

# Index

1	Press release (in English and Turkish)	2
2	Short information about the speakers	4
3	Statements of people targeted by the terror of the NSU	5
4	Call for the day of the verdict of the NSU trial - No Closure! (in English, Turkish and Greek)	6
5	Recommended reading	9

5 Jahre NSU-Prozess

**Kein  
Schluss  
strich**

## In Memory of:

*Enver ŐimŐek, 11.09.2000, Nrnberg*

*Abdurrahim zdođru, 13.06.2001, Nrnberg*

*Sleyman TaŐkpr, 27.06.2001, Hamburg*

*Habil Kılıç, 29.08.2001, Mnchen*

*Mehmet Turgut, 25.02.2004, Rostock*

*İsmail YaŐar, 09.06.2005, Nrnberg*

*Theodoros Boulgarides, 15.06.2005, Mnchen*

*Mehmet KubaŐık, 04.04.2006, Dortmund*

*Halit Yozgat, 06.04.2006, Kassel*

*Michle Kieseewetter, 25.07.2007, Heilbronn*

## Unforgotten:

23.06.1999 „flashlight bombing“, Nuremberg, 1 hurt

19.01.2001 „Christstollen‘ bombing“, Probsteigasse Cologne, 1 hurt

09.06.2004 „nailbomb attack“, Keupstrae Cologne, 22 hurt

## Pressrelease: Counter publicity on the verdict on the NSU lawsuit both in Munich and nationwide Don't wipe the slate clean „KEIN SCHLUSSSTRICH!“ (No Closure!)

**Press release: nationwide campagne KEIN SCHLUSSSTRICH with the announcement of the press conference on Tuesday, the 10th of July 2018 and of the plans for wednesday the 11th of July 2018, the day of the announcement of the verdict on the NSU proceedings.**

On the 11th of July, 2018, the pronouncement of judgement on the NSU case will begin. While in the courtroom the last words of the proceedings are spoken, the nationwide campagne KEIN SCHLUSSSTRICH will be demonstrating in front of the doors of the court all day, beginning at 8am.

Survivors, friends and family of victims and supporting organisations from all over Germany are expected to participate.

At 6pm the protest will proceed vociferously through Munich to commemorate the 10 victims of the NSU network.

On the 10th of July 2018 there will be a press conference at 12:30 am by the initiative KEIN SCHLUSSSTRICH with initiatives from throughout Germany, to which we would like to invite you to participate. More information will follow shortly.

Patrycja Kowalska, media spokeswoman for the initiative, explains that *“Even after 5 years of this lawsuit of the century there are more questions than answers. As long as the concerns and wishes of the people involved for clarification, as well as of the family and friends of the victims, have not been heard, the entire network of the NSU has not been revealed, the state involvement has not been disclosed and all this does not lead to consequences – as long as all this is not the case, we demand: We cannot wipe this slate clean. KEIN SCHLUSSSTRICH.”*

Already in 2006 the families of the victims of the NSU terror organised silent processions and mourning marches in Kassel and Dortmund. But only after the NSU complex revealed itself did a broader societal solidarisation begin. Upon the start of the lawsuit on the 13th of April 2013, more than ten thousand people from the whole of Germany went onto the streets in Munich. In the last few years many initiatives were founded in solidarity with the people targeted by the NSU terror. They protocol the lawsuit, which has been continuing for more than 5 years (<https://www.nsu-watch.info/>), bring up research on the NSU network, uncover the continuity to current right wing terrorist structures, accuse the people jointly responsible for the NSU (<http://www.nsu-tribunal.de/anklage/>) and together demand full clarification free of reserve. Together they have thereby developed a critical counter publicity to the position of the federal prosecutor's office, which blocked the uncovering of the NSU network and of the involvement of state agencies in the series of murders.

*“The societal conditions through which the NSU could arise are still present. For this reason we demand answers to numerous unresolved questions and in particular: not to wipe the slate clean after the end of the NSU court proceedings.”*, says Patrycja Kowalska. *“What we learn from the NSU complex is: we must stick together in solidarity against the racism in this society. Even if the state wants to lay the resolution to rest, the initiatives will continue to work towards the full uncovering of all involvements and to ensure that the series of murders is not forgotten.”*

The demonstration furthermore wishes to make clear that no serious political consequences have been drawn from the NSU complex. In several towns the people concerned are not permitted to commemorate their loved ones in their own way. One example is Kassel, where the town refuses to rename the road “Holländische Straße” after the name of the ninth deceased victim, Halit Yozgüt (<https://initiative6april.wordpress.com/>).

Serious political consequences are also still wanting within institutions. The competences of the federal office for the protection of the constitution were extended, although the secret service of the interior has systematically sabotaged every form of disclosure. *“After all the support for the NSU network through the federal office for the protection of the constitution, what is needed is a substitution free dissolution of exactly this agency.”*, says Patrycja Kowalska.

A fixed schedule for the demonstration will soon be released on our homepage. The nationwide participation in the campagne will be kept updated here:  
<https://nsuprozess.net/anreise-tag-x-bundesweit/>

## Basın açıklaması: 5 Yıl NSU Davası

Üstü Örtülemeyecek!

11.07.18 / Saat 08:00 Miting / 18:00 Yürüyüş

Mahkeme binası önünde (Nymphenburger Straße 16, München)

NSU davasındaki hüküme ilişkin Münih'te ve Almanya çapında karşı kamuoyu - Üstü Örtülemeyecek!

### Basın açıklaması:

**Tüm ülkeyi kapsayan Üstü Örtülemeyecek adı altındaki kampanya**

**Salı günü, 10 Temmuz 2018 tarihinde basın toplantısı açıklaması,**

**Çarşamba günü, 11 Temmuz 2018 NSU davasıyla ilgili kararın açıklandığı günün programı,**

**11 Temmuz 2018 tarihinde NSU davası bağlamında kararın açıklanmasına başlanacak.**

Mahkeme salonunda davaya dair son sözlerin dile getirilmesi esnasında yurt çapındaki Üstü Örtülemeyecek kampanyası katılımcıları, sabah saat 08:00'den itibaren mahkeme binasının önünde gün boyu sürecek olan gösterilerini başlatacaklardır. NSU terör örgütü tarafından katledilen ve saldırlarından sag kurtulanların yanı sıra, almanyanın her tarafından inisyatifler o gün orda olacak.

Saat 18:00'de protestocular yüksek sesle ve güçlü bir şekilde NSU örgütünün 10 kurbanını anmak için Münih'te yürüyüşlerini gerçekleştirecekler.

10 Temmuz 2018 günü saat 12:30'da Üstü Kapatılmayacak kampanyasının düzenlediği bir basın toplantısı yapılacaktır. Yurt çapından inisyatiflerin katılacağı bu konferansta sizleri de aramızda görmekten kıvanç duyarız. Yakın zamanda detaylı bilgiler iletilecektir.

Birliğin basın sözcüsü Patrycja Kowalska: *"5 yılı geride bırakmamıza rağmen, hâlâ yüzyılın davasına ilişkin yanıtta çok soru vardır. İlgili kişilerin ve aile mensuplarının aydınlatma, rehabilitasyon ve anmalarına dair talepleri dikkate alınmadığı müddetçe, tüm NSU örgütünün bağlantıları ortaya çıkarılmadığı müddetçe, devletle ilgili karmaşık bağlantılar su yüzüne çıkmadığı müddetçe ve bütün bunlardan gerekli sonuç çıkarılmadığı sürece talebimiz işte bu olacaktır: Üstü Örtülemeyecek."*

Zaten geçmişte, 2006 yılında NSU terörü kurbanlarının aileleri Kassel ve Dortmund'da suskun yürüyüşler ve cenaze marşları organize etmişlerdi. Buna rağmen, ancak NSU kompleksi üyelerinin bizzat kendilerini deşifre etmelerinin ardından daha geniş toplumsal bir dayanışmaya ulaşıldı. 13 Nisan 2013'de sürecin başladığı tarihte Münih'te ülke geneli onbinden fazla kişi sokaklara çıkmıştı. Son yıllarda dayanışma odaklı pek çok inisyatif kuruldu. Söz konusu kuruluşların çeşitli görevlerini kapsayan bir takım örnekler: NSU örgütü hakkında araştırma yapmak, 5 seneyi aşkın süredir devam etmekte olan mahkeme davasıyla ilgili tutanak tutmak (<https://www.nsu-watch.info/>), bugünkü sağcı terörist kesimlerin sürekliliklerini ortaya çıkarmak, NSU'nun müşterek sorumlularının da gereken cezayı almalarını sağlamak (<http://www.nsu-tribunal.de/anklage/>) ve birlikte kayıtsız şartsız aydınlatma talep etmek. Böylelikle federal savcılığın pozisyonuna karşı eleştireci bir kamuoyu sağlanmış oldu. Bilindiği üzere savcılık resmi mercilerin de işin içinde olduğu NSU'ya dair gerçeklerin aydınlatılmasına engel oluyor.

Patrycja Kowalska'ya göre: *"NSU'nun oluşmasında payı olan sosyal koşullar hâlâ mevcut. Bu nedenle henüz çözülmemiş sayısız soruların cevaplandırılmasını istiyoruz ve özellikle: Davanın bitiminden sonra konunun üstü kapatılmasın. NSU kompleksinden çıkardığımız ders: Toplumda ki ırkçılığa karşı birlik olmalıyız. Devlet her ne kadar davanın üstünü kapatmak için uğraşsa da, inisyatifler bu cinayet serisini unutturmamak adına mücadeleci kimliğinden taviz vermeyecek ve nihayet tüm bağlantıların ortaya çıkması için de çaba sarf edecektir."*

Ayrıca yürüyüşle beraber NSU kompleksi kapsamında bugüne kadar ciddi anlamda hiçbir politik sonuca varılmadığı gerçekliğini de vurgulamak amaçlanıyor. Bazı şehirlerde ailelerin kaybettikleri yakınlarını kendilerinin arzu ettikleri şekilde anma talepleri reddediliyor. Örneğin Kassel şehrinin belediyesi Holländische Straße olarak bilinen sokağı Dokuzuncu Maktul Halit Yozgat'ın ismi olarak değiştirmeyi kabul etmiyor (<https://initiative6april.wordpress.com/>).

Üstelik resmi kurumlara ilişkin de hiçbir ciddi sonuca ulaşılamadı. Aksine yurt içi istihbarat servisinin son yedi yıl boyunca aydınlatma girişimlerini sistematik bir biçimde sabote etmesine rağmen, anayasayı koruma örgütünün yetkileri genişletildi.

Patrycja Kowalska sözlerine böyle devam ediyor: *"Anayasayı koruma örgütünün NSU örgütüne sağladığı desteklerden sonra, bu makamın bir daha yerinin doldurulmaması şartıyla tamamen kaldırılması gerek."*

Kesinleşmiş miting programı yakın bir zaman içinde ana sayfamızda yayımlanacak.

Yurt çapında ki kampanya da buradan devamlı güncellenecek:

<https://nsuprozess.net/anreise-tag-x-bundesweit/>

## Speaking at the panel

### **Ayşe Güleç, Initiative 6. April**

At the 6th of April Halit Yozgat was murdered in Kassel for racist reasons. Therefore the Initiative 6th of April was founded. They are concerned with the murders of the NSU, the preconditions which enabled those murders and their consequences. The Initiative has a local focus on the context of Kassel. They are mainly asking for the social climate which made it possible for the racist terror to be undiscovered for so long and can still continue. <https://initiative6april.wordpress.com/>

### **Caro Keller, NSU-Watch**

The current core of NSU-Watch's work includes the close monitoring of the trial at the Higher Bavarian State Court in Munich. They are present on all days of the trial and report via Twitter (@nsuwatch) as well as compiling a detailed protocol. NSU-Watch consists of an alliance of antifascist, antiracist groups and individuals from across the country who have been dealing with this complex topic for over a decade. Alongside preparing a protocol of the trial, the exchange and communication of information about neo-Nazis and the NSU are a central part of their work. Thanks to the antifascist and antiracist (research) groups involved, NSU-watch has access to a comprehensive knowledge of the neo-Nazi scene and the structures involved in the NSU and therefore provides expertises. <https://www.nsu-watch.info/en/>

### **Daniel Schmidt, Peoples Tribunal 'Unraveling the NSU Complex'**

The nationwide activist alliance "Unraveling the NSU Complex" exists since 2014 and is a network of initiatives as well as a number of individual anti-racist activists. Those targeted by the NSU take center-stage in the actions; their viewpoints carry special weight. A highlight of their work was the Peoples Tribunal 'Unraveling the NSU Complex' in Cologne in May 2017. In a peoples tribunal with more than 3000 participants people targeted by the terror of the NSU and relatives of victims were speaking about their experiences within the NSU Complex. During the Tribunal an indictment was released where 90 persons are accused of their involvement in the NSU Complex. <http://www.nsu-tribunal.de/en/>

### **Initiative Keupstrasse ist überall (Keupstrasse is everywhere)**

The 9th of June 2004 the NSU carried out a nail bomb attack on the Keupstrasse, a vivid street in Cologne with mainly migrant-lead shops and restaurants. Until the self-exposure of the NSU in 2011 the authorities were only investigating against those targeted, blamed the victims and turned them into perpetrators. The media made themselves part of this narrative by retelling stereotypes of „criminal foreigners“. Within this context the Initiative was found, in which people targeted by the bomb and activists of the Keupstraße organize themselves. The initiative supports those targeted by the NSU and sets an example against racism and discrimination.

### **Patrycja Kowalska, Campaign „No Closure“, Alliance against Nazi-Terror and racism**

The Alliance against Nazi-Terror and racism is the initiator of the campaign „No Closure!“. The alliance have accompanied the trial with a critical eye since 2013. The activist alliance is a coalition of antifascist and anti-racist groups, initiatives and individuals which came together to fight against state and daily racism. The alliance is organizing a full-day rally in front of the court and a demonstration at the day of the verdict against the NSU. <https://nsuprozess.net/>

**Fritz Burschel**, is observing the trial for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation and will chair the press conference.

## Statements and claims by targeted of the NSU terror

„Open your eyes to see the bitter reality. Hear the families' grief!“

Ismail Yozgat, father of Halit Yozgat, who was killed May 6th 2006 in Kassel - at the memorial march „Kein 10. Opfer!“ („No 10th victim!“)

„You might have done much to convict these five. But what about all the others? I don't believe that you will ever charge anyone else. For you, this whole thing is done. (...) You broke your promise!“

Gamze Kubaşık, daughter of murdered Mehmet Kubaşık, in front of the federal persecutors

„Why did my father have to die? Did the Nazis know him? Or was it a coincidence? There are five people impeached, but what about the rest? How can it be that there are people working at the constitution protection, who are nicknamed „little Adolf“ in their town even though they should actually monitor and convict the right scene.“

Semiya Şimşek, in a joined interview with Gamze Kubaşık for the SZ 2013

„I won't get my brother back, but I wish that one day we will know what really happened within the authorities, how they were involved. My brother was the 7th victim of the NSU. He could be alive if immigrants would not have been treated as suspects.“

Gavriil Boulgarides, brother of murder victim Theodoros Boulgarides, from „Unsere Wunden kann die Zeit nicht heilen“ („Time can't heal our wounds“), publ. by Barbara John 2014

„Those who did these crimes musn't think we are going to leave this country. I live here and I am part of it. (...) We are part of this country and we will continue to live here.“

Elif Kubaşık, widow of Mehmet Kubaşık, in her plea

„They worked like bees, but did not make any honey. There are no results.“

Ayşe Yozgat, Halit Yozgat's mother, in front of the court in Munich

„The complete solving that I was promised still hasn't been achieved. (...) Politics, protection of the constitution, police, judges, attorneys - many things have to change, so crimes like these won't happen again.“

Osman Taşköprü, brother of murdered Süleyman Taşköprü at the NSU-Tribunal May 20th 2017

„Never stop asking. We shouldn't stop looking for answers after this trial. We may never know everything, but we will collect and connect pieces of the puzzle until we can see the whole truth. Then everyone else has to look too.“

Yvonne Boulgarides, widow of Theodoros Boulgarides, in her plea

„A sentence itself will not get rid of the problem. Only a fair judgement, clearance, education, civil attention, tolerance, understanding and solidarity together will bring change.“

Tülin Özüdoğru, in „Unsere Wunden kann die Zeit nicht heilen“

„Our last words are directed to the higher regional court to the chairman Mr. Götzl and the senate. In our presence we'd like the senate to see and comprehend the circumstances at the internet café, that my son was murdered in. Because then they too will see that the former secret service agent is lying. Should there not be a local inspection and the inconsistencies of the former agent of the hessian secret service not be resolved, because the senate believes Temme, the sentence at the end of the trial will be irrelevant. We will not accept the verdict.“

Ismail Yozgat, in his speech at the memorial service for his murdered son April 6th 2016 in Kassel

# No Closure!

Demonstration call for the day of the verdict against the National Socialist Underground in Munich

*On March 6th 2013, the court case against Beate Zschäpe, André Eminger, Holger Gerlach, Ralf Wohlleben and Carsten Sch. was opened at the Higher Regional Court in Munich. Probably in spring 2018, the trial will end after more than 400 days of hearings. Regardless of the outcome: There are more questions than answers left. Therefore, we want to take our protest to the streets. Because we will not consider the NSU to be done.*

**W**e want to know who was responsible for the murders, the attacks and the terror. The fixation of the prosecution on Böhnhardt, Mundlos and Zschäpe and their close environment ignores the network structure of the National Socialist Underground. The NSU was not an isolated Group of three people, it was not just the five accused before the court. This believe has been disproven on multiple accounts. Without militant Nazi organizations like Blood and Honour, local fascist groups or the Thuringian home front around covert informants Tino Brandt and Ralf Wohlleben the NSU would have been hardly able to act. The investigation regarding this has been shut down consequently during the process by denying prosecutors access to investigation files and such.

Our aim is the compensation of the victims, survivors and relatives as well as the acknowledgement of their point of view in the matter. Especially those close to the victims were the first to suggest that the killings might be motivated by a racist agenda, for example on the silent march in Kassel and Dortmund under the slogan „No 10th victim“, where the exploration of the murder series was demanded. Instead, the investigation focused on the social environment of the victims. Every so often even their bereaved relatives were prime suspects to the police. There was little sympathy from the majority of the German society; as people with a migratory background they could not possibly be only victims; some criminal or dangerous connection was automatically assumed. This premise was visible throughout the entire investigation, whether the so-called „Česká-Murders“ as well as with the attacks on for example the Keupstraße in Cologne, although there was seemingly no connection between those. However, the connection was there: the murdered, injured and attacked were targeted solely because of their foreign background. Racial resentments within the police, racial stereotypes in media and public opinion led to false charges and imaginary stories of „mafia structures“ and criminal involvement of the victims.

We need to talk about racism. Racism is a problem of society. This is meant quite literally; our society has a racism problem, and a big one for that. Racism often is pinned only on stereotypical neo fascist. However, it can be found not only within the „New Right“, who rally behind the likes of AfD, PEGIDA and such. It can be found in government offices, police work, the distribution of public resources and participation rights. Racism can be found in lurid election campaigns as well as elegantly written editorials. Racism runs through our entire society, for it is built on hierarchy, exploitation and discrimination. This society build on the rule of power and the unfair distribution of wealth and influence cannot only exist by appealing to a so-called „common culture“, but must also devalue other cultures as inferior. To be assured of your own „identity“, negative attributes are projected on „the others“.

We demand the dissolution of the „Verfassungsschutz“, the German secret service for homeland affairs. They knew too much instead of not enough. This was already confirmed within the first weeks after the self-exposure of the NSU. However, while the image and legitimation of the „Verfassungsschutz“ took a blow at least temporarily and many voices demanded there dissolution, in the end he emerged even stronger and unscathed. Nowadays he has even more authority than before. For us, this is unacceptable. We demand our questions to be answered: questions regarding the repeating systematical disposal of relevant files, questions about the involvement of Verfassungsschutz operative Andreas Temme, who was present at the internet café of Halit Yozgat when he was killed and denied having observed anything; questions about covert informant Piatto, who as early as 1995 gave important information about Böhnhardt, Mundlos and Zschäpe, who had gone underground by then; questions regarding Ralf Marschner, who seems to have been in contact with the fugitives. The list goes on. In our fight against rightist structures we do not follow the repeating demands to infiltrate this fascist group or that right wing organization, this inevitably being accompanied by financing those as seen multiple times in the past, making them even more dangerous and effective. At least this lesson should be taken from the NSU trial.

We oppose racist propaganda and violence. The NSU has not been the first neo fascist terror organization and it does not seem like it will be the last. During the last couple of months, there have been multiple trials against groups like the „Oldschool Society“ and „Gruppe Freital“. Beside this, there are increasing reports about seized weapons from rightist structures and the emerging of new violent gangs. The number of arsons and hate crimes has been skyrocketing. Moreover, while the nice senior next door is stockpiling compliance weapons ordered from the internet, those in power are constantly cutting back on the right for asylum by implementing so called „integration laws“, building deportation camps and relocating refugees back into war zones.

After four years of trial, the result is upsetting. Rightist violence is played down, the Verfassungsschutz still presents itself as „protector“, racism within our society is far from being overcome and needs to be point out, as done by the UN and NGOs just recently. It seems that the public has learned nothing from the crimes committed by the NSU. Now is the time to change this! Initiatives like „Keupstraße is everywhere“ or the „NSU-Tribunal“ and the numerous local groups working to unravel the deeds of the NSU have demonstrated how it is done.

At the day of the verdict, we want to bring our protest to the streets with together with you! Because for us, the end of the trial does not conclude our discourse with the National Socialist Underground and the society which brought him into being.

- No Closure - complete investigation of the NSU complex
- Dissolve the homeland security – abolition of covert informants
- Oppose racist terrorism against refugees and migrants
- Fight Institutional racism

[nsuprozess.net](http://nsuprozess.net) / [facebook.de/nsuprozess](https://facebook.de/nsuprozess)

# Üstü örtülemeyecek!

Münih'de görülen NSU Davası'nda kararın bildirilmesi vesilesiyle yürüyüş ve miting çağrısı

6 Haziran 2013 günü Münih Üst Eyalet Mahkemesi'nde Beate Zschäpe, André Eminger, Holger Gerlach, Ralf Wohlleben ve Carsten Sch. adlı kişilere karşı başlatılan davanın 2018 yazında yaklaşık 400 duruşmanın ardından sonlandırılması bekleniyor. Davanın hangi kararla sonuçlanmasından bağımsız olarak, hali hazırda yanıtlanmamış bir çok soru bulunuyor. Bizler bu sebeple davanın karara bağlanılmasının ardından sokaklara çıkacağız ve NSU dosyasının kapatılmasına göz yummayacağız.

**B**iz seri cinayetlerin, saldırıların ve terörün sorumlularının kim olduğunu öğrenmek istiyoruz. Federal savcılığın Bönhardt, Mundlos und Zschäpe üçlüsüne ve onların yakın çevresine indirgenmesi „Nasyonal Sosyalist Yeraltı'nın“ bir ağ yapısına sahip olduğunu göz ardı etmeye hizmet ediyor. NSU sadece 3 kişiden oluşmuş bir izole hücre yapısı değildir ve Üst Eyalet Mahkemesi'nde yargılanan 5 kişiden daha fazlasıdır. Müdahil dava çalışması bu görüşü çürütmüştür. Blood and Honour gibi militan Nazi yapıları, yerel faşist ağlar veya Tino Brandt ve Ralf Wohlloben gibi köstebeklerin yer aldığı Thüringer Heimatschutz olmaksızın NSU'nun var olması pek mümkün değildi. Dava ekseninde bu konunun aydınlatılması federal savcılığın iddianamesinin tek taraflılığı ve müdahil davanın dosyalara erişiminin reddi yoluyla kararlı bir şekilde engellendi.

Bizim çabamız mağdurların, hayatta kalanların ve arda kalan yakınların mağduriyetinin tazmini ve tartışmada düşüncelerinin dikkate alınmasıdır. \*Keza cinayet kurbanlarının çevresi erkenden eylemlerin ırkçı gerekçelerle düzenlendiğini belirtmiş ve davada bunun göz önünde bulundurulmasını talep etmişti. Bu duruş Kassel ve Dortmund şehirlerinde „10. kurban olmayacak!“ şiarıyla düzenlenen sessiz yürüyüşlerde gösterildi. Lakin bunun yerine soruşturmalar bilhassa mağdurların ve kurbanların çevresine odaklandı. Öldürülenlerin arda kalan yakınları sıklıkla resmi mercilerin hedefindeydi.

Onlar Alman toplumundan gerekli katılımı göremediler. Bunun ardında yatan hakim önyargı ise göçmen kimliğine sahip olan insanların sadece kurban olmayacağını, onların muhakkak yasadışı ve tehlike arz eden unsurlara sahip olması gerektiğini belirtiyordu. Bu düşünce „Česká-cinayetleri“, Köln'deki Keup caddesinde gerçekleşen NSU saldırısı gibi soruşturmalarda esas konu haline geldi. Halbuki o sırada gerçekleşen eylemler arasında bir bağlantı görülüyordu. Lakin bu bağlantı mevcuttu: Öldürülenler, yaralananlar, saldırıya uğrayanlar göçmen biyografisine sahip oldukları için ırkçı terörün hedefi haline gelmişlerdi. Soruşturmaları muğlaklaştıran polis ve güvenlik makamlarının ırkçı önyargıları, medyanın ve kamuoyunun ırkçı klişeleri esas alarak mağdurların arkasındaki mafya ve yasadışı bağlantılarını konu alan hayali ve fantastik hikayeleri bu durumu yaratmıştır.

İrkçilik hakkında konuşmamız gerekiyor. İrkçilik toplumsal bir sorundur. Bu şu anlama gelmektedir: Bu toplumun şiddetli bir ırkçılık sorunu vardır. İrkçilik genelde yanlış bir şekilde sadece klasik Neonazilerle ilişkilendiriliyor. İrkçilik keza Almanya için Alternatif (AfD), Pegida ve paydaşlarının ardında konumlanan yeni sağcılardan hariç beliren bir sorundur. İrkçilik resmi makamlarda, polis faaliyetlerinde, toplumsal çalışmanın ve katılımın nasıl paylaştırıldığı konusunda kendisini dışa vurmaktadır. İrkçilik gerek bağıra çağıra yürütülen seçim çalışmalarında gerekse özenle düzenlenmiş başmakalelerde bulunmaktadır. İrkçilik toplumun bütün kesmine uzanmaktadır: Zira bu toplum hiyerarşi, sömürü, ötekileştirme üretip, yapısı gereği bunları meşrulaştırıyor. Hiyerarşinin belirlediği kaynaklar ve pozisyonlar adletsiz bir şekilde paylaştırıldığı ve elde edildiği toplumun sözde ortak „kültürde“ birbirine bağlanması mümkün değildir. Bilakis böylesine

bir toplum diğer „kültürlerin“ değersizleştirilmesine ihtiyaç duyar. Böylelikle „kendi“ kimliğini sağlamlaştırma yöntemi olarak, sahip olduğu negatif unsurların sorumlusu olarak „diğerlerini“ gösterir. Bizler Anayasayı Koruma Federal Dairesinin feshedilmesini talep ediyoruz. Bu kurum yeterince bilgi sahibiydi. Bu NSU'nun kendini deşifre etmesinden bir kaç hafta sonra açığa çıktı. Fakat iç işleri istihbarat teşkilatının itibarı ve meşruiyeti görece zedelenmesine ve hatta toplumun bir çok kesiminden onun feshedilmesi talebi yükselmesine rağmen, şu anda hadiselerden sıyrılmış ve hali hazırda daha sağlam bir konuma geçmiştir. Bu kurum sadece toplumsal itibarını geri kazanmakla kalmayıp, yetkilerini de arttırmıştır. Bizim için ise konu kapanmış değildir. Sorularımız halen cevap bekliyor: Mühim dosyaların planlı ve bir çok kez yok edilmesi hakkında sorular; Halil Yozgat öldürüldüğü anda onun internet kafesinde zaman geçiren ve sözde bu cinayete şahit olmayan Anayasayı Koruma Federal Dairesinin eski çalışanı Andreas Temme'nin rolü hakkında sorular; daha 1998 yılında yer altına çekilen Bönhardt, Mundlos ve Zschäpe hakkında mühim bilgiler aktaran köstebek Piatto hakkında sorular; Köstebek Ralf Marschner'in Primus isimli yer altına çekilenlerle bağlantıya geçtiği hakkında sorular. Bu listeyi genişletebiliriz. Bizler sağ yapıları karşı Anayasayı Koruma Federal Dairesi'nin sağcı grupları da gözetime alması yönündeki çağrılara katılmıyoruz. Naziler paralar, yapısal faaliyetler ve istihbaratın lojistik desteği olmadan da yeteri kadar tehlikelidirler. NSU'dan en azından bu dersin çıkarılması gerekmektedir.

Bizler kendimizi ırkçı propagandaya ve şiddete karşı savunuyoruz. NSU ilk Neonazi terör örgütü değildi ve görüldüğü üzere son da olmayacaktır. Son aylarda „Oldschool Society“ veya „Gruppe Freital“ gibi yapılara karşı davalar yürütüldü ve yürütülüyor. Bununla beraber sağcı yapıların elinde bulundurduğu silahlara ve sürekli yeni şiddete yatkın sağcı örgütlerin çıktığına dair haberler geliyor. Kundaklama ve ırkçı saldırıların sayısı son yıllarda fahiş bir biçimde arttı. Bir yandan sağcılar internetten „göçmen korkutucu“ adıyla silah temin ederken, karar makamlarında bulunanlar ise göçmen haklarını yeni entegrasyon yasalarıyla azaltıp, göçmen kurumlarına göz dağı verip, toplu sınır dışılarını yürürlüğe sokuyorlar.

Dört yıldan sonra hayal kırıklığı yaratan bir sonuç ortadadır. Halen sağcı şiddet tehlikesiz gibi gösterilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Halen Anayasayı Koruma Federal Dairesi kendisini koruyucu olarak tanıtabiliyor. Halen bu toplum ırkçılığı aşabilmiş değil. Kısa bir süre önce Birleşmiş Milletler ve sivil toplum örgütlerinin yaptığı gibi ve mağdurların öz örgütlerinin uzunca bir süredir faaliyetlerinde belirttiği üzere halen Almanya'daki kurumsal ırkçılığa dikkat çekmek gerekmektedir. Toplumun geniş kesminde NSU bazında halen gerekli dersler çıkarılmış değil. Bu durumun değişmesinin zamanı çoktan geldi. „Her yer Keup caddesi“ ve „NSU mahkemesi“ gibi inisiyatifler ve yerel çapta NSU ile hesaplaşmak üzere bir araya gelen birlikler bunun nasıl yapılacağını gösterdiler.

- Kararın bildirileceği gün sizlerle beraber sokağa çıkmak istiyoruz.
- Çünkü bizler için davanın sona ermesi, NSU ve onu çıkartan toplum ile hesaplaşmanın sona erdiği anlamına gelmiyor.
- Üstü örtülemeyecek! – NSU karmaşası aydınlatılsın ve feshedilsin!
- Anayasayı Koruma Federal Dairesi feshedilsin – Köstebekler ortadan kaldırılsın!
- Mültecilerin ve göçmenlerin maruz kaldığı güncel ırkçı teröre karşı durulmalı!
- Kurumlarda ve toplumda ırkçılık ile mücadele!

nsuprozess.net / facebook.de/nsuprozess



# Η NSU δεν θα μπει στο αρχείο!

Συγκέντρωση και πορεία την ημέρα έκδοσης της απόφασης της δίκης της NSU στο Μόναχο.

*Πριν από τέσσερα χρόνια, στις 6 Μαΐου 2013, ξεκίνησε στο Ανώτατο Περιφερειακό Δικαστήριο του Μονάχου η δίκη των Beate Zschäpe, André Eminger, Holger Gerlach, Ralf Wohlleben και Carsten Sch., κατηγορούμενων ως μέλη της νεοναζιστικής τρομοκρατικής οργάνωσης NSU (Εθνικο-Σοσιαλιστικό Υπόγειο Δίκτυο – Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund). Η δίκη αναμένεται να τελειώσει το καλοκαίρι του 2018, έπειτα από περίπου 400 συνεδριάσεις. Για εμάς, ανεξάρτητα από την απόφαση που θα εκδώσει το δικαστήριο, η διαδικασία δημιούργησε περισσότερα ερωτήματα παρά έδωσε απαντήσεις. Γι' αυτό το τέλος της δικαστικής διαδικασίας θα μας βρει στο δρόμο. Εμείς δεν πρόκειται να βάλουμε στο αρχείο την υπόθεση της NSU.*

**Α**παιτούμε να μάθουμε ποιοι είναι υπεύθυνοι για τις δολοφονίες, τις επιθέσεις και τον τρόπο. Η Ομοσπονδιακή Εισαγγελία, αρνούμενη το γεγονός ότι η οργάνωση NSU ήταν ένα πολύ ευρύτερο δίκτυο, περιόρισε τη δίωξη στο “τρίο” των Böhnhardt, Mundlos und Zschäpe και το άμεσο περιβάλλον τους. Ωστόσο, η NSU δεν ήταν ούτε ένας αυτόνομος πυρήνας τριών ατόμων, ούτε μόνον οι πέντε που παραπέμφθηκαν σε δίκη. Η δικαστική διερεύνηση αποσιώπησε την έκταση του δικτύου της NSU και το κατηγορητήριο δεν συμπεριέλαβε άλλους υπόπτους. Κι όμως, η NSU δεν θα μπορούσε να υπάρξει χωρίς την υποδομή και τη στήριξη ναζιστικών ομάδων όπως οι Blood and Honour (Αίμα και Τιμή), οι τοπικές “αδελφότητες” (Kameradschaften) ή η οργάνωση “Υπεράσπιση της Πατρίδας” (Heimatschutz) στη Θουριγγία, στην οποία σημαντικό ρόλο είχε ο πληροφοριοδότης Tino Brand και ο Ralf Wohlleben. Είναι λοιπόν ξεκάθαρο ότι κατά τη διάρκεια τη δίκης η αποκάλυψη της αλήθειας υπονομεύτηκε, τόσο λόγω του περιορισμού του κατηγορητηρίου, όσο και εξαιτίας του αποκλεισμού των δικηγόρων των θυμάτων από το σύνολο των εγγράφων της υπόθεσης.

Απαιτούμε να αποζημιωθούν οι παθόντες-ούσες, οι επιζήσαντες-ασες και οι οικείοι τους και να αναγνωριστεί δημόσια η συνεισφορά τους στην αποκάλυψη της αλήθειας. Πρώτοι από όλους οι οικείοι των θυμάτων είχαν επισημάνει το ρατσιστικό κίνητρο των δολοφονιών κατά την αστυνομική έρευνα. Το ίδιο συνέβη στις σιωπηρές

διαδηλώσεις με το σύνθημα “όχι 10ος νεκρός” στο Κάσελ και το Ντόρτμουντ, όπου οι δολοφονίες είχαν καταγγεληθεί ως ρατσιστικά εγκλήματα. Αντ’ αυτού, οι έρευνες επικεντρώθηκαν στο περιβάλλον των θυμάτων. Πρόσωπα από τον οικογενειακό κύκλο των δολοφονημένων μπήκαν επανειλημμένα στο στόχαστρο των αρχών. Και η γερμανική “κοινή γνώμη” τους έδειξε ξεκάθαρα για ακόμη μια φορά ότι ήταν άσκοπο να περιμένουν τη συμπαράστασή της. Ως άνθρωποι με μεταναστευτική καταγωγή “δεν μπορούσαν να είναι απλώς θύματα”. “Κάτι άλλο θα έπρεπε να κρύβεται πίσω από τις επιθέσεις”, κάτι πιθανόν εγκληματικό και επικίνδυνο. Ωστόσο ήταν ακριβώς η μεταναστευτική καταγωγή των θυμάτων που ως κόκκινη κλωστή συνέδεε τις έρευνες σε κάθε τους στάδιο: από τη διερεύνηση της προέλευσης του όπλου που χρησιμοποιήθηκε, μέχρι και τη βομβιστική επίθεση στην Keupstraße της Κολωνίας. Η μεταναστευτική προσωπική ιστορία των δολοφονημένων, των τραυματιών και όσων υπέστησαν επίθεση, ήταν ο λόγος που μπήκαν στο στόχαστρο της ρατσιστικής τρομοκρατίας. Ο ρατσισμός και η επιρροή του εσωτερικού της αστυνομίας και των κρατικών υπηρεσιών ήταν επίσης υπεύθυνος για το ότι οι έρευνες στράφηκαν σε λάθος κατεύθυνση. Ο ρατσισμός και η αναπαραγωγή ρατσιστικών στερεοτύπων από τον τύπο ήταν επίσης ο λόγος που η δημοσιογραφική διερεύνηση της υπόθεσης κατέληξε σε κατασκευασμένα ρεπορτάζ που ενέπλεκαν τα θύματα σε δήθεν μαφιόζικα και εγκληματικά δίκτυα.

Πρέπει να μιλήσουμε για τον ρατσισμό. Ο ρατσισμός είναι κοινωνικό πρόβλημα και αυτό πρέπει να το συνειδητοποιήσουμε στην κυριολεξία του: Η κοινωνία αυτή έχει πρόβλημα ρατσισμού και μάλιστα σοβαρό. Και ο ρατσισμός δεν περιορίζεται μόνο στο πρόσωπο των νεο-ναζί που βαδίζουν πίσω από τις σημαίες της Εναλλακτικής για τη Γερμανία (AfD), της PEGIDA (Πατριώτες Ευρωπαίοι Ενάντια στην Ισλαμοποίηση της Δύσης) και σία. Ο ρατσισμός είναι παρόν στις κρατικές υπηρεσίες και τη διοίκηση, στην αστυνομία, στον άριστο τρόπο που διανέμονται οι κοινωνικοί πόροι και στον τρόπο που αποτρέπεται η κοινωνική συμμετοχή των μεταναστών-ριών. Ο ρατσισμός υπάρχει τόσο αποκάλυπτος στις κραυγές (ακρο)δεξιών υποψηφίων, όσο και καλυμμένος

## Recommended reading

For further information on the NSU complex we highly recommend the following reading:

Antonia von der Behrens (lawyer of family of victim Mehmet Kubaşık) made a very good introduction into "The case of NSU":

<https://www.nsu-watch.info/2017/03/the-nsu-case-in-germany/>

A part of the lawyers made daily reports from the trial in english:

<https://www.nsu-nebenklage.de/en/>

On the work of Forensic Architecture:

[https://news.artnet.com/exhibitions/documenta-14-kassel-forensic-nsu-trial-984701#.WTI\\_XW-gAa0l.twitter](https://news.artnet.com/exhibitions/documenta-14-kassel-forensic-nsu-trial-984701#.WTI_XW-gAa0l.twitter)