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The Nazi Regime's Resonating Effects on Racialisation in Germany

Introduction

Germany and its processes of racialisation have been the subject of much academic study over the past century. It is a country with a substantial history of racialisation and discrimination within its own borders and outside those borders in the country's time of colonisation. One of the most defining moments in Europe and the World's modern history was when the country of Germany decided to take up arms and go to war in 1939 under the leadership of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party. It is hard to understate the social and political effects this Nazi political regime had on the German people and many other nations across the globe. For this specific critical analysis, I will be exploring how the effects of the Nazi regime can be seen to resonate through forms of racialisation within Germany, its politics, its people and its social institutions.

When looking into racism within Germany it is important to remember it's colonial past. Goldberg's writing on the racial theory of Europeanisation is very helpful in doing this, he states that the modern racism of the last five centuries stemmed from:

Self-proclaimed European superiority in pursuit of new sources of wealth, a servile labour supply, expansive empires and expanding spheres of global dominance… With these processes emerged the possibilities of new lives for European settlers and new forms of desire, but also dominance, degradation, even death for those thus made servile (2006:331).

This was true for many European nations as well as Germany. The country's colonial tendencies and their 'Self Proclaimed Superiority' were a large part of the Nazi Regime's policies. One of the Nazi regimes best known policies was the belief in the master 'Aryan' race being at the top of the racial hierarchy, that these people coming from Germany and other parts of north Europe, with certain skin tone and physical attributes were the desired and best forms of human beings (Encyclopaedia Britannica). This Nazi idea of the German Race's superiority, which Goldberg suggest stems from Western Europe's history of colonialism and conquest, was and is most definitely a cause for differentiation and racialisation for certain groups in the country.

The United Nations Human Rights Office (UN) produces reports on racialisation in different nations after conducting a country visit. In the case of the UN's report on Germany it claims that racism is still a social problem within Germany, and still needs to be dealt with. It also gives statistics regarding the demographics of those people living in Germany, with 8.8% (7.2 million) of the overall population (82.2 million) being originally born outside of the country (2009). More statistics from the UN lists Germany as the second highest country for number of immigrants only behind the United States (International Migrant Stock, 2015). With such a high proportion of foreign born people living in Germany it is likely that some of them are subject to racism and discrimination.

After looking into international organisations that deal with human rights, it is also important to acknowledge the internal organisation that Germany have. The German Institute for Human Rights (Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte) was founded in 2001 at the recommendation of the German parliament, however it is important to acknowledge it is a non-governmental institution. It claims to work on the preservation of Human Rights of all people in Germany and also coordinates the education of Human Rights for future generations (Goethe institute, 2016). This institute works in tandem with the UN's reports on racialisation and attempts to identify and eliminate the social problems connected with racism.

How Has Nazi Scientific Racism and the Master Race Ideology affected Modern Future Racialisation in Germany

The first section of this analysis will look into the subject of scientific racism, how the Nazis adapted this idea, how differently they treated those outside the 'master race', and how these ideas may echo in the racism and discrimination that are seen in Germany today.

The idea of looking into natural and scientific differences between humans of different ethnicities or backgrounds is an idea that has been around for centuries. A historic example of this would be Morton's study the *Crania Americana* (1839) in which he studied the skulls of the deceased from many different parts of the world. From these studies Morton claimed a racial hierarchy in which Caucasians were at the top for intellectual ability, Native Americans were in the middle, and those of African descent were at the bottom of the hierarchy. This study has been highly criticised in recent times, as Morton's main argument was his measurements of craniums, the bigger the skull the more intelligent a person was to him. Many academics would agree that that is not enough scientific evidence to make such a claim (Menand, 2001).

However Morton was listened to and respected at the time, these creations of race differentiation were highly problematic, however these kinds of studies went on to inspire much more research and work into scientific racism and differentiation. This is something that would occur under the Nazi regime, especially when spreading the idea of the 'master race' mentioned earlier, which the party believed was scientifically the superior race.

Germany's own scientific studies on race had been prolific in the First World War with studies carried out on prisoners of war being heavily backed up by the military and the state with funding (Evans, 2010). These desires of German academics to find racial difference would only be exemplified and further facilitated by the Nazis in World War II.

However it can also be argued that scientific racism at the time was an international trend in which many countries around the world, being spear-headed by the USA's research, were looking into scientific difference between races. The Aryan Racial Supremacy theory the Nazis are famed for can be seen to have originated from Hitler reading a piece called *Human Heredity* (1921) by German eugenicist Fisher, Barr and Lenz. These Eugenicist in their work stated the Aryan's as a superior race and the 'cross-breeding' of Aryans with non-Aryans as a problem to 'racial hygiene', which strived for a pure master race which was not tainted by any outsiders (Law, 2010). Hitler would use these theories of a master Aryan race in his own book *Mein Kampf* and adopt racial hygiene as a policy of the Nazi party to racially cleanse Germany of anyone who was considered not productive for the future of Germany and not close enough to the Aryan race. However these ideas of the master race had existed before the Nazi regime, it could be speculated that many Germans presumed their superiority of race. These ideas were only escalated and put into action by the Nazi regime through the racial cleansing of the holocaust. Therefore the question that can be asked is, have these actions by the Nazi regime on racial hygiene caused the idea of German racial superiority to live on after World War II and exist in today's German society?

The experiments Nazi doctors and academics carried out were prominently on Jewish people but also other significant populations included Soviet prisoners of war and Polish people. The two main aims of these experiments on the non-voluntary victims was to advance the German military force and also to prove the Nazi's racial ideology (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2016). It is also important to remember these experiments were carried out in the holocaust and experiments commonly happened on the grounds of concentration camps. When looking at the holocaust it is important to observe the massive breach of human rights, and how the victims of the holocaust and the scientific experiments were de humanised by the Nazis (Annas and Grodin, 1992). These acts of de humanisation to Jews and other people who were not seen to fit Aryan ideals were put into action very quickly in the early 1940's, however trying to forget and move on from what happened is a much longer process. It can be argued that the holocaust and Nazi experimentation is still a cause for racial tension in society today between certain groups within Germany.

Zygmunt Bauman puts forward an interesting theory on the misconceptions of the holocaust. He argues that "the holocaust was more than a deviation from otherwise straight path of progress, more than a cancerous growth on the otherwise healthy body of society" (1988: 475). Bauman's somewhat pessimistic view on society points out that the holocaust was more natural than people would think. Over History society has seen many horrific atrocities carried out, and human nature is naturally cruel from time to time, therefore the holocaust is not a standalone event. Views which condone ideas like

scientific racism can be seen as natural, and will carry on through German society and the rest of world.

Neo Nazism and the Rise of Far Right Political Groups
Neo Nazism and far right wing political groups are still very much a social problem within Germany and one that causes much racial tension. The UN report on racialisation in Germany mentioned earlier estimates that there are around 30,000 right wing extremist within Germany, which may have grown since the report seven years ago. Of those 30,000, around 4,800 are believed to be part of Neo Nazi groups, meaning they chose to follow the same ideas of the Nazi regime, including the belief of the master race and the dehumanisation of those who do not fit that category. 9,500 of these right wing extremist are also believed to be ready to engage in racial violence at any moment, which could be towards any form of minority in Germany (2009). This is quite evidently a problem in Germany if many of its citizens are prepared to violently attack others because of their perceived race.
When examining the existence of far right political groups in Germany, many academic studies lean towards the reunification of Germany and the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 to be a cause for neo Nazi resurgence. For the youth growing up in communist East Germany, the ritualised antifascism rhetoric they were given by the government did not have its intended effect. Due to the East of Germany having lower living standards to the West through most of the cold War period, this made reactionary ideas to communism seem attractive (Lee, 2011). For the many who grew up in the East after the war, they assumed Nazi crimes were being fabricated or over stated by communist propaganda. Therefore when re unification occurred, there were older, experienced West Germans who had been alive through the Nazi regime and been supporters of Nazi ideas and were there to guide the disaffected youth of the East who would provide the muscle for street attacks (Lee, 2011). Watts gives evidence of this explanation, the recorded violent incidents between 1989 and 1990 was 200. This figure quadrupled by 1992, given a couple of years for the reunification to settle and neo Nazi groups to form a proper basis. Watts believes, even with stepped up enforcement this figure kept between 600 and 800 up until 2001. The perpetrators of these crimes were said to be young males looking for excitement, with 67% being between 16 and 20 years old (2001). It is very possible that these acts and these perpetrators were linked to neo Nazism and its resurgence after the reunification of Germany.
In Watts piece *Political Xenophobia in the Transition from Socialism: Threat, Racism and Ideology amongst East German Youth* (1996) she attempts to look deeper into why there was a rise of neo Nazism after reunification. One thing Watts draws close attention to is the economy at the time. Due to the substantial difference between the East and West economies, with the East being less prosperous and productive, the reunified economy was seen to be overstretched. Therefore soon after reunification Germany appeared to be in an economic downturn. In these times of decline and uncertainty it is common for those of a nation to see outsiders as a threat. Immigrants can be seen to be taking jobs away from citizens and also minorities can be blamed for their financial and political manipulations (i.e. the view that Jewish people are the wealthiest in society). These ideas can be definitely attributed to those of far right political groups in Germany. Watts looks into how the strain unification economy led to a stage of 'targeting' minority groups in Germany. She states there are two mechanism, targeting Ideology which provides a structure where the 'enemies' can be easily identified, the media would help setting up such an ideology. The second mechanism of targeting is Threat, which is more volatile and includes action and violence against those being targeted, and shows that something is being done to counter the threat (1996). The Neo Nazis after the reunification of the economy can be seen to of used this targeting techniques against minorities, primarily Jews, using ideology as well as threat to cause racial violence and tension.
It is important to acknowledge that Germany has attempted to tackle the social problem of the neo Nazis and their racial discrimination. The UN's report on Germany's racialisation claims the government has strict laws forbidding any form of political party that promotes or incites racial discrimination, and over the last 20 years over 30 organisations have been banned (2009). However the report highlights problems with this legislation. Banning a political party is a hard process, the government needs sufficient evidence that would stand up in court to ban a party or organisation. These neo Nazi parties also find legal loop holes in which they can carry on existing under a new name and leader. The National Democratic Party of Germany are a prime example of such a group. In terms of crimes on the street, a violent crime can only be used as evidenced or classed as a 'hate'

crime if the individual perpetrator is associated with a political group (2009). It is therefore quite obvious that current legislation to stop far right political groups racially discriminating faces many obstacles. Therefore it could be time for a different approach by the German government. One theory is that supressing and attempted silencing of far right groups is not working sufficiently as they continuously re appear and cause racial tension, trying to push them underground is only gaining them more sympathisers. Instead of supressing these groups would it be better for the German Government to tackle them head on (Weiss, 1994)? Should offensive views be defeated with logic and reason instead of silenced? This may cause these far right groups to lose credibility and support. Yet a counter argument may be that people with such offensive views and ideas of superiority would be resilient to arguments of logic, reason and equality.

Overall the existence of far right political groups, many of whom claim to be Neo Nazis, is a prime example of how Nazism's resonating effects on the German people is still causing wide racism in the country. The Nazi regime promotion of the ideas of a master race and condoning racially violent attacks on minorities of Germany are key views that are still spread in these groups today. There are some, like Watts, who attempt to explain what social condition have caused a resurgence of Nazi ideology since the early 1990's, however the more important question to be answered is how to tackle and stop the racial problems caused by these groups. Something the German government is continuously trying to achieve, but unfortunately has not yet succeeded.

How Anti-Semitism is still a major Issue in Germany

Anti-Semitism in the German context had existed far before the Nazis came into power. Anti-Semitism in German politics was growing throughout the 1800's with many different politicians inciting differentiation in speeches and policies between the Jewish people of Germany and other German citizens. Frantz highlighted the religious differences of the Jewish people, Meyer the economic differences, and de Legarde the cultural (Pulzner, 1988). These influential men and politicians at the time may have been targeting the Jewish people, as this was a time were many different types of minorities received different treatment and discrimination for a number of reasons. However, where vast improvements have been made for many of those minorities who received differential treatment, Bauman states that the same may not be said for the Jews as "Anti-Semitism stands alone for its unprecedented resilience" (1988:469). This statement of course could be argued against, however the resilience of anti-Semitism is quite apparent from the 1800's to the present day. These anti-Semitic themes of German politics pre-Hitler would be most definitely overshadowed with the actions of the Nazi party, though they did provide a good foundation for them. The state of anti-Semitism in Germany changed drastically once the Nazis were in power and even more so when the Second World War began. Centuries of discrimination of Jewish people escalated to a full scale attempt of mass murder of all European Jews in the holocaust. "A blend of hatred, self-righteous indignation and paranoia was at the core of the Nazi justification of genocide" (Herf, 2006:1). The Nazi regime stated that the war they launched in 1939 was against 'international Jewry'. Anti – Semitism was a crucial part of the war effort and obviously one that was well supported across the country if people were willing to fight and die for the German cause at the time (Herf, 2006). The lengths that Nazi Germany went to, to try and eradicate the Jewish race is the prime, historically modern example of the lethal potential of race. The fact that assigning people to certain race categories already causes differentiation, however when ideas of inferiority and hatred spread and about certain groups, it can lead to something as damaging and horrific as the holocaust.

Goldberg's theory is that, post holocaust, Europe has entered a phase of denial about race. Due to its lethal potential being displayed, Europeans now try to deny all existence of race, though racial tension are still rife, therefore Goldberg describes race as being "Buried but alive" (2006: 332) in Europe. Because the holocaust was such a defining moment in Europe's history and race was the reasoning behind the atrocities, it has become taboo to talk about race or the holocaust in Europe. Also because the Holocaust was such a local even within Europe, unlike European's colonial past in Africa and Asia, it is harder for Europeans to forget an event were the effects can still be seen every day (Goldberg, 2006). However is this the right way to go about moving on from the holocaust? To slip into a denial that diplomatically, race does not exist anymore, though racial tensions and racial hatred still very much exists on the streets of Europe, it therefore links back to the questions asked in section 2, whether issues of race should be supressed or met head on and openly.

Many academic texts would totally deny that anti-Semitism is no longer a social problem in Germany or any other place in the world. Structural power relations between Jewish people and other German citizens can be seen to still exist (Law, 2010). A prime example of one of these power relations would be the view that the Jewish population own a disproportionate amount of wealth than they should for a small section of the population. This a wide theme of anti-Semitism not just a view held in Germany, however it does play on past German ideas from Meyer and the economic differentiation and Nazi propaganda which painted Jews as greedy. Especially in current times of economic downturn these ideas would be damaging to relations between Jews and non-Jews. A second example of a perceived Jewish power relation is that Jewish people control a large proportion of media output, therefore they are seen to control what people are able to see and what they consume. These are damaging stereotypes as they creates ideas not dis-similar to Marxism of a ruling class minority having control over a working class majority.

The conflicts between Israel and Palestine in the last century have managed to cause a resurgence in anti-Semitism, with the Israeli state being seen as an 'Embodiment of Evil' (Law,2010: 145) by the majority of the Western world, because of its militant acts against the Palestinian Muslims. This demonization of the Jewish faith has been normalised, so much so that it can be seen as respectable to be anti-Semitic as a result of this conflict (Hirsh, 2007). Those who lean both right and left on the political spectrum have mainly become sympathisers to the Palestinians in this conflict and therefore promoting ideas that see the Jewish people of the Israel state as Evil, which in turn will have negative repercussions globally. Therefore anti-Semitism is no longer something reserved for small groups of neo Nazis in the modern era, it has expanded to many different social groups. Phyllis Chesler explains how:

A dangerous, worldwide coalition of Islamic terrorists, well-intentioned but profoundly misinformed students, right wing fascists, left-wing ideologues, pious academics, feminists, opportunistic European politicians, and sensation-seeking international media have joined together to once again blame the Jews and the Jewish state for the current world crisis (Chesler, 2003).

To specify to Germany's case of anti-Semitism, these modern views of anti-Semitism, mainly cause by the Israeli Palestinian conflicts would combine and somewhat interlink with the more traditional views of anti-Semitism incited by the Nazi regime and reiterated through neo Nazi/far right political groups. Therefore creating a more specific and possibly more damaging situation of racialisation for Jews in Germany.

However Katrin Seig looks deeper into the possibility of the "left wing ideologues" creating their own anti-Semitism. She states that New Leftist movements of West Germany were created through the teenagers of the 1960's and 1970's. Unlike their parents' generation who had the guilt of the Second World War, these groups were guilt free in expressing their anti-capitalist and therefore anti-Semitic (due to the wealth stereotype mentioned earlier) ideas (2002). Therefore the argument could be made that Nazi ideas spread in World War II are not the sole contributor to racialisation and anti-Semitism today. Left-wing movements of the 1960's and 1970's were also influential in Germany for the setting up differentiation between Jewish people and the rest of Germany.

How Nazi ideas may have contributed to Anti-Turkish sentiments in Germany
Migrant workers have been a common part of Germany and indeed the Western countries in general for centuries. Due to a prosperous economy, and higher living conditions, societies like Germany's are likely to attract workers from outside their own borders. People who migrate to other countries with others of the same ethnicity managed to form strong ethnic communities and become a significant minority in their new country with further generations being born into said new country. This is the case of the Turkish community living in Germany, the same can be said for the Pakistani community in Britain (Castles, 2000). However the presence of these migrant worker minorities does not go unnoticed, and these communities are commonly met with racial discrimination and violence. Ruth Mandel explores the obstacles faced by Turks in Germany in her book *Cosmopolitan anxieties: Turkish challenges to citizenship and belonging in Germany.* She believes that Turks are more than likely to find themselves at the bottom of most social hierarchies within Germany and the majority of Turks find themselves in lower paid jobs. Mandel uses a quote from the novelist Frisch: We called for labour, but people came instead" illustrating the attitude of the German people, happy to intake the workers when cheap labour was needed after reunification, however unhappy that the Turkish people

settled families in their country and gave birth to further Turkish/German generations. The popular political rhetoric of 'uberfremdung', meaning over-foreignization, came into the mainstream when talking about the Turkish community. With the German media spreading the idea that 'the German Boat is full' and German jobs need to go to German people, not foreigners (Mandel, 2008). Could this political rhetoric link to ideologies spread by the Neo Nazis about German Superiority that foreigners like the Turks are somehow less deserving than the Germans and mixing of the races is not needed, but actually damaging. It would not be the first time in German history that ideas of German superiority cause racial tension. However a counter argument to this point could be that this rhetoric of fearing migrant worker communities is one that is common across many countries, not just Germany because of its Nazi historical past. Therefore there could be many other contributing factors to this rhetoric Germany has, ones which are shared with other nations.

The Turkish community are obviously subject to discrimination on many occasions, however it is important to understand how there are many different types of discrimination that minorities face. The FRA and other academic organisations have recognised the two very different categories of direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination is "taken to occur where one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation on grounds of racial or ethnic origin" (FRA, 2010:22). This could be illustrated with a German example with reports of rising numbers of racially violent attacks on Turkish people by Neo- Nazi groups who see the Turks as parasite on the German welfare state (Mandel, 2008). This therefore is a prime example of how echoing Nazi ideas are still contributing to direct discrimination. Indirect discrimination however is more structural than direct. "Indirect discrimination shall be taken to occur where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons" (FRA, 2010:29). An example of this could come from the UN's report on racialisation in Germany, as it states overall landlords are much less likely to rent to those with migrant backgrounds, many of whom will be Turkish (2009). This discriminatory attitude of housing means migrant workers are more likely to live in poorer and overcrowded housing, also migrant working minorities like the Turkish are also found to pay substantially higher rent in comparison to others (Law, 2010). This indirect discrimination is also harmful for Turks living in Germany, with a discriminatory housing market it will harm the Turkish people's chances of social mobility when combined with their lower paid incomes. Therefore indirect discrimination can be seen as more structural and maybe even more harmful for minorities in the long run, as these kinds of discrimination would be harmful for social integration. Both Direct and Indirect discrimination can be linked to ideologies of the Nazi party that those who are non-German (specifically to this case Turkish) are lacking in value to the progression of Germany and therefore should be punished for it, both violently and economically.

However one could counter argue that ideas of discrimination within race are only constructed against the idea of 'white norms' of what is acceptable and unacceptable of white people in a predominantly white society, therefore no other ethnicities are taken into consideration when building the concept of discrimination in society (Lopez, 2006).

There are multiple different suggestions for how to tackle discrimination against the Turkish and other minorities in Germany. The UN report suggest adequate representation of those with migrant backgrounds in state institutions such as the government or the education system (2009). This has positive points to display the certain minority's ability to work in partnership with German institutions and represent their worth. However this could be problematic as it could be seen as special treatment to those with migrant backgrounds, and therefore threaten the meritocratic nature of German state institutes. Therefore this shows when dealing with how to tackle racial discrimination against minorities there are most likely positives and negatives to every possible solution.

Conclusion
Overall this piece has attempted to explain how aspects of the Nazi regime in Germany may have had resonating effects on future German racialisation. This was explored through 4 main points, firstly how Nazi Germany's use of scientific racism and human experimentation was implanted causing de humanisation of many minorities and backing up the idea of the master Aryan race. Secondly looking into how the Nazi regime has inspired neo Nazi and far right political groups to carry on forming through the 20th and 21st century, and the difficulties the German Governments face in trying to tackle

these groups. Thirdly this piece looked into the themes of anti-Semitism in Germany, something massively supported by the Nazi regime, and how echoing Nazi ideas combined with new waves of anti-Semitism can be very damaging for the Jewish people of Germany. Finally, the more contemporary theme of anti-Turkism in Germany and how migrant workers may undergo many different types of discrimination in a new country. This also displayed the possibility of how ideas from Nazism has evolved to created discrimination and racism against the Turks.

However it is important to remember that Germany has come a long way since the rise and fall of the Nazi regime. The majority of the population are not under the impression that the master race exists, affiliated with neo Nazi far right political groups, anti-Semitic or anti-Turk. Germany have done much to help those outside their own borders on many occasions, a very current example would be how Germany have been spear-heading the 'refugees welcome' campaign for the refugee crisis in Syria, founding the campaign in 2014 (Refugees welcome, 2016).

There is usefulness to critical analysis of racialisation in countries all over the world, however as Lentin rightly points out, there is not enough academic study on anti-racism, the fight against racism and for equality (Lentin, 2004). It is one thing to acknowledge racism existence and the wrong doings associated with it, however the solutions and fights against racial inequality are understudied. This piece has tried to where possible look into proposed solutions to tackle racism, with the suggestion of changing the silencing policy on the far right groups, to the UN's suggestion of adequate representation of minorities within social institutions. Though there have been rightly pointed out possible flaws to these solutions, it is important to create academic work that tries to challenge racism with propositions and policies for society's future.

Overall this piece has displayed the resonating effects of a countries history in its future racialisation, which is something that can be applied outside of Germany, and how the histories of these states have altered their people's social views and tendencies, sometimes with positive and sometimes negative repercussions. This piece also displays how the approaches and solutions made to tackle racism are not simple, with many possible consequences and outcomes, therefore they are something that are needed to be treated with the caution.

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