

"Small is beautiful": Postcolonial Walking Tours as a Form of Street Justice

Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, Christian Kopp, Yann LeGall

I. Mnyaka Sururu Mboro

It all started in 1984, 100 years after the Berlin Conference, also called the Congo Conference. At the time, together with other Africans in Berlin, I organized an event to remember how European leaders divided the African continent and drew their own borders. That is when I started becoming aware of traces of German colonialism in Berlin. A colleague told me that there is a so-called "African quarter" in the district of Wedding in West Berlin. Not because Africans live there, but because these streets bear the names of countries, towns, or lakes in Africa. So we went there, and as I walked through this neighbourhood, I read: "Ghana Street", "Cameroon Street", "Zanzibar Street", "Tanga Street", "Usambara Street", and I found it wonderful. To me, it meant that Germans somehow think of Africa, that they recognize our existence.

But then, as we were walking, we came across "Peters Avenue". Then it struck me. It took me one or two minutes to catch my breath again. I knew who Carl Peters was: an Imperial Commissioner in the Kilimanjaro region. So I asked myself: what do they want to show the world? 100 years after colonialism, were they still celebrating him? I knew from Tanzanian perspectives how brutal this person was. He used to hang my people, the Wachaga from the Kilimanjaro region. We call him *mkono wa damu*, which means "the bloody hand". He was even criticized by Germans for his violence in East Africa. The press at the time called him *Hänge-Peters*, which means "Hanging Peters".

Storytelling: from grandmothers to guided tours

My grandmother used to say that God punished Carl Peters for his crimes by hanging him on the moon. One evening, we were outside with my grandmother. She told me to look at the moon, and when I looked, she asked me, "What did you see?" "Nothing." "Look again. And this time, take your time, and tell me what you saw." I didn't see anything. "Look again!", she insisted. I refused politely. "Please tell me a story", I asked. She said, "No. Let us look at the moon together. Can't you see the black shadow in there? Does it look like a human being?" "Yes", I admitted. She said, "It is a human being who is there". I didn't believe it but I had to listen. She went on telling me that because Carl Peters was so brutal, people in my area believe that God punished him by hanging him in the moon. She told me, "Don't worry. Peters will not come down anymore to hang our people".



Figure 1: Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, co-founder of Berlin Postkolonial e.V., holding a street sign remembering the Maji Maji War in Tanzania (1905-07) (Photo: Tahir Della)

So when I saw the *Petersallee*, or “Peters Avenue” in 1984, I could not believe it. I asked myself: how can a Christian nation glorify such a man? My German colleagues did not know the dark side to this story that I instead did. So, when I had the chance, I started doing guided tours to tell people about what I knew about German colonialism in Africa.

My way of telling the stories has changed, but it is not an evolution that can be tracked. It usually simply depends on the group I am with. Usually, before I start the tour, I ask them who they are and what they are interested in. I have experienced a variety of reactions to the way I tell history. Some said to me, “It is too brutal. You cannot talk about that in this way, especially when children are present”. Often, I disagree. How do you decide what should be told and what should be silenced? I personally would rather face the reality. Even though I build a kind of story, a narrative, to relate colonial history in East Africa, I remain close to the facts. Such facts, brutal as they are, must be told. I learned them from my grandmother and other elders, and they told those stories in a very straightforward tone. This is what I got, and this is the method I use. Books often try to present facts in some sort of packaging. I often ask myself: for whom is this story written? For instance, some people do not believe me when I tell them that the official end of the First World War (11 November) does not reflect the actual end of the First World War (18 November in East Africa). Certain things have to be mentioned. When it comes to the Holocaust and to massacres of other groups by the Nazi regime, Germans face that in a very direct way. When I talk about colonialism, hanging, oppression, and rapes, I still often experience backlash.

During the tours, you meet those people who live in this neighborhood. Many among them are against our initiative and oppose our call for renaming some of the streets, like Peters

Avenue. Over the years, some people have even come to confront me in front of the groups I was leading on a tour. They cursed or insulted me, shouting words that should not be uttered, like the N*word. "What are you doing here? Go back to your...", and so on. Some of them were aggressive. Once, someone even brandished a baseball bat and the police had to intervene. But the police have not always been on our side. Another time, some of the locals who lived near the Nachtigalplatz square came shouting at me, disturbing us. So, I called the police. When they came, they first asked me to show my ID. They thought we were organizing a demonstration that was not legally registered. I told them, "This is a guided tour. The authorities are aware". To put the matter at rest, they only asked us to leave the area. And one final anecdote: once I was with students, sitting along the Petersallee. Among the students, there were three young Afro-German ladies. A couple came to me, in front of the group, and said "You're lying. Go back to your country." Those young ladies lost their composure and started crying. They told their fellow students that we have to do something against racism and ignorance.

When I take students, scholars or grownups to the African quarter, I tell them the stories the way my grandmother told me. Often, I see in their eyes that it strikes them. They start understanding me. Not all of them want to hear the dark side of history. Some say, "That is the past, and what does it have to do with me? At most, some of the colonialists were my great-grandparents." When this kind of reasoning comes up, I look at them and say: "If you don't have anything to do with it, and we as victims of colonialism are calling for renaming streets with the names of people who fought against colonial rule, then leave it to us. This way, both sides of history can be told."

Expanding, sharing and giving back knowledge

I already knew quite a lot about East and Southwest Africa. With my colleagues, I also started learning about Cameroon and Togo. The methods Germans used in East Africa were not that different from those used in other colonies. I knew the names of many officers stationed in East Africa, and then, I found out that the same ones were also sent to Cameroon or Southwest Africa. Hans Dominik, Hans Glauning or Lothar von Trotha for example, ordered many of the infamous *Strafexpeditionen*, or "punitive expeditions" in East Africa before oppressing others elsewhere. I started comparing it to what colleagues told me about Cameroon and Togo. We could relate. I met Cameroonians, Togolese people, and German historians like Christian, who went through the books so that we can expand the knowledge that we want to give to the people who take our tours.

People often forget that here, in Germany, you have more references about German colonialism than in Tanzania. Of course, buildings and churches from that time still stand there. But here, in the archives, there is a lot! Most of the knowledge that remains in Tanzania comes from the oral history from our ancestors. In the Kilimanjaro region, when we talked about Mangi Meli, the leader of the Wachaga who was murdered and whose head was taken away by German soldiers, we didn't have all these photos that you can find here in Berlin! Of course, the ones who knew him could remember his face, but they are no longer alive. What I'm trying to say is that, from photos to documents and stolen artifacts, there are so many references to German colonialism here that Germany should share with us, either by making copies available or, in the case of looted treasures, giving them back. It would be very educative. When you look at a photo, it might become easier for you to understand and motivate you to learn more. This knowledge should be shared with younger generations in Tanzania. I often tell youngsters in Tanzania about what I have learned here, but some of them believe that I am cheating them. There is still a lot of work to be done to make those archives available, especially when you consider that someone like me has often had a hard time obtaining access to these precious documents.

Transform the city and shape future generations

Since the 1980s I have wanted to see three streets in the African quarter renamed. This would do justice to the victims of German colonial rule. Carl Peters, Adolf Lüderitz and Gustav Nachtigal were respectively the founders of the colonies of German East-Africa (Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi), German Southwest Africa (Namibia), Togo and Cameroon. Their names show that this neighbourhood was (and still is) a *colonial* quarter. Across the years, I kept asking myself: how long should this take? But I feel that with the guided tours, people are slowly understanding why it is necessary to talk about our responsibility regarding colonial history. As the British say, and as I always say as well: "Small is beautiful". Nowadays, the support for renaming those three streets is growing. This part of history is not taught in schools and it remains marginal at the university level. So, we need these tools. One person who is convinced may lead to a street being renamed, and then, some day, it might ultimately result in an official apology for the Herero and Nama genocide. Because of our work, which includes events and demonstrations, institutions have started talking about this history. This is good. It must continue.

Since the early 2000s, we have been lobbying political parties. As the debate over renaming streets grew louder, the conservative CDU party used the issue to gain voters in the African Quarter. In 2011, they put up big posters in the African Quarter saying "With us, streets will not be renamed". They even had flyers which they dropped in mailboxes. In 2018, the district council officially decided to rename those streets, and I am looking forward to leading a tour there with the new names. Yet I fear for this decision, because political parties tend to change their positions quickly. An initiative by local inhabitants now wants to take the case to court.

At least the tours give me the energy to continue. I believe that, if all locals were prepared to take the tours, to hear and listen, to learn about what the founders of these colonies did, then they would be on our side. Besides, we have allies in the government, organizations, and even in African embassies. Still, some should become more active. They are the ones who can support us so that things can be solved in a proper way, because this history is not only a one-side history. It should be addressed in different institutions and with different perspectives. It is necessary for younger generations to know this history, so that what happened in the past will not be repeated.

Many young people have picked up the torch that we held in 1984. My daughter has been accompanying me and she has developed performances in the African Quarter. Younger experts like Josephine Apraku and Kwesi Aikins also lead tours there. Besides, many of our organization members have accompanied me and they now have the knowledge to lead tours themselves. Jacqueline Mayen from the organization Afropolitan Berlin also offers special guided tours focusing on the history of women in colonialism. We also wish to develop other tours with our newly founded alliance Decolonize Berlin e.V. We have already led groups through the central district of Mitte, from Wilhelmstraße (where the Berlin Conference took place) to the Humboldt Forum, that former Imperial Palace which has been rebuilt to exhibit art and artifacts that were stolen from African communities. But there are also hidden corners, like that mural at Ermeler-Haus that depicts enslaved Africans plucking tobacco for the Brandenburg-Prussian traders. There are still many stories to be told, and even more to be unearthed. *Mapambano bado yanaendelea!*



Figure 2: Kalvin Soirese Njall in front of the Palais de Bruxelles (behind) and the monument to Léopold II, telling about the violent colonial aspirations of the former King of Belgium (Photo: Goethe Institute Brussels)



Figure 3: Linda Porn (left) in front of the Columbus Monument in Barcelona, showing contemporary depictions of genocidal violence in the writings of Bartholomeu de las Casas (Photo: Goethe Institute Brussels)

II. Yann LeGall & Christian Kopp

In May 2019 in Brussels, the participants of the workshop “Everything passes except the past” were invited to follow a tour on the traces of colonialism in the historical centre of the Belgian capital. Calvin Soiresse Njall from the initiative “Collectif Mémoire Coloniale et Lutte contre les Discriminations” (CMCLD) was our guide (see Fig. 2). He took us to the ING or BNP Paribas Bank headquarters and the Royal Palace, landmarks where decisions about the Congo region were taken without representatives of the people who lived there. The tour ended at the statue of Leopold II, a figure who embodies colonial oppression and violence.

In October 2019 in Barcelona, artist and activist Linda Porn led the participants to the imposing statue of Christopher Columbus. In a performance that took place around the column, from one engraving to the next, she unfolded the crimes of Spanish colonialists in the West Indies. By reading excerpts from the writings of Bartolomé de la Casas, she debunked the myth of discovery and reminded that eyewitnesses were on hand to attest to the brutality inflicted by Columbus and the settlers on Indigenous people (Fig. 3). Many tourists who came that day to admire the statue stared at our group and probably asked themselves what Linda Porn was telling us.

Despite the longevity of monuments such as those to Leopold II and Columbus, urban landscapes are always in motion. They are constantly shaped by authorities, companies and communities who decide what can stay, what should be changed or demolished, and what comes next. Institutions and governments often opt for carving their histories in architecture by erecting statues of heroes propagating the myths that crystallise the birth of nations and their achievements in world history. Even postcolonial states have followed this trend, toppling effigies of colonialists and renaming streets and squares with the names of important anticolonial figures and landmarks.

Sometimes, the traces left on landscapes seem indelible, as if someone had used a permanent marker on a whiteboard. Would a mayor of Barcelona dare replace the Columbus column? At this date, this is hard to imagine. If not destroyed in accidental circumstances, these colossal monuments seem to “outrun death” as Achille Mbembe has argued in the case of statues.¹ During our workshop in the Catalan city, Karfa Sira Diallo argued that living among traces that commemorate colonialists is helpful for a critical reappraisal of this history. To him, founder of the organisation *Mémoires et Partages* based in Bordeaux and Dakar, those “monsters” of the past can stay. When their names and faces are out in the open, a trial can indeed take place. They can be summoned to answer for their crimes during guided tours. Besides, information boards or memorials to their victims can be erected next to them. With this kind of contextualisation, curious passers-by can learn about the biographies of Louis Faidherbe, Carl Peters or James Cook. This compromising evidence can shed a different light onto their legacy and reveal the dark side of European modernity: colonial oppression.

Deface, topple, or simply tell the stories

When groups disagree as to whom should be celebrated and how, some choose to stain, tag, or scratch the whiteboard. Gatherings and acts of civil disobedience have become more and more visible in the last decades, especially with regard to the corporeal presence of state criminals in busts and statues. Transnational movements such as Rhodes Must Fall (Cape Town and Oxford), the use of red paint on Columbus Day, and the recent toppling of the statue of Edward Colston in Bristol represent some of the most visible actions calling for the

1 Achille Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason*, translated by Laurent Dubois, Duke University Press (2017): 126.

disappearance of a “culture of taste” that celebrates conquest and colonial oppression.² We believe that they are neither provocations nor vandalism. They are just the visible tip of an iceberg that hosts decades of traumatic experiences in states who continue to deny their responsibility in histories of brutality, enslavement, racism, disenfranchisement and oblivion.³ Regardless whether these interventions are art, graffiti, or both, Joseph Pugliese sees them as “street justice” in the context of settler colonial Australia. They “articulat[e] what would otherwise remain unsaid”, and are the “tactical exercise of informal justice by the dispossessed and disenfranchised”.⁴ With #BlackLivesMatter protests in North American and European cities, these acts are gaining momentum and legitimacy. In 2018, 2019 and in June 2020, statues of Leopold II in Brussels have been sprayed or unbolted from their plinths by activists who refuse to be forced to look up to a King who launched Belgian colonialism and ordered massacres in the Congo region.⁵

Beyond the limited metaphor of a whiteboard, landscapes are also settings and playgrounds. As settings, they hold vivid memories anchored in stories kept by those who lived them, witnesses to bygone events and times. As a playground, the city is up for grabs among those who claim the urban space in their different practices of everyday life. People who do not enjoy the power to shape the landscape resort to many tactics to make their stories heard. Protest, occupation, demonstrations and flashmobs seek acknowledgment at the highest level in the public sphere. They strive for media coverage, public debate and political reaction. But simple walks in the city or guided tours also participate in those constant struggles for the recognition of marginalised histories in a space dominated by hegemonic decisions. They might seem petty in comparison to a massive demonstration, yet they often manage to reach deep levels of personal and emotional implication. Indeed, as Mnyaka Sururu Mboro’s contribution has shown, they are something like a gloomy family story-telling. He does not refrain from telling what some would not hear, giving historical facts that are sometimes hard to swallow. As forms of street justice, tours allow interaction and discussion. Questions can be asked and debates can take place in the intimate setting of a group of less than 25 participants.

Guided tours are the realm of witnesses. Not in the sense of eye-witnesses in a trial, but as witnesses of the past who pass on their experiences to younger generations, or to those who are strangers to these experiences. The combination of intergenerational memory (the role of grandmothers for instance), diasporic experience (as Africans or Afro-Europeans in Europe) and local memory of colonialism (in Tanzania, Senegal or the DRC) are “repertoires of embodied

² In his book *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*, Simon Gikandi offers an important critique of white European aesthetics of the 17th to 19th century. He demonstrates how statues, paintings and other forms of visual art fully contributed to propagating ideas of racist hierarchy. Black bodies were used as props to the representation of taste and wealth, mostly pictured behind aristocrats, as servants. Besides, he reveals how slavery and the ownership of enslaved Africans had been viewed as a mark social status in Anglophone literature at the time, especially in the U.S. See Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*, Princeton University Press (2011).

³ Francis Nyamnjoh has interpreted the smearing of Cecil John Rhodes’ statue with human excrement at the University of Cape Town as a symbol of the “unfinished business” of a “wounded black community of students, and by extension the rest of black South Africans, who were yet to feed on the purported fruits of liberation”. Francis B. Nyamnjoh, *#Rhodesmustfall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa*, Langaa RPCIG (2016): 77.

⁴ Joseph Pugliese, “Julie Gough’s Forensic Archaeology of National Forgetting”, in *Julie Gough: Hunting Ground: September 8 - December 31, 2017*, University of Virginia (2017): 7-8.

⁵ RTBF, “Le buste de Léopold II au parc Duden “déboulonné” par des militants anti-coloniaux”, *RTBF.be*, 11 Jan. 2018, accessed 15 May 2020, https://www.rtf.be/info/regions/bruxelles/detail_parc-duden-a-forest-le-buste-de-leopold-ii-a-t-il-ete-deboulonne-durant-la-nuit?id=9808178; Franchomme, Nicolas, “La statue de Léopold II à nouveau vandalisée ce week-end”, *BX1.be*, 10 Sep. 2019, accessed 15 May 2020, <https://bx1.be/news/la-statue-de-leopold-ii-a-nouveau-vandalisee-ce-week-end/>.

knowledge”⁶. The knowledge of Calvin Njall, Karfa Diallo, Linda Porn and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro testifies against the celebration of colonial oppression out in the open. It talks about racism, dehumanisation, genocide and highlights experiences of “wounded identities”, resistance, as well as exile and uprootedness. The tours are tools for descendants and communities of victims to fulfil a duty to *zemburuka, hangana, tunga*, as advocated by Vekuii Rukoro, Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero: “Remember, reconcile, reconstruct”.⁷ Because these witnesses “cannot not remember”, they have an imperative to tell, and they need to stitch those broken threads together again.⁸

Besides, witnessing is contagious. Or rather, when someone becomes implicated in this history, when they learn about the value of this history to descendants of the colonised, they might pass on the stories they have heard. I (Yann) have lived in the so-called “African quarter” in Berlin for the past five years. I have brought students on tours with Mnyaka Sururu Mboro. When friends and family members come to visit, they cannot escape my wish to tell them part of the history of this colonial quarter, whether they want to hear it or not.

The city as an open museum: digital futures of urban activism

We are indeed both tour guides as well, Christian in Berlin and Yann in Potsdam. These neighbouring cities still celebrate their imperial architecture. Potsdam is even a city where a critical perspective is found to be lacking. Our colleagues Elisabeth Nechutnys, Anna von Rath and Lina Fricke from Postcolonial Potsdam started offering tours in the famous Sanssouci Park in 2014. In those tours, we disrupt the silence about the involvement of Brandenburg-Prussia in the enslavement of Africans, we unveil the racist and exotic portrayal of non-Europeans in Prussian art and architecture, and we reveal events and figures that link Berlin and Potsdam to Namibia, Ghana, Togo, Cameroon, Tanzania, and even China and Papua.

In Potsdam, the city is a museum and the museum is the city. Many buildings and parks are in fact owned by the Foundation for Prussian Palaces and Gardens. This foundation even officially considers the Sanssouci park as a museum rather than a green public space. No picnics are allowed, for instance, nor is walking on the grass. But how can a park be a museum if visitors can only learn about Prussian history when they purchase audio-guides, or when they actively book a tour with Berlin Postkolonial or Postcolonial Potsdam? How can you confront neophytes and non-professionals with the darker side of local history, namely the involvement of Brandenburg-Prussia in the transatlantic trade of enslaved Africans? We have argued until now that guided tours have an added value because of their intimate setting, but many people cannot get spontaneous access to the expertise of Calvin Njall, Karfa Diallo or Linda Porn. Some live far away, while others are unable to walk. What can be developed to pass on this knowledge to those who are unable to attend guided tours?

To remedy this, Postcolonial Potsdam has called upon the support of the local University to develop a digital audio-guide. The Covid-19 lock-down measures have proved that the

6 Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, Columbia University Press (2012): 2.

7 These were the words foregrounded by the Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero in his written address for the launch of the community-based Hosea Kutako University. Due to a lack of funding and government support, the university could not sustain its activities and its web domain is no longer accessible. See Rukoro, Vekuii, "Welcome," *Hosea Kutako University*, accessed 16 Oct. 2018.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20181016192310/http://www.hku.africa/about-hosea-kutako-university>

8 Here we draw on Giorgio Agamben’s discussion of the three etymologies of “witness”. From Latin, the witness as *testis* provides a testimony in a trial; the *superstes* bears the imperative to tell her/his story. From Ancient Greek, the *martis* “bearing witness to his fate”, the one whose death compels remembrance. See Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz - the Witness and the Archive*, Zone Books (1999): 17-26.

cultural sector should reconsider its nature in the digital era. Museums and concert halls have tried to call upon their digital presence to propose interactive experiences that enable visitors to be there without being present *in situ*.⁹ Besides, museums are no longer closed spaces. The District 6 Museum in Cape Town, and Wayne Modest and his crew at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam are examples where professionals have not hesitated to leave their sanctuary and actively search for spaces in the city where they can intervene and where they can meet and convey grassroots perspectives on ethnography, colonial legacies and experiences of migration. With those recent approaches in mind, Postcolonial Potsdam proposes an interactive map with guiding features that can take an individual or a group through the park without being present physically. To keep the perspective of witnesses, the generic texts are sometimes accompanied by the voices of activists who give their perspectives on the matter at hand. To debunk the presence of the alleged Peak of Kilimanjaro in Potsdam's New Palace, Mnyaka Sururu Mboro and Kenyan author Oduor Obura intervene. In Potsdam's Dutch Quarter, anthropologist and activist Jessica de Abreu tells about her experience in leading protests against the racist tradition of Black Pete in the Netherlands. Their embedded voices provide a polyphonic experience that allows for multiple perspectives and emotional reactions to those places and their histories.

Outlook: a European memorial for African victims of racism and colonialism

Ways of experiencing the city have evolved. Digital alternatives to urban history may offer remote access to museums and monuments and thereby enable some kind of immersion into colonial history through the mediated voices of witnesses, street views, photo archives and videos. Yet, nothing can replace the situational and emotional depth of personal accounts and eye-to-eye contact. In guided tours, those at the receiving end become more than just consumers of knowledge. Some might become implicated subjects.¹⁰ The work of Karfa Diallo, Calvin Njaal, Linda Porn, and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro is passed on by means of orality and affect. And there is no denying that the voices of those witnesses of colonial oppression, racism and resistance have remained carved in the memories of many of those who followed them through the city. In fact, the hippocampus, the organ of individual memory, remembers better when facts are framed by storytelling, with a narrator, protagonists and a setting.¹¹

But as far as reconciliation is concerned, nothing can replace a national gesture for the acknowledgement of colonialism. Fourteen years ago, the Committee for an African Memorial in Berlin (KADiB) organized their first march to commemorate the victims of slavery and colonialism (Fig. 4). Every year in late February, they remember the end of the Berlin Congo

9 The British Museum and the Rijksmuseum for instance offer some kind of street-view tours online.

10 Michael Rothberg recently wished to break away from binary paradigms, expanding the politics of representation beyond the dichotomy "victims" vs "perpetrators", and furthering the possibility for solidarity in remembering. To him, individuals might indeed intervene in practices of remembrance as outsiders breaching the borders of collective memory by underscoring their own relationality to the past of "others", without appropriating its discourse, its codes, its authority. Therefore, considering one's position as "implicated" can foster "robust and politically efficacious forms of self-reflection [...]. Such attention also serves to caution us against self-righteousness and to encourage us to acknowledge how we are caught up in the very policies we oppose". See Michael Rothberg, "Trauma Theory, Implicated Subjects, and the Question of Israel/Palestine," *Profession* (2 May 2014).

11 Memory in the brain belongs to the limbic system and one of its core organs, the hippocampus. It is interesting to note that the recognition of anchoring places and the emotional character of histories are also cognitive elements controlled by this neurological network. See Flavio Dell'Acqua and Michel Thiebaut de Schotten, "A Revised Limbic System Model for Memory, Emotion and Behavior," *Neuroscience and biobehavioral reviews* 37 (2013).

Conference and the division of the African continent with speeches, song and testimonies. Polyphonic versions of Enoch Sontoga's *Nkosi Sikele iAfrica* resonate in the streets of Berlin. Cameroonians, Senegalese, South Africans, Tanzanians and Germans take part in a communal remembrance of colonial violence. They remind that this history is not only limited to German colonialism. The Berlin Conference indeed also satiated the colonial appetites of the Kingdom of Belgium, the Netherlands, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal and Italy. A memorial on the Wilhelmstraße for the victims of colonialism would pave the way for a supranational acknowledgment at the European level. Despite the continued deaf ear turned to this claim, the development of technology such as holograms and augmented reality could soon give rise to an immaterial memorial. This would be thumbing one's nose at reluctant political parties and conservative groups. Many have not yet understood that, with the increasing importance of African countries in the global economy and of people of African descent in Western societies, the acknowledgment of colonial history has become inevitable.



Figure 4: Members of the Committee for an African Memorial in Berlin (KADiB), the Initiative for Black People in Germany (ISD), of #BlackLivesMatterBerlin and other protesters on the memorial march for victims of slavery and colonialism on 23rd February 2020 (Photo: Yann LeGall)