Book Two





n good days, Mouhamed sings and dances, is talkative and helpful. The 16-year-old has only been in Germany for a few weeks. His long journey

took him from Senegal via Mauritania, Morocco, Spain and France to Worms. That's what he tells social workers after his arrival there. He is moving on to Dortmund, where he wants to become a professional soccer player with BVB, that is his dream. On Whatsapp, he already calls himself Sadio Mané, like the Senegalese star of FC Bayern Munich. He has talent. Some boys from the St. Antonius youth facility in Dortmund's Nordstadt district, where he is staying, have already taken him to training.

On bad days, however, Mouhamed can't stand any noise, withdraws, and seems absent and very sad to his caregivers. He tells them that he suffers from nightmares and homesickness. When he arrived in Worms at the end of April this year (2022), they heard him out, the usual procedure when a young person travels alone to the country and wants to stay here. A transcript shows that he asked to speak to someone about his experiences during the flight. He no longer sees well and his knee hurts. He had a large scar on the back of his neck, which he said was from abuse in Morocco. And he told that he was an orphan and that his little brother had drowned during the crossing. Why Mouhamed Dramé claimed his family

was dead, his brother Sidi cannot explain. Mouhamed has six siblings. The last family photo, taken in 2020, according to Sidi Dramé just before he left, shows him with his extended family. "He was a good boy, a support for his family," Sidi Dramé says via cell phone in the southern Senegal village of Ndiaffate Socé. His family sent Mouhamed to Europe to earn money. He dreamed of helping his family escape poverty, he says. "He wasn't afraid," Sidi Dramé says. "Young Africans take a lot of risks."

But the bad days - Aug. 8, 2022, is one of those. Mouhamed Dramé has only been in Dortmund for a week then. When the police officers arrive in the garden of the youth facility, he is crouching against the wall between the church and the fence, according to several witnesses. He has tied his red T-shirt around his head like a turban, his upper body is naked. In his hand he holds a kitchen knife, it has a 16 centimeter long blade.

He has pointed the tip at his belly. He does not move.

Only a day earlier, he had been diagnosed in a psychiatric clinic as suffering from a "severe depressive episode" and a "post-traumatic stress disorder." He was released again because "suicidal intentions" had safely subsided.

subsided.

At the end of this day,
Mouhamed Dramé will
no longer be alive. And
he will find his way into
a statistic that doesn't
actually exist - because
no one systematically
collects how many people
in exceptional mental
situations or with mental
illnesses are shot by
police on duty in
Germany every year.

The Süddeutsche Zeitung has compiled such statistics on the basis of press reports, police reports, a documentation of the association "Institute for Civil Rights and Public Safety" and figures of the police psychologist Clemens Lorei of the Hessian University of Public Management and Security. According to the figures, at least 133 people have been shot by police officers in Germany since 2010.

of those, at least 63 may have been mentally ill or suicidal, or in an exceptional mental situation. In addition, at least seven people were drunk or under the influence of other drugs.

Thus, about half of those killed may have had impaired judgment during encounters with police officers. Such people react differently to police officers than healthy people, often unable to follow instructions, psychologists warn.

Shots from

the automatic

pistol hit him

in the jaw,

stomach, right

arm and

shoulder. He

goes down.

Police officers, accordingly, should perform differently than in ordinary operations, where they are good at resolving situations quickly. "It's about buying time," says psychiatrist Matthias Albers, who is also spokesman for the Network of Social Psychiatric Services. "States of maximum agitation don't usually last for several hours." Therefore, police officers should "send a signal of relaxation." What used to be the question "Do you want a cigarette?" might now be a drink, a blanket or a jacket. "Something the person isn't expecting, to reduce the emotional pressure."In the case of Mouhamed Dramé, this

apparently did not succeed.

With the help of interviews with residents, witnesses and confidential documents, the SZ has reconstructed the events. The Dortmund public prosecutor's office is still investigating five of the twelve police officers involved; charges could be filed against them in the next few weeks.In response to a question from the SZ at the time, the public prosecutor Carsten Dombert already raised doubts in September about the proportionality of the fatal operation.

He does not want to comment on the circumstances of the case, which have not yet been communicated publicly. The accused police officers did not want to comment on request of the SZ.

Dramé must have been crouching there for some time on that Monday-a good three months ago- when the police arrived. The knife, the turban, as if frozen. The corner is not visible from the courtyard of the facility where Mouhamed has been living for a good week, but it is visible from the street behind the fence. Passers-by have drawn the caretakers' attention to Mouhamed. When they approach him, he does not react.

At 4:25 p.m., the home's director calls the Dortmund police. "I have the following situation," he says. One of his youths "is standing with us in the outdoor area right now and has a kitchen knife, holds it to his stomach and is unresponsive to us because he doesn't speak our language." He doesn't respond at all, he said. "So now the question is, am I in the right place there with you or would I rather call the ambulance?"

Seven minutes after receiving the emergency call, at 4:32 p.m., police officers from the North Guard arrive at the scene. The following minutes could have played out roughly as shown in these graphics.

Their police station is only about a kilometer away. They have pepper spray, tasers - stun guns - and, in addition to the pistols in their holsters, a machine gun. Radio patrols in North Rhine-Westphalia have been equipped with these as standard for several years due to the abstract terrorist threat in Germany.

Some of the officers go behind the fence into the courtyard where Mouhamed is crouching, others stay on the street. A witness later testifies that he heard the officer-in-charge instruct his team to distract and overpower Mouhamed. The police officer with the machine gun was told that

> Continued on next page



> Continued from page 11

he was the "last man standing.

First, however, two civilian officers try to speak to the boy in Spanish. He doesn't even seem to notice them, doesn't move. One of them will later testify during the investigation that he perceived Mouhamed as "somehow absent, somehow crazy".

According to SZ research, the officers were informed that the teenager was in a psychologically exceptional situation and was apparently suicidal. The head of the home had reported in his emergency call that Dramé had been in psychiatric treatment.

All witnesses reported that he had not moved at all at first. A few minutes after the first contact with Mouhamed Dramé, at 4:45 p.m., the officer-in-charge orders the use of pepper spray: "Advance and pepper" he orders, according to the evaluation of the radio channel

He repeats himself, again asking the other officers to move forward abruptly and use "the full program" of pepper spray.

Without warning, a policewoman sprays Dramé through the fence; she has to empty almost half the bottle until he moves. According to witnesses, he initially raises his head, straightens up.

As he starts to move, the wires from two

Mouhamed Dramé takes a few steps towards the police officers, holding the knife in his hand. He is now a few meters away from the policemen.

According to police law, firearms are only to be used to incapacitate attackers or prevent them from fleeing. The use of firearms is regarded as the last resort, the means of last resort to avert a threat to life and limb.A` & [X fZVaXXUVabadfZ[dVbSdf[VavfZVV_eVVhVavSdVV fZdNSfWWi [fZWSfZadeNd[age[`\gdkSde they allowed to aim at vital organs of the

SffSU Wor fZW ZWSW fZVZVSďž 4gf fZWI i ZSf SdW XSfS^eZaaf[`Ye aX eMandal/ak_WfS^k _bS[dW bVarb/WŽ SULTWWfel XSg/fk d\Stuffa`elfZW Ua`eWogWUW aX S i da`Y WMb/ak_Wfefd5fWMk1 EVALA`Ve SXKWTTV[7Y dageWXda_Z[e efgbad i [fZbWbbWd] ebdSkS`VSFSeWordeZafe Xth_ fZWtomach, right arm and shoulder. He goes down. Two policemen tie his hands.

WgUSf[a`ž

or

psychological situations.

people

Shooting is used when an attacker comes closer than seven meters. To overcome this distance, he would need 1.5 seconds.

Irene Mihalic, parliamentary director of the Green Party in the Bundestag, says in an interview with the SZ that "figures are needed now in order to be able to find a political answer." She herself was a police officer in North Rhine-Westphalia for 20 years, most recently at the Cologne police headquarters. She has been a member of the Bundestag since 2013.

Since Ďramé's death in Dortmund in early August alone, four more people - in Berlin, in Leipzig, in Ansbach and in Zülpich - have been shot by police officers, one of whom was presumably mentally ill. And it's not just about the use of firearms: In May, a mentally ill man in Mannheim suffocated to death after a police officer forcibly restrained him; his psychiatrist had called the police only out of concern for the patient's safety. In mid-October, a homeless man was killed in Dortmund after being deployed with a Taser. And in Berlin, a man suffering from schizophrenia died in early October after police intervened in the residential home from which he was to be transferred. Investigations are still ongoing in all cases.

Criminologist Thomas Feltes, who taught at the Ruhr University Bochum Law School until 2019, estimates that "in three out of four cases, the person killed by the police was mentally ill, mentally disturbed or so psychologically impaired in the specific situation that he or she was unable to follow instructions from police officers." In addition, many victims were not born in Germany, do not speak German or speak little German, so they are less able to follow instructions. The fact that many are not white often earns the police accusations of acting in a racist manner.

Interior ministers and police unions routinely defend themselves against such accusations.

out attacks on officers are on the rise, increasingly knives. In fact, most of the mentally ill people killed by police held a knife or other weapon. According to the SZ analysis, in 2022, out of nine people killed, eight had a stabbing weapon; in 2021, six out of eight killed, and in 2020, 13 out of 15.

"A sharp knife is by far the most dangerous and effective weapon at close range. More dangerous than a gun," says Florian Lahner. "And the firearm is currently the only available option for police to respond." Even a small cut from a pocket knife can injure the neck artery, for

? agZS_ W 6dS_ é V/W/S eZadf f[_ WSfWf example, he says. Lahner, 44, from Fürth, is ZaebffS'ž F**ZWFžZId ZWZSV i dbbW** an operations trainer; he studied Schoo V Zle ZWW eSke, '8dW: gYe'ž 8dW medicine and worked as a paramedic. For more than 15 years, he has been 6adf_g`Ve@adVefSVf`ZSe bdWaUgb[W fZWand military units, primarily in self-

'gVJUSck S' V ba'ffJUž ; f ZSe fdYYWWW S defense and self-protection.

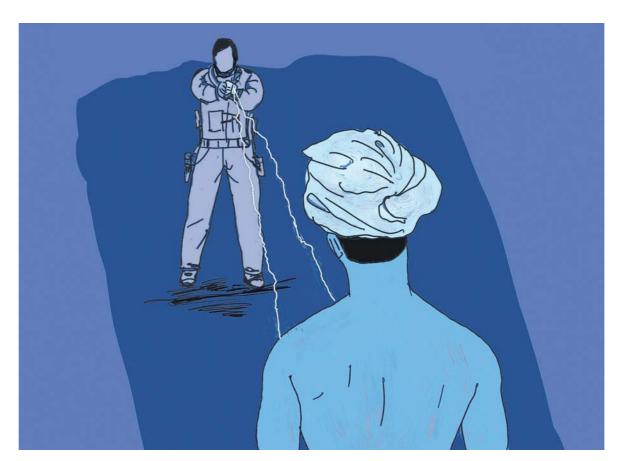
WWSfWSTagf ba/[WWh[a/WWW fZWVS YWW Firearms are used primarily at extreme baeW fa ba'[UW aXXUMe Tk eaĂS'W close range; in many cases, the person being]`[XWWI S'V S'ea STagf dSUe_ ž FZW shot at is less than ten feet away, Lahner says. 6adf_g`V bgT'[U bcheWgfadge aXXLW]e ef[^ In Lahner's field training, police officers [`h\\df[\Sf[`YXh\\dxfZ\\fi \V\\dx\fL\\delta | learn how close is too close. Based on the 21hahhh SV UZSch UgV TwTchgYZf foot rule from the U.S., shots are fired in SYS[`ef fZW [` fZW Whf XW i Whex @adZ Germany when the threat gets closer than DZ[`VXI V4fbZS/[Sye;`fV4[ad? [`[efV4I: V4IIV4f' seven meters. An attacker would need about DW/1 i Za [[f]S/k WWWW fZWaXXLWH S/ea 1.5 seconds to cover this last distance. But 'SfWtYMbdWeeW' [' UdNSe['YVagTfe' STagf fZWaiming for arms or legs in such a stressful bdabWor La`VgUf aX fZW abWorsf[a`ž : Wsituation only works in Hollywood, says S`ag`tW fZSf Z[e efSfW i ag'V ZShWoperations trainer Lahner. The only chance XdxXd_e geWS`V S^ Ux\Lambda_lhw_ txegdw of averting the attack is to shoot at the center dwgff Y T WS T TEW Sef XhWk See of the body until the opponent is stopped.

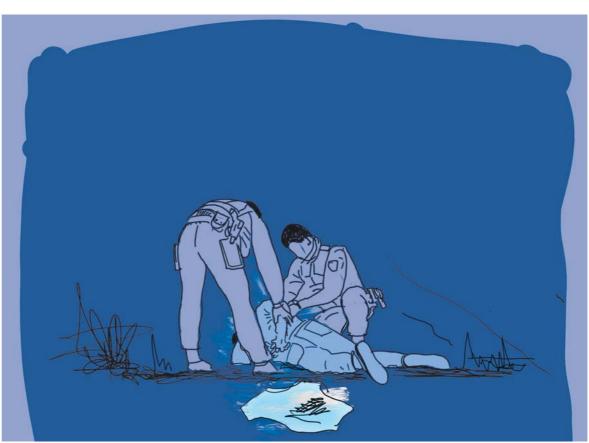
WNS_[W fa eW i ZWZW fZWWSdWS k So do you have to accept that there's no [VIUSf[a`e fZSf egYYM S `WW Xad other way? That so many people are dying?

SVgef_Wfe [fds[Y S V XgdfZWt Finding an answer is not easy because few cases go to court. Public prosecutors often FZ[e[eTWSgeWempirical research on fatal quickly drop investigations against police police interventions hardly exists officers, arguing that they acted in selfin Germany. How many people die each defense. Criminologist Rafael Behr of the year nationwide as a result of officers' Hamburg Police Academy says it is firearms is officially counted by the considered a "complete disaster" among Conference of Interior Ministers - but police officers to admit mistakes during such not how often the victims are mentally operations. "I can very well understand why in exceptional they always argue that they acted lawfully it's still not right."









Police officers are usually taught to quickly resolve potentially dangerous situations. They have to in order to protect themselves and third parties. "The police want to leave the scene as the winner, to dominate the situation," says criminologist Tobias Singelnstein of Goethe University in Frankfurt. Politician and former police officer Irene Mihalic also says, "Failure contradicts one's own professional ethos and also political expectations. When the police are called, the situation must be resolved. The police see themselves as the last resort."

Following this logic, however, situations like the one involving Mouhamed Dramé in Dortmund can hardly be resolved before shots even have to be fired. A survey by the SZ among the federal states showed that the extent to which dealing with the mentally ill is dealt with in advanced training varies greatly. Sometimes the topic plays a role in mandatory operational training, sometimes such special training is voluntary. In other states, however, there is no training at all on how to deal with the mentally ill. Although the topic is part of the basic training, some of the police officers in the field received this training years or decades ago. The question of whether officers should be better supported, for example by providing them with more psychiatric specialists, is answered in the negative or considered unrealistic. Bavaria and Thuringia did not respond to the question.

According to the police union GdP, deescalation is very much part of modern police training. "I was trained in the police so that you freeze situations, you do not rush anything, the goal is always a peaceful negotiated solution," says Jochen Kopelke, federal chairman of the GdP. But then he lists as de-escalating means: "Loud speech, pepper spray, baton, taser." And he also says. "The police's job is not to cure someone, but to bring them to justice."

Irene Mihalic, a member of the Bundestag, also believes it is important to take the pressure off the police. "The police officer does not have to be able to do everything on his own, nor should he be expected to. The interaction must work so that people don't end up dying," she says. Ultimately also out of responsibility to the officers, who would be put in the situation of having to shoot in the first place due to a lack of alternatives. "We don't talk very often about the officers who carry this with them all their lives when they kill someone."

The case of Sammy Baker shows how helpless, how powerless the families of those killed feel and what they themselves carry around with them.

"Justice for Sammy" is what Justine Seewald-Krieger and Kai Baker from Wetzlar have been demanding since their son was shot dead in Amsterdam in 2020. That's the name of their website, the slogan is also on flyers, which they want to distribute this Saturday again at a demonstration in Dortmund.

Justine Seewald-Krieger will give a speech there, Kai Baker will draw attention to other cases in Germany in which people in psychologically exceptional situations were shot during police operations. They may be two countries, two completely different young men, but the suffering is the same. In the Netherlands, a study commissioned by the police was published this year that evaluated all cases between January 2016 and August 2020 - the month of Sammy Baker's death - in which people died in contact with police and investigations were completed. One of the findings: 84 percent of the subsequent victims exhibited confused behavior, and 42 percent of the fatalities were armed, most with a knife.

The huge poster hanging in the home of Justine Seewald-Krieger shows a young man on a red background, white T-shirt, black cap, a smile. His real name is Samuel, but his parents usually refer to him as "Sammy."

"I can't go back to business as usual when

my son was obviously murdered," Baker

says. They want to create awareness of the

problem. And they want to achieve that

there may yet be a criminal prosecution in

the Netherlands, after the public

prosecutor's office there certified the police

officers involved in the operation acted in

Sammy Baker drove from Wetzlar to

Amsterdam with two friends on August 10,

2020, to celebrate his 23rd birthday. On the

very first evening, they go to a coffee shop,

smoke joints and eat a space cake, a cannabis

pastry. This is how his friend Maximilian

Riepl, who was there, tells it. Sammy Baker

behaves differently than usual afterwards,

accommodation and goes underground in

Riepl, in consultation with Sammy's parents,

reports his buddy missing to the Amsterdam

police. The mother prints out search posters

and drives to Amsterdam herself the very

he suffered a psychosis due to cannabis

consumption; this assumption is also

recorded in the autopsy report. Never before

had he struggled with mental problems, say

the parents. And he had hardly ever drunk

alcohol. "He was always the driver," Justine Seewald-Krieger says. Baker offered fitness

coaching online, and his Instagram account

had a good 170,000 followers. The trip to

Amsterdam was a spontaneous idea, his

mother says, finally getting out after the

Maximilian Riepl and two other friends used

the last known locations to narrow down where Baker should be - and found him

"But he was very different, was almost a

stranger to me," says Justine Seewald-

Krieger. Sammy Baker carries a fishing rod

and some kind of scarf around his waist.

When she asks him if he wants a drink, he

says, "You drink first." He doesn't want to go

back to the shelter with them. "I just couldn't

get through to him, I was desperate,"

policeman for help, Sammy Baker suddenly

mother is standing about 200 meters away;

at that moment, she says, she thought

"everything will be all right now." She calls

her sister. While still on the phone, she hears

courtyard, residents have recorded them.

There are videos of what happened in the

Baker initially stands at the end of the

courtyard, behind and beside him a fence,

on the other side a hedge, in front of him

sometimes four, sometimes five policemen

in uniform. They block the only escape

suspected attacker barely moves, are actually

a "gift" for the police, says police scientist

Static situations like this, in which a

route. Baker holds a knife to his neck.

When Maximilian Riepl asks a passing

The escape ends in a green courtyard. His

Once in Amsterdam, Sammy's mother,

Sammy Baker's parents now assume that

On August 12, around 9 p.m., Maximilian

He leaves the shared

self-defense.

distant.

the city.

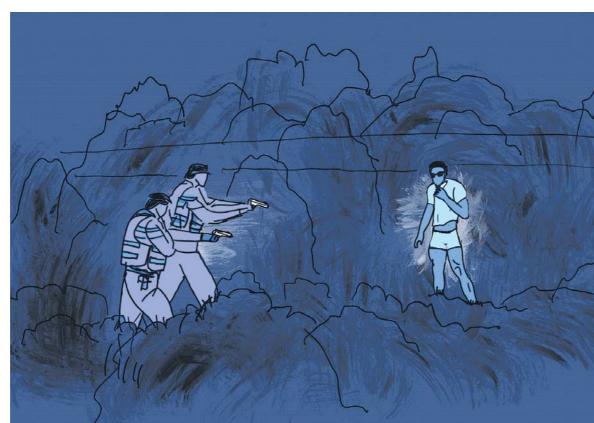
next morning

Corona lockdown.

Seewald-Krieger says.

runs away.











A special task force broke down the door to his apartment, sent in a dog, which K. severely injured with a knife. Shortly afterwards, Emrah K. was hit by two shots. The case was later dropped, the prosecution saw an act of self-defense by the shooter

Or when Maria B. was shot in Berlin, a petite woman of less than 50 kilos, 33 years old. On the night of January 24, 2020, a roommate called the police because Maria B. had threatened him with a knife. She also subsequently barricaded herself in her room, again the officers kicked in the door. When B. approached them with a knife, the fatal shots were fired. The investigation against the shooter was dropped because, according to the prosecution, he acted in self-defense. Or when, on June 18, 2020, employees of a housing association in Bremen wanted to look at the apartment of Mohamed Idrissi,

The employees came because water was said to have flowed from the apartment into the basement. Since it was known that Idrissi was mentally ill, they came accompanied by the police. In the courtyard of the apartment block there was a confrontation, Idrissi suddenly held a knife in his hand, did not drop it. When he finally ran toward an officer, fatal shots were fired. The investigation by the Bremen public prosecutor's office is still ongoing.

In Germany, police students are prepared to suddenly face an armed person. The police school in Königsbrunn, Bavaria, allows students to watch a day of training. "We can simulate these situations so well that people forget they are in a training session," says Police Senior Superintendent Daniel Windmüller, specialist in charge of weapons and shooting training at the Bavarian Riot Police. To create realistic stress, trainers can

shorten the time to resolve the situation, create more movement or poor lighting conditions, or even reduce the distance to the suspected perpetrator. What is striking is that

throughout this day, there is always talk of "offenders." Not about the desperate, the confused, the tired of life, the stunned, the frightened, the panic-stricken or the mentally ill. Practice is held on an

athletic field-like training ground. One police student plays a man who wants to scratch his boss's car, with a

in the other. Two other police students are

supposed to stop him. As soon as the officers

see him, the conversation turns only to the

object, not the person behind it. "Put the knife

down," the police officers yell. One of them pulls

out his gun. "Okay, okay," the assailant says,

puts down the screwdriver and lets himself be

In the debriefing, the instructor will address

the danger of stabbing weapons. "To prevent an

attacker from getting too close, we can verbally

and nonverbally announce a shot," he will say.

"If I point a gun at you with full body voltage,

you will exhibit different behavior than if you

interpret those signals because he's mentally ill?

In exceptional situations, criticizes criminologist

Tobias Singelnstein, "the actions of the police

can contribute to escalation if police officers

either do not recognize such an illness or

recognize it but do not know how to deal with

Because mentally ill people need "not the

Martin

speed, not the volume" at such a moment, says

Schizophrenics, for example, perceive many

Singelnstein says, "you can't turn police officers

scientist

But what if the alleged attacker can't even

led away. All went well in this training.

think the officer is unsafe."

was later tried to make the police victim look like an attacker. screwdriver in one hand and a dummy knife

According

to his

parents, it

into psychologists," you can't avoid making the crisis situation "a static one, as far as that's possible, and getting professional help.

Sammy Baker reportedly asked to send for a doctor. But no doctor comes

Irene Mihalic agrees with this, but specialist staff costs money, and the social psychiatric service is underfunded in many cities. Mihalic also doubts the political awareness of the problem: "If I say that in the plenum of the Bundestag, then the Union accuses me of throwing cotton balls." Members of parliament, she says, have the image in their minds "of the perpetrator running amok in the inner city - and then the Greens come along, they want to send a psychologist."

Sammy Baker, tells his friend Maximilian Riepl, also asked to call a doctor during the police operation. The prosecutor's office in Amsterdam explains on request that they did not involve the medical doctor specialized in psychological help, who was on the scene, because the situation was not under control

At some point, however, he starts to move slowly in the direction of the police officers, as can be seen on the videos. The officers back away with their weapons drawn and ask him to stop, in English and in German: "Stand still, otherwise we'll have to shoot." Then, from behind, a policeman with a dog abruptly approaches the young man with a knife, bringing him down. Sammy Baker goes to the ground. He screams. The other policemen approach, shouting. Three shots are heard, one hits him in the chest. Sammy Baker is no longer moving.

The parents have never watched the videos. They can't, they say. Later

attempts have been made, his parents see it, to ma Sammy Baker look like an attacker. Amsterdam's police chief claimed in an interview that Baker had stabbed an officer in the vest - but it later turned out that the vest was intact. And a local resident, who happened to be a journalist himself, told Bild TV in an interview that the police had told him that Sammy Baker had a kitchen knife 30 centimeters long. Later, Bild TV had to correct this statement: Sammy Baker was carrying a fold-out carving knife with a sevencentimeter blade. His mother had given it to him

herself at some point. She doesn't know why he had it with him in

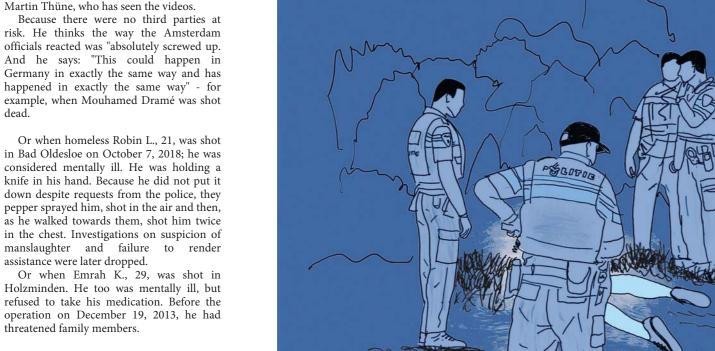
the first place. An aggressive man with a 30-centimeter

knife who cuts a police officer's vest would undoubtedly be a perpetrator from whom officers must protect themselves. A disturbed youth with a cannabis psychosis and a carving knife would possibly be a person who needs help in the first place. Help, as Mouhamed Dramé would have needed.

The day before Mouhamed was shot, he made a video call with him, says his brother Sidi Dramé, "we discussed, laughed, he didn't tell me anything about him being bad." Sidi Dramé is convinced that his brother did not mean to kill himself. "There was a family that stood behind him and expected something from him," he says. That family now has expectations of the German justice system: "That justice will be done for us and that the policeman will be punished. He killed a child," says Sidi Dramé on his cell phone.

Maximilian Riepl also wants to understand what happened; he was in Amsterdam six times after the death of his friend Sammy Baker. He collects documents in a thick folder, a city map with purple and pink markings of accommodation and crime scene, the printed chat histories, photos of the courtyard. He often wonders whether it was right to involve the police. But who else should he have called?





things as if through an intensifier. "When police officers talk at them, it sounds as if a jet plane is flying past them." That's something you have to know as a police officer, he said; otherwise, according to traditional police training, you're just doing it wrong. But because, as criminologist Tobias