ECHOES OF ENSLAVEMENT;

ATTENDING TO THE LEGACIES OF GERMANY IN AFRICA

Madeline Bass

madeline.bass@fu-berlin.de

Freie Universität Berlin/ University of Kent

Peter Teunissen

p.teunissen@fu-berlin.de

Freie Universität Berlin / Universidade do Porto

INTRODUCTION

Germany has established itself in the 21st century as a global power with high political and economic influence. Alongside its counterparts in the European Union, global trust in this power rests, at least partially, on the assumption that its historic violence has been addressed, acknowledged, and atoned for in a satisfactory way. In reality, the power of white Europe is upheld by obfuscation and diminishment of the horrors of colonialism and slavery and their ongoing impacts. The cultural imposition through language and religion, economic extraction, political re-organization and subordination, and the race-making processes of these former empires were fundamental to the establishment of the EU itself, and the stability and success of its members. France is an easy target for such an accusation, with its linguistic legacies and banking relationships in Africa. The reactions of Caribbean leaders across the so-called "Commonwealth" towards recent state visits by members of the British Royal Family were similarly illuminating.

Comparably, with the exception of Namibia, "Germany played little part in the slave trade and early colonialism" (El-Tayeb 1999:151). However, "its intellectuals were crucial to establishing the new world order that constructed the 'savage native' as fundamentally and inherently different" (ibid.). Indeed, as detailed by Fatima El-Tayeb:

> the German school of "social anthropology" was among the leading in the
> world and its major journal basically focused on three subjects: northern
> Europeans and particularly Germans as the "true whites" and therefore
> perfect humans; the black race as the eternally most primitive variety of

humanity; and racial mixing as the source of all social problems and "re-aryanisation", i.e. restrictive population politics, as their solution.

(1999:152)

Considering such a viewpoint and its prevalence in European social life and culture helps to better understand the full impacts of European actions on the African continent. These were not tightly temporally bound or limited to the excuse of economics, but instead an indication of an ideological positioning of white supremacy against Black livingness.

This racial hierarchy followed the colonial pursuits of the 15th century forward into the last 100 years, altered but not interrupted. This combination of ignorance and engrained degradation of Africans, normalized as part of European life, facilitated further atrocities. Writing in the wake of World War II, as Europe struggled to re-define and understand itself, W.E.B. du Bois pointed out that

> There was no Nazi atrocity—concentration camps, wholesale maiming and murder, defilement of women or ghastly blasphemy of childhood—which the Christian civilization of Europe had not long been practicing against colored folk in all parts of the world in the name of and for the defense of a Superior Race born to rule the world.

(2007:15)

The superiority complex that allowed Germany to "put the race theories already dominating the public mind into practice on a broad scale" constructed a social and political order that is still evident (El-Tayeb 1999:156).

To explore this, we analyze two African-German connections in the modern age: the 2020 Afrozensus and a protest march against German colonialism in 2022. The Afrozensus, a pilot initiative to describe African diasporic experiences in Germany, provided a set of rich quantitative data, including quantifications and numerical indicators on experiences of racism and discrimination. The protest march, the 16th annual *Gedenkmarsch zu ehren der Afrikanischen/ Schwarzen Held*innen und opfer der Maafa*, is the final counterpart to the previous analysis. In the march, we see how ideas set into motion by the Brandenburg Africa Company and its counterparts hundreds of years ago are alive and thriving even in modern-day multicultural Germany.

Taking an example of slavery's impacts from present-day Germany, which has largely dodged the attention directed at other empires and slave-trading entities, we seek to explore how the operations and ideologies in play continue to uphold a world of differentiation and discriminations. Further, through this critique we contribute towards scholarly analyses of decolonization and abolition, foundations of a fairer and more free future as well as more holistic assessment of Germany's global legacies.

THEORY AND ANALYSIS

The overarching theoretical framework for this paper was developed in our previous study, but some of the essential elements will be re-invoked here (Bass and Teunissen 2021). As in the previous piece, one key theoretical contribution is the affirmation of what the transatlantic slave trade signified and its relationship to broader formations of empire and state-making concurrent with the formation of society and conceptualizations of humanity at large. Slavery was a virus that was "poured into the veins of modern culture and fatally poisoned it" (du Bois 2007:162). Chattel slavery and the transatlantic slave trade necessitated the "social death" of the slave, as described by Orlando Patterson (2018). Social death demonstrates that slavery was never purely a legal policy or system of control. Social death of the slave, as described by Patterson, has intrusive and extrusive forms. In the intrusive, social death meant that the slave was symbolically placed as an "enemy," ritually incorporated into society for the purpose of dehumanization or viewed as a defeated subhuman whose status was necessary to recognize the superiority of the human community (2018:39). In the extrusive, the slave was "one who ceased to belong and had been expelled from normal participation [...] because of a failure to meet certain minimal legal or socioeconomic norms" (2018:41). The difference is between the slave as an "external exile, an intruder" or an internal exile "who had been deprived of all claims of community" (Patterson 2018:44). This liminal positionality, enforced upon the African chattel slave, was an essential element of slavery's success, used to maintain authority and place people from Africa and the diaspora as dead to society.

Addressing the slave trade in this way refutes a "folk concept of racial slavery with a truncated account of its historical formation (in which slavery is reduced to a species of coerced migration and forced labor instituted in the seventeenth century)" (Sexton 2020:94). In this refutation, we follow scholars such as Saidiya Hartman, who describes the "afterlives of slavery," including "skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment" (Hartman 2007:17). These claims resonate with du Bois, writing over a half-century earlier, who described Black people as "the foundation upon which the capitalist system has been reared, the Industrial Revolution carried through, and imperial colonialism established" (2007:144). As an attempt to untangle these complex relationships, we model slavery as composed of ideologies, structure, institutions, and technologies of space. We will gloss the terms briefly here, and apply these guiding definitions later in the paper to analyze the data.

Ideology

Ideological analysis expresses the way that inter-European relations came together at the expense of the peoples and lands of the global South. Ideologies may not be explicitly described and named, but regardless are composed of common-sense ideas that subconsciously direct social operations. To look at the development of institutions and structures we must recognize that:

> Ideology matters along its entire continuum, from common sense ("where people are at") to philosophies (where people imagine the coherence of their understanding comes from: Jesus, Mohammed, the Buddha, Marx, Malcolm X, the market)
>
> (Gilmore 2007:243)

Ideologies justify or explain the complex relationships that generate the conditions of social normativity. Once normalized and folded into an acceptable hegemonic understanding, ideologies build upon each other, calling onto a past normal to justify the now. The normalized dehumanization which underwrote slavery means that "Black, Blackness, and even the thing called Africa, cannot be dis-imbricated" from the "global consensus that Africa is the location of sentient beings who are outside of global community" (Wilderson 2015:20). This ideology, labelled as anti-Blackness (Burden-Stelly 2017) or white supremacy (Rodriguez 2020, 2021), has shifted from such raw violence to language of inclusion by way of notions such as neoliberalism, multiculturalism, and assimilation (Roberts 2015). However, following Rinaldo Walcott's succinct summary:

> To claim that we can diversify, achieve equity, indigenize, or decolonize without taking on the social, cultural, political, and economic arrangements of whiteness is to enter the terrain of lies.
>
> (2019:398)

Structure

The domain of *Structure* encompasses the juridical framework responsible for the enactment of governance and control. Structures rely on ideologies, institutions like policing and education, and control over land. Imperialism, for example, requires physical force and military might alongside a perception by the participants that their mission is just and noble, or at the very least a necessity (Nkrumah 1962). In the conversation at hand the structural forms most relevant are empires, and in particular those empires which were conjoined with other empires via conquest or incorporation and over time transformed (or transited, after Byrd 2011) into bordered nation-states (Walia 2020). Such a genealogy connects the foundational elements of nation-states to their present presence, drawing links to those economic, social, and juridical legacies that remain visible. It also recognizes the ways in

which slavery is part of the general precursor to the nation-state, generating sociolegal categories around Black and African diasporic people that continue to render them outside of the "discursive limits of categories that construct the rights-bearing subject before the law" (King 2015:128).

Institutions

Institutions are the building blocks of the structural shape, used to organize, facilitate, and legitimize overall operations. The slave trade and the establishment of colonial pursuits are two originary institutions. These were altered in time toward the institutionalization of racial capitalism. Racial exclusion and financial gain characterize these institutions, as well as the current system of visa regimes. These institutions are in close relationship with entities like education or law enforcement. Legal policies determined the possibility of enslavement, as directed by the ruling power, but institutions made this possibility a feasible reality; police forces are responsible for the actual capture and prosecution of those who violate the norm (slaves who try to get free, slavers who try to capture beyond the limits of law). During slavery's active enactment, the slave trade was an economic arena closely linked to practices of governance. In the context of slavery's afterlives, institutions "working in our financialized present" perform a "kind of care-as-violence" (Sharpe 2018:175). Institutional care-as-violence is demonstrated by the use of surveillance and predictive policing under the guise of public safety, for example, as algorithms created to predict crime and criminality in practice criminalize Blackness by associating innocuous elements of Black life to a predetermined illegality (Sharpe 2016; Browne 2018). Racism and anti-Blackness has been embedded into educational institutions (paperson 2017; Ewing 2018), producing research and technological development which is then put into practice by law enforcement agents.

Further relevant to the argumentation later in the paper regarding the role of police as a governing institution is the way these ideologies contribute to the formation of what Ruha Benjamin calls the "carceral imagination" (2016). This imaginary determines what a reasonable response is to social harm, one often involving criminality. As a result of the formation of this institutional imaginary "Racism and capitalism burrowing under the skin—whether by bullets or environmental toxins—cause premature death" (Benjamin 2016:147). In an analysis of slavery's past and presence, understanding individual institutions paints a sharper picture of how the slave trade became so closely entwined with the self and nationhood of its enactors.

Technologies of space

We use the concept of "technologies of space" interchangeably here with *Spatialization* to understand the ways in which the land, the natural environment, and places have been transformed into sites of control, and how space itself is turned into a technological force. Examples of such "technologies" are plantations, colonies, trade routes and posts, borders and border regimes, ghettoes, and camps. The role of spatial formations like ghettoes are perhaps most relevant to this paper, as they show the way space may not be physically altered in obvious ways but can still be narratively imagined and constructed to reify othering and exclusion. Life in a ghettoized space is evidenced by "everyday tales of dispossession within the very solutions of public infrastructure meant to 'repair' the ghetto wasteland" (paperson 2014:120). The connections between manipulations of space and oppression emerging from the slave system are described by Ruth Wilson Gilmore as "fatal couplings of power and difference," who use "death-dealing displacement' in order to maintain hierarchical relations (2002:16). Spatiality can reflect ideology through place names, as we will discuss further, wherein legacies of colonialism and slavery are celebrated and integrated into space.

Analytical process

In order to connect the three sections of data across spatiotemporalities and link them to Germany today we will analyze them with the model. We will begin each section with a presentation of the information. The source materials and data range from historiography to quantitative analysis of census results, and autoethnographic reflections. Unifying these datapoints is the application of the analytical model; each section is followed with an assessment of the structural, institutional, ideological, and spatial elements of the data, linking back to slavery.

AFROZENSUS- QUANTIFYING AFRICAN EXPERIENCES IN GERMANY

While the previous section explored historiographies of violence in Germany, led by the Brandenburg Africa Company, this section moves to the world that slavery made to understand how these histories have evolved and created the conditions of life for African diasporic people. In our historical analysis, critical fabulation was a necessary move to attend to an absence of African narratives, resulting in critical questions and imaginaries of an unknown past. Here we are dealing with the concrete realities of Africans in Germany today, in their own terms, with an analysis of the 2020 *Afrozensus*. The Afrozensus was conducted

to gather "information about the realities of life, experiences of discrimination and political demands" of Black, African, and Afrodiasporic peoples living in Germany (Bremberger et al. 2021). The violence of racism and anti-Blackness is visible across the survey results, often a violence which mirrors the roots of the past.

Survey use and overview

Before describing the results of the Afrozensus, some details of the census's implementation and the demographic data of the participants should be described. The Afrozensus was a joint project of two non-profit organizations: Each One Teach One e.V. (EOTO)[1] and Citizens For Europe (CFE). The research report and digital explorer (where we accessed the data) was also funded by Germany's Anti-Discrimination Agency and Agency for Civic Education (*Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes* and *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*). The survey was completed by approximately 6000 people (N= 5793), and the data has been made publicly available. The Afrozensus was promoted to the general public via an awareness campaign, active social media presence, during special events and sessions, and in collaboration with other African diasporic organizations. Answering the questionnaire was voluntary and not compensated. Questions about certain topics received more replies than others. Participants were asked to respond to basic demographic, Likert-scale, and open-ended queries, and though the response rates were inconsistent across these categories, there were generally around 4000 answers recorded. The results have been rounded up to a full percent to maintain certain clarity in the reporting.

Most (71%) of the Afrozensus participants were born in Germany, although 144 different countries of origin were named in the survey. The next largest groups of participants came from the USA, Nigeria, and Ghana (around 2% each) and the Horn of Africa (with Kenya, Eritrea, and Ethiopia each bringing around 1.5%). The majority of the participants (75%) selected Black as their primary or best-fit self-designation, with the next largest group (53%) also declaring themselves as Afro-Germans. Self-designation as Black was consistent across two gender groups (cismen and ciswomen), with slightly higher reported rates for

---

[1] Bass was first made aware of the Afrozensus while attending sessions for *People of African Descent Week* (2019) in Berlin, before it was formally launched. During the conference Afrozensus organizers from EOTO held panels justifying the need for such data collection and discussing ethical and technical issues such as confidentiality, language, access, and usage of the data. Bass also helped to promote the Afrozensus with the Oromo community after collaborating with EOTO on an event in February 2020, and partially completed the survey.

non-binary/ gender non-conforming[2] respondents (80%). The same is generally true for the percentage rates of Afro-Germans across gender, though there are slight gender differences, with ciswomen having more self-designation in this category (56% of ciswomen identified as Afro-German compared to 47% for cismen and non-binary/ gender non-conforming individuals). There were more ciswomen respondents than other gender categories across the Afrozensus, but, as previously stated, frequency of response was inconsistent in the survey. As the data is drawn from the African diaspora with a strong showing of Afro-Germans, it paints a globally informed and in-depth picture of race and racism in Germany.

Anti-Black Racism

The notion of anti-Black racism (ABR) is an organizing theme throughout the Afrozensus. It is defined as such:

> Anti-Black Racism (ABR) is a specific form of racism with a tradition in Europe and Germany since the time of enslavement. ABR is a specific degradation, dehumanization [sic], and racial discrimination of Black people of African origin. Regardless of the reality of discrimination/hierarchisation [sic] according to "skin shade" (colourism) [sic], ASR cannot be reduced to discrimination in terms of "skin colour", as specific dynamics exist in anti-Black discrimination and these are experienced by people of different "skin tones"
>
> (Aikins et al., 2021)

Participants were asked to report on the frequency with which they experienced ABR, with answers ranging from *never* to *very often*. In response to this query, 97.3% (N= 4308) of all respondents reported this phenomenon, at least some of the time. More concerning, nearly half of the respondents (42.9%) shared that they experienced forms of ABR *often or very often*, the highest frequency. The level of response is relatively consistent across the demographic categories offered including religion, citizenship status, age, education level, and reported income category. For those identifying as refugees, though a smaller group (N=571), the number of respondents who experienced the violence of ABR rose to 99.1%. Though the phenomenon of ABR is broad, defined as it is here to include the psychic harm of dehumanization implemented in a way that delineates those with and without African connections, the high rates of reporting present a bleak introduction into local conditions.

---

[2] Non-binary and gender non-conforming were conflated into a single gender identity in the survey. We utilize this combined definition in our analysis but do acknowledge that non-binary and gender non-conforming are two distinct identity formations.

Social Problems

The critical issues identified by African diasporic peoples clarify how ABR has permeated German society at the national and local level. Participants were presented with a list of 13 "social problems," issues such as various forms of discrimination or income level, and asked to indicate the severity of each via its rating on a 5-point, Likert-style scale, that ranged from *big* to *no problem* (Aikins, Bremberger, Aikins, Gyamerah, and Yıldırım-Caliman 2021). Two answers were far and above the most selected: lack of representation at all levels of society and no professional approach to racism in institutions/organizations. These social problems were marked as highly problematic by more than 70% of respondents, approximately 13% higher than the next most selected, and consistently ranked as major issues by respondents regardless of their self-reported citizenship status.

The two problems are intertwined to some degree; a lack of representation of people with diverse life experiences (or in this case, African people) would consequently hinder the knowledge and thus management of those (African) problems. However, it is not sufficient to say the reverse, or insist that such representation would necessarily lead to a rectification of the existing issues. African diasporic cultural folklore is full of warnings against such beliefs, with phrasing like "all skinfolk ain't your kinfolk," supporting the need for critiques beyond racial identity categories. Race is not indicative of a critical, radical, or anti-racist politics; it is not a given that increased representation from groups which experience racism and racial discrimination would generate more thorough or meaningful approaches to such issues.

Regardless of its potential effectiveness, the acknowledgement and uplifting of diverse experiences by those in positions of power is at least partially facilitated by such inclusion. Setting aside for a moment the cause and consequence of these issues and the way they perpetuate or worsen racism today, we can also understand both of these social problems as legacies of the past that were left unresolved, normalized, and integrated into society. Germany has failed to implement a set of useful, standardized approaches to addressing ABR or to permit full representation for Black people.

Turning to the same question (identification of social problems) but looking at the opposite end to those areas which were least selected, the supposition that racism was left unaddressed and thus allowed to flourish is further strengthened. That is, the question demonstrates real positive qualities about the German state; its medical care and political organization via democratic access were both considered to be minor or non-issues. These are beyond rebuke, or at least not the focus of our critique. Compared especially to a violent settler colonial state like the United States of America, Germany demonstrates considerable

respect to the legal humanity of its citizens (Burden-Stelly 2017; da Silva 2016). This legal framework, though, does not fully include, and thus cannot fully address the subtleties and nuances of racism. Keeping citizens alive and giving them a semblance of access to governance does not correlate with equal treatment.

Perceptions of language use

Participants who identified as native German speakers were asked to report on the way their language use was perceived and responded to in German society. This phenomenon was captured through a scenario, one that has come to signify the larger issue of Black Europeanness in both academic writing and pop culture, wherein people from minority ethnic backgrounds are told they speak well *despite* their race (Akwugo Emejulu and Francesca Sobande's 2019 collection on Black feminism in Europe describes this experience across several different nations). Specifically, a belief sustains that those who do not appear to match the expected phenotype of the nation-state are automatically foreign and as such likely possess linguistic abilities that are significantly or at least noticeably below the standards of the native (white) citizen. It is implied (and said directly) that European languages only come to Africans after immigration. In the context of German slavery's incomplete past, the conditions of the present are characterized by racialized perceptions of German-ness that exist in society.

The majority of the Afrozensus respondents (91%) experienced this form of discrimination, of which 37% shared that they were faced with this very often. Being praised for good German while speaking German as your mother-tongue implies a sense of non-autochthonous selfhood, signifying those perceived to be from an outside world to those considered to be within this world. Persisting through varying forms of state formation, this has been characteristic of the treatment of Black German citizens, including those with two German parents who were born and raised entirely in Germany, as its "step-children" (Piesche 2016). This formation is made logical through an imagined state that while not ethnically homogenous (as contested and confronted during the violence of the National Socialist rule) is at a very minimum homogeneously European, and thus white. Neither language or culture are able to subsume this, and the data documenting African diasporic life in Germany stands in stark contrast to the treatment of white Germans and white residents of Germany of other nationalities (Ayim 1991).

Security personnel

In addition to an enforced sense of non-belonging in social life and in social interactions through verbal micro and macro-aggressions, there were also physical demonstrations of otherness experienced by Black people in Germany. This othering was expressed, in one instance, through the way security personnel reacted and related to Black people who were shopping, either for groceries or the acquisition of leisure goods. When asked if they had been observed in shops by security personnel, the vast majority (91%) of the respondents reported that they were observed by on a regular basis. Only a small minority (9%) of the respondents replied "never." Being subject to policing and observation in ordinary life criminalizes Black people by excluding them from normalcy, particularly as these negative interactions typically take place in stores where essential goods are purchased, unavoidable.

The behavior of security personnel uncovers how ABR in Germany ties into the notion of criminalization and control. More significantly, the consistent presence of this phenomenon despite demographic categories which could posit alternate explanations is a demonstration of the specificity of Blackness. Restated, while criminalization can be seen as a gendered or class-based phenomenon, these factors were secondary or made irrelevant compared to the power of Blackness and ABR. Roughly 90% of respondents reported these negative interactions with security personnel, even when the data was assessed by way of different gender, income, and educational-level groups. Through the (carceral) imagination of security personnel, Black people are continually rendered outside of German society (Benjamin 2016).

Discrimination in Daily Life

The Afrozensus details the extent to which forms of discrimination and violence against African diasporic people are widespread and institutionally established in Germany. Further nuance to the way this harm unfolds is provided through two related questions: self-reports on rates of discrimination in various areas of life, and participant responses to such discrimination. In the first question, 15 "areas of life" were listed, and participants were asked to indicate in which areas they faced ABR or discrimination and to what frequency, with responses ranging from *never* to *very often*.

The areas of life most commonly identified as sites where discrimination was faced *often* or *very often* were media and the internet (50%), housing market (36%), public space (36%), police (35%), and working life (29%) (See Figure 1 below). These areas of life range

from nuanced social interactions, such as the way media and internet are engaged with, to the very concrete nature of policing and the workplace. The diversity in these elements constructs an image of ABR that is nearly inescapable. Even in areas where the frequency of ABR was less impactful, such as with banks/ insurance companies or the arts and culture sector, roughly 10% of respondents faced high frequencies of harm.

  In a follow-up question to that analyzed above, participants were asked to reassess the categories they had identified as sites of discrimination by indicating whether their negative engagement had led them to avoid an area due to a fear of further discrimination. While it may be unsurprising that discrimination would act as a discouraging element, the specific areas with the highest rates of fearful avoidance are indicative of the larger issue, with material impacts that both reaffirm historic harm and prevent its undoing. As shown in Figure 2 below, respondents reported the highest rates of avoidance and fear due to their histories with police, public space, housing markets, security personnel, and public agencies and authorities. These five categories are closely-linked, and for the most part they generate directly from German state society. They also track closely as a demonstration of slavery's afterlives; each touches on the intimacy and necessity of daily life and belonging in society.

  After media and the internet, public space was indicated as a relatively more fear-inducing area, with 30.2% of all respondents admitting that their fears have kept them from full engagement. This contextualizing information adds a level of intensity to the discussion of the Gedenkmarsch found in the following section. It shows to some degree the desperation and limitations placed on life and livingness by members of the African diaspora. Despite the rows of police that accompany every march, the challenges to accessing justice, and the invocation of public space as a site of consistent discrimination, African diasporic peoples are still compelled to act. Their recognition of harm and their fear of further violence are unavoidable cargo.

	N	Discrimination faced often or very often
Media and the internet	1785	50 %
Housing market	840	36 %
Police	572	35 %
Working life	1271	29 %

Figure 1. Areas where respondents most likely experienced discrimination often or very often (n=5300)

	N	Avoided for fear of discrimination
Police	1940	59%
Public space	999	30%
Security personnel	945	29%
Housing market	922	28%
Public agencies, authorities	918	28%

Figure 2. Areas respondents have "personally avoided in the last 2 years for fear of being discriminated against" (n=3310)

Theoretical Analysis- Afrozensus in Context

In the Afrozensus, the lingering traces of slavery came to the surface. The racialization of Black people and anti-Black racism that characterized the analysis are sharp links to this history, but it was visible in different ways across analytical categories. At the very start, the impact of anti-Blackness as an *Ideology* was directly addressed in the Afrozensus. This question certified that anti-Black racism was an active factor in the lives of the vast majority of African diasporic people in Germany. Anti-Blackness also was also evident in more subtle othering practices reported by the survey participants. In the questionnaire of the Afrozensus, respondents shared that despite being native German speakers, they often received compliments about how good their German is. This demonstrates how race constructs ways of belonging and exclusion in German society. The

ideological components of anti-Black racism as a specific form of violence that is unique from other racialized discriminations unfold throughout the Afrozensus results.

The Afrozensus helps to elucidate the way the German nation-state as a *Structure* has failed to fully move on from the empire in many practical ways. The discrimination that respondents reported by public agencies and in public space can be seen as the result of a state that is not prepared to meet the needs of African diasporic people in a holistic sense. The coherence of the German nation-state by way of a homogenous linguistic identity, as discussed as an ideological element, is further a product of state building. The *Institutionalization* of racial capitalism as a transformation of slavery and colonialism can be demonstrated via the criminalizing of Blackness, wherein Black people reported discrimination across their social and economic experiences. Working life and police, two of the most frequently reported areas of harm, are also closely linked to economic advancement and class positionality. Further demonstrative of the way that Germany's institutionalization is part of a global legacy is the way that these experiences were true across citizenship status. Though part of a visa regime which encourages global mobility and an international workforce, the narrative of Germany's institutions emerging from the Afrozensus demonstrates its limitations in accommodating the lives of Black people.

In the Afrozensus *Spatial* elements were present in more sensory terms. The housing market, for example, was identified as an area with high rates of discrimination. Exclusionary housing practices are closely linked to ghettoization and a primary driver of such spatial exclusion (Wacquant 2001). Discriminatory housing policies are spatial strategies that oppress people in Germany in concrete ways, creating spaces that Africans cannot call home; a building, a house, a neighborhood where the African diaspora has been rejected and made unwelcome. In-between and surrounding these individual locations, the Afrozensus also showed that German public spaces have been transformed to places of fear which must be avoided to prevent racial discrimination. Though the physicality of certain spaces may have not been specifically operationalized for racial exclusion, emotional trauma associated with them also shifts the way people move through spaces. The Afrozensus demonstrated how slavery shadows and shapes social and political life in Germany.

GEDENKMARSCH- QUALITATIVE EXPERIENCES OF AFRICANS IN BRANDENBURG

To try and clarify how these past legacies continue to seep into the German present, we turn our focus to a rally, one in a series of rallies, that took place in the shadow of the

Brandenburger Tor (Brandenburg Gate). While the Brandenburg Africa Company, discussed in our previous paper, may have escaped notice and attention, its namesake, Brandenburg, is an inescapable name in modern Germany, and especially Berlin, where both the surrounding state and the iconic Brandenburg Gate carry the title. The formation of the German state was not a linear process, characterized instead by competing empires, geopolitical conflicts, intense outreach, and subsequent tampering. Brandenburger Tor is a snapshot of these overlaps, one that has "over time attained iconic status as a symbol of Berlin and thus was never threatened with effacement despite a clear association with the Prussian monarchy and military" (Stangl 2018:124).

The Brandenburg Africa Company asserted its legitimacy and cemented its establishment in part by connecting itself with Brandenburg-at-large; though only nominal at first, the company was eventually taken over by the Brandenburgian state (Scheuerer 2012:11). The official German "state" of Brandenburg has been reclassified so that Berlin is governed as a separate entity, but the namesake gate is one visible link between the two. As a symbol that links official state and state-making with a larger national ideology that justified and thus facilitated the mass exploitation of African peoples, the Brandenburger Tor is worth interrogating further, albeit beyond the scope of this paper. As a way of qualitatively exploring the afterlives of slavery through the lives of African diasporic people in Germany, though, a protest that took place in the surroundings of this gate is revelatory.

The *Gedenkmarsch zu ehren der Afrikanischen/ Schwarzen Held*innen und opfer der Maafa* (Memorial March in Commemoration of African/ Black Heroes and Heroines and Victims of the Maafa) held its 16th gathering on 26 February 2022. The protest was attended by Bass as a practice of solidarity alongside colleagues and friends from the Oromo community. The Gedenkmarsch was organized by several explicitly Black and African diasporic organizations, including the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland, Berlin Postkolonial, and the Afrika Rat, an umbrella organization of associations and initiatives from African diaspora groups in Berlin-Brandenburg.

"Maafa" is a Kiswahili word that means "the great destruction," used in this context to encompass enslavement, colonialism and genocides, neocolonialism and ecocides, Nazism, and racism. The existence of the Gedenkmarsch and the resiliency of the message and its urgency over time points to a Germany that has not fully grappled with its historical violences. The term "Maafa" in some ways offers Germany a way out, as it binds the complexities of colonialism and enslavement into one force. Throughout history and in the course of its formation, as different kingdoms and occupied areas morphed, transformed, and

resulted in Germany as it now exists, efforts have been strategically made to break with past regimes. These breaks have taken the form of state apologies, monuments, legal policies, and in some cases financial restitutions. The Gedenkmarsch demonstrates these failures of these attempts to reach the African diaspora, as the hypocrisy of hollow promises is laid bare.

Petition

In addition to the speeches and participation during the Gedenkmarsch, the organizers shared a digital petition, handing out papers with a QR code available for quick scanning, or as a takeaway with further information to read at home. The petition, authored by Peter Donatus, calls for a "Central #AfricanMonument as a place of remembrance and learning" (translation via Deepl; original survey available via Change.org: web). The petition description makes a case for Germany's colonial heritage by beginning 534 years ago, identified as the start of the Maafa in Africa. The Berlin Africa Conference is the next standout moment, followed by the Herero and Nama genocide, and then moving through spatiotemporalities to German concentration camps, assassinations of African and Black diasporic leaders across the last century, and massacres in apartheid South Africa. Coming to the present, the last 30 years are defined through a list of African people living around the world, political activists and regular citizens, all of whom were killed because they were Black. In a single paragraph history, the petition explicates how the racial roots of these deaths grew over time.

This contextual history of the Maafa in relation to Germany makes an attempt, as with the Monument it is calling for, to "draw a bow between the past and present." Further, the shift to individual names as examples of the Maafa's impact in the last 31 years is a subtle temporal accusation as the timeline tracks with German reunification. Reunification and the end of the Soviet occupation and empire, as described by El-Tayeb, necessitated the rewriting of Germany identity in relation to increasing importance on "neoliberal European unity" and "emerging Pan-European identity" (2020:73). During this rewriting, the "chance for real change was missed on all levels" in favor of essentialist definitions of Europe as ideologically, culturally, and racially separated from the rest of the world (El-Tayeb 2020:74). The resulting Germany is marked by a "residue of denied truths and unresolved conflicts that remain unnamable," a haunting history wherein Africans are still not fully present (ibid.). As the petition goes from describing the Maafa at the national scale to the individual as a temporal counterpart of German reunification, it suggests a parallel relationship. Germany re-fashioned itself by drawing on a limited history thus changing the nature or scale of death

but not its prevalence. The petition's historical description acknowledges these changes in its own way, while also holding on to the long and lingering similarities.

To justify the need for the Monument, the petition references federal government policies around colonial heritage as well the long decades of organization by African diasporas in Germany, insisting that remembrance is not just the *right* of the African community but its *duty*. A monument where both remembrance and education take place is posited as the partial fulfillment of this duty. However, the petition is also presented as one part of a larger political program. Citing the German legal directives, the petition calls for the return of colonial goods and ancestral remains, and a "serious confrontation with institutional and structural racism." As a counterpart to the in-person protest, the petition urges the action onward and forward from the streets to an establishment. Donatus clearly articulates his exhaustion with state lip service and discussions that do not move from beyond the community to concrete changes as he declares "We do not need tranquilizer pills!" Looking at the petition as a textual accompaniment to the Gedenkmarsch helps to enrich our understanding of the ongoing impacts of slavery in Germany.

Mohrenstrasse

The first stopping point of the Gedenkmarsch was the street and corresponding underground (U-Bahn) train station called Mohrenstrasse (Moor Street). As we approached the station, on the associated street, the march came to a halt and the organizers gave a series of short, impassioned speeches. It is a fitting beginning, not just a geographic convenience. The name translates to English as Moor Street. The name was given to the station after reunification in 1991, though it has several historic precedents. The term "Moor" was historically used in Germany (and elsewhere in the world) to refer to North Africans, but has long since been rendered out-of-date and coopted as a pejorative by racists. Gero Schließ, reporting for *Deutsche Welle* online, calls it the "oldest German word for a Black person," also used in the past to mean a "dumb, simple person" (Schließ: web). The Standard High German dictionary *Duden* has added notes indicating that the term Moor is obsolete and discriminatory ("veraltet, heute diskriminierend") (*Duden:* web). Critiques and debates about the name of the street and underground have been fairly public, with some petitions against the name attracting over 10,000 signatures (BBC: web). At the time of this writing, it is still being actively used.

First built and established over 100 years ago, Mohrenstrasse is also another evidence of post-reunification problems. There is some historical context to the name of the street and

surrounding area, speculated to be an area "where Black slaves had their homes in the 18th century" (Schließ: <u>web</u>). This is seemingly a sort of justification, even as it points to a process of confining people to a limited zone of permissibility or safety and then labeling it to capture them there through ghettoization (paperson 2014). Regardless of any past legitimacy, the decision to name the U-Bahn after the street came in 1991. By this time, the general knowledge against the use of "Moor" was close enough to the mainstream to be addressed, particularly by the exceptionally well-educated experts responsible for governance of one of the world's most powerful countries. Those in power either did not care, or chose to ignore the harm against African people in Germany that the name causes. As it still stands, today, despite the signatures, protests, and BBC articles making the case against it, Mohrenstrasse is indicative of the way slavery and colonialism rendered Black people ever out of the nation-state.

The Maafa at Mohrenstrasse

The Gedenkmarsch's primary impetus, as captured by its full name, is public memorialization and recognition of the Maafa and its great violence, past and present. Mohrenstrasse's existence points to part of the struggle in actualizing such a process; the histories and legacies of violence against African people are still being downplayed and disregarded. Germany's lip service around colonial heritage has not resulted in full alterations to its own capital, to a train station and street in the very center (literally, the area is called Mitte, which translates to Middle in English) of the city. The existence of Mohrenstrasse as a site through which a commemorative march for people who were killed in part because they were seen as "Moors" must pass is an uncomfortable contradiction. While organizations are established and formed, able to legally have the right to take over the street for this period of time, they remain relegated to a secondary social citizenship. Or, perhaps more accurately, they remain socially dead (Patterson 2018) and thus they lose their ability to mourn; there can be no call for commemorating those who never existed. Amongst these unresolved questions, as the Gedenkmarsch participants make their perspective clear, someone has taken it upon themselves to cross the street name out, a short swoop of reddish-pink spray paint dripping over the first 6 letters of the offending sign[3]. The tips of the M are visible, peeking out, but beyond that it has been rendered a more neutral *Strasse,* one not so openly enraptured with its colonial past.

---

[3] This graffiti was present prior to the march, not connected to the organizers or participants

Gedenkmarsch and greater Europe

On the day the Gedenkmarsch was held, another rally was organized in the face of the gate, looking up at the chariot instead of following behind it. This competing (though not conflicting) protest was seemingly organized as a solidarity act for (primarily) white Europeans, based on the self-identification of its organizers and the composition of its participants, who were largely white or white-passing. This alternate rally was protesting war and political violence that was coming close to Germany's borders, touching even closer to its EU partner states. The images of this war had shocked the world over, pictures and videos of "blonde, blue-eyed" European peoples fleeing on foot and fighting for a precious seat in an escape car. A second set of images from the same period received far less attention: that of Africans getting thrown off escape trains and rejected at borders. For those who did give attention to this narrative, it was affirmation of a truth long known, long-established, and fought against: racism is a structuring force of social life in Europe.

The overlap of the two events was coincidental, and the secondary march is analyzed here only in relation to the Gedenkmarsch, not as its own case study. Both rallies, the Gedenkmarsch and the other, gathered around Brandenburg Tor, both moving through and around the Tor, but their differing impacts and operations offer insight into the way violence against African peoples is viewed in modern-day Europe. Who is worth remembering, mourning, singing about, and crying over? Who may be part of Europe, and how? While the Gedenkmarsch sought to commemorate or at least call attention to a death-dealing regime that began over 500 years ago, the other march was much more contemporary, speaking to the now and the future. In the reporting that followed the events, only one war and one kind of victim was a source of worry. The divide expresses the ways that the project of European whiteness, even when used as an anti-war rhetorical tool, comes at the expense of the pasts, presents, and futurities of the African diaspora.

The reactions around the alternate march compared to the reactions around the Gedenkmarsch or other similar protests bear eerie similarity to the critiques of W.E.B. du Bois, contemporaneously with the World Wars in the beginning half of the 20th century. His passage on the "collapse of Europe" is worth quoting at length here:

> The collapse of Europe is to us the more astounding because of the boundless
> faith which we have had in European civilization. We have long believed without
> argument or reflection that the cultural status of the people of Europe and of North
> America represented not only the best civilization which the world had ever
> known, but also a goal of human effort destined to go on from triumph to triumph

until the perfect accomplishment was reached. Our present nervous breakdown, nameless fear, and often despair, comes from the sudden facing of this faith with calamity. […]
Manifestly the present plight of the world is a direct outgrowth of the past […]
More particularly, I believe that the habit, long fostered, of forgetting and detracting from the thought and acts of the people of Africa is not only a direct cause of our present plight, but will continue to cause trouble until we face the facts.

(2007:1)

Though faith in Europe is no longer so boundless, the "forgetting and detracting from the thought and acts of the people of Africa" that was long fostered when du Bois first wrote is even more resilient today.

Theoretical Analysis- Gedenkmarsch

Just as we have indicted the BAC as an indication of the entanglement of slavery and its subsequent afterlives in Germany, this ethnographic narrative of a march for reparations in modern day "Brandenburg" further elucidates the argument, offering indications of each of the elements of slavery's worldmaking project in play. As a march in pursuit of reparations for slavery, the *Ideological* underpinnings of the march's participants are fairly well expressed; concurrently or synonymous with the naming and central claims are key tenets of anti-colonialism, anti-racism, and repair. Each of these refutes directly the violence of anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity. Further, the petition that accompanied the march calls attention to the limitations of assimilation and hospitality by citing German government policies about colonial heritage and reparations. The lip service of repair is an obfuscation of anti-Blackness as it has not yet resulted in actual change.

The corresponding march discussed briefly above exemplifies the insidiousness of anti-Blackness. While the march was not a racist or anti-Black force, it perpetuated a narrative of white superiority. The deaths of African people were irrelevant in the larger picture, reduced to simple casualties of war. The project of protecting and maintaining peace for white people as an ideological necessity also influenced legal policies around migration, though this is beyond the scope of this paper. In a simplistic sense, we may question where the comparative outrage was for the damage done by Germany in Africa, historically, and in the present day through its failure to provide reparations. Blackness and Black suffering has become normalized. The ideological implications of anti-Blackness as a cause of "social death" (returning to Patterson 2018) also help elucidate the list of the dead included in the petition. These individuals were all rendered socially dead, due to their Blackness, which

justified or led to their actual death. These single moments connect to a larger reality of ostracization for the African diaspora.

The present-day German nation-state was the target of the Gedenkmarsch, especially in regards to its calls for an education program and monument to the Maafa. Targeting this specific *Structure,* however, does not erase that the initial colonial impetus came from the preceding empires, however. Rather, as the petition text describes, imperial violence is deemed to be the inheritance and responsibility of the current state. The ability for people to take protests to the streets which directly attack the government is a hallmark of liberal governance in the nation-state and supra-national era, an indication of democracy and fairness. Such a permissibility does not correspond with actual consideration and respect for these critiques though. The Gedenkmarsch is preparing for its 17th iteration in 2023 and many of the claims it has been fighting for remain the same. Germany demonstrates the long legacies of empire through its failure to repair these founding violences.

Slavery and colonialism are the *Institutions* most targeted in the Gedenkmarsch, especially in the text of the petition and references to the Maafa. The term Maafa encompasses enslavement, colonialism and genocides, neocolonialism and ecocides, Nazism, and racism, all of which Germany is guilty of perpetrating. Enslavement did not begat those later horrors but it is indelibly linked to them, just as colonies operated as a practice ground for the refinement of violence. Bridging the great destruction of Germany from the colonial era to today as one ongoing force reiterates our argumentation about the way institutions remain confined in the shadows of slavery.

Spatial technologies at play in the Gedenkmarsch are more subtle and fluid formations than those described previously (colony, border). Spatialization is applicable here when we contextualize the Gedenkmarsch specifically to the streets it walked over. The way imperialism remains both metaphorically and physically alive in Berlin's spatiality has been discussed at length in the context of Oromo women (Bass 2023), as well as in conversations around the construction of the Humboldt Forum and Museumsinsel ("Museum Island") (El-Tayeb 2020), for example. Each of these pieces demonstrates to some degree the way that imperialism operated by former rulers of "Germany" has had a material impact on the treatment of African diasporic citizens today. In this snapshot of the Gedenkmarsch, those arguments are further clarified. The underground train or U-Bahn, an essential mode of moving through the city, still proudly bears (or bore, at the time of analysis) the name Mohrenstrasse. Though spatiality is seemingly built with the access needs of the city's residents in mind, these subtle elements construct a space that has instead built trauma into

the very cement and soil of the city.

CLOSING ANALYSIS

We operationalize this closing section to demonstrate slavery's impacts in Germany over time. To do so we will connect the analysis of our previous paper, which focused on the slave trading and colonial pursuits of the Brandenburg Africa Company, to the present day. The theoretical model demonstrates the connections between slavery's pasts, presents, and possible futures. Furthermore, this theoretical analysis guided our historical discussion, which itself is key to contextualizing Germany today. Unifying the data points from both papers under this model is a way of contesting a temporality that believes those forces responsible for history's greatest violences can reinvent themselves as bastions of progress and equality. Throughout our analysis of historical and archival documentation of the Brandenburg Africa Company in the previous paper, as well as our discussion of the Afrozensus and description of the Gedenkmarsch above, the theoretical model helps to cohere and clarify the echoing impacts of enslavement.

Structures

As our analysis moves with Germany from the era of Empires to its current formulation as a global power and part of the European Union, we have a sharp picture of the shifts in structure over time. More critically, this temporal move demonstrates how the structural changes have failed to contend with the originary violence of the empire. Though the Brandenburg Principality was not the direct or only predecessor to modern Germany by any means, its similarities to the present state are evidenced by not only the namesakes it left behind but also in the way both formations failed to offer social belonging to African peoples. The collaboration between Zeeland and Prussian subjects also indicates the way that certain structural forms recognize others as equals, empire to empire. These types of collaborations are reinvented by the formation of supranational bodies which retain regional control at the expense of, or with the intent to control, the global South. Though we primarily grapple with Germany, its historic success and current stability is linked to structural relationships, built on the backs of African exploitation.

Institutions

Slavery and colonialism and their heirs were a throughline in the paper. We focused

primarily on the historical establishment of slavery through the example of the BAC. In our present-day counterparts, a more macro level analysis was required to get the full scope. For example, the role of racial capitalism as a German institution was not directly critiqued. However, referring to our definition of an institution as the means through which the state is stabilized, racial capitalism was identifiable throughout the Afrozensus with the lack of impact class or high income had on mitigating ABR and discrimination.

These indications of racialization and othering as a way of strengthening the state's economic power also reflect the institutionalization of visa regimes. The reported discrimination regardless of class or citizenship status indicates that even visa regimes as a seemingly progressive alteration to the exclusionary tactics of racial capitalism are not a real break from the past. German and EUropean visa regimes thus connect two forms of harm to Black people, with differing degrees of transparency. At the surface, they limit or outlaw entry to Europe from Black people in the global South. The entire continent of Africa is a geography of exclusion, but the large Black diasporas in countries like Brazil and Colombia are also excluded. Though less legible, visa regimes also perpetuate harm by facilitating economic mobility without considering the social conditions that change with movement. Anti-discrimination laws and policies that protect Black people are not considered an essential requirement; Black people can work in Germany but are not entitled to expect that their place of work will be free from racial violence. Visa regimes thus exacerbate the geographic exclusion of some members of Africa and the diaspora, and maintain social exclusion of even those Africans who are geographically based in the global North. After slavery and colonialism's institutionalization as core components of governance had formally ended, they remained relevant, inventing new-old modes of oppression.

Ideology

The purchase and sale of African people by Europeans necessitated a driving ideology of anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity. Anti-Blackness allowed for an entire continent to be turned into objects and for their Indigenous lands to be absented of history and relationality. When this ideology was untenable it reimagined itself rather than correcting its errors. Africans sold as slaves by the BAC were brought into Brandenburg to work, as property. After slavery's legal end, they were still socially excluded. Glossing over the transformations in governance from the earliest time period discussed until the era of reunification, these ideological elements remained evident in Brandenburg even as it became just a state in larger Germany.

German reunification, addressed in the Afrozensus petition and the Gedenkmarsch, established a burgeoning neoliberal and multicultural state. Neoliberalism is a form of ideological belonging that defines inclusion via participation in capital. A multicultural ideology is a way of permitting some forms of non-hegemonic identity only to the degree that such identities do not disrupt the hegemonic racial norm. This multicultural ideology resulted in different types of harm rather than its eradication. As seen in the Maafa history, massacres were replaced by police shootings as the method of choice by multicultural states, but the underlying role of the previous ideology remained. Even though anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity evolve into more acceptable ideological forms "the human remains beholden to these pervasive knowledge systems" (McKittrick and Wynter 2015:10). This ideological debt also frames the potential of assimilation. Although the German language is a unifying force for the country, with well supported linguistic integration courses, fluency in German did not prevent the othering of Afro-Germans. In complex ways, ideologies established under slavery continue to dictate modes of being and relating.

Spatializing

Space-making was both physical and more gestural; racist street names and transportation stations indicate that certain areas are unwelcome. Discrimination in housing is part of ghettoizing. As a twofold process, the undesirable other is pushed into a certain area, and access to services in this area are removed or simply never provided. The access to transportation across Berlin has not been a contentious issue for housing justice, but it is the fact that this access is colored by a stubborn anti-Blackness (as with the station Mohrenstrasse) that reveals spatial manipulation. Though the Brandenburg Empire was no more guilty than any other enslavers at the time, it is curious that this history is not shameful. A state-sponsored company responsible for the capture and sale of thousands of people, bearing the name Brandenburg and carrying it around the world, is just a blip in the larger history. When we stand in the shadow of the Tor it is Napoleon and the USSR that we think of, not the ships carrying African children to the European market. Spatializing through names connects back to an ideological underpinning that has yet to be refuted.

CONCLUSIONS: ABOLITION AND DECOLONIZATION IN GERMANY?

In our analysis of German colonialism and slavery, we join a growing movement that seeks to highlight the often downplayed pasts of the state and former empires. As with du Bois, we recognize that one of the "chief causes which thus distorted the development of

Europe was the African slave trade" (2007:18). Slavery's widespread implementation and permissibility alongside colonialism reveal a European "mind and culture" in which "realization of beauty" and "freedom of thought and religious belief" were secondary to the hate-fueled greed and degradation of humanity (du Bois 2007:19). The stunted development of white Europe, exemplified in the case by Germany and Brandenburg, has created sociocultural conditions where colonialism is the norm.

One of the most prominent organizations speaking out against these legacies is the Berlin Dekoloniale Erinnerungskultur in der Stadt, or Decolonial Memory Culture in the City, often referred to simply as the Dekoloniale. As their mission statement describes: "Although not always visible, the colonial past is omnipresent. This can also be said about the reverberations of the colonialism that emanated from Germany into the world" (Dekoloniale 2021: web). They invoke the past actions of enslavement and colonialism as something interwoven with Germany's present. In their work, as well as that of other decolonial and anti-colonial initiatives in Germany, Berlin Dekoloniale highlights the physical emblems and ornamentations that continue to stand in the shadows of the violent past. The interactive map they feature on their website draws lines that generate outward from Germany across the oceans and land masses it encroached into. Critically, they also shed light on those Africans who outlived their enslavement and entered German state society. This duality is essential; it gives weight and descriptive detail to colonialism and slavery while also insisting on the presence of those African peoples whose absented humanity was crucial to its operations.

In another critical focus area, "decolonial" movements in Germany counter Germany's collective amnesia of the atrocities and mass killings in its colonized territories in the 1900s. This collective or "colonial amnesia" is evident in that even during the "rewriting of national and continental memory" post-war and post-reunification Germany failed to challenge its full history (El-Tayeb 2020:72). In 2017, representatives of the Herero and Nama peoples in present-day Namibia lodged a lawsuit against the German government for its genocidal violence. The genocide mirrors a pattern of colonial-slave violence, where exploitation and extraction are achieved despite the horrific damage to human life. While still under debate and contestation, such lawsuits have not prevented German landowners from acting as primary shareholders in Namibia while Indigenous Africans have been forced onto reserves (Pelz 2018).

Related analyses, such as the in-depth exploration of Tiffany Florvil into specific Afro-German forms of organizing, critique Germany's in/ability to grapple with its past relationships to the African continent and the consequential emergence of a vocal resistance

movement (2020). Germany's refusal to engage with its past has created problems in the present wherein African diasporic people organize to "rally against racism in a society that verbally, physically, and discursively marked them as both foreign-born and invisible as German citizens" (Florvil 2020:21). Criticizing German violence in its past and present forms refuses to attach a "hierarchy of suffering" and mourning to victims, but instead views decolonization as a defense of all of the dead (da Silva 2020:50). With this analysis, the haunting echoes of German imperialism become loud, clear bells, ringing in our ears and urging forward with the calls for decolonization.

REFERENCES
Aikins, Bremberger, Aikins, Gyamerah, and Yıldırım-Caliman 2021. "Afrozenus Explorer."
  [https://explorer.afrozensus.de/]
Ayim, May. 1991. "Racism Here and Now" Pp. 125-144 in *Showing Our Colors:*
  Afro-German Women Speak Out, edited by M. Ayim, K. Oguntoye, and D. Schultz.
  Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
Ayim, M., K. Oguntoye, and D. Schultz. 1991. *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women*
  Speak Out. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
Benjamin, Ruha. 2016. "Catching Our Breath: Critical Race STS and the Carceral
  Imagination." *Engaging Science, Technology, and Society.* (2)145-156.
Bass, Madeline Jaye. 2023. "Hiriira Spatiotemporalities: Mapping Oromo Women's
  Liberation in Post-Imperial Berlin" *Antipode.* 55:3. 49-69.
Bass, Madeline Jaye and Peter Teunissen. 2021. "Echoes of enslavement: A critical
  assessment of European mobility regimes." MOVES European Joint Degree,
  University of Kent and University of Porto. Working Paper."
Browne, Simone. 2018. Dark Matters: On the surveillance of blackness. Durham: Duke
  University Press.
Burden-Stelly, Charisse. 2017. "Constructing Deportable Subjectivity: Antiforeignness,
  Antiradicalism, and Antiblackness during the McCarthyist Structure of Feeling."
  Souls. 19(3):342-358
Byrd, Jodi. 2011. *The Transit of Empire.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Da Silva, Denise Fereirra 2016. "The Racial Limits of Social Justice: The Ruse of Equality of
  Opportunity and the Global Affirmative Action Mandate." *Critical Ethnic Studies.*
  2(2):184-209.
  2020. "Reading the dead: A Black Feminist Poethical Reading of Global Capital." Pp.
  37-51 in *Otherwise Worlds: Against settler colonialism and anti-blackness,* edited by
  Tiffany Lethabo King, Jenell Navarro, Andrea Smith. Durham: Duke University
  Press.
Dekoloniale. 2021. "About." https://www.dekoloniale.de/en/about.
du Bois, W.E.B. 2007. *The World and Africa and Color and Democracy.* New York: Oxford
  University Press.
El-Tayeb, Fatima. 1999. "'Blood is a Very Special Juice:' Racialized Bodies and Citizenship
  in Twentieth-Century Germany." *International Review of Social History.* 44:149-169.
  2020. "The Universal Museum: how the new Germany built its future on colonial
  amnesia." *Journal of Contemporary African Art.* 46: 72-82.
Emejulu, Akwugo and Francesca Sobande. 2019. *To Exist is to Resist; Black Feminism in*
  Europe. Pluto Press.
Ewing, Eve. 2018. *Ghosts in the Schoolyard: Racism and School Closings on Chicago's*
  South Side. University of Chicago Press.
Fatah-Black, Karwan. 2015. *White lies and Black Markets: Evading Metropolitan Authority*
  in Colonial Suriname, 1650-1800. Brill Academic Publisher.
Florvil, Tiffany. 2020. *Mobilizing Black Germany: Afro-German Women and the Making of a*
  Transnational Movement. Urbana: University Of Illinois Press.
Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2002. "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism
  and Geography." *The Professional Geographer.* 54(1):15-24.
  2007. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing*
  California. University of California Press
Hartman, Saidiya. 2007. *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route.* New
  York. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
  2008. "Venus in Two Acts." Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism. 12

(2):1-14. Https://doi.org/10.1215/-12-2-1.

King, Tiffany Lethabo. 2015. "Post-identitarian and Postintersectional Grammar Book." *Diacritics.* 17(2):64–81.

McKittrick, Katherine and Wynter, Sylvia. 2015. *Sylvia Wynter: On Being Human as Praxis.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1962. *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the struggle against world imperialism.* London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.

paperson, la. 2014. "A ghetto land pedagogy: an antidote for settler environmentalism." *Environmental Education Research.* 20(1):115-130.
2017. *A third university is possible.* University of Minnesota Press.

Patterson, Orlando. 2018. *Slavery and Social Death: A comparative Study.* Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Pelz, Daniel. *2018.* "Germany Locked in Legal Battle over Colonial-era Genocide." *Deutsche Welle, January, 24.*
https://www.dw.com/en/pressure-grows-on-germany-in-legal-battle-over-colonial-era-genocide/a-42267279

Piesche, Peggy. 2016. "Making African Diasporic Pasts Possible: A Retrospective View of the GDR and Its Black (Step-)Children." Pp. 226-242 in *Remapping Black Germany: New Perspectives on Afro-German History Politics and Culture*, edited by S. Lennox. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Postkolonial Potsdam. n.d.. "Postcolonial Potsdam."
https://postcolonialpotsdam.org/en/home/

Roberts, Neil. 2015. *Freedom as Marronage.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Rodriguez, Dylan. 2020. *White Reconstruction: Domestic Warfare and the Logics of Genocide*. New York: Fordham University Press.
2021

Scheuerer, Gerhard. 2012. "The Brandenburg Triangle." Pp. 7-14 in *The European Heritage in Economics and the Social Sciences,* edited by Jürgen Georg Backhaus. New-York: Springer.

Sexton, Jared. 2020. "The Vel of Slavery." Pp. 94-117 in *Otherwise Worlds: Against Settler Colonialism and Anti-blackness,* edited by Tiffany Lethabo King, Jenell Navarro, Andrea Smith. Durham: Duke University Press.

Sharpe, Christina. 2016. *In The Wake: On Blackness and Being.* Durham: Duke University Press.
2018. "And to Survive." *Small Axe.* 22(3): 171-180.

Stangl, Paul. 2018. *Risen From Ruins: The Cultural Politics of Rebuilding East Berlin*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2001. "Deadly Symbiosis: When ghetto and prison meet and mesh." Punishment and Society 3(1): 95:135.

Walcott, Rinaldo. 2019. "The end of diversity." *Public Culture.* 31:2.

Walia, Harsha. 2020. *Border & Rule : Global Migration, Capitalism, and the Rise of Racist Nationalism.* Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Wilderson, Frank.2015. "Blacks and the Master/ Slave Relation: interview with C.S. Soong." Pp. 15-30 in *Afro-Pessimism. Minneapolis*, MN: Racked and Dispatched.