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“Stranger in One’s Own Country”: Afro-Germans and Post-Unification Memory Contests in Laura Horelli’s "Namibia Today" and the Works of Ingrid Mwangi Hutter

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> Changing the story isn’t enough in itself, but it has often been foundational to real changes […]. Which means that every conflict is in part a battle over the story we tell, or who tells and who is heard.[1]

> es ist ein blues in Schwarzweiß es ist ein blues
> das wieder vereinigte deutschland
> feiert sich wieder 1990
> ohne immigrantInnen flüchtlinge jüdische und schwarze menschen…
> es feiert in intimem kreis
> es feiert in weiss[2]

In the above-quoted poem, *blues in schwarz weiss*, published in a 1995 volume of the same title, May Ayim, a Black German poet and activist, identifies the new dividing lines which sprang up unnoticed amid the euphoria of reunification and polarized German society once again. As ideological and geopolitical divisions fell, economic and ethnic inequality surged, while the nationalism-inflected rhetoric championing German solidarity for all citizens – Black Germans ostensibly included – was a clear signal that they would be excluded from the post-unification symbolic community. Drawing on a musical metaphor, Ayim describes experiences so starkly different that they could just as well be black and white: “during the celebration of German unity, some rejoiced in white, while others mourned on its fringes in black—together they danced to the rhythm of the blues.”[3]

In this essay, I illustrate these diagnoses using works that interfere with the symbolic organization of post-1989 German culture, the main heroes and protagonists of which are

Germans of African descent. Running against the grain of the mostly consensual politics of remembrance of World War II and the Holocaust, intended to unite a society that had been separated for 40 years, these works bring to the fore the existence of competing discourses that seek to elucidate the modern German identity and define its symbolic borders. By throwing doubt on the universalized definition of Germanness that took over the public imaginary after 1989, they recompose the post-unification imaginary map,[4] contaminating it with counter-images and counter-discourses. As such, they interrupt the coherent narrative, promoted across a number of publications and exhibitions dealing with the specific nature of Germanness (and German art), destabilizing the existing symbolic order. The works I cite thus encourage deeper reflection over the necessity to broaden the core meaning of the adjective "German," an issue repeatedly raised by Black scholars.

What is German?

Counting well over a thousand pages, literary scholar Dieter Borchmeyer's provocatively titled opus *Was ist deutsch?* [*What Is German?*] opens with the passage: "No other nation in history has so intensely interrogated its own identity as the German nation."[5] This monumental monograph, published in 2017 and now in its fourth edition, is perhaps the most recent entry in this particular subject area to appear in post-unification Germany. According to Borchmeyer, answers to the titular question, which has kept resurfacing in German culture since at least the eighteenth century, invariably oscillate between two radically different positions – one cosmopolitan and the other nationalist. The two outlooks, Borchmeyer stresses, are only ostensibly antinomic, since, as he points out, the definition of Germans as cosmopolitan "citizens of the world" is usually accompanied by an unspoken but profoundly entrenched belief in the civilizing mission and leading role of German culture: "In

this instance, rather than position the Germans as equals alongside their fellow nations, the phrase 'citizen of the world' implies German superiority and spiritual predominance."[6]

After World War II, the question of Germanness had become taboo and was censored for decades, and, consequently, pushed to the fringes of the humanities there. The post-war consensus in West Germany all but required scholars to purge the discredited notions of nation, history, and identity from the academic lexicon. During Konrad Adenauer's term as prime minister (1949–1963), the conservative government promoted the idea of the *Abendland*, designed to help the Federal Republic of Germany both sever itself from its National Socialist past and present a counterbalance to the communist ideology flowing from the east. Tapping into the traditions of the "Christian West" predicated upon Roman Catholicism was an essential part of the German policy of "constitutive silence" (Herman Lübbe). As such, the concept of *Abendland* was often used in public discourse as a stand-in for the term "Germany,"[7] as the latter elicited chiefly negative connotations in the wake of World War II.

The renewed turn toward Germanness emerged after 1989 and manifested itself in numerous monographs dealing with the question "Who are we?" For the purpose of this essay, it is enough to mention only those that revolved around the visual arts: Hans Belting's 1999 *Identität im Zweifel. Ansichten der deutschen Kunst* [*Uncertain Identity: Perspectives on German Art*], which was preceded in 1992 by the pamphlet *Die Deutschen und ihre Kunst: Ein schwieriges Erbe* [*Germans and Their Art: A Difficult Legacy*]; Werner Hoffman's *Wie deutsch ist die deutsche Kunst?* [*How German Is German Art?*], published in 1999; and Volker Gebhardt's 2004 *Das deutsche in der deutschen Kunst* [*The Germanness of German Art*].[8] The authors of these and similar publications put considerable effort into constructing coherent historical-artistic narratives attesting to the existence of an implicit historical-cultural continuum

underpinning the symbolic unification of Germany. Consequently, either willingly or not, they reinforced the monolithic and homogenous picture of Germanness, thus reifying the monocultural matrix that has shaped the Germans' image of themselves over the centuries. The new German public, stitched together from two politically and ideologically separate entities, was not offered clear and suitable forms of self-identification which would satisfy the need for belonging while still allowing for the diversity existing within its bounds.

The burning need to find common denominators in the history and culture of Germany also manifested itself in "textbook" studies and the overwrought, sweeping exhibitions of post-1945 German art. In spite of many efforts, which undoubtedly had considerable impact on the unification process, the works of East German artists had difficulty finding their way into the "new" canon. Only those that drew on the dissident paradigm, along with its attendant principles – so prized in the West – stood any chance. East German art was interesting insofar as it met certain criteria: it was expected to be critical of the regime and adhere to the specific spectrum of formal developments accepted in West Germany.[9] The list of publications whose authors sought to draft a new, shared historical-artistic narrative include Karin Thomas's 2002 monograph *Kunst in Deutschland seit 1945* [*Art in Germany since 1945*] and Eckhart Gillen's book *Feindliche Brüder? Der Kalte Krieg und die deutsche Kunst 1945–1990* [*Hostile Brothers? The Cold War and German Art, 1945–1990*], published in 2009. Gillen also curated the sweeping exhibition *Deutschlandbilder. Kunst aus einem geteilten Land* [*German Images: The Art of a Divided Land*], held at the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin in 1993. A similar objective motivated the 2009–2010 exhibition *Kunst und Kalter Krieg. Deutsche Positionen 1945–1989* [*Art and the Cold War: German Positions, 1945–1989*],[10] and, to a certain extent, the popular retrospective *Deutschland. Erinnerungen einer Nation* [*Germany: Memories of a Nation*

].[11] It is striking that the publications cited above and the writings released alongside the aforementioned exhibitions do not feature a single artist with a skin color other than white. An extreme example of similar omission can be found in the exhibition celebrating the 60th anniversary of the approval of the West German constitution, *60 Jahre 60 Werke. Kunst aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* [*60 Years, 60 Works: The Art of the Federal Republic of Germany*]. Among the eponymous works, not a single one signaled the presence in Germany of non-white minorities.[12]

Ultimately, all of the books and exhibitions mentioned above uncritically reproduced a certain recurring constellation of names and phenomena in German art, staging its monolithic image. As it transpires, even an art historian as outstanding as Hans Belting – who spent years investigating the possibilities of writing a global history and rewriting the legacy of Western European culture from the perspective of *histoires croisées* – fell prey to the monocultural, "white" interpretation of Germanness.

While Black artists actively shape the German arts scene, it seems that for public display, much of their work relies on special formats and frameworks, such as the biennale, documenta, or other dedicated institutions and galleries.[13] In the long run, the post-1990 historical-artistic frescoes designed to integrate the public only entrenched the notion of white Germanness, further confirming Germans in the belief that Black residents of the country have no claim to German identity. Relegating non-white artists to separate exhibition spaces and locating them solely within global, transnational contexts ultimately pushed them outside the spatio-temporal and historical-cultural mainstream, and exposed their declared integration as being based on hegemonic exclusionary practices.

Writing about the original sin of the reunifying Republic, literary scholar Fatima El-Tayeb leaves no room for illusion:

> In 1989, as the apparent breakthrough unfolded, nothing seemed certain, the old material and immaterial borders grew permeable, opening a variety of potential futures. While this moment of potentiality lasted for some, others quickly realized that they would have no active role in shaping the new reality [...] which, like the previous regimes, left little room for diversity. Rather than create something radically or at least marginally new, the breakthrough ended up reconstituting the breadth of familiar strategies and images of the enemy, underpinned, as always, by dissociation from the foreign and the non-German.[14]

Truncated Germanness

"Hitler isn't dead," Aimé Césaire had warned in 1945.[15] World War II established a new cultural and moral paradigm, while Nazi policies provided capacious metaphors for intolerance, including racial prejudice, which would endure into post-war Germany. Striking comparisons such as these, however, both inspired and hampered the historical and socio-cultural imagination.[16] The centering of World War II and Holocaust experiences was one of many factors that effectively blocked any possibility of developing an inclusive, pluralist concept of Germanness after 1989. Responsibility for those events was now expected to become the moral capital that would bring East and West Germans together. This was an unprecedented situation, as from then on, German collective memory would contain not only the history of the struggle for unity and liberty – the customary heroic component of national memory – but also the history of the Germans as those who had disavowed such desirable values and brought about their ultimate destruction. In this way, the nation of perpetrators recast itself as the sentinel of Western Europe's new ethical imperative, compressed into the expression "never again!"[17]

In the early 2000s, Karl Heinz Bohrer, a literary historian

from Bielefeld investigating the problem of German cultural and historical memory, put forward the bold thesis that German history had been radically truncated and effectively reduced to World War II and the Holocaust. This entailed the loss of a considerable portion of the German past, which had been stripped of much of its depth; simply put, remembrance of one event effectively meant forgetting the rest. The Holocaust became a negative founding myth for Germans, toward which all of the past was teleologically aimed, and without which no political debate about the future could commence. Drawing on the lexicon of psychoanalysis, Bohrer diagnosed this as symptomatic of an avoidant disorder, an attempt to redress past harm stemming from unprocessed collective trauma.[18] Bohrer sought not to question the tragedy of the Holocaust or diminish German culpability, but to reclaim the forgotten chapters of German history – overshadowed by their more significant counterparts, but no less important to the understanding of its evolution.

Reorienting German politics of memory toward expiating the sins of World War II not only established an enduring, incontrovertible hierarchy, but also helped devise a specific model of German identity built around it and, consequently, a certain universal symbolic community.

Such communities are organized around social imaginaries conceived as the foundation for the community's shared affects, notions, relationships, and images, together forming "a moral and spiritual cornerstone of society, transcending generation and epochs and lending legitimacy to and reinforcing its identity."[19] As Aleida Assmann suggests, today we speak more often about the social imaginary than negatively charged ideology.[20] The former, Cornelius Castoriadis argues,[21] emerges as a result of selection, and entrenches, by way of institutionalization, a certain interpretation of the world, constituting a "universally" sanctioned symbolic network, woven from the imaginary and the

functional, in a variety of proportions and configurations. This imaginary plays a substantial role in the process of the individuation and socialization of the individual, while its internalization facilitates the self-determination and recognition of one's own place within society as a fully fledged, empowered subject.[22] The selection and institutionalization of what is preserved and conditioned for the present day is of fundamental importance for the formation of one's own sense of belonging to a given community, or, on the contrary – one's exclusion therefrom.

Investing almost all symbolic energy in the construction of a culture of World War II and Holocaust remembrance has, to some extent, contributed to the displacement of many former German Democratic Republic citizens and non-white Germans toward the fringes of the post-unification symbolic community, further exacerbating the process of social integration.

Although Germany has redefined itself primarily as a post-fascist state, two principal memory contests emerged – between the former East and West Germany, and between the white majority and the non-white minority, once again foregrounding the notion that contemporary Germany is not only a post-fascist state, but also a post-socialist, post-colonial, and post-migration one.[23]

What is Afro-German? A brief history

As argued by the sociologist Nkechi Madubuko, as a result of the centering of the historical aspect of racial politics, "in Germany, the processing of and dissociation from racist prejudice against Africans was reframed as dissociation from National Socialism."[24] At the same time, Black people had become the perfect visual antithesis of Germanness long before the Nuremberg race laws were ever enacted, owing to the efforts not only of the forerunners of racial theory and eugenics, already judged by history, but also the "heroes of the German spirit"[25]

such as Kant, Hegel, and Winckelmann, who propped up the dichotomy, uncritically basing much of their "knowledge," full of prejudice and stereotype, on colonial literature.[26]

While Germany was not a major colonial power, Berlin still hosted the so-called Congo Conference (November 15, 1884 – February 26, 1885), where European powers decided the territorial partition of Africa, with Germany seizing Togo, Cameroon, German East Africa (present-day Tanzania), and South West Africa (present-day Namibia). While it is impossible to determine when Black people first arrived in modern-day German territory,[27] it likely happened in the Roman Empire era; the earliest representations of Black people in German art hail from the Middle Ages, while the first Black character in German literature, Feirefiz, appeared in the thirteenth-century medieval romance *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach. There is also the figure of Anton Wilhelm Amo, an Afro-German philosopher born in Ghana in 1700, who was one of the first scholars to write treatises on the situation of Black residents in Germany.[28]

It should be noted here that, unlike other colonial empires, Germany was rarely the destination of slave transfers; still, these "young men with dark faces who hailed from Germany's new African colonies became the founding generation for a substantial black presence in Germany."[29] Africans were brought to Germany primarily for entertainment purposes – to serve as amusement in royal courts, exhibits in museums, or specimens at ethnographic showcases; others were pressed into military service. In some instances, members of local African elites willingly traveled to Germany, as this allowed them to familiarize themselves with Europe and to secure financial benefits. Reconstructing the specific trajectories of these journeys and the individual biographies is a considerable challenge for researchers, who invariably admit that much of their knowledge is gleaned from fragments of history [*Geschichtssplitter*

].[30]

Hostility toward Black people increased in the wake of World War I. In 1919, a French occupying force including around 20,000 troops from North Africa moved into the Rhineland: "Black soldiers intensified the trauma of defeat because they inverted the established colonial relationship of domination between 'whites and blacks' on German soil."[31] This particular humiliation was also mentioned by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*.[32]

Not long afterward, the apparatus producing prejudiced and bigoted representations of Black people went into overdrive, stoking moral panic among white Germans and warning against the disastrous effects of race mixing. Stereotypes filled newspaper editorials, cartoons, pamphlets, posters, postcards, and even postage stamps, portraying Black soldiers as lecherous, depraved, and disgusting, often depicting them as monkeys preying on German women. The occupation also led to a considerable number of mixed relationships (consensual, contrary to the propaganda's claims), which produced children derogatorily referred to as *Rheinlandbastarde*,[33] who were doomed to a life of cultural isolation in a white-majority country.[34] The present-day descendants of several generations of Black Germans now consider themselves fully German citizens.[35]

In the Weimar Republic period, as Germans found themselves infatuated with American modernity, interest in Afro-American culture, particularly Black jazz, grew exponentially. In February 1932, Berlin saw the opening of its first *Negerbar*, which would be shuttered less than a year later following Hitler's seizure of power. In the Third Reich, Black Germans, like all non-Aryans, were denied access to "privileges" such as education, certain jobs, and housing. In 1937, the regime forcibly sterilized around 400 Afro-German children. Nevertheless, National Socialists did not pass any race laws that would apply specifically to Black people living in Reich territory. In practice, the fates of individual Afro-Germans in Nazi Germany depended almost

entirely on arbitrary decisions. The regime's disinterest was likely motivated by the Black community's negligible economic and political influence. Perhaps pragmatism was also a factor: confident of their victory and, consequently, the reconstitution of their colonial dominion, the Nazis counted on Black Germans to mediate between the Reich and the inhabitants of Africa. Many also survived thanks to the demand for non-whites in the Third Reich's film industry, where they were hired as exotic acting talent; a rather large group also found employment with the *Deutsche Afrika-Schau*, a large traveling ethnographic exhibition.[36]

Following the end of World War II, a new generation of Afro-Germans was born from the liaisons between Black soldiers with the Allied occupying forces and white German women. To prove itself morally superior to the United States, in the early 1950s the West German government decided to integrate schools across the country and abandon segregation, which at the time was still widely enforced in the US. This politically motivated gesture, however, stood in stark contrast to the government's policy of repatriation. The official line was that Black Germans, with their multicultural experience, could help establish economic and diplomatic ties with African states. Sara Lennox has argued, however, that the policy was a veiled way of saying that integration was not considered a key objective of the Federal Republic of Germany's domestic policy.[37]

The birth of Germany's Black German Movement dates back to 1986 and the publication of the now-seminal collection of critical essays, poetry, and biographical sketches titled *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out.*[38] The publication was the product of a seminar held by the Afro-American lesbian poet Audre Lorde at the Freie Universität Berlin in the summer of 1984. During the seminar, participants spontaneously came up with the term *Afro-deutsch*, which helped them express and define their own German identity, and situate it within the

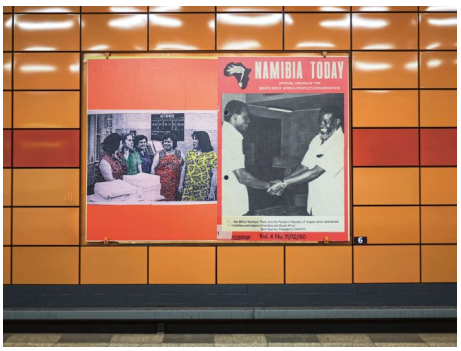
broader context of the African diaspora.[39] It ought to be emphasized that the movement in Germany was launched by women, and its feminist trait – centering the problem of double exclusion on account of both gender and skin color – continues to inform its position today.[40] The book also prompted the formation of organizations such as ADEFRA (*Afro-Deutsche FRAuen*) and ISD (*Initiative Schwarze Deutsche*), which began organizing exhibitions, lectures, and workshops designed to facilitate the integration of the Black population of Germany, disseminate knowledge and raise public awareness about it, and combat everyday racism. As noted by Fatima El-Tayeb, *Showing Our Colors* "contextualised experiences that had been perceived as aberrant and individual, pointing them out as collective traits in the life of a part of the population that up until that point was neither perceived nor had defined itself as a community – black Germans."[41] The aim of the *Showing Our Colors* authors was not just to speak up about their own experiences and the fates of generations of Afro-Germans, but to weave those stories into the mainstream of German history.

Despite substantial efforts in recent decades to recognize the Black inhabitants of Germany as important subjects of the national discourse, German history textbooks still barely touch upon the country's colonial history,[42] while the bulk of German scholars view the integration processes in a negative light, believing it to have been superficial at best. In her 2016 article, Sara Lennox first describes the many benefits of Black presence in the German public sphere and culture, and then concludes with the following diagnosis:

> German unification and the upsurge in nationalism and racism that accompanied it only worsened conditions for Black Germans and other people of color [...] two books by Black German authors published in the past decade – *Plantation Memories: Episodes of Everyday Racism* by Grada Kilomba

and *Deutschland Schwarz Weiß: Der alltägliche Rassismus* [*Germany Black and White: Everyday Racism*] by Noah Sow – indicate that in united Germany, very much has still not changed.[43]

The postcolonial meets the post-socialist



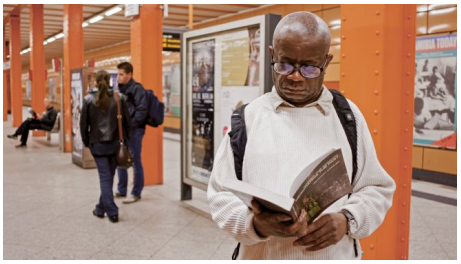
Laura Horelli, *Namibia Today*, 2017. 18 billboards, Art in the Underground, nGbk, Berlin. Photo: Christoph Leitner. ©Laura Horelli.

Berlin, the summer of 2017, the Schillingstrasse metro station on the U5 line, right by Karl-Marx-Allee (called Stalinallee from 1949–1961) – once East Berlin's grandest avenue, which housed the monumental offices of many of the GDR's top ministries and institutions. Referred to as the E line when it ran through East Berlin, and extended westward after 1990, the U5 is both a physical and a symbolic bridge spanning the once-divided city.[44]

On the advertising billboards above the subway tracks, Berlin-based Finnish artist Laura Horelli posted collages seeking to pull from the depths of collective oblivion the English-language periodical *Namibia Today*, published and financed by the GDR government between 1980–1985.[45] Support for the newspaper, founded by the underground South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), provided an opportunity for the East German government to manifest its disavowal of the colonial legacy of Germany and West Germany's neocolonial policies in Africa. Although the SWAPO was never banned in Namibia, it was still effectively forced into exile; consequently, the movement's leadership chose the East German embassy in Angola as its primary base of operations, with a handful of

activists stationed in Berlin itself.

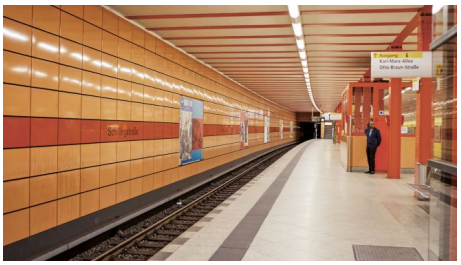
From the early 1960s, solidarity with African nations fighting for their independence compelled the GDR government to welcome laborers, students, and children hailing from conflict-ridden areas, including Namibia, forcing the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to rethink its migration policy and its attitude toward ethnic minorities.[46]



Laura Horelli, *Namibia Today*, 2018. UHD video, 22 min. ©Laura Horelli.

Coincidentally, Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990, the year that Germany reunified. Samuel Nujoma, founder and head of the SWAPO, became the first president of independent Namibia.[47]

In the film accompanying Horelli's project, the camera slowly moves alongside black-and-white tableaus depicting, among other scenes, Nujoma shaking hands with Fidel Castro and the workers of the Druckerei Fortschritt printing works in Erfurt, until it finally settles on an empty subway platform, where people once involved with the publication of *Namibia Today* share their memories. Thus, the artist positions herself as their emissary, while the subway station becomes a forum echoing with voices long absent from the public sphere. One of the periodical's former editors, a Black man who has since moved to Berlin, tells the story of his family while reading passages from *Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past*.[48] Another man, a white East German, recalls Horst Drechsler, an East German professor from Rostock who authored a pioneering study on the successive Herero and Nama rebellions against German colonialism and



Laura Horelli, *Namibia Today*, 2018. UHD video, 22 min. ©Laura Horelli.

imperialism that broke out between 1884–1915.[49] In her work, Horelli turns the spotlight on a lesser-known chapter of German history, namely East Germany's solidarity with African nations and the Black citizens of capitalist countries in their struggle for equality and civil rights.[50]

Alongside the collaged photographs, another picture that warrants closer investigation is the painting *Angela Davis und ihre Richter* [*Angela Davis and Her Judges*] by Willi Sitte, an East German artist highly valued by the GDR regime, which was designed to commemorate the famed activist's 1972 visit to the country. Although created in starkly different temporal and political circumstances, the painting somewhat preposterously touches the same particular sensitive thread of collective German oblivion as Horreli's project. Angela Davis was a key figure of the East German discourse on racism in the 1970s, and the country even staged one of the grandest and most spectacular gestures of support for her efforts.[51] Naturally, campaigns such as these were used primarily to generate momentum for Cold War foreign policy and entrench existing communist power structures. The precepts of Marxism-Leninism impelled the Eastern Bloc countries to exhibit solidarity with the "other America," that of the oppressed and dispossessed, while socialist morality, rooted – especially in East Germany – in the principle of historical antagonism, automatically implied support for the socio-cultural values of anti-racism, conceived as a form of severance from Germany's inglorious past. Calling on a country previously responsible for "revolting acts of racial persecution," the Socialist Unity Party of Germany urged citizens to encourage "the international worker movement and all forces of peace across the globe [...] to take a decisive stand against racism and relentlessly struggle against all its incarnations."[52] It would be a mistake, however, to reduce the breadth of the GDR's sympathy and support for Davis to mere propaganda and ideological warfare; it should also be seen

from a social and cultural perspective. Aside from cultivating transnational, communist–African-American ties, reverence for Davis was also designed to enforce specific values, customs, norms, and social roles in the process of communist socialization.[53]

Research has demonstrated that the events accompanying the visit of the Black activist have long resonated in the memories of former East German citizens.[54]

A *Der Spiegel* piece on the 1972 East German national art show, which featured Sitte's painting of Davis, reads: "This is doubly a picture of prominence, because, as the colored socialist seems to be the favorite model for many an East German artist, so is Sitte, 51, considered a prince among the nation's painters."[55] History, however, penned a somewhat ironic coda to that praiseful note: 30 years later, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg was forced to cancel a 2001 retrospective exhibition for Sitte after public opinion began demanding a more critical look at an artist who spent much of his life holding a number of high-ranking positions in the GDR.[56]

Sitting at the very heart of the present-day Berlin Republic, Horelli's project brings together two different yet similarly problematic strands of Germanness – the more immediate, post-socialist Germanness, and the distant, postcolonial Germanness with African roots. The project highlights former East Germans associated in myriad ways with the regime's power structures – activists involved with shaping postcolonial politics, and Black Germans who found themselves in the country in the wake of the GDR's avowed proletarian internationalism, to which *Namibia Today* stands as excellent visual testament.

The artist uses her project to interrogate the place of the Other in modern German history and dismantle the stereotype that has long painted East Germany as an exclusively white country, and, consequently, seeks to dispels the harmful, stigmatizing notion of "inherited racism," which denounced citizens of the eastern *Länder* as never having properly embraced tolerance and

democracy on account of East Germany's relatively low internal diversity.[57] Peggy Piesche, a Black German activist and cultural scholar born in 1968 in the East German city of Arnstadt, also strives to expose the notion as having no basis in truth. While she openly admits that she encountered racism in her youth and had no cultural codes on which to draw, which only exacerbated her alienation, Piesche also demonstrates that West Germany was no oasis of tolerance at the time. Thus, she concludes, the racism that still endures in Germany is rooted in colonization and nationalization, the shared legacy of East and West Germany.[58]

We are dealing here with two separate issues: symbolic exclusion, and cultural ostracism prompted by an artist's unsavory connections to the past regime; nevertheless, suspicion of "unplanned images,"[59] exemplified by the aforementioned portrait of Davis painted by Sitte, as well as relegation of the representation of Black Germanness beyond the symbolic borders of Germany, could be considered tantamount to depriving individuals of the right to their own history of Germany, which, in turn, could undermine their sense of belonging.

White meets Black

Yet another example of intervention developed in response to hegemonic narratives shaping Germans' national imaginary after 1989 can be found in the works of Kenyan-German artist Ingrid Mwangi, better known as Ingrid Mwangi Hutter, a name she and her (white) partner use for their collaborative efforts.[60] Mwangi and Robert Hutter merged their names and biographies to become a single artistic entity, incorporating their respective racial and gender contradictions. In building this particular physical bridge, spanning the distance between Berlin and Nairobi, Mwangi and Hutter sought to prompt their audience to confront stereotypical notions of Germanness.[61] Generated using a variety of different media (photography, film, painting, sculpture, performance), this "aesthetic of self-knowledge and

interrelationship"[62] is often based on games played with German history and visual clichés honing white-and-black binaries so as to expose the tensions between the self-perception of Black Germans and recognition from outside.

In Mwangi Hutter's 2003 piece *if*, the artists manipulated a 1939 picture taken by Hugo Jaeger, pioneer of color photography, held in high esteem by Hitler himself. In it, we see the Führer on his birthday, surrounded by a cluster of Austrian women – all of whom bear the face of the Black Mwangi, while Hitler's features are replaced by Hutter's. Thus, the duo situate themselves as antiheroes of the past still haunting Germany, in which miscegenation was forbidden as a potential danger to the purity of the Aryan race. Belonging to a community persecuted in Nazi Germany, Mwangi emphasizes her own Germanness while simultaneously spotlighting a particular paradox: in her "Black" veins the blood of "white" oppressors also runs.[63]

Mwangi Hutter, *If*, 2003. C-print, 168 cm x 125 cm, ed. 6 cpies + 1 artist's print. Courtesy of Mariane Ibrahim Gallery, Chicago/Paris; Galerie Burster, Berlin/Karlsruhe. © Mwangi Hutter.

As Brett M. Van Hoesen points out, *if* problematizes the enduring belief in the "mythical authenticity of Germany's history."[64] El-Tayeb, meanwhile, in an effort to diagnose the subconscious persistence of structural racism in Germany, draws additionally on 2004 and 2016 Amnesty International reports: "Seeing Blacks as fundamentally different from 'normal' people is typical of this form of racism,"[65] a belief that is essentially an extension of an innate sense of superiority, whose manifestations include using the still-popular term *Negerarbeit* [lit. *Negrowork*]. As Mwangi herself explains in the commentary to her piece *Neger Don't Call Me*

:

> Using the example of the German word "Neger," a word in which the history of racist ideology still echoes, I explain the feeling of wrongness I sensed [...] With this piece I wish to show the constant dialogue which occurs between self and society, in this case especially dealing with the continuing problem of being judged and categorized due to skin-colour.[66]

Mwangi Hutter, *One Ground*, 2018. Oil on gold, paper, 26 cm x 52 cm. Courtesy: Mariane Ibrahim Gallery, Chicago/Paris; Galerie Burster, Berlin/Karlsruhe. ©Mwangi Hutter.

In the series *One Ground* (initiated in 2018), Mwangi transposes the emphasis from belonging derived from *ius sanguinis* to that decided solely by *ius soli* (the titular "one ground"), reproducing, time and again, a black-and-white fingerprint against a golden background rendered as a sign of "unification and the pacification of contrasts [...] separating you and me."[67] In *Static Drift*, one picture shows the black skin of Mwangi's own stomach, on which she has overlaid a lighter-colored silhouette of Africa with the words "Bright Dark Continent" superimposed on it; another picture, meanwhile, features a darker-colored silhouette of Germany stamped with the words "Burn Out Country."

Mwangi Hutter, *Static Drift*, 2001. 2 C-prints, 110 cm x 75 cm each, ed. 5 copies + 1 artist's print. Courtesy: Mariane Ibrahim Gallery, Chicago/Paris; Galerie Burster, Berlin/Karlsruhe. © Mwangi Hutter.

By engaging the audience in a visual and textual dialogue based on a peculiar inversion of stereotypes, Mwangi compels them to revisit their own implicit biases. Drawing on what Nietzsche called "a proposition from the oldest (and unfortunately the longest-lived) psychology on earth," which

claims that "a thing must be b u r n t in so that it stays in the m e m o r y : only something that continues to hurt s t a y s i n t h e m e m o r y ,"[68] Mwangi operates with subtle gradations of the color black and exposes her dual origins, inscribed into her body, and the related difficulty of finding common ground with the attitudes toward German culture and history shared by much of her fellow public.

This disorienting dissonance, a testament to deeply imprinted (visual) patterns of Germanness,[69] was also the subject of rap verses penned in the early 1990s by the Black vocalist of the band Advanced Chemistry. In *Fremd im eigenen Land* [*Stranger in One's Own Country*], he said:

> Is it really so unusual for an Afro-German to speak their own language
> And have a face not so pale as yours?
> The system's ideas are the problem:
> A true German must look German
> Blue eyes, blonde hair, no threat [...]
> "You going back to your homeland later?"
> "Where? To Heidelberg, where my home is?"[70]

Homeland is also the name of a video piece by Mwangi Hutter, which opens with non-white children sitting by railroad tracks on which the word "Deutschland" has been painted next to a swastika. In the following sequence we see someone spray a white "X" over the swastika, inadvertently making it even more conspicuous.[71] Not only have the many efforts aimed at processing and working through the country's Nazi past repeatedly proven to be little more than superficial (like the visually striking but ultimately fruitless crossing-out of the swastika), but they brought about a cognitive reflex that made it more difficult to acknowledge the Afro-German position. Because the white majority had little idea of its own privilege, some liberal circles ended up accusing members of Advanced

Chemistry of reactionary attitudes driven by their overidentification with Germanness:

> The notoriously troubled relationship of Germans to their national identity has thus been ironically transferred unto a group whose very Germanness is continuously questioned. Black Germans' attempts to make their country their home by creating a space for themselves on its imaginary map – a step which, if successful, would mean a dramatic reconfiguration of 'Germanness' – is held against them by exactly those white Germans who reject the anachronistic and exclusive concept of identity.[72]

Epilogue: Internalizing the Other

Michelle M. Wright, a scholar studying the identity of the African diaspora, points out that the situation of Afro-Germans is unprecedented, having no equivalence in either the US, the UK, or France. While few in those three countries harbor any doubt as to whether Black citizens are an immanent part of the nation (even if considered a foreign element), people of African descent brought up in Germany are time and again asked some absurd variant of the question "Where are you really from?" despite the fact that their families have shared their white counterparts' culture and language for years, often for generations. The status of these individuals is particularly problematic on account of being twice-Othered: they are at once Other-from-within and Other-from-without, which forces them to ceaselessly prove their own existence[73]: "Afro-Germans born and raised in Germany are consistently misrecognized as *Africans*, even after extensive conversation has established a German birthplace, parents, and education for that Afro-German."[74] The difficulty of the task is additionally due to the fact that nearly every part of their identity, recreated from scraps, collides with the German national discourse, which still carries distinct echoes of the binary, "black-and-white" conceptualization of

Germanness.[75] In order to explain this peculiar German characteristic, Alexander G. Weheliye invokes James Baldwin's 1953 short story "Stranger in the Village,"[76] in which the author recounts his visit to a Swiss village where he was the first Black visitor. The experience led Baldwin to realize that whereas while people in the US, after centuries of slavery, finally had to acknowledge non-whites as fellow citizens, white Europeans in the 1950s still enjoyed the privilege of seeing Black people as aliens. Weheliye goes on to lament that although the story was written more than half a century ago, "the German people still labor under the illusion that non-whites cannot be German, and that the terms 'white' and 'German' are somewhat synonymous."[77]

The experiences of Weheliye himself, German-born and non-white, only confirm Wright's findings about Germany's peculiar (in)ability to bring about the symbolic integration of the country's non-white population.[78]

One of the latest manifestations of that sort of thinking, which often leads to embracing different management practices for material heritage considered "familiar" (European) and "foreign" (non-European), was the decision to transfer the collections of the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, housed since reunification in the Dahlem district, to the Berlin Palace, reconstructed on the site of the since-demolished socialist modernist Palace of the Republic. El-Tayeb writes that once again (West) Germans would be appointed custodians of specific cultural meanings, with alternative identities expected to remain silently subordinate. While retracing the specific protests and debates that this project elicited is beyond the scope of this essay,[79]

the comment offered by El-Tayeb, who aligned herself with critics of the plans to demolish the GDR building, is particularly intriguing. According to the scholar, a renovated Palace of the Republic stood a greater chance of becoming a symbol of diverse and internally conflicted Germanness, as "it would cultivate a past in which there was more than one

Germany, and not only different, but actually incompatible visions of Germanness, all bound up with one another. A position like that would be necessarily skeptical and turned inward."[80]

Proponents of the position do not wish to infinitely nuance and embellish the status quo-preserving picture of Germany's specific difference, but rather to comprehensively reformulate the very concept of German identity and of Germanness, a process which would necessarily entail a re-evaluation of the entire breadth of the country's culture. Aleida Assmann rightly notes that: "Penetrating into the depths of history is possible only through its fragments," which is why "fragmentation in lieu of unity"[81] may just be the last hope for German national discourse. Afro-Germans, who for generations have been living with a sense of being "involuntary and unpaid statisticians on the Germanness issue" on account of their skin color,[82] may end up playing a key role in the process, because at first glance (the same glance that often prompts the reflexive association between their putative nationality and Africa) they contradict the very notion of a homogeneously white German identity.

By critically disrupting the national iconography, the works cited in this essay portray Black Germans as an integral component of German history and culture. At the same time, they stand as a plea for the expansion of the symbolic borders of Germanness, an amendment that would once and for all relieve Afro-Germans of having to answer the loaded question of "Where are you really from?"

1 Rebecca Solnit, *Hope in the Dark* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016), xvi.

2 May Ayim, "blues in schwarz weiss," in: idem, *Blues in schwarz weiss: Gedichte* (Berlin: Orlanda Verlag GmbH, 1995), 4.

3 Karein K. Goertz, "SHOWING HER COLORS. An Afro-German Writes the Blues in Black and White," *Callaloo* vol. 26, no. 2 (2003), 306.

4 I borrow the term "imaginary map" from Fatima El-Tayeb, "'If You Can't Pronounce My

Name, You Can Just Call Me Pride': Afro-German Activism, Gender and Hip-Hop," *Gender & History* vol. 15, no. 3 (2003), 479.

5 Dieter Borchmeyer, *Was ist Deutsch? Die Suche einer Nation nach sich selbst* (Berlin: Rowohlt Berlin, 2017), 13.

6 Ibid., 20. The latest manifestation of that particular phenomenon can be found in the ongoing debate over what has come to be known as *deutsche Leitkultur*, or German leading culture, instigated in October 2000 by CDU politician Friedrich Merz. Ever since, the term has been used as a counter-argument in disputes about integration, migration, and multiculturalism. Concerns over *deutsche Leitkultur* even made their way into the 2007 program of the CSU party and are a key postulate of the right-wing AfD. In April 2017, the CDU's Thomas de Maizière published an op-ed in *Bild am Sonntag* in which he called on the German public to engage in a nationwide debate on the issue of the leading culture. Cf. Jürgen Nowak, *Leitkultur und Parallelgesellschaft. Argumente wider einen deutschen Mythos* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2006); Norbert Lammert, "Brauchen wir eine Leitkultur? Thesen zu einer notwendigen Debatte und einem schwierigen Begriff" (Klassik Stiftung, Weimar, June 5, 2016), https://blog.klassik-stiftung.de/norbert-lammert-leitkultur/ (accessed December 18, 2020).

7 Cf. Richard Faber, *Abendland. Ein politischer Kampfbegriff* (Berlin: CEP Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2002).

8 Hans Belting, *Identität im Zweifel. Ansichten der deutschen Kunst* (Cologne: DuMont, 1999); Hans Belting, *Die Deutschen und ihre Kunst: Ein schwieriges Erbe* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1992); Werner Hofmann, *Wie deutsch ist die deutsche Kunst?* (Berlin: Seemann, 1999); Volker Gebhardt, *Das deutsche in der deutschen Kunst* (Cologne: DuMont, 2004). See also: Peter Bürger, "Die Deutschen und Ihre Kunst. Wie Kunsthistoriker eine offene Wunde behandeln," *Die Zeit*, May 4, 2000, www.zeit.de/2000/19/Die_Deutschen_und_ihre_Kunst (accessed September 23, 2020).

9 Justyna Balisz-Schmelz, "Strach przed bliskim Innym. Czy w powojennej historii sztuki niemieckiej jest miejsce na funkcjonariuszy państwowych?," *RIHA Journal* (2020), https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2020.0.76081 (accessed March 8, 2021); April Eisman, "Whose East German Art Is This? The Politics of Reception After 1989," *Imaginations: Journal of Cross-Cultural Image Studies* (2017), http://imaginations.glendon.yorku.ca/?p=9487 (accessed December 16, 2020).

10 The exhibition was held at the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin; Eckhart Gillen

and Stephanie Barron were its curators.

11 The exhibition was put together by Neil MacGregor, a Germanophile and then-director of the British Museum, where the first version of the exhibition was held from late 2014 to early 2015. Neil MacGregor, *Germany: Memories of a Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 2014).

12 Martin-Gropius-Bau, April 1–June 2, 2009. Exhibit selection was handled by a curatorial team featuring Götz Adriani, Robert Fleck, Siegfried Gohr, Peter Iden, Susanne Kleine, Ingrid Mössinger, Dieter Ronte, and Frank Schmidt. The list of Black artists with years of experience living in Germany, whose works could easily have been featured at the exhibition, thus subverting the cliché of purely white German art, includes El Loko, Manuela Samobo (who moved to East Germany in 1982), Owusu-Ankomah, and Mo Edoga, all of whom deliberately avoided "ethnic" inspirations and instead drew on German artistic traditions, especially the work of Joseph Beuys. One of Mo Edoga's most spectacular pieces was *(Huldigung an) Vater Rhein und Mutter Neckar* [*(An Homage to) Father Rhein and Mother Neckar*]. Cf. Nadja Taskov-Kölert, "Mo Edoga," *Kunstforum* 122 (1993), 254–256.

13 Institutions that warrant a mention include SAAVY Contemporary (https://savvy-contemporary.com/), the Hamburg-based m-bassy gallery (https://m-bassy.org/en/about-m-bassy), Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin, and Haus der Kunst in Munich, the latter headed by Okwui Enwezor from 2011–2018; key events include the exhibition *Africa Remix: Contemporary Art of a Continent*, held at the Museum Kunstpalast in Düsseldorf (2004), and the 2018 Berliner Biennale, curated by Gabi Ngcobo.

14 Fatima El-Tayeb, *Undeutsch. Die Konstruktion des Anderen in der Postmigrantischen Gesellschaft* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016), 208.

15 As quoted in Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2008), 70.

16 Cf., among others, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Hitlers Wiedergänger," *Der Spiegel*, February 4, 1991, 26–28.

17 El-Tayeb, *Undeutsch*, 84.

18 Cf. Karl Heinz Bohrer, "Erinnerungslosigkeit. Ein Defizit der gesellschaftlichen Intelligenz," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, June 16, 2001, 20–21; Karl Heinz Bohrer, *Ekstasen der Zeit. Augenblick, Gegenwart, Erinnerung* (Munich–Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003), 10–29.

19 Aleida Assmann, *Geschichte im Gedächtnis. Von der individuellen Erfahrung zur öffentlichen Inszenierung*, (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2007), 25–26.

20 Ibid., 24.

21 Castoriadis uses the term "imaginary" on account of its illustrative character and in its broad meaning, which defines the imaginary as the form and idea of creating or conceiving something. Cornelius Castoriadis, "Imagination, Imaginary, Reflection," in: *L'Inconscient et la Science*, ed. Roger Dorey (Paris: Dunod, 1991).

22 Marcela Tovar, "The Imaginary Term in Readings About Modernity: Taylor and Castoriadis' Conceptions," *Revista de Etiudos Sociales*, June 1, 2001, 33–34.

23 An important piece on the subject, which remains relevant despite recently celebrating its 20th anniversary, is Hans Haacke's *Der Bevölkerung*, installed in the north courtyard of the German parliament building; https://derbevoelkerung.de/ (accessed September 29, 2020).

24 Nkechi Madubuko, *Akkulturationsstress von Migranten. Berufsbiographische Akzeptanzerfahrungen und angewandte Bewältigungsstrategien* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2011), 35.

25 *Deutschlands Geisteshelden* is the title of a series of paintings by Anselm Kiefer.

26 Fritz Kramer, *Verkehrte Welten: Zur imaginären Ethnologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1984), 145; Robert Bernasconi, "After the German Invention of Race: Conceptions of Race Mixing from Kant to Fischer and Hitler," in: *Remapping Black Germany: New Perspectives on Afro-German History, Politics, and Culture*, ed. Sara Lennox (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 91–104.

27 Sara Lennox, "Introduction," in: *Remapping Black Germany*, op. cit., 12.

28 Ibid., 12–13.

29 Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft, *Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2.

30 *Re/visionen: Postkoloniale Perspektiven von People of Colour and Rassismus*, eds. Kien

Nghi Ha, Sheila Mysorekar, and Nicola Lauré al-Samarai (Mu nster: Unrast Verlag, 2016); Katharina Oguntoye, *Eine Afro-deutsche Geschichte: Zur Lebenssituation von Afrikanern und Afro-Deutschen in Deutschland von 1884 bis 1950* (Berlin: Hoho Verlag Christine Hoffmann, 1997).

31 Tina Campt, Pascal Grosse, and Yara-Colette Lemke Muniz de Faria, "Blacks, Germans, and the Politics of Imperial Imagination, 1920–1960," in: *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, eds. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 207.

32 Bernasconi, "After the German Invention of Race," 91–92.

33 The German word *Bastard* denotes a child born out of wedlock or of mixed blood.

34 Oguntoye, *Eine Afro-deutsche Geschichte*; Fatima El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche: Der Diskurs um "Rasse" und nationale Identität 1890–1933* (Frankfurt am Main–New York: Campus, 2001); *Re/visionen*.

35 Tina Campt, "The Motion of Stillness: Diaspora, Stasis, and Black Vernacular Photography," in: *Remapping Black Germany*, 149–170.

36 Cf. Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

37 Lennox, "Introduction," 19. To date, no comprehensive monograph on the situation of Afro-Germans on both sides of the Berlin Wall has been published.

38 *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, eds. May Ayim, Katharina Oguntoye, and Dagmar Schultz (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992). The book is referenced by Natasha A. Kelly's 2018 video *Millis Erwachen/Milli's Awakening*, a portrait of eight Black German women hailing from the art world, who speak of their experiences working in environments dominated by white men. Natasha A. Kelly, *Millis Erwachen. Schwarze Frauen, Kunst und Widerstand/Milli's Awakening. Black Women, Art and Resistance* (Hamburg: Orlanda, 2018).

39 Lennox, "Introduction," 4.

40 Jennifer E. Michaels, "Multi-Ethnicity and Cultural Identity: Afro-German Women Writers Struggle for Identity in Postunification Germany," in: *German Memory Contests*, eds. Mary Cosgrove, Anne Fuchs, and Georg Grote (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 209–228.

41 El-Tayeb, "'If You Can't Pronounce My Name'," 471.

42 Fanny Kniestedt, "Kein Platz für deutsche Kolonialgeschichte?" https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/geschichtsunterricht-kein-platz-fuer-deutsche.976.de.html?dram:article_id=480566 (accessed December 19, 2020).

43 Lennox, "Introduction," 21; Grada Kilomba, *Plantation Memories: Episodes of Everyday Racism* (Münster: Unrast, 2008); Noah Sow, *Deutschland Schwarz Weiß: Der alltägliche Rassismus* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2018); cf. also: Fatima El-Tayeb, "Antischwarzer Rassismus und das Staatliche Gewaltmonopol," in: *Undeutsch*, 213–218.

44 During the November 2019 celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the U5 line was renamed the "Freedom Line" [*Freiheitslinie*], and its stations were adorned with photographs documenting the heroic reunification narrative, in which reunification itself is portrayed as the valiant struggle of East German citizenry against the communist regime. The pictures at Schillingstrasse station showed the grandiose military parade of October 7, 1989, held to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR. The spectacle of power resting on brittle foundations was eventually interrupted by violent protests, which had to be quelled by law enforcement; https://freiheitslinieu5.de/stationen/brandenburger-tor/ (accessed December 19, 2020).

45 The artist initially wanted to hang the collages at Bundestag station near the government district, but city authorities refused the request. Ariane Lehme, "Halt machen in Hellersdorf," *taz am Wochenende*, April 8–9, 2017, 48.

46 "The East German children of Namibia" was a term for Black Namibian children brought up in East Germany. As the South African Border War (1966–1990) raged on, the GDR welcomed hundreds of children of Namibian refugees and political emigres who returned to Namibia after reunification, following repatriation efforts. Some of the repatriated later founded an organization for "former children of the GDR." Cf. Jürgen Krause, *Das DDR-Namibia-Solidaritätsprojekt "Schule der Freundschaft": Möglichkeiten und Grenzen interkultureller Erziehung* (Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag, 2009).

47 Reinhart Kössler, "Entangled History and Politics: Negotiating the Past Between Namibia and Germany," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* vol. 26, no. 3 (2008), 313.

48 Reinhart Kössler, *Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past* (Windhoek: University of Namibia Press, 2015).

49 Horst Drechsler, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft: der Kampf der Herero und Nama Gegen den Deutschen Imperialismus (1884–1915)*

(Berlin: Steiner, 1966).

50 Cf. *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

51 The front page of the September 12, 1972 issue of *Neues Deutschland*, the official press arm of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, read: "Ein Tag im Zeichen unserer internationalen Solidaritat" [A Day Under the Banner of Our International Solidarity]. Next to the headline was a picture of First Secretary Erich Honecker, then 60, wearing a modest suit and shaking hands with Angela Davis, epitomizing revolutionary glamor from head to toe, a symbol of the Black Power movement's new radicalism. Cf. Sophie Lorenz, *"Schwarze Schwester Angela" – die DDR und Angela Davis: Kalter Krieg, Rassismus und Black Power 1965–1975* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2020), 12–13.

52 Klaus Bollinger, *Freedom now – Freiheit sofort! Die Negerbevölkerung der USA im Kampf um Demokratie* (Berlin [Ost]: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1968), 4–5, as quoted in: Lorenz, *"Schwarze Schwester Angela,"* 32.

53 Ibid., 16.

54 Cf. *1 Million Rosen für Angela Davis*, exhibition at the Kunsthalle im Lipsiusbau, Dredsen, October 10, 2020 – January 24, 2021, curated by Kathleen Reinhardt, https://lipsiusbau.skd.museum/ausstellungen/1-million-rosen-fuer-angela-davis/ (accessed October 1, 2020).

55 "Große Palette," *Der Spiegel* vol. 48 (1972), 171.

56 "Debatte um die geplante Ausstellung 'Willi Sitte – Werke und Dokumente'." in: *Bilderstreit und Gesellschaftsumbruch. Die Debatten um die Kunst aus der DDR im Prozess der deutschen Widervereinigung*, eds. Paul Kaiser, Claudia Petzold, and Karl-Siegbert Rehberg (Berlin–Kassel: Siebenhaar Verlag, 2013), 464–483.

57 Cf. *Comrades of Color*.

58 Peggy Piesche, "Making African Diasporic Pasts Possible: A Retrospective View of the GDR and its Black (Step-)Children," in: *Remapping Black Germany*, 226–242.

59 Marlene Heidel, *Bilder außer Plan. Kunst aus der DDR und das kollektive Gedächtnis* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2015).

60 Mwangi studied under Ulrike Rosenbach at the Hochschule für Bildende Künste Saar in Saarbrücken. Rosenbach, in turn, had perfected her craft in the workshop of Joseph Beuys, widely considered the embodiment of the "German artist" (i.e. a white man).

61 www.mwangi-hutter.de/art/biography.html (accessed September 30, 2020).

62 Ibid.

63 It ought to be noted that until 2000, Germany had an *ius sanguinis* citizenship rule, which means that German citizenship could only be granted to a person with at least one white parent.

64 Brett M. Van Hoesen, "The Politics and Poetics of Mwangi Hutter's One Artist/Two Body Construct," *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art* 44 (2019), 118.

65 El-Tayeb, *Undeutsch*, 215; Fatima El-Tayeb, *Anders Europäisch: Rassismus und Widerstand im vereinten Europa* (Münster: Unrast, 2015).

66 Ingrid Mwangi, untitled, in: *Ingrid Mwangi*: *Your Own Soul*, ed. Berthold Schmitt, exh. cat. (Saarbrücken: Stadtgalerie Saarbrücken, 2003), 9.

67 Ingrid Mwangi, email correspondence between Brett M. Van Hoesen and the artist, as quoted in: Van Hoesen, "The Politics and Poetics," 119.

68 Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, trans. Carol Diethe, ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38.

69 Cf. El-Tayeb, *Undeutsch*, 217.

70 *Ist es so ungewöhnlich, wenn ein Afro-Deutscher seine Sprache spricht*
Und nicht so blass ist im Gesicht?
Das Problem sind die Ideen im System:
Ein echter Deutscher muss auch richtig deutsch aussehen

Blaue Augen, blondes Haar keine Gefahr
Gab's da nicht 'ne Zeit wo's schon mal so war?!
"Gehst du mal später zurück in deine Heimat?"
"Wohin? nach Heidelberg? wo ich ein Heim hab?"

71 Richard Elliott, "Homeland Insecurity," *Intruders* (2013), 76–79, www.mwangi-hutter.de/art/text_intruders_cataloge__Richard_Elliott_homeland_insecurity.html (accessed October 1, 2020).

72 El-Tayeb, "'If You Can't Pronounce My Name'," 478–479. On the need for emphasizing one's nationality, see the example of Theodor Michel, born in 1925 in Berlin to a Cameroonian father and a German mother. In his autobiography, Michel repeatedly claims that despite the many humiliating experiences he suffered throughout the war, he never stopped seeing himself as 100% German. Theodor Michel, *Deutsch sein und Schwarz dazu. Erinnerungen eines Afro-Deutschen* (Berlin: dtv Verlagsgesellschaft, 2013).

73 Michelle M. Wright, "Others-from-Within from Without: Afro-German Subject Formation and the Challenge of a Counter-Discourse," *Callaloo* vol. 26, no. 2 (2003), 296.

74 Ibid., 297.

75 Ibid., 302.

76 James Baldwin, "Stranger in the Village," in: idem, *Notes of a Native Son* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 163–179.

77 Alexander G. Weheliye, *Fremd im eigenen Land*, https://heimatkunde.boell.de/de/2005/12/01/fremd-im-eigenen-land (accessed December 20, 2020).

78 Cf. Maria Wagińska-Marzec, "Kontrowersje wokół odbudowy zamku berlińskiego jako wyraz sporu o tożsamość Niemców," *Przegląd Zachodni* no. 331 (2009), 65–99.

79 For more information, see the webpages of two initiatives: No-Humboldt21, launched in 2013, www.no-humboldt21.de/, and The Coalition of the Cultural Workers Against the Kulturforum, founded in the summer of 2020, https://ccwah.info/ (accessed December 19, 2020).

80 El-Tayeb, *Undeutsch*, 88.

81 Assmann, *Geschichte*, 29.

82 "Wir sind zeitlebens als unfreiwillige und unbezahlte Statistiker_innen in Sachen Deutschsein unterwegs." El-Tayeb, *Undeutsch*, 217.