and UK France got also an occupation zone which was carved out of the United States and British zones.²⁷ However, the decisive solution was admitted at the Potsdam Conference, held from July 17 to August 2, 1945.²⁸ Allied forciers jointly agreed that the transfer

²⁴ Ibid p.207

²⁵ Capoccia, Giovanni. *Defending Democracy: reaction to extremism in interwar Europe*. USA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967. Print. p. 17

²⁶ Ibid P.18

²⁷ <http://countrystudies.us/germany/44.htm>. N.p., n.d. Web. <Postwar Occupation and Division>.

²⁸ <http://countrystudies.us/germany/44.htm>. N.p., n.d. Web. <Postwar Occupation and Division>.

of Germans to Germany should "be affected in an orderly and humane manner." There participants decided that each occupying power should receive reparations from Germany for loses. The zones were governed by the Allied Control Council (ACC). But each of Allies had supreme power in its occupation zone. Also, the Allied Control Council's decisions were unanimous. And occupation policy was varied as the French, for instance, wanted to establish a central German administration; the Soviet zones aimed to get as much as possible from Germany to recover from WW2 and wanted to establish a socialist society like in USSR; The United States wanted to establish a liberal democratic system and UK aimed to see Germany economically self-sufficient and even helped it.

It was decided at the final Potsdam Conference that Germany should be demilitarized, denazified, decartelized and democratized. Also political life should be founded on democratic principles as well as German economic unity should be preserved. But The Western powers were unable to agree with the USSR on any fundamental issues. Finally, Russia didn't want to participate in ACC. Meanwhile, UK and USA merged into one economic Area Bizone in 1947. Eventually, France joined forming Trizone or Trizonia on 8 April 1949. As the results, West Germany was revived form devastation of World War with the help of those countries. At the same time East Germany suffered as it had fair economical and political situation. To compound, Eastern Bloc found necessity to build Berlin Wall to built socialist state in its zone. This situation aggravated position of East Germany. Meanwhile, West Germany started to thrive with the help of Allied forciers and also especially after they joined the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

Despite the fact that Allied forciers couldn't find agreement they faced with another obstacles such as extremism which NPD, DVU, SRP and the Republicaner heritage from Nazi party NSDAP which found support among dissatisfied, uneducated and poor people. (After the

second WW2 20 million Germans became homeless). As Bertold Brecht said: “Erst kommt das Fressen, die Moral» (meaning that people should eat well in order to think about moral principles). Here I mean democratic values. And extremist parties were against multiculturalism, immigrants and democracy and est. As John McCloy said, USA Control Commission in Germany that Allied Military Governments had to build everything from scratch: law, order, services, communications, and administration. ²⁹ Therefore, Among programs of building Democracy and eliminating extremist heritage were many different programs such as UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) founded in November 9th 1943 at Washington which helped to avoid then spread of epidemic and diseases’, helped in anticipation of post-war needs and post-war emergency, took care of resentments of displaced Germans; also the IRO (International Refugee Organization) (The Budget the USA share 46%, rising to 60 % by 1949; UK contributed 15%, France 4%) which devoted to serve the need of refugees who were German displaced people debarred from benefits. ³⁰. But major goals of Allied forcercs, of course, were to implant Democracy into German society and politics and to dismantle of the heritage of Nazism.

The material consequences in the East German occupation were different from the experience of West Germany after the war. According the book of Tony Judt in Eastern Europe the occupying Germans fought a relentless if hopeless battle against them. The true horror East German had been experience after the war as this occupational zone belong to USSA which 70 000 villages and 1700 towns were destroyed in the course of the war, along with 32 000 factories and 40 000 miles of rail track. ³¹ And the goal of USSR was to get as much as possible from defeated country to restore its losses. In the East Germany extremist groups didn’t have such

²⁹ <http://countrystudies.us/germany/44.htm>. N.p., n.d. Web. <Postwar Occupation and Division>.

³⁰ Judt, Tony . *Post War: A History of Europe since 1945*. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print. Tony Judt pp 28-29

³¹ Judt, Tony . *Post War: A History of Europe since 1945*. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print. p.17

force as USSR failed all ex-Nazi from works in the framework of 4D programs and ex-Nazi were ready to deny its Nazi past. They did it in order to restore in their working places. Therefore, only after German Reunification in the 1990, extremism took place here such as neo-Nazi movements, Neo-Nazi Rock Bands and Neo-Nazi skinheads which glorify war and violence.

So, we see that Germany continued to face problems after the Second World War. The decision of Germany was superseded by tension and mutual mistrust because Allied forces couldn't find agreements between each other (Trizone versus Soviet Union). And even with the help of Allied Germany didn't manage to wipe out extremism movements in the West.

After we have overlooked quickly the history of Germany we got an idea that Building and Defending Democracy would be very difficult task for politicians after the Second World War. This task can be considered more difficult as Right-wing extremist ideology has its roots in nationalism and racism which current party NDP inherits from extremist parties such as SRP and NSDAP. And Extremism poses serious threat to democracy as the results of such movement can lead to an anti-pluralistic system and non democratic state. It occurs in various forms such as unorganized movements including Neo-Nazism, Neo- Skinheads, Neo- Rock Bands and organized movements including right-wing political parties such as DVU, NPD and the Republicaner. Next chapter is dedicated to extremist heritage in the West Germany and the way state combated with it.

Chapter 2

Extremist Heritage in the West Germany

Thus, I am going to analyze about three major right-wing parties such as, NPD, DVU and the Republicaner in Germany which are closer relate to Hitler's ideology. They pose serious to the stability of the system as anti- democratic political parties are the main enemies of Democracy. German politicians realizes that they should combat with extremism with full force because unlike other European Countries German has its historical background. Especially, extremism set up its power in 1921 when Hitler became politician and ideological leader of NSDAP party which always devoted to the distraction of Weimar Republic, a revision of

Versailles, revanchism and nationalism.³² It was Hitler who combined all those extremist features that had been developed for many years which became a major theme of his ideology and political agitation. Moreover, his ideology revived and transferred to the current right wing parties (especially NPD which is really strong). Such perseverance of extremist movements can't be ignored and should be stopped by German state. In other words such reviving is called "extremist heritage" which means that the extremist ideology has roots long time ago and it has been getting up its force compiling all negative experience of German History such as World Wars, Failure of Weimar Republic, and Hitler's governing. And each time German state and German people faced troubles the wave of extremism either increasing or reviving in new generation.

Research reveals that nationalist and rightist parties began to reappear as early as 1947 when allied controls over German internal affairs first beginning to relax. After the Second World War most right-wing extremist were reintegrated into German Society. Some prefer to stay out of politics, others to join to Democratic Party. Allied contributed to tear German society from its Nazi past; thus it imposed denazification programs which made some Nazis to hide or to agree with Allied decisions. Almost 4 millions of such people plus one million of expellees who came from East Germany to Federal Republic had their own party political basis in the form of Block der Heimatvertriebenen und der Entrechteten (Block of expellees and dispossessed, BHE) in the 1950s which entered into electoral lists with extreme right organizations at the regional and local levels.³³ Such organizations created danger to Democracy which Western Allied forces tried to build. However, BHE led to gradual disappearance as Free Democratic Party and

³² Warnecke, Steven. "The Future of Rightist Extremism in West Germany." *Comparative Politics* 2.4 (Jun., 1970): 629-652. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010. p. 633

³³ "Der "Block der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten" (BHE) als parlamentarischer Arm des Revanchismus ." 21. 07. 1998: n. pag. Web. 27 Apr 2011. <<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/archiv/Antifaschismus/Themen/Revanchismus/nwh/bhe.html>>.

Christian Democratic Union absorbed its political potential. And strategies against extremism began to work. I will explore this theme later.

The Picture looked hostile after the Second World War as there were large number of representatives (almost 8 million) who were able to run country or had vital abilities to collaborate with Allied forciers were ex-Nazis. Moreover, Country was destructed after war and people had food and housing shortages and est. And Allied power could make German people to feel humiliated and defeated with their educational programs. Despite their attempt to decrease Nazi extremist heritage some parties did organize contested elections which didn't go beyond regional significance. In order to escape repetitiveness of Weimar Republic, the successful Social Reich Parties was banned on ground of its Nazi character in 1952 (article 21). But it reformed again when NPD was founded in 1964 which cannot be banned as Through Article two adopted in June 18, 1966 which states that The NPD is a political party in the sense of the Article 21 of the Basic Law.³⁴ It pledges itself to Western Christian culture and stands on the free fundamental order of our political, social, and economic life. According to this fundamental order, freedom of belief, conscience, religion, and creed are inviolable.³⁵ . Despite the fact that German constitution doesn't forbid ideas and NPD provide vague extremist ideology in order to reeducate society, it failed to achieve 5% in national election in 1969, "gaining" only 4.3, was the beginning of the end.³⁶ However, the third wave of extremism would bear with the Republicaner and DVU parties after German Unification in 1980.³⁷ The upsurge in far-right support appeared after German Reunification which resulted social upheaval and mass unemployment.

³⁴ Warnecke, Steven. "The Future of Rightist Extremism in West Germany." *Comparative Politics* 2.4 (Jun., 1970): 629-652. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010. p. 633

³⁵ *Ibid* p.636

³⁶ Warnecke, Steven. "The Future of Rightist Extremism in West Germany." *Comparative Politics* 2.4 (Jun., 1970): 629-652. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010. p.629

³⁷ *Ibid* p.629

After the Second World War West Germany tried to change both the experience of and expectation from, history and politics before 1945 and several terms such as “ postindustrial society”, “ the end of ideology”, “ mass society” and “ consumer society” applied to this attempt. ³⁸They refer to a new milieu with a new legitimating ideology in which the ideologies of the past are out of place. In other words authority aimed to function rational and pragmatic in order to imbed Democratic values into society. However, the Federal Republic was opposed as early as 1950 by rightist extremist groups such as SRP, NPD, DVU and the Republicaner which heritage their extremist ideology from Nazi Hitler’s party NSDAP. Further, I will analyze four extreme right-wing groups telling about their History, Parties’ platforms and popularity. Then I will answer the questions: “Why are those parties considered as extremists parties”; “why do they follow Nazis ideology and the way they used it. And how such extremist parties function in Germany and do it react to them?”

NPD

The National Democratic Party (NPD) as it is Germany's oldest nationalist party founded on November 28, 1964. ³⁹It is first party which succeeded to unite many small extremist parties and disbanded Deutsche Reichspartei. (SRP was banned on the basis of Article 21 of the Basic Law on the grounds that it was a party whose program and actions were directed toward destroying the democratic system in West Germany.) ⁴⁰ Then Social Reich party joined NPD party which is flourished now. NPD was branded as neo-Nazi; as its appearance and success can be compared to NSDAP party during Weimar Republic. Reconciling Germany’s Nazi past and

³⁸ Ibid p.629

³⁹ Ibid p.629

⁴⁰ Judt, Tony . *Post War: A History of Europe since 1945*. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print.

building a strong Germany through authoritarian and militaristic means were not new to extreme rightist parties in Germany during and after reconstruction. However, the NPD was the revolutionary in regard to bringing the anti-immigrant and anti-consumerist/ anti-Americanization dimension into the extreme party line.⁴¹

Party's Platform is state creation, restoration of borders and elimination the existing democratic of Germany. It is considered as racist, antisemitism, revisionist like National Socialism of 20-30 year was. The party opposes the increasing number of non-whites, Jews, and Muslims living in Germany. The NPD aims also to revive old German traditions of cultural pessimism and volkish radicalism. This goal appeared when Allied forciers tried to impose to German nation the sense of guilty through educational programs. (According to denazification, one of the goals of 4D programs German people had to watch documentary films on Dachau and Buchenswalh before receiving their ration cards, but most of then turned their faces away and waited till the films ended).⁴² In other words, it wishes to resurrect political ideology which can bring to authoritarian movies tendencies. Such opposition to parliamentary democracy, democratic constitutional state may disturb liberal democracy to serve.

The votes for NPD was doubled and even tripled in every electoral distinct between 1965 and 1969.⁴³ However, it fails to obtain necessary 5 percent of the election 1969. When NPD couldn't obtain enough votes it was good for authority because they were satisfied that Germans people understood that extremist parties wouldn't bring country to prosperity. Nonetheless, it was considered as successful party

Steven Wernecke wrote that NPD used concepts of "Nazism providing vague ideology". In 2003, the federal government, the Bundestag attempted to ban the NPD in a trial

⁴¹ Ibid p. 629

⁴² Judt, Tony . *Post War: A History of Europe since 1945*. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print.

⁴³ Warnecke, Steven. "The Future of Rightist Extremism in West Germany." *Comparative Politics* 2.4 (Jun., 1970): 629-652. *JSTOR*.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010. p. 633

before the Federal Constitutional Court. But Bundesverfassungsgericht can do it if they are found to be "anti-constitutional". And In the magazine Deutsche Welle Beckstein, German Politian told the AFP news "There isn't enough evidence against the NPD at the moment." He said taking the issue to the Constitutional Court would "not be wise" considering the possibility of another failed ban giving the far-right extremists even more momentum. In other words, German state faces with dilemma "Tolerance for Intolerant"; and if Germany tries to forbid somebody's ideas it will lead to totalitarian regime, therefore it should tolerate even those who try to oppose the system. Moreover, German constitution doesn't forbid ideas. Through Article two adopted in June 18, 1966 which states that The NPD is a political party in the sense of the Article 21 of the Basic Law. It pledges itself to Western Christian culture and stands on the free fundamental order of our political, social, and economic life. According to this fundamental order, freedom of belief, conscience, religion, and creed are inviolable. State only can punish those who make violence such as skinheads, Neo-Nazism movements and influential of Neo-Nazis Rock Bands, but not those who set up ideas.

Although NPD's platform cannot be considered as "anti-constitutional" it influenced on violence organization such as Jungen Nationaldemokraten. The youth organization of the national democratic party of Germany uses the program of the NPD, but represents NPD's ideology aggressively JN was founded in 1969. It has approximately 400 followers.⁴⁴ Also, after it intensified their connections and co-operation with neo-Nazis groups like the FAP, the NL and the Viking Youth in 1993 JN became more influential. JN leaflets advocated the neo-Nazi concept of the so-called free national zones, where the party exercises de facto power in an area or town, a concept implemented by violence and terror Likewise SRP, NPD is also enemy of Democracy. It has opposite points of view concerning politics. It rejects pluralism as synonymous with anarchy and sees Democracy as unfortunate political system to be prevailed

⁴⁴ "Junge Nationaldemokraten (JN)." *Netz Gegen Nazis* 22.03.2008: n. pag. Web. 27 Jan 2011. <<http://www.netz-gegen-nazis.de/lexikontext/junge-nationaldemokraten-jn>>.

within this country. If such party has supreme power, it will definitely bring country to authoritarian regime where Nazism will prevail. However, NPD found supports as ideology focuses on weakness of social middle class which was prevailed after WW2. Many people were unhappy of their poor life conditions after WW2. Thus, German government as well as Allied forcers tried to improve economics of Germany and re-educate them in order they can realize that Democracy is best chose for them.

DVU

Both DVU and the Republicaner gained popularity after Unification. The upsurge in far-right support appeared after German Reunification which resulted social upheaval and mass unemployment.

DVU party was founded as informal association in 1971 and established as a party in 1987. ⁴⁵ However, this party wasn't as successful as NPD. It has never managed to gain enough votes in federal elections. Nevertheless, it managed to gain seats in several state parliaments. DVU found solution in January 2005 and agreed no to stand against one another in elections, which, for example, gave the NPD a free run at the subsequent general election, and left the DVU unchallenged in the 2009 European Elections. ⁴⁶This agreement called the 'Deutschland pact'. As a result of these consequences The DVU reached 6.1 percent in the Brandenburg state elections, and the NPD won 9.2 percent in the Saxony state elections. ⁴⁷ NPD declared that they would stand against the DVU in the upcoming elections to the state parliament of Brandenburg, where the DVU had seats. So, party again faces difficulties and can't gain minimum 5% of vote as votes are divided between two parties.

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ "Extreme-rightist party out of German regional parliament." 05 Apr 2006 : n. pag. Web. 10 Jan 2010.

⁴⁷ "Extreme-rightist party out of German regional parliament." 05 Apr 2006 : n. pag. Web. 10 Jan 2010.

Party's platform is that DVU blame foreigners, who make up about 8 % of the German population, for the housing shortage, street crime, and pollution. Therefore, it advocated putting asylum-seekers in collection camps "to minimize the native population's existing and growing antipathy toward foreign residents."⁴⁸ Also, DVU aimed to ban Islamic community centers from sponsoring political or cultural activities other than prayer. The party platform also proposed creating separate classes for foreign schoolchildren, and it rejects "the multicultural society." In other words they aimed to create a racially pure country. Germany's domestic intelligence agency, the Federal office for the Protection of the Constitution, announced in April 1992 that the DVU was under surveillance to determine if the party met the legal definition of "antidemocratic," a classification that would permit the government to ban it. A similar investigation of the Republicaner was announced in December 1992.⁴⁹ The agency has classified both parties as "right-wing extremist" and "constitutionally hostile."

The Republicaner

⁴⁸ "Extreme-rightist party out of German regional parliament." 05 Apr 2006 : n. pag. Web. 10 Jan 2010.

⁴⁹ "Extreme-rightist party out of German regional parliament." 05 Apr 2006 : n. pag. Web. 10 Jan 2010.

The last party I would like to tell is the Republicaner which was founded in 1983 by former CSU members Franz Handlos and Ekkehard Voigt, and Franz .⁵⁰ Although this party is relatively small, it is quite successful. The Republicans (17 000 members in 1991) are a nationalist and national conservative political party in Germany. ⁵¹It received 2.1 percent of the vote in the all-Germany election of December 1990 and 1.9 percent in the October 1994 election. Once i managed to gain 7.5 % of the votes and 11 seats in Parliament in West Berlin in 1989 and 7.1% of the votes in European election in June 1989. ⁵² As the result of entering to EU Parliament, Leader of The Publicaner together with French National Front and Belgium Flemish Block formed technical Group of European right.

This party was successful as it responded to people needs and promised them to help. The fact that right-wing party got sudden popularity was deficit of West German Democracy. This came when Germans deeply dissatisfied with politicians, parties and the political process alike. People vote for this party because thus, they showed their protest to established parties. Their supporters were mostly uneducated and unemployed people. In the early 1989, 81 percent of population felt left by politicians as 75 percent thought that political parties cared about little else besides getting votes, and 69 percent thought that it was impossible to understand politics because most important decisions were made behind closed doors. ⁵³

The Platform of this party is differs from any right-wing parties in Europe. Central agenda are conservative issues such as strong emphasis on law and order, traditional institutions such as strong state, the police, and the family, and traditional values such as discipline and public spirit. The Republicaner's one of the main goals is protection of cultural identity ("German for Germans") threatened by third world immigrants, foreign workers and refugees. As

⁵⁰ Betz, Hans-Georg. "Politics of Resentment: Right-Wing Radicalism in West Germany ." *Comparative politics* 23.1 (Oct.,1990) : 45-60. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan.Web. 2. 10.2010.p. 49

⁵¹ Ibid p.50

⁵²Ibid p.49

⁵³ Ibid p.50

many Germans feared that immigrants could create competition for getting better jobs and they blamed foreigners for their sufferings. This party always organized propaganda in populist anti-party sentiment accusing that other parties betrayed German Nation. Schonhuber changed its original national conservative party to modern extreme right one. He built core ideology nationalism, xenophobia, welfare-chauvinism and law and order, it target particular issues of German Unification. , It was uneasy about greater integration within the European Union as EU could forfeit too much of its identity and share too much of its prosperity. To achieve this goal they initiated negotiations for comprehensible piece between Allies.

Strategies against extremist parties

Below, I will about measures that German state tried applied to combat with extremist parties such as Legal and judiciary, controls; intelligence and administrative controls; educational controls and civil society control.

Legal and Judicial Controls include, inter alia, constitutions and statutes stipulation under what conditions partisan can be restricted, as well as laws establishing which tools are legitimate in instances of anti-governmental protest, such as incitement or subversive actions.⁵⁴ Thus, German law gives the state the rights to ban parties. In post-war only two parties were banned because of the clause 21- the German Communist party and Social Reich party (SRP), both during the 1950. Therefore, the federal government, the Bundestag attempted to ban the NPD in a trial before the Federal Constitutional Court. But Bundesverfassungsgericht can do it

⁵⁴ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*.

USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print. P.122

if they are found to be "anti-constitutional" in 2003.⁵⁵ And In the magazine Deutsche Welle Beckstein, German Politian told the AFP news "There isn't enough evidence against the NPD at the moment." He said taking the issue to the Constitutional Court would "not be wise" considering the possibility of another failed ban giving the far-right extremists even more momentum.

Administrative and intelligence controls are more flexible measures, often extending beyond the limits of the state. And under extreme circumstances can be used military forciers against sedition elements. It helped to straggle with anti-terrorist actions. But after terrorist attacks happened between 1974 and 1978⁵⁶ Germany adopt more rigid legislation against subversive and terrorist actions. There regulations included Penal Code 88a according to which a crime against constitution could be result in three years imprisonment.⁵⁷ Then Penal Code 129 and 129a was imposed which impose higher limitations on the formation of terrorist organizations. Moreover Germany adopted the Radikalenerlass (Radical degree against Extremism) policy, according to which: “ only those persons who can show that they are prepared at all the times to uphold the free democratic basis order and actively to defend this basis order, both on and off duty, may be appointed to public service. ⁵⁸ With those amendments and regulations Federal Criminal Police Office and German BfVS became more vigorous toward violent organizations. Thus, Germany strengthened its forciers to defend its democracy. As Eatwell, Rogel, and Cas Mudde wrote that “Defending democracy is indeed possible, although at the cost of restricting some rights and freedom”

Educational Control is also significant because it makes to contend with challenges of extremism before it materialized into political alternatives. It helps people to understand democratic and liberal values, to promote tolerance and est.

⁵⁵ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print.p.122

⁵⁶ Ibid p.122

⁵⁷ Ibid p.122

⁵⁸ Ibid p.122

Social control is very important as civil society had played a larger part over the years and is also becoming an essential element in the struggle to protect democracy. There are many people in Germany who prefer Democracy and against extremism. Especially, after the success of German People's Union (DVU) in the Sachsen- Anhalt elections in April, 1998, German post workers asked federal government to find ways to prevent the use of German postal system in delivering email and organization of Christian Churches of Germany asked politicians not to use xenophobic rhetoric during the election campaign. Likewise changes in the state to eliminate extremist are needed as well as changes of people attitude are urgent as civil society is strong tool to combat with far-right movements.⁵⁹ If people understand democratic values they become allies to confront with extremism in the state.

After, we had overlooked the Platform's and history of right-wing extremist parties we can judge that extreme parties didn't inroad substantial to Federal Germany. German state made proportional system of 5% Hurdle which hasn't been overcome by right extremist parties. Also, people didn't want the repetitiveness of horror if Nazi era, therefore they scrutiny carefully before they will vote for extreme parties. German Authority was happy to see that neither NPD nor the Republicaner and DVU couldn't get 5% hurdle. Also, mainstream parties such as CDU and SPD rejected the coalition with far right parties. In addition, German elective system, proportional 5% hurdle, made it easier not to unite. Moreover, German state is so fear to see strong extremist parties in political arena; that why it has created so many organizations for protection its Democracy from extremist such as Offices of the protection of the Constitution and the Federal Office for Crime. They spy for anti-democratic organization. According to Offices of the protection of the Constitution there are no less than 15% of organized right wing considered as "potentially violent."⁶⁰ However, risk of right wing extreme exists and German state should eliminate Nazi Heritage as it can disturb country to build Democracy. In the next I will analyze

⁵⁹ Ibid p.123

⁶⁰ Hans-Georg, Betz. "The Two Faces of Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." *Review of Politics* 55.4 (Autumn 1993): 663-685. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010. p. 670

what measures German state has made in order to prevent penetration of anti-democratic actors in political arena.

Chapter 3

Extremist heritage in the East

As material consequences in DDR of the German occupation under USSR were different order the experience of Second World War in FRG then I will analyze in this chapter how it effected on extremist heritage in East Germany.

Right Wing extremism appeared in East German because of social-economical, political and cultural transformation connection with unification which led to mass unemployment. Also, there are no legal right wing political parties in GDR before 1980s.⁶¹ Then Lichtenberger Front was founded in East Berlin in 1986. Another group Die Bewegung 30. January was founded in 1988 and was dissolved in 1989.⁶² But hard core of this party became leading members of right-wing groups after reunification. The emergence of this group was considered as the “birth of neo- Nazis” in East Germany. Activities of right-wing groups in the East were similar to those that were in the West included military trainings and dissemination of Nationalism –Socialist literature, songs; glorifying war and violence; celebration of Hitler’s birthday and est. Especially, after reunification we can observe the increasing number of, for example, From 1983 to 1987 criminal and violent acts nature rose fivefold in GDR.⁶³ And in November 1989 it was estimated around 1500 known extremist skinheads.⁶⁴ Therefore, many politicians started to worry and aimed to eradicate unorganized right wing extremists such as Racism, anti-Semitism, fascism,

⁶¹ Charles Ross , Gordon. "The swastika in Socialism: Right-Wing Extremism and Militant nationalism in GDR ." n. pag. Web.p.81

⁶² Charles Ross , Gordon. "The swastika in Socialism: Right-Wing Extremism and Militant nationalism in GDR ." n. pag. Web. p.82

⁶³ Ibid. P.82

⁶⁴ Ibid. P.83

neo-Nazism and skinheads as those movements was certainly not the most important source of the violence.

The goal of GDR's right wing groups was the wish "to gain recognition from an unstructured majority of the population to prove themselves militant defenders of German interests"⁶⁵. In other words it was called the notion of "Germanness" They considered themselves as strong, hard-workers and hero of the Second World War. Therefore, extremism here had feature of Nationalist-Socialist regime (German order). The Second problem associated with asylum as there were huge of wave of immigration and large number of foreigners. However, ethno-nationalism is not only the problem of Germany but also many European countries which motivate extremists. The third problem was with "reconstruction of Germaness" connection the incorporation of seven million Germans into New Republic in 1990.⁶⁶ Many Germans feared that immigrants would compete with them in order to get better jobs. However, Statistics for 1987 showed that 9.6 percent of immigrants for asylum seekers and almost half of them (46.8) were Germans.⁶⁷ The forth factor that make extremism to exist is the article 116 of Grundgesetz (basic law) which established citizenships predominantly in term of blood rights. This notion had been transferred through Weimar Republic, third Reich and still preserve today. If person wasn't German he can't automatically get citizenships until he fulfill several requirements such as being resident of FRG no less then 10 years, speak German, having flat and est.⁶⁸ Therefore, only 2.9 Of Italian, 2.8 of Spanish and 0, 75 of Turkish population were naturalized.⁶⁹ And such problems with immigrants created high right-wind and resist activity after the unification.

⁶⁵ Ibid. P.84

⁶⁶ Ibid.p.85

⁶⁷ Charles Ross , Gordon. "The swastika in Socialism: Right-Wing Extremism and Militant nationalism in GDR ." n. pag. Web.86

⁶⁸ Ibid.p.87

⁶⁹ Ibid p.88

However, German authority doesn't tolerate any violence. They try to suppress and ban such movements. Thus, the "Heimattreue Deutsche Jugend" founded in 1990 having 400 members across Germany was banned in 1990.⁷⁰ It was one of hundreds youth organization which relates to Neo-Nazism. The goal of Neo-Nazism is to revive Nazism. Government tried to prohibit the expression of pro-Nazi, racist or anti-Semitic views. Also, German state tried to prevent movements through a process known as denazification. It is the goal which was initiated by Allied in order to remove active members of the former National Socialist Party from official public office. Allied desired to ban the Nazi party, institutions, organizations, laws, and cultural influences from German public and cultural life. Another goal was that they aimed to reeducate Germany for Democracy. As the results it helped to fall of totalitarian regime in Germany. This process was seated in Berlin in 1946. Also, German state prohibited Nazi symbols. And anyone who displayed swastika would be punished by up to one year imprisonment. Despite the fact that Germany straggled harsh with Neo- Nazism, fear still exist as some former Nazis retained their political beliefs, and passed them down to new generations.

Moreover, the extreme-right music influences on youth minds. Nowadays, people can freely express their feelings as it a natural part of democratic every day life. Also, some extreme music managed to integrate its concept in politics. But music itself not politically predetermined, but it nevertheless can be form of dissimilation of ideology. Extremist bands and singers glorify violence and war, use Nordic mythologies and anti-Semitic point of view. Extreme-right youth comprises different faceted interplay of clothing, music, hairstyle, hobbies, and political convictions. Especially young people can be easily manipulated by such music even they considered themselves as apolitical music fans. Research showed that fans of such music

⁷⁰ Crossland, David . "NEO-NAZI RISE IN GERMANY FRIGHTENS JEWS." *Nazism in Germany* n. pag. Web. 30 Jan 2011. < <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,616499>>.

focus on individual aesthetic context rather than on lyrics or content of the songs. However, there was a case in 1992-1993 where people who listened rock bands which glorified Nazi ideology attacked on foreigners.⁷¹ Governments tries to cancel Neo-Nazi concerts and eliminate CD. Also, it tries to hold such bands far from politics. Another, strategy is awareness of the history. Politicians think that if youth know history youth won't influence far-right music.

Another movement that over the past several years brought to public attention is the neo-Nazi Skinheads. They swelled the rank of right-wing and acted as a guard for Neo-Nazi. They attacked foreigners; especially Jews are favorite target of them. Moreover, they found support of some native people. In Germany people who make such violence are strictly punished. As we look at the earlier profile of the German Skinheads as they were poorly educated and unemployed. Police statistics showed an evaluation (1991-1993) of almost 500 militant right-wing extremists (particularly Skinheads) arrested for violent actions showed 33.6% pupils, students and apprentices; 28.7% skilled workers and craftsmen; 11.3% unskilled workers; 5.6% office workers; 7.9% soldiers - and only 11.3% unemployed.⁷² Thus, these violent extremists come from both middle and low classes. However, German government is against violence and war, racism and anti-Semitism. It struggles for Democracy; in other words for equality. Therefore, it took harsh measures to stop violence. However, it is long term process and state has to do a lot to eliminate those movements.

Right Wing extremism in both East and West Germany exist because of economical, social, cultural, ideological problems and etc. In both part of Germany extremists participated in different activities both in organized and unorganized movements. However, we see that

⁷¹ Crossland, David . "NEO-NAZI RISE IN GERMANY FRIGHTENS JEWS." *Nazism in Germany* n. pag. Web. 30 Jan 2011. < <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,616499>>.

⁷²Crossland, David . "NEO-NAZI RISE IN GERMANY FRIGHTENS JEWS." *Nazism in Germany* n. pag. Web. 30 Jan 2011. < <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,616499>>.

Western Germany' extremist heritage appeared earlier than in eastern part. And we didn't observe any legal political parties in post-war DDR. Especially, after German Unification extremists violent acts have increased in both sites. And Germany makes huge efforts to suppress that movement which goes in opposite direction with Democracy. Therefore, I mostly speak in my senior how FRG had been struggling with extremism. In the next chapter, I will explore the strategies taken in order to combat with right-wing extremism.

Chapter 4.

Defending democracy in post-war Germany:

a) Denazification programs of Allied forces

After the Second World War the democratization was not simultaneous. West Allied forces tried to build democracy and wipe out extremist heritage in their Zone. For Soviet occupation Zone, its "anti-fascist" position served to legitimate a new dictatorship like in USSR. The GDR didn't receive democratic legitimating until much later when, as a result of the "peaceful revolution" in the fall of 1989, it received its first and last freely-elected parliament on 18 March 1990⁷³ Therefore, GDR did not enjoy a secure democracy during USSR occupation. As for FRG, it was given second chance to live in Democratic Society. I am going to explore the way West Allied forces contributed to building Democracy in their occupational Zones.

Allied forces became the representative body of Germany and aimed to work out policy matters and settle disputes. Thus, USA immediately initiated a program of re-education and denazification in order to tear roots of Germany's Nazi past and plant the seeds of democracy, democratic values and liberty in this country. The main approach to implant

⁷³ Judt, Tony . Post War: A History of Europe since 1945. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print., p 55

Democracy was 4D programs “denazification, demilitarization, deindustrialization and decentralization in order to eliminate Germany from military and economic resources. And USA spent more money than others as they didn’t receive serious destruction after the WW2 (as the war actions weren’t taken place in USA). Along USA Army, a lot of psychologist and other specialist would work with Germans to define reasons of following Nazi regime. UK initiated similar programs. France didn’t find those programs important. Although, it was difficult to find agreement between USA/UK/France and USSR, USSR fully agreed to denazify Germany.

Denazification programs were needed to make Democracy to flourish. To achieve this positive aim, political parties, trade unions and other democratic institutions were encouraged to develop, with the enforced conditions that they be, and stay, purged of Nazis.⁷⁴ Therefore, Western governments liquidated the Nazi Party (SRP) and its affiliated organizations; arrested and detained influential Nazis and other “dangerous persons”; removed and excluded Nazi Party members of “more than nominal importance” from schools, private offices and private enterprises; eradicated Nazi Symbols from public places; seized and block Nazi property; eliminating Nazi teaching materials from schools; and punished those Nazis who take an active part in organizations declared to be criminal by Nuremberg Tribunal Court.⁷⁵ Allied wanted Nazis to take responsibilities for the war crimes and organized War Crimes Trials which had been working throughout their occupation. The best known procedure was the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (October 1945 to October 1946) which was needed in order to decrease the level of right-wing organizations in Germany; thus Nazis were sent to other countries-notably to Poland- for trial in the places where the crimes had been committed.⁷⁶ Because of such Trials more than 5000 people were condemned to crimes against humanity, of whom 800 were condemned to death and 486 executed.⁷⁷ But, it was difficult to prove that the

⁷⁴ Gimbel, John. "American denazification and German local politics, 1945-1949: The case study in Marburg." *American Political Science Review* 54.1 (1960): 83-105. Web. 28 Apr 2011. p. 83

⁷⁵ Ibid p.83

⁷⁶ Judt, Tony . Post War: A History of Europe since 1945. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print., P 53

⁷⁷ Judt, Tony . Post War: A History of Europe since 1945. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print p. 53

person guilty was as he obeyed Nazi Laws and compelled to make crime as Germans in collective were victims of Nazism. Also, there are number of other programs such as the program which made obligatory for Germans to visit to watch films documenting Nazi atrocities which wasn't effective because German nation didn't watch films and they just visited such "cinemas" to get rational carts. Also, Allied removed Nazi teachers and libraries restocked; also they appointed anti-Nazi editors to control newsprint. This was effective as far-right parties didn't have access to the media especially in the periods of elections. Especially after German Unification, when both the Republicaner and DVU parties were on the peak of success; federal press, public radio and television channels released to give access them to media.

But those reeducated programs didn't help to root out Nazism from German life and gave limited impact after WW2. In the words of General Lucius Clay, the American Military Commander, "our major administrative problem was to find reasonable competent Germans who had been not been affiliated or associated in some way with the Nazi regime... All too often, it seems that only men with qualifications ... are the career civil servants ... a great proportion of whom were mine then nominal participants in the activist of the Nazi Party.⁷⁸ In other words great majority of people who could run the Country were former Nazis. On may 8th 1945 when the war in Europe ended there were 8 million Nazis in Germany and in Bonne 102 out 112 doctors, were Nazi Party members and In Cologne, of the 21 specialist in the city waterworks office-whose skills were vital for reconstruction of water and sewage system and the prevention of deseases-18 had been Nazis.⁷⁹

So, we see this task was almost impossible. If they put in Jail all Nazi people who constituted almost 8 million of people Allied forces couldn't solve the problem. The outcome would be miserable as there wouldn't be people who would help to restore country. German politicians such as Chancellor Konrad Adenauer who formed Christian Democratic Union (FRG)

⁷⁸Judt, Tony . Post War: A History of Europe since 1945. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print., p 56

⁷⁹Judt, Tony . Post War: A History of Europe since 1945. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print., p 56

and Walter Ulbricht, leader of German Democratic Republic (DDR), were against of denazification programs, but they didn't have enough power to stop this program. Adenauer thought that it would better to leave Nazi fellow in peace. As they didn't understand what they had done because they were busy with post-war difficulties such as food and housing shortages. As Bertolt Brecht said *Erst kommt das Fressen und dann die Moral*. So, Nazi weren't able to admit or to think what they had done. They felt humiliated and broken. And Ulbricht thought that it was bad idea to expunge Nazism as well. One of the reasons was that the country was lacking of educated anti-Nazis people who would be able to run the country.

Though denazification programs were not successful, it worked better in DDR. As Soviet leader paid less attention to distinctively resist side of Nazism, instead they focused to expunge Nazis who were responsible for advancing interests of social class such as businessmen, teachers, tainted officials and others. As the result they arrested over 520 000.⁸⁰ But, some of Nazi whose records were not too publicity could reject their Nazi past and join to them and many did so as it was opportunity to work in order to feed family.

Extremist heritage fastened strongly in German society. Especially after the Second World War the great majority of high educated and vital skilled people were ex-Nazis. Only they could run the country and were able to restore country. However, Allied forciers didn't want the repetitiveness' of Weimar Republic and to avoid mistakes of Versailles Treaty; also they wanted to find anti-Nazis people who could collaborate with them in order to implant Democracy in the society. The outcome was the elaboration of 4D program to strip Germany of its military and economic resources and re-educated population. However, German society wasn't ready to admit their mistake as they were busy with starvation and housing shortage. That why their attempts were in vain.

⁸⁰. Ibid p. 60

Allied forcers didn't want to make German nation as a resentful and humiliated who tented to prefer Right and Left wings of extremism. Thus, they tried to be accurate in their decision making. They understood that German nation should have good welfare in order to think about the Moral Principles. Of course, Allied forcers helped Germany to restore its economic. But, especially economic growth made Germans to think about democracy which began in the early 1950s and lasted until the middle of the 1960s.⁸¹ According to the words of historian Knut Borchardt named the German "economic wonder" the "back-up constitution" of the second German democracy.⁸² High rates of growth allowed the swift integration of expellees from the former Eastern provinces and refugees from the GDR; they eased the balancing of social and confessional antagonisms; they were essential in reducing membership of radical parties on both sides of the political spectrum; and they contributed to the transformation of the two major democratic parties – first the Christian Democrats and later the Social Democrats – from sectional parties to people's parties.⁸³

Furthermore, such economic boom helped Konrad Adenauer to gain more votes for his policy of Western integration. Their economic position became much better which contributed to a closer alliance between West Germany and West Allied. The closer FRG was becoming to Western Allied the traditional German reservations about Western democracy became. Adenauer, a conservative democrat, became more popular among people. During that time new generation emerged who started to think self-critical concerning German Past. Before, people didn't tent to speak about their history. Further, he didn't have to defend his foreign policy to a radical right, but to a moderate left led by the Social Democrats⁸⁴

⁸¹ Winkler, Heinrich August. "Forced democratization: Some lesson from postwar Germany." *Eurozine* 29.06.2006: n. pag. Web. 26 Apr 2011. <<http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2006-06-29-winkler-en.html>>.

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Ibid

The Allied democratization process was quite successful as it managed to find "back-up army" of politicians who had experienced the Weimar Republic and learned from its mistakes. The first Federal President, Theodor Heuss, belonged to that group, as did the first Federal Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, and the first postwar leader of German social democracy, Kurt Schumacher.⁸⁵ Also, Bonn learned a lot from Weimar failure and drafted the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany in 1948 and 1949 in order to avoid mistakes of the Weimar Constitution of 1919. More concrete I will speak about Amendments of German Constitution which were made in order not to permit right extremist parties to political arena in the next paragraph.

So, we see that Allied forciers helped Germany to be available to help themselves in term of economical welfare, societal and cultural transformation in order to bring their country to successful democratization. But, Allies' attempts were ineffective in the very beginning. But, they laid the beginning of building Democracy in German state and stragglng with democratic enemies. In the next Chapter, I will show how German Constitution was constructed in order to implant Democracy and be available to combat with right-wing extremism. Also, I will tell how Germany guarded its successful Constitution which later would lay foundation to stable Democracy.

b) Constitution

It is common to think that Constitution is a fundamentally democratic document which addresses issues such as natural law, civil rights and states' rights, multiculturalism,

⁸⁵ Winkler, Heinrich August. "Forced democratization: Some lesson from postwar Germany." *Eurozine* 29.06.2006: n. pag. Web. 26 Apr 2011. <<http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2006-06-29-winkler-en.html>>.

patriotism and est. German Federal Constitutional Court is entitled to protect Democracy and to spy German politics so they would keep up rule of law based on “free democratic order”. It adopted immediately after WW2 in 1949.⁸⁶ However, the first attempt of creation Constitution was done on 11th August 1919 by Friedrich Ebert. I wrote before that first German Democracy was interpreted with the stigma of Versailles in Weimar Republic because legislation of protection democracy was ineffective method during that time. With an establishment in 1933 of fascist dictatorship the Weimar constitution wasn't cancelled (de jure), but was stopped its existence (de facto).⁸⁷ The election in September, 1930, resulted in a political deadlock by which any constitutional amendment was dependant on the support of those against whom it was directed; that atmosphere of illegality and high treason was created which ultimately killed the Republic.⁸⁸ Weimar Republic failed the goal to create constitution which can hold extremist parties far away from politics, even would made it difficult for them to penetrate in democratic institution. However, Basic of first Constitution would be included in Basic Law of Germany in 1949 which provided secure Democracy for West Germany. But, several amendments were made in order to escape experience of Weimar Republic. These include the elevated status of the chancellor as a nation's political leader, the correspondingly diminished power of the president, the constructive vote of no confidence, the 5 percent Sperrklausel (Barrier clause), and the difficulty of dissolving Parliament and holding new elections ahead of schedule.⁸⁹ Also, new Constitution wasn't helpless to defend its Rechtsstaat (German jurisprudence/ legal state/ state of law) against those who aim to undermine it as it has 18 and 21 articles. Even ordinary Germans has right to resist any persons attempting to do away with this Constitutional Order according to the article 20 (4).⁹⁰ Also, Basic Law authorized only the Federal Constitutional Court to declare

⁸⁶ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603. (Jan. 2006): 111-128. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.04.2011 p 112

⁸⁷ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." *Ibid.* 112

⁸⁸ 10. Loewenstein, Karl. "Militant Democracy and Fundamental Rights, 1." *American Political Science Review* 31.3 (Jun., 1937): 417-432. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 23.03.2011. p. 420

⁸⁹ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." P.114

⁹⁰ Kommers, Donald P. *The Constitutional Jurisprudence of the Federal Republic*. USA: Duke University Press, 1997. eBook. P. 38

parties unconstitutional. In the Contrary Weimar Constitution authorized president of Republic to ban parties thus giving enormous power to one person.⁹¹ Those innovations contributed to a stable Democracy after the Second World War. But this success could enjoy only FRG, in the contrary; GDR didn't experience Democracy till German Unification. Therefore, I am going to analyze what kind of principles of Democratic Legitimation are in Basic Law and How do Federal Constitutional Court guard German Democracy against political extremism.

The second German democracy was successful. There were many reasons for that including understanding of value of a free way of life after the endured dictatorship and aspiration to be accepted in numbers of the democratic countries. After 40 year, Basic Law became the constitution of the unified Germany. The Basic Law obliges authorities to adhere to the constitutional system and state bodies should adhere rules of law and laws. 1st article had a special value which postulates respect of human dignity as it is inviolably. It is a duty of all government to respect and protect people. Other fundamental laws guarantee, in particular, a freedom of action within the limits of laws, equality of all people before the law, freedom of press and mass-media, freedom of the unions and family protection. Most influential among those provisions are those dealing with Germany's parliamentary system of government, particularly the Basic Law's decrees on a political parties and its internal order of Democracy, together with its creation of a constitutional court authorized to review and decide controversies arising under those provisions.⁹² Later, I will tell how those provisions are applied.

There are four main principles of Basic law which determine political and governmental organization. They are all prescribed in Article 20 which says that: 1.The Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic and social; 2. all state authority emanates from the people. It is exercised by the people by means of elections and voting and by separate legislative,

⁹¹ Kommers, Donald P. *The Constitutional Jurisprudence of the Federal Republic* . Ibid p. 38

⁹² Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy."p.112

executive and judicial organs; 3. Legislation is subject to the constitutional order; the executive and the judiciary are bound by the law and 4. All Germans shall have the right to resist any person seeking to abolish this constitutional order, should no other remedy be possible.⁹³,⁹⁴

According to article 79.3 those four principles are timeless which can't be changed or be brought amendments even state will decide someday to create new Constitution.⁹⁵ To compound to Article 20, Article 38 says that members of Parliament "shall be elected in general, direct, free, equal and secret election So, we see that Constitution of Germany provide all that Germany become a federal state. It speaks about the rights that every citizen has and may apply. However, the same rights such as the right to freedom of expression (Article 5), freedom of assembly (Article 8) and freedom of association (Article 9).⁹⁶

Such parties as NPD, DVU and the Republicaner obey German Constitution which didn't forbid ideas; moreover Federal German Constitution should treat to such parties equally to others. In other words, it should state aside during election and it can't prevent particular parties from using freely speech, press and media. Also, Germany is considered party state and each party represents interests of particular ethnic minority or group of people; thus FCC couldn't ban right-wing extremist parties if they didn't use violence. Therefore, there are some articles which aim to protect German Democracy against ant- democratic bodies. Also, some amendments have been done to reduce such far-rights parties.

First, of all the Article 21.2 was created to give force the Federal Constitutional Court to ban those "Parties which, according to their aims and the behavior of their members, seek to impair or abolish the free and democratic basic order or to jeopardize the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany shall be unconstitutional"⁹⁷ This article limit Article 1 of human dignity in

⁹³ <http://www.constitution.org/cons/germany.txt>

⁹⁴ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." p.112

⁹⁵ <http://www.constitution.org/cons/germany.txt>

⁹⁶ "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003" Web.

⁹⁷ <http://www.constitution.org/cons/germany.txt>

order not to protect anti-democratic parties. Thus, According to article 21, right-wing extremist SRP was banned as it represented a serious violence to Democratic stability. However, members of disbanded party joined to NPD which acted more carefully; thus FCC can't ban this party as NPD is considered a political party in the sense of the Article 21 of the Basic Law. It stands on the free fundamental order of our political, social, and economic life. According to this fundamental order, freedom of belief, conscience, religion, and creed are inviolable. So, we see that in some cases FCC should tolerate such right - wing parties as they also represents the interest of particular group of people which can't be ignored.

Also, Germany created a special electoral system called "patronized" or "modified" proportional representation so that it would be difficult for parties to enter in Parliament. In other words party should gain such percent of national vote so that will be no less then of district representatives. If it managed to do it will gain the same percentage of parliamentary seats. Other way, all members of such party are drawn from the party list. ⁹⁸ And if it gains more, such party keeps "Overhang" seats. Also, Germany's Basic Law requires parties to reach 5% of the vote to win seats in the Bundestag. So, we see how strict electoral process in Germany is. My research proved that such law really works because none of right-wing extremist-parties could gain 5% Barrier Clause. Before, I told that Politicians who aimed to eliminate extremist from Country were happy that Germans understood that extremist parties would help them. As the result none of extremist parties could gain enough vote to enter Bundestag. To compound Germany had check and balances which don't give much power to one body and each member of German Institutions can be controlled or dismissed. However, According to Donald P. Kommers, check and balances is not effective as the duty of opposition parties to confront and publicize the misled of ruling majority. ⁹⁹ Free Speech, Media and Press make it possible for such actions to vindicate the improper conduct of ruling governmental majority.

⁹⁸ Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603. (Jan. 2006): 111-128. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan.Web. 12.04.2011

⁹⁹ *Ibid* p. 116

Also, the Constitutional Court had played major role in the field of party finance.¹⁰⁰

Each party prohibited to use more money as it is needed for campaign expenditure. Moreover, it shouldn't be bias in order to give preference to particular party. FCC is supposed to observe that elections are constitutionally obeyed. Thus, it provides equal opportunity for political parties. So, FCC spies that very political party keeps up "Free Democratic Order" and simultaneously, it protects German Democracy from anti-democratic parties. German Constitution allows banning and restricting the rights of those who aim to destroy Constitutional Order. Along with articles 21.2; 1; 20; 79.3 two more articles such as 9.2 and 18 which provide principles for a strong Democracy so it can protect its values expressed in Basic Law. Article 9.2 says that "Associations, the objects or activities of which conflict with the criminal laws or which are directed against the constitutional order or the concept of international understanding, are prohibited"¹⁰¹ and Article 18 states that FCC may declare certain basic rights to be forfeited if those rights are abuse to attack the free and democratic basic order.¹⁰² So, we see that those articles directed on protection Democratic values against subversive anti-democratic parties. Also, the Office of Protection of German Constitution (BfVS) helped to combat with extremist parties. It can use it force according to Article 21.2 and Article 20.4 which say that everyone who wants to abolish constitutional order has right to resist. Also, articles 73 and 87 provide the basis for operation of Federal and Land Offices for protection of Constitution.¹⁰³ Next, I will tell about the contribution of such organization.

BfVS

¹⁰⁰ Ibid p. 116

¹⁰¹ <http://www.constitution.org/cons/germany.txt>

¹⁰² "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003" Web. P. 7

¹⁰³ The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003" Web. P.7

Federal Bureau for the Protection of Constitution (BfVS) straggled against parties listed as constitutional-hostile. It works with Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV)) and State Offices for the Protection of the Constitution (Landesämter für Verfassungsschutz (LfV)). Both have tasks which directed against the free democratic basic order or against the existence and the security of the Federation or one of its States or jeopardizing foreign concerns of the Federal Republic of Germany by the use of violence or the preparation thereof or directed against the idea of international understanding (Art 9, par 2 of the Grundgesetz GG/the German constitution), especially against the peaceful coexistence of peoples¹⁰⁴ Germany spends annually 145 million Euros. ¹⁰⁵ Central office (Bundesoberbehörde) located in Cologne. . German state wants to be sure that its Democracy is well protected as they realized that Its "Grundgesetz" is the constitution of a democratic constitutional state committed to peace¹⁰⁶Along with Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and State Offices for the Protection of the Constitution, Federal Criminal Police Office, the public prosecutors' offices and the courts prosecute also actions of Criminal offences and extremism. The Federal Ministry of the Interior, cooperating with BfVS, is also responsible for protection Democratic order in Germany and for conduction in serious crimes and the protection of society against right wing party. Since late 1992, 24 right-wing extremist organizations have been banned by the Federal Minister of the Interior resp. the ministries/senates for interior affairs of the Federal States.¹⁰⁷ The Federal Criminal Law straggles against organized crimes and performers enactments of The Federal Ministry of the Interior. Also, the Office for protection of German Constitution cooperated with the Military Counterintelligence Service (MAD) which is responsible for the Federal Armed Forcers and BfVS also worked with the Federal Intelligence Service which is responsible for foreign

¹⁰⁴ http://verfassungsschutz.de/en/en_about_bfv/tasks.html

¹⁰⁵ "A war on terror? The European Stance on the New Threat, Changing Laws and Human Rights Implications.". Ed. Marianna Wade and Almir Maljevic. New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2010. Wed. p.510

¹⁰⁶ Ibid p.510

¹⁰⁷ The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003"Web. P. 12

intelligence and with police and criminal prosecution authorities. Thus, those several strong organizations have a common goal to cooperate with German extremism. Therefore, according to a recent report, no less than 15 % of organized right-wing groups are considered to be potentially violent today in Germany.¹⁰⁸ In other words, their work is effective. It happened not at once and Germany has passed a long way. Below, I will tell what BfVS has achieved.

Also, some amendments of Penal Code such as 88a, 129 and 129a give BfVS and Federal Criminal Police Office more rights to struggle against acts of subversive and terrorist nature.¹⁰⁹ According to Code 88a, a person can be in three-year imprisonment if he conducted extremist crimes. But it became invalid in 1981.¹¹⁰ Instead, the Government amended 129, 129a Code which also imposes higher limitations on the formation of terrorist organizations. It was done as Germany endured between 1974 and 1978 the Left-wing terrorist attacks.¹¹¹ And the whole network of Neo-Nazi Organization called *die Bewegung* (movement) mushroomed around Germany in 1970. Their leader was Michael Kühnen whose death in 1991 stopped the integration of neo-Nazi subculture.¹¹² Therefore, amendments of 129 and 129a were needed; moreover, the German state adopted *Radikalerlass* (Degree against Extremism), according to which: “only those persons who can show that they are prepared at all times to uphold the free democratic basic order and actively to defend this basic order, both on and off duty, may be appointed to public service”.¹¹³ Thus, Germany wants to prevent the penetration of far-right people into public services and make it impossible for them to influence other people. Both BfVS and special police forces contributed much better to Democratic Values as they acted

¹⁰⁸Hans-Georg, Betz. "The Two Faces of Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." *Review of Politics* 55.4 (Autumn 1993): 663-685. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010 p. 467

¹⁰⁹ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print. P.121

¹¹⁰ *Ibid* p.121

¹¹¹ *Ibid* p 121

¹¹² Hans-Georg, Betz. "The Two Faces of Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." p. 464

¹¹³ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. p. 122

strictly in order not to violate Constitution. BfVS not only prevents the acts of extremists but also reports which are available to all people. It is needed for people to be aware of risks of emergence of extremist groups. Recently, it works more vigorous. But if we look back to the time of German Unification, BfVS banned only 15 radical organizations, but during that time there were 134 far-right organizations. ¹¹⁴

The latest report that I found was done in 2003 year. However, my goal is to show how Germany has been straggling with right wing parties and movements form 1945- 1990. Therefore, the report made in 2003 will show what the Office of protection of Constitution has achieved and how it has handled the extremist heritage after the Second World War and after German Unification. Such report is needed to create public awareness of about Democratic enemies. Below, the table that showed how many groups and people participated in extremist movements. The report cannot give an exhaustive overview but provides information about the essential findings, and analyses and evaluates significant developments and correlations.

¹ Right-wing extremist following ¹						
	2001		2002		2003	
	Groups	Persons	Groups	Persons	Groups	Persons
Subculture-oriented and other violence-prone right-wing extremists ²	1	10,400	1	10,700	2	10,000
Neo-Nazis ³	65	2,800	72	2,600	95	3,000
Political parties	3	33,000	3	28,100	3	24,500
of which REP ⁴		11,500		9,000		8,000
DVU		15,000		13,000		11,500
NPD		6,500		6,100		5,000
Other right-wing extremist organisations	72	4,300	70	4,400	69	4,600
Total	141	50,500	146	45,800	169	42,100
After deducting multiple memberships ⁵		49,700		45,000		41,500

¹¹⁴ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge. Review of Politics 55.4 (Autumn 1993): 663-685. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010 P.122

Source¹¹⁵

So, we see that number of groups and people eventually decreased in 2003 comparing with 2001 and 2002 years. It was BfVS which contributed to reducing number of right-wing extremism in Germany. But anyway, still there a lot of people who back up extremist ideology.

Below, there is a table that shows overview of violent and other crimes with a right-wing extremist background. BfVS with the help of Federal Criminal Police Office, The Federal Ministry of the Interior, Military Counterintelligence Service and the public prosecutors' offices were committed to deal with all right ring violent actions and crimes which were listed below in the table.

Total	772	759
Other criminal offences:		
Property damage	178	225
Coercion, threat	115	93
Illegal propaganda activities	7,294	7,551
Desecration of cemeteries	30	26
Other criminal offences, esp. incitement to hatred	2,513	2,138
Total	10,130	10,033
Total number of criminal offences	10,902	10,792

Source¹¹⁶

And the target of such crimes mostly oriented against foreigners 56.7%, 18.6% of violent crimes supposed left-wing extremists and anti-Semitism 4.6% and est.¹¹⁷

The Office of Protection of German Constitution together with The Federal Minister of the Interior, The Federal Criminal Law, the Military Counterintelligence Service

¹¹⁵ "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003"Web. p. 29

¹¹⁶ "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003"Web. P.32

¹¹⁷ "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003"Web. P.32

(MAD) and the Federal Intelligence Service tried to ban such organization. Thus, they banned sentenced five members of the group Skinheads Sächsische Schweiz (SSS, Skinheads of Saxon Switzerland), skinhead organization the Blood & Honour, also 22 out of 119 extremist concerts from taking place and est.¹¹⁸. Also, BfVS collected information about such groups because every extremist meeting or concert was appointed in secret (basically such appointments were agreed through mail). Therefore, so many extremist concerts and meetings took performance. But, Germans assisted BfVS to straggles with extremism. For example: employers told their workers not to vote for extremist parties, post workers didn't want to pass extremist mail and est. I will tell more detailed about civil society which helped authority to combat with extremism. But, BfVS couldn't do anything with organized extremist groups such as NDP, the Republicaner and DVU till they distance themselves from the spectrum of right-wing extremists with a propensity to violence. However, number of members of extremist parties decreased (probably because of educational and others strategies which directed to change people's values to democratic one)

The Office of Protection of Constitution straggles, controls and even spies different anti-democratic organizations. Also, it uses legally methods to combat with them in order not to break "Free Democratic Order". Research shows that BfVS tried to ban both extremely influential and germinated right wing organizations in order to save German Constitution and its Democracy. Also, with its reports BfVS created awareness of people of danger of such organizations for stability, safety and further prosperity of Germans. Therefore, table of number of groups and people from 2001-2003 showed the decreasing umber of participants. Therefore, I can claim that BfVS' works were effective.

¹¹⁸ Ibid p.32

Chapter 5

Transformation of German Society

The main question of this chapter will be: “How have people’s opinion been changing to Democratic ones after the Second World War. Democracy is a rule of people and it is impossible to build it without Democrats. After the sad experience of Democracy in Weimer Republic which let to authoritarian regime that gave Dictator Hitler power. After Post War German people were confused and didn’t believe new authority that Democracy was the best for them solution because premature Democracy of Weimer led to Hitler’s ruling. Especially Allied forciers provided different educational programs with the goal of implanting the German society the understanding of their Guild in the Second World War. And as I wrote before, after WW2 there were 8 millions Nazis in Germany left. And Great Majority of high qualified people who

could run country was ex-Nazis. Furthermore, According to Daniel Goldhagen Germans were voluntary followed Hitler and killed Jews. In other words, people liked the way Hitler ran Country. And after the Second World War there were multiple extremist parties and movements defined as Neo-Nazis and Still nowadays such organizations exist. Thus, this task to persuade people in order they can admit them and understand the advantages of Democracy was extremely difficult task. First off all, it was hard to do it because German people were sensitive to admit their Guilt in WW2 as it could let to the repetitiveness of treaty Versailles which had been perceived as humiliation by Germans. Also, they suffered housing and food shortages (as I wrote Before 20 million of Germans left homeless), so they didn't have time to think about their Guilt and some moral principles. The main effective tool was education in order to prevent radical youth from committing violence and to teach them the advantageous of Democracy.

Little attention was paid to Education in the West German Organization system after WW2. Administrators and social agencies initiated the significant changes at local level in order to eliminate from the authoritarian and nationalist legacies of German history.¹¹⁹ Then creation different democratic and establishment education reforms followed. Also, German state made obligatory for students to take civil education or social studies in order to teach them about political concepts, institutions and process. Also, education helped students to be aware of German History in order to prevent youth from repetitiveness of Nazi Ideology. Civil Society controls were very useful as people started to oppose right-wing parties. For example; The German Post office workers asked federal governments to prevent the use of German postal office in delivering racist email in 1989.¹²⁰ Also, organization of Christian Churches in Germany asked politicians not use xenophobic rhetoric during the election campaigns¹²¹ Both Employers

¹¹⁹ Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print. P.126

¹²⁰ Ibid P.126

¹²¹ Ibid p. 126

and employees union asked their members not vote for extreme right parties.¹²² Also, the Lichterketten organizations formed human chains holding candles against racist.¹²³ Also, since 1990 right wing parties found little support of federal press. Thus, The Republicaner has even been the subject of outright boycott by federal press, public radio and television channels.¹²⁴ Civil society played a larger part and essential elements in the battle to protect democracy. Thus, educational programs are considered as very effective tool against far right parties.

The Good Role of transformation of German society was made by German protestant Churches (organized in the Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands, EKD) with their Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt which was appeared after 1945. It was signed by eleven German churchmen. This declaration spoke were sacred as representatives of the churches spoke from God's law. Church always resisted Nationalist Socialist Ideology but it blamed itself "for not standing for the beliefs more courageously, for not praying more faithfully, for not believing more joyously, and for not loving more ardently"¹²⁵ And Martin Niemoeller had been preaching this declaration in different German cities for the next two years. However, many Germans condemned this declaration because numerous Allied forcers' programs appeared which goal was to make Germans to admit Guild of their past. Therefore, then Stuttgart declaration of Guilt started to limit accusation and started to accuse mostly Hitler. As the result, the new German Constitution aimed at limiting the individual political influence through mediation of political parties and organizations.¹²⁶

According to the research of Raimund Lammersdorf it was Obvious that Niemoeller's anti-Nazi stance had not been based on a sincere belief in Western values of liberty

¹²² Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print. P.126

¹²³ Ibid 126

¹²⁴ Hans-Georg, Betz. "The Two Faces of Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." *Review of Politics* 55.4 (Autumn 1993): 663-685. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010.

¹²⁵ www.markusgemeinde-stuttgart.de

¹²⁶ Lammersdorf, Raimund. "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization Perspective." Conference at the German Historical Institute, March 25-29. Web. 5 Apr 2011. p. 13

and equity.¹²⁷ Before, Niemoeller didn't have any quarrels with Hitler and disagreement of his anti-Democratic policy. He started to oppose him after Hitler had threatened Churches. Moreover, he agreed with Lutheran brothers that "German people liked to be governed, not to mingle in politics."¹²⁸ In other words, He thought that German people unable live under Democratic government and he disagree with Allied forcers that peace can be achieved only in Democratic Regime. Also, American researches showed that Germans didn't accept truly their guilt of their past as they thought that it was a consequence of war. For example: German Soldiers had to obey their authority and it was their duty to kill enemies. And initially, the liberal democratic structure of FRG was not on based on a strong Democratic beliefs, but dependant on a general obedience to democratic rules.¹²⁹ In other words they had no choice as defeated country had to obey those forcers who subdued them. Eventually, Germans' anti-democratic mood changed to democratic ones. And Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt made first attempt to further transformation of German Society.

But, when people started to chance their opinion it was very difficult to answer the exact date. According to my research, I can claim that state made everything to prevent organized right wing parties to enter in Bundestag. Especially 5 % hurdle made it difficult. Nevertheless that NPD, DVU and the Republicaner were very successful parties, none of them could gain enough vote. The earliest result we can see when NPD, successful right- wing party, didn't managed to gain enough votes in national election in 1965 and 1969. DVU and the Republicaner gained more popularity after German Unification. However, they faced strong opposition by ordinarily people and media. . My research reveals that transformation of German Society happened not at once. And German nation admitted Democracy because Western powers "forced" them. Only when West Germany started to develop economically, especially with

¹²⁷Lammersdorf, Raimund. "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization Perspective." Conference at the German Historical Institute, March 25-29. Web. 5 Apr 2011. p 13

¹²⁸ Ibid. P 12

¹²⁹ Ibid pp.16-17

signing treaty of ECSC in 1950 they started to think about moral principles (Erst kommt das Fressen und dan die Moralitie). To compound, there were some educational programs, civil controls, punitive measures, and other strategies which helped German society to change their opinion and to notice the advantageous of Democracy.

Despite the difficulties German Society managed to change their values to Democratic ones. Educational and Civil controls which seemed to be ineffective in the very beginning brought fruits. Especially, success can be observed in election in 1989 when churches, media, post office workers expressed their will to straggle against right-wing extremist.

Chapter 6

6) German after unification

The upsurge in far-right support appeared after German Reunification which resulted social upheaval and mass unemployment. After reunification Germany faced the growth of extremism because of increasing number of unemployed, uneducated, flow of immigrants to the West side. Many different ethnical minorities arrived from Former East Germany to former West Germany. Between 1961 and 1990, a total of 1 198 259 East Germans crossed into West Germany, both legally and illegally.¹³⁰ And people feared that such people could create competition with them to get better jobs. Therefore, neo-Nazi groups gained more followers, mostly among disaffected teenagers in the former East Germany. Also, right wing parties such as the Republicaner and DVU gained support from dissatisfied, low educated people during that time. To compound this problem since the 1980 since the EU enlargement the number of immigrants increased. Below the table which shows the Inhabitants of Germans and non-Germans in West Germany 1989-1999.¹³¹

Year	Inhabitants (in millions)	Foreigners (in thousands)	Foreigners (in %)
1989	62,679.0	4,845.9	7.7 %
1992	80,974.6	6,495.8	8.0%
1999	82,163.5	7,343.6	8.9%

Source ¹³²

¹³⁰ Lammersdorf, Raimund. "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization Perspective." Conference at the German Historical Institute, March 25-29. Web. 5 Apr 2011. p.13

¹³¹ Lammersdorf, Raimund. "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization Perspective." Conference at the German Historical Institute, March 25-29. Web. 5 Apr 2011. p.13

¹³² Ibid p.13

Because of the rise of immigrants neo-Nazi organizations started to appear as many people feared that immigrants could compete with them for better jobs; they could “prevent” the existence of German Culture and they would commit crimes thus offending German nation’s safety. Such dread of immigrants was picked by right-wing extremist parties such as DVU, NPD and the Republicaner as a part of their platforms. However, German state since 1990 actively started to ban such organizations. Especially, Marshal Fund, BfVS contributed a lot in straggling with such far- right groups. During that time former West Germany had a huge experience with straggling of right-wing both organized and unorganized groups and implanting Democracy. Therefore, educational methods, punitive measures and est were applied. Moreover, Basic Law of Former FRG became German Constitution for Unified Germany. However, several amendments had been done in order to serve good for unified country. Therefore, Democratization process accused with higher speed then in former FRG. And Today, Germany enjoys Democracy which has brought the stability to this Country. Still, extremist organizations and parties exist and Germany should be attentive not to allow such Democratic enemies to destroy its Democracy. But, Country has many effective tools to straggle with them and its past experience would definitely help them to eliminate from right-wing groups and parties.

Conclusion:

Research shows how difficult was for Germany to build Democracy. Especially, after the Second World War it could be observed that so many Nazis (8 million) left in Germany who didn't consider themselves guilty for the Second World War. Majority of educated people

who could run Country were ex-Nazis. Thus, the goal of building Democracy which was initiated by Allied forcers was extremely challenging by right-wing extremism whose goals was to led country to authoritarian regime, to revive Nazism, anti-Semitism in order to preserve cultural identity. Unlike Western Allied forcers right- wing extremism didn't see the prosperous of their Country in Democracy. Even Martin Niemoeller, initiator of Stuttgart declaration of Guilt right after war didn't share the same opinion of Democratic Germany. He even agreed with Lutheran brothers that "German people liked to be governed, not to mingle in politics."¹³³ According to my research we can see that German nation faced numerous problems such as housing and food shortage. And in some way they felt humiliated because of Educational Programs of Allied forcers. Such strategies of admitting of Guilt for German nation's past were condemned by Germans because many of them followed voluntary Hitler and supported his ideology. Another reason is first Democracy of Germany was failed in Weimar Republic. And their first Democracy connected with humiliation. That system was assailable and led the creation and penetration of Nazi Parties which played Democratic game. Never so did Weimar try to save its Democracy all were in vain and led to authoritarian regime where the Nazi Parties gained incredible power. Though after the Second World War right wing extremist parties appeared which had heritage from Hitler's Nazi NSDAP parties. And many people shared the ideology of such parties after the Second World War. Somehow, Germany managed to achieve the goal of building and defending its Democracy. And In my research I had answered this question.

However, divided Germany wasn't developed simultaneously as Western Allied forcers aimed to build Democracy, improve the level of life and to blur out extremism and as for USSA, it aimed to get as much as possible from East Germany in order to restore its country.

¹³³Lammersdorf, Raimund. "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization Perspective." Conference at the German Historical Institute, March 25-29. Web. 5 Apr 2011. P 12

However, there were number of organized strong extremist parties which were active and to compound there were a lot of unorganized extremist organizations which committed violent crimes mostly against foreigners in FRG. In the contrary, there were no legal right wing political parties in GDR before 1980s.¹³⁴ But, some unorganized extremist organizations existed. Only after German Unification extremists violent acts increased in GDR (and in FRG as well). Therefore, I told mainly how FRG dealt with enemies of Democracy.

The serious treat to Democratic stability NPD, DVU and the Republicaner posed in FRG. Their platforms were elimination the existing democratic of Germany, saving culture of Germany, rejecting multiculturalism and est. Although they propagate extremist ideas they were not considered as “anti-constitutional” according to article 21 of Basic Law. They pledged themselves to Western Christian culture and stands on the free fundamental order of political, social, and economic life.¹³⁵ State only can punish those who make violence such as skinheads, Neo-Nazism movements and influential of Neo- Nazis Rock Bands, but not those who set up ideas. Anyway, German state undertook some measures against right-wing extremist parties such as legal and judiciary, controls; intelligence and administrative controls; educational controls and civil society control. Moreover, Germany made it difficult for extremist parties to enter Parliament as they must to reach 5% hurdle to achieve its goals. As the result none of right-wing extremist parties have overcome this barrier.

Western Allied also played huge role of building German Democracy. Although their program of 4d “denazification, demilitarization, deindustrialization and decentralization wasn’t effective they pushed Country to the new level. Allied initiated different programs such as UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) and the IRO (International Refugee Organization) in order to restore German economic. Especially economic

¹³⁴ Charles Ross , Gordon. "The swastika in Socialism: Right-Wing Extremism and Militant nationalism in GDR ." n. pag. Web.p.81

¹³⁵ Charles Ross , Gordon. "The swastika in Socialism: Right-Wing Extremism and Militant nationalism in GDR ." n. pag. Web.p.81

growth which began in the early 1950s and lasted until the middle of the 1960s made Germans to think about democracy.¹³⁶ Although Germans accepted democracy as they didn't have possibility to oppose. German nations didn't share idea that Democracy can bring stability to this country. Anyway, many ex-Nazis decided either to hide or to accept Democracy. And the First Results of Germans preference for Democracy we can see in national election in 1965 where NPD didn't get enough votes.

However, German Constitutions which was adopted immediately after WW2 in 1949 laid foundation for a stable Democracy in Germany. It protects human rights, civil rights and states' rights. Rule of law based on "free democratic order. And some articles such as freedom of expression (Article 5), freedom of assembly (Article 8) and freedom of association (Article 9)¹³⁷ allows right-wing extremist parties played Democratic Game. Nevertheless of those articles there are some articles such as 21.1, 21.2; 1; 20; 79.3, 9.2 and 18 according to which Democracy can resist the threat of right-wing extremist parties. Those defense articles allows Federal Bureau for the Protection of Constitution (BfVS), Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV)), State Offices for the Protection of the Constitution (Landesämter für Verfassungsschutz (LfV), The Federal Ministry of the Interior and The Federal Criminal Law to guard German Democracy. Those organizations played huge role in straggling with right-wing extremism. As recent research shows that no less the 15 % of right-wing extremist could be considered as potentially violent.¹³⁸ As we compare situation after WW2 many ex-Nazis (8 million) left who had supported Hitler's' ideology and didn't feel themselves guilty for their past. Nevertheless, of successful fight with extremism German Government still is very attentive and taut because still there are some people who support right-wing extremist parties.

¹³⁶ Ibid P.81

¹³⁷ "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003"Web. P.40

¹³⁸ "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003"Web. P.40

German politicians understood that without people support they would never build Democracy as first of all it is rule of people. In my research I showed how people were against to live in Democracy. Their first Democracy did bring only dissatisfaction which led people to prefer strong state to rule them. After the Second World War it was extremely difficult task to change people's attitude to Democracy. It is difficult to call exact year when such transformation happened. But, research shows that both Allies' and German state's education programs wasn't in vain. Although Germans did share sincere belief in Western values of liberty and equity they did accept Democratic system as the state political regime. The evidence can be Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt initiated by German protestant Churches which didn't believe the prosperity of Germany in Democracy. As initially, the liberal democratic structure of FRG was not on based on a strong Democratic beliefs, but dependant on a general obedience to democratic rules.

¹³⁹ In other words they had no choice as defeated country had to obey those forcers who subdued them. Eventually, Germans realized the advantages of Democracy and became to differ dangerous of extremist groups and parties. And the first evidence of social transformation was election in 1965 where NDP, successful right wing extremist party, didn't get 5 % hurdle.

Before, I affect the theme rise of extremism after German Unification I have shown how FRG has achieved incredible result in implanting Democracy both in the state and in the society. That sounds impossible turned out probable. So many strategies were applied such as Militancy and Purge strategies and accommodative such as Incorporation and Education strategies, legal and judiciary, controls; intelligence and administrative controls; educational controls and civil society control and est which eventually would bring results. Together with Allied forcers Germany developed Constitution which was essential element for a stable Democracy. They made Constitution strong which according to some articles can protect Democracy from those who aim to destroy it. Also, BfVS and other organizations has made huge

¹³⁹Lammersdorf, Raimund. "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization Perspective." Conference at the German Historical Institute, March 25-29. Web. 5 Apr 2011.pp 16-17

afford to guard German Constitution. However, German state faced new challenge after unification which led to the rise of extremism based on cultural and economical transformation. I wrote that FRG was experienced in this time and together with East German Politicians they developed some strategies, made some amendments in Constitution and applied different effective strategies which would lead to decrease of extremist heritage. And treaty “Two plus Four” proved that Allied forciers started to realize that Germany were capable to lead country and solve problems by itself. Therefore, the united Germany would become fully sovereign on 15 March 1991, with Berlin as its capital.¹⁴⁰ I didn’t concentrate my topic how did German state straggle with extremism and implant Democracy both in state and society. Thus, I just mention that FRG began to be able to save its Democracy and help GDR to build it too.

Works sites:

¹⁴⁰ <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/>

1. "A war on terror? The European Stance on the New Threat, Changing Laws and Human Rights Implications.". Ed. Marianna Wade and Almir Maljevic. New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2010. Web.
2. Backes, Uwe, and Cas Mudde. "Germany: Extremism without successful parties." N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Apr 2011.
3. Betz, Hans-Georg. "Politics of Resentment: Right-Wing Radicalism in West Germany ." *Comparative politics* 23.1 (Oct.,1990) : 45-60. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan.Web. 2. 10.2010.
4. Capoccia, Giovanni. *Defending Democracy: reaction to extremism in interwar Europe*. USA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967. Print.
5. Champlin, Carroll D. "Militant Democracy." *international Political Science Review* 25.1 (Sep. 1942): 11-12. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan.Web. 10.10.2010.
6. Charles Ross , Gordon. "The swastika in Socialism: Right-Wing Extremism and Militant nationalism in GDR ." n. pag. Web.p.81
7. Cromwell, Richard S. "Rightist Extremism in Postwar West Germany." *Western Political Science Association* 17.2 (Jun 1964): 284-293. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan.Web. 02.03.2011.
8. Crossland, David . "NEO-NAZI RISE IN GERMANY FRIGHTENS JEWS." *Nazism in Germany* n. pag. Web. 30 Jan 2011. <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,616499>>.
9. "Der "Block der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten" (BHE) als parlamentarischer Arm des Revanchismus ." 21. 07. 1998: n. pag. Web. 27 Apr 2011. <<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/archiv/Antifaschismus/Themen/Revanchismus/nwh/bhe.htm> l>.

10. Eatwell, Roger, and Cas Mudde. *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. USA, Canada: Routledge, 2004. Print.
11. Erich J. C, et al., First. *CORNERSTONE OF DEMOCRACY The West German Grundgesetz, 1949–1989*. Washington, D.C.: GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE, 2009, p.5
12. "Extreme-rightist party out of German regional parliament." 05 Apr 2006 : n. pag. Web. 10 Jan 2010.
- 13.
14. Ewald, Uwe, and Tomas Feltes. "Multicultural Context, Crime, and Policing in Germany: Challenges after Unification." Max Planck Institute for foreign International Criminal Law, Nov 2002. Web. 10 Apr 2011.
15. Fulbrook, Mary. "The State and the Transformation of Political Legitimacy in East and West Germany since 1945." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29.2 (Apr 1987): 211-244. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan. Web. 28.01.2011.
16. Gimbel, John. "American denazification and German local politics, 1945-1949: The case study in Marburg." *Americal Political Science Review* 54.1 (1960): 83-105. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan. Web. 28 Apr 2011.
17. Goldhagen, Daniel. *Hitler's willing executioners:ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. Fiest Edition. USA: Vintage Books, 1997. Print.
18. Hanh, Erich J,et al. and . "Cornerstone of Democracy: West German Grungesetz 1949-1989." German Historical Institute, n.d. Web. 25 Apr 2011.
19. Hans-Georg, Betz. "The Two Faces of Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." *Review of Politics* 55.4 (Autumn 1993): 663-685. *JSTOR.AUCA lib.*, Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010.

20. Hobsbawm , Eric. *The ege of extremes:The short twentieth century 1914-1991*. Great Britain: Clays LtD, St Ives plc, 1994. Print.
21. Hofferbert, Richart 1, and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. "Democracy and its Discontent in Post-Wall Germany." *international Political Science Review* 22.4 (Oct.2001): 363-378. *JSTOR*.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan.Web. 13.12.2010.
22. <http://countrystudies.us/germany/44.htm>. N.p., n.d. Web. <Postwar Occupation and Division>.
23. <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/>
24. <http://www.constitution.org/cons/germany.txt>
25. Jonathan, Gast. "The New Millennium's Estremist Political Parties in Germany and France." N.p., 2004. Web.
26. Judt, Tony . *Post War: A History of Europe since 1945*. USA: The Penguin Press, 2005. Print.
27. "Junge Nationaldemokraten (JN)." *Netz Gegen Nazis* 22.03.2008: n. pag. Web. 27 Jan 2011. <<http://www.netz-gegen-nazis.de/lexikontext/junge-nationaldemokraten-jn>>.
28. Kirkpatrick , Jennet. *Uncivil Disobedience*. UK: the Princeton University Press, 2008. Print.
29. Kommers, Donald P. "The Federal Constitutional Court: Guardian of German Democracy." *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603. (Jan. 2006): 111-128. *JSTOR*.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan.Web. 12.04.2011
30. Kommers, Donald P. *The Constitutional Jurisprudence of the Federal Republic* . USA: Duke University Press, 1997. eBook.

- 31.** Lammersdorf, Raimund. "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization Perspective." Conference at the German Historical Institute, March 25-29. Web. 5 Apr 2011.
- 32.** Loewenstein, Karl. "Legislative Control of Political Extremism in European Democracies 1." *Comparative politics* 38.4 (Apr. 1938): 591-622. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 18.08.2010.
- 33.** Loewenstein, Karl. "Militant Democracy and Fundamental Rights, 1." *American Political Science Review* 31.3 (Jun.,1937): 417-432. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 23.03.2011.
- 34.** *Merkel says German multicultural society has failed* (2010): n. pag. Web. 15 Dec 2010. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451>>.
- 35.** O'Brien, Peter. "Continuity and change in German's treatment of Non Germans." *international Migration Review* 22.3 (Autumn 1988): 109-134. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 13.12.2010.
- 36.** Pedanzur, Ami. "Struggling Challenges of right-wing extremism and terrorism without Democratic Boudaries: A Comparative Analysis." University of Haifa, n.d. Web. 1 Jan 2011.
- 37.** Powell, Jr., Bingham. "Extremist Parties and Political Turmoil: Two Puzzles." *American Journal of Political Science* 30.2 (May 1986): 357-378. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010.
- 38.** Snyder, Jack L. *Transitions to Democracy and the Rise of Nationalist Conflict*. First Edition. USA: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2000. Print.
- 39.** "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 1999." Web.
- 40.** "The Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution 2003" Web.

41. Warnecke, Steven. "The Future of Rightist Extremism in West Germany." *Comparative Politics* 2.4 (Jun., 1970): 629-652. JSTOR.AUCA lib., Kyrgyzstan. Web. 12.12.2010.

42. Winkler, Heinrich August. "Forced democratization: Some lesson from postwar Germany." *Eurozine* 29.06.2006: n. pag. Web. 26 Apr 2011. <<http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2006-06-29-winkler-en.html>>.