

POST-COLONIAL TRACES IN LEIPZIG

A MAP



**RACIST REALITIES
AND RESISTANCE**



**POLITICS OF
REMEMBRANCE**



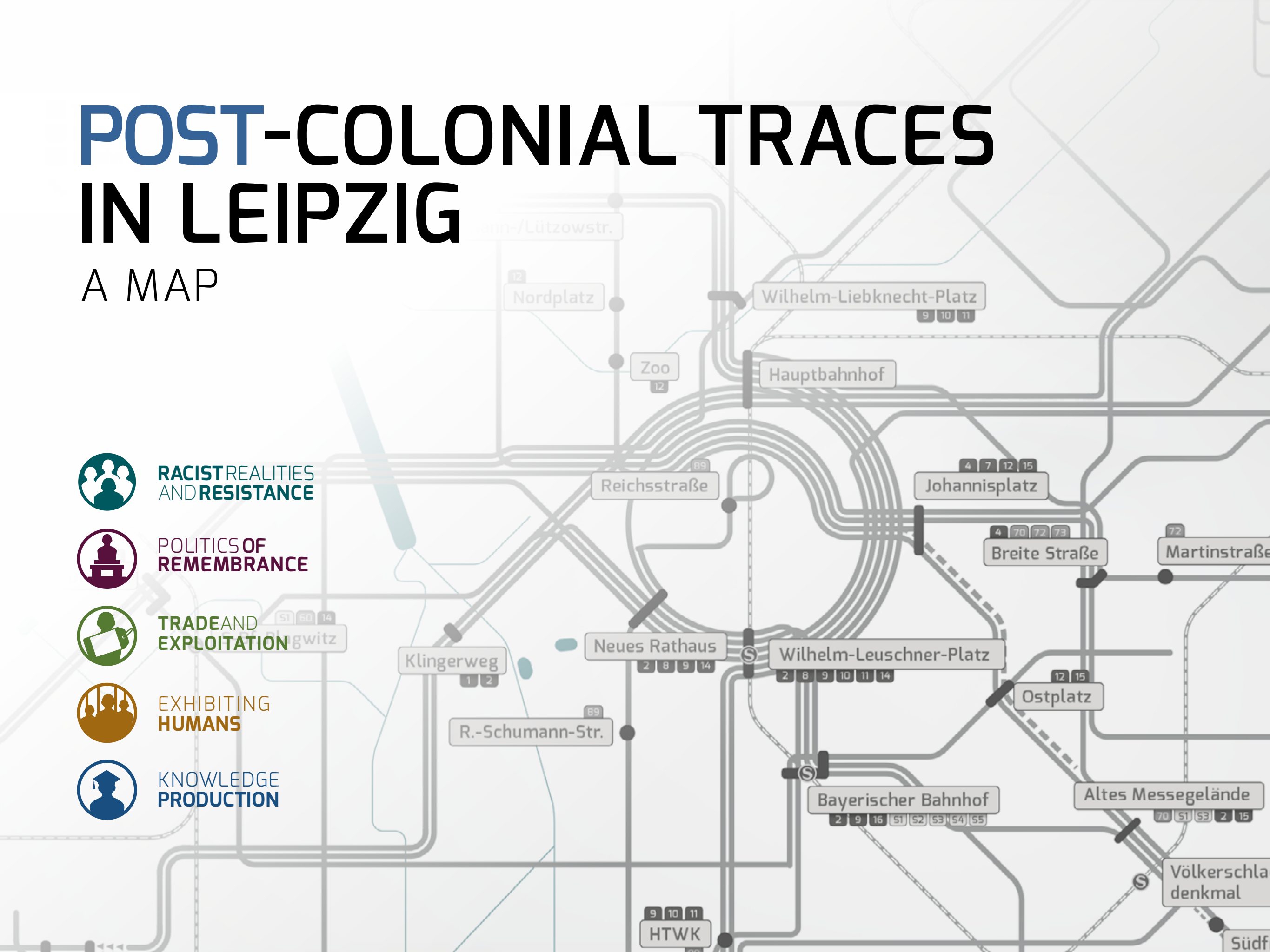
**TRADE AND
EXPLOITATION**

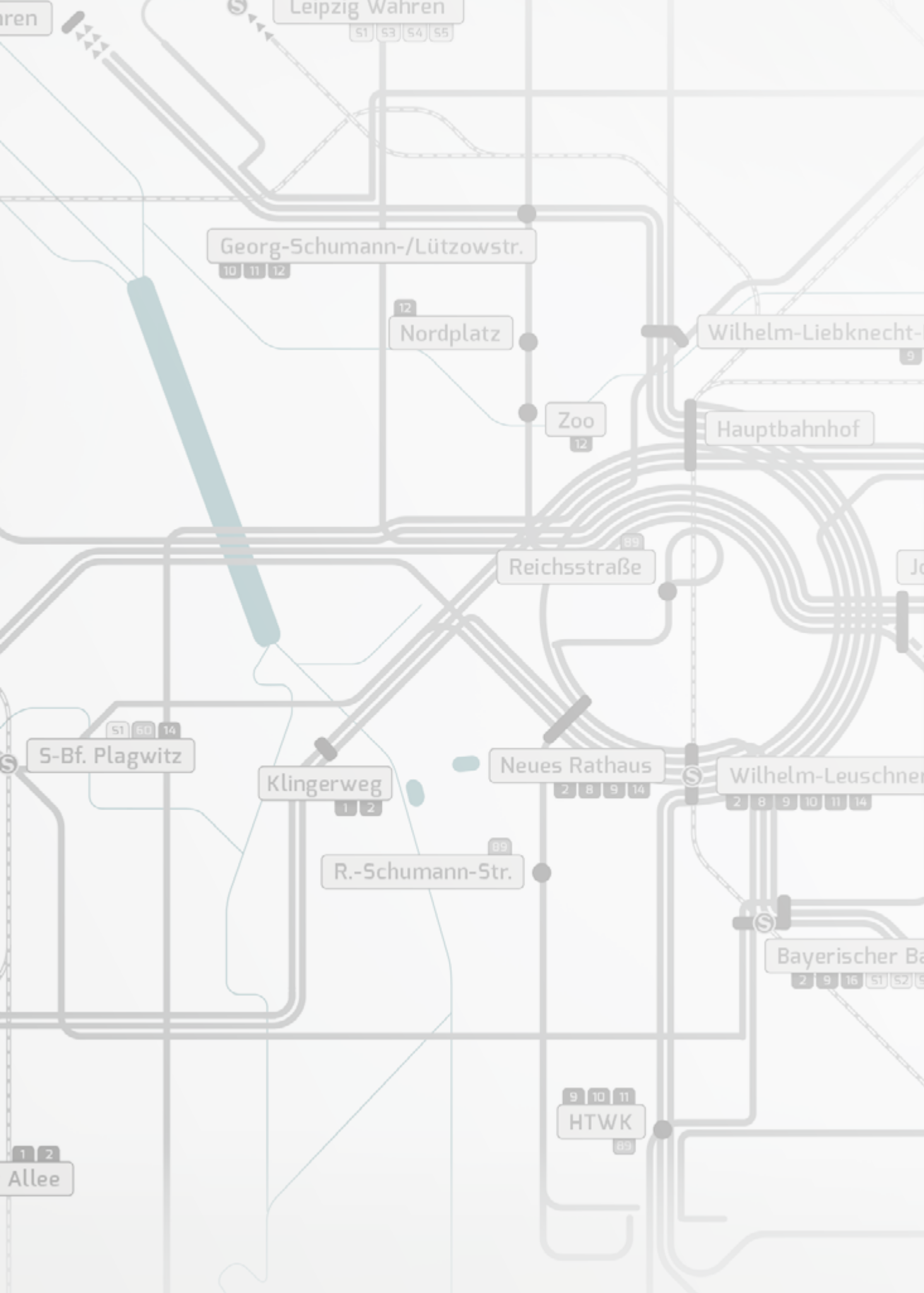


**EXHIBITING
HUMANS**



**KNOWLEDGE
PRODUCTION**





PREFACE TO **SECOND** **EDITION**

The second edition of the city map „POST-COLONIAL TRACES IN LEIPZIG“ addresses interested speakers of Arabic, Turkish, English and German. With this version we aim to reduce linguistic barriers to the city map. We also aim to raise awareness of the past, present and future of social, cultural, political and economic relations between the global „North“ and „South“. This is easily done by connecting them with well-known places and events in the city. We want to promote a sustainable local culture of remembrance that engages with the (post)colonial history and present conditions in Leipzig. Through the city map we stimulate an intercultural dialogue which every inhabitant and visitor of Leipzig can actively take part in. We are convinced that a critical awareness of the history of racism is important for weakening prejudices that sadly still prevail in our (urban) societies.

In the Arabic version, names of persons are translated to the Arabic alphabet for easier reading. Internet links, pictograms including letters and place names (such as street names) are not translated to the Arabic alphabet, in order to facilitate and enable both the use of the city map and recognition in the cityscape. Discriminating and excluding language continues to dominate written and verbal communication in our societies. In response to this practice, we use language that is sensitive to discrimination, racism and gender.

We understand the city map in its present form as a changeable result of our work and invite critical suggestions for improvement as well as content-related comments and additions.

1. WHAT IS A POST-COLONIAL (CITY) MAP?

Colonialism in Leipzig? This map points out (in) visible traces of (post)colonialism in Leipzig's cityscape. The places listed here are familiar to many of Leipzig's inhabitants and visitors: the University, the Clara Zetkin Park, the central municipal library, the Grassi Museum of Anthropology (Museum für Völkerkunde), the Monument to the Battle of Nations (Völkerschlachtdenkmal), the Zoo – to name just a few. The (post)colonial legacy of these much-frequented places is often overlooked, partly because information on their history is missing or not easily accessible. We set out to fill that gap with this map, adding a postcolonial perspective to Leipzig's official (municipal) history in the year of its 1000 year anniversary.

4. WHAT DOES THE MAP SHOW?

The map depicts (post-)colonial traces that are hardly visible in the current cityscape and official municipal history. It shows places and events with barely known (hi)stories. These sites, the voices of affected persons and those of resistance move to the centre of the narrative. By linking this knowledge to colonial sites and events the development and persistence of exclusion, violence and racism become visible.

2. WHY POST-COLONIAL?

Post-colonial Leipzig? By searching for local traces we want to make a connection between colonial history, our everyday life and our perspective on the world. To learn about colonialism is to learn about the here and now. If we have no knowledge of colonial histories, we cannot fully understand current conditions, much less change them. Problems like racism, global exploitation and inequality continue to shape our present reality. That is why it is important to add a critical inquiry into the interdependencies of colonial and post-colonial structures to Leipzig's diverse municipal history.

5. WHAT DOES THE MAP NOT SHOW?

This city map does not attempt to show well-known histories of familiar places. Instead, it tells less familiar stories. It represents an intermediate result, a necessary reduction and selection of knowledge about places and their interrelations. In this limitation and concentration, the city map itself is a story of polyphonic stories told by us and others. In order to continue these stories, the information on the sites is continually updated on our website:

www.leipzig-postkolonial.de

3. WHY LAYERS AND SYMBOLS?

This is not an ordinary map, but one that shows things which are often invisible: overlapping histories and layers of history. Layers of racist realities and resistance, remembrance politics, trade and exploitation, exhibiting humans and the production of knowledge. The layers of this map are transparent and can thus be seen as a unity as well as separately.

6. WHERE DOES THE MAP LEAD?

Someday there will be a new city map, just as there are other city maps, other forms of knowledge, other stories. „The past is never dead. It's not even past“ (William Faulkner).

HOW TO USE THIS MAP



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This is no ordinary map. Here is some advice on how to use it. The map on the last page is the basis. It depicts only the tram lines and stops necessary to find the (post-)colonial traces. The representation is not to scale: suburbs, outskirts and more remote places are brought closer to the centre and certain areas are enlarged.

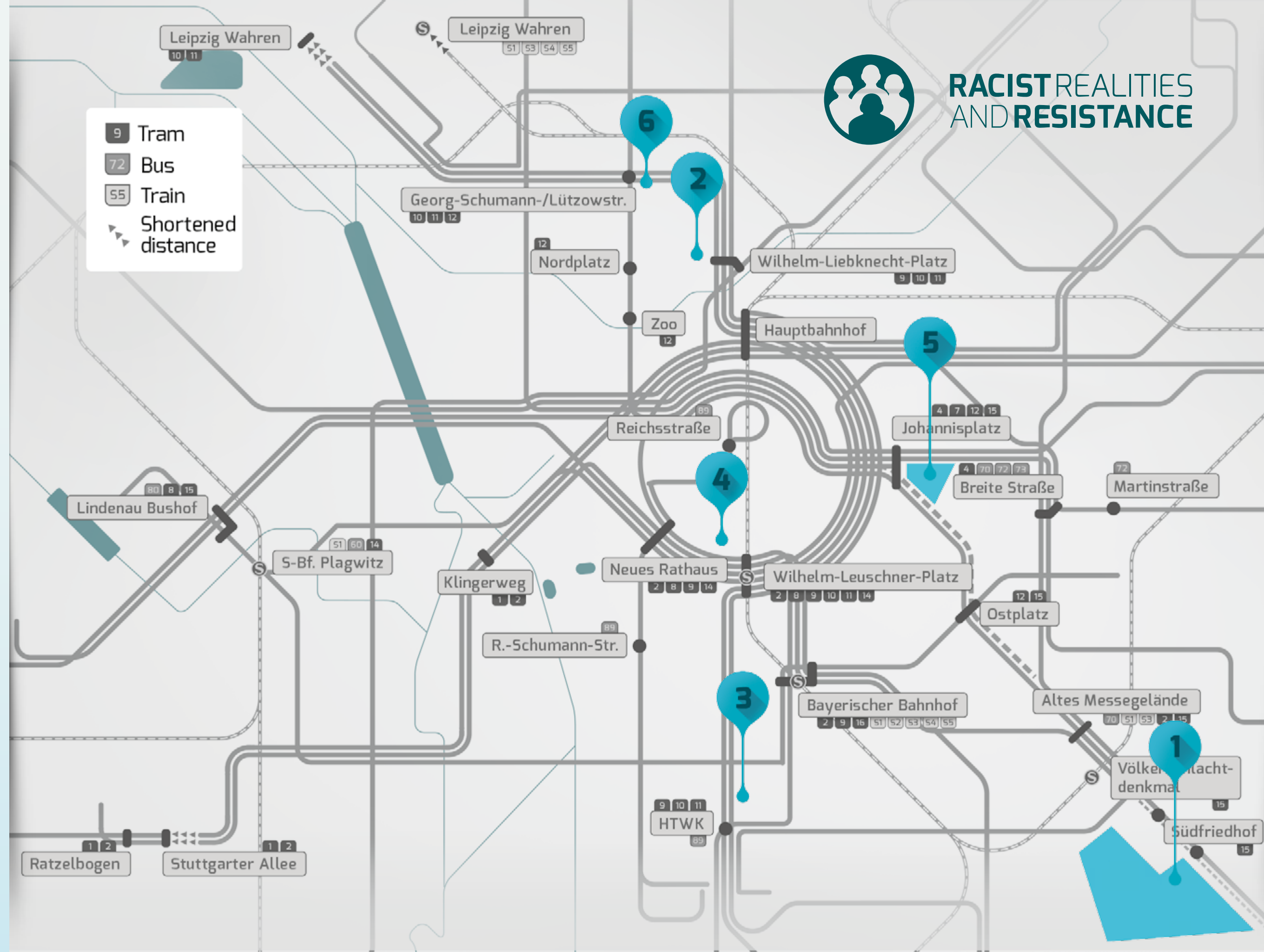
Five transparent layers are superimposed on this base map. Each layer represents a category. The bottom level shows the (post-)colonial traces of the category „knowledge production“, above it is the category „exhibiting humans“, followed by „trade and exploitation“ and „politics of remembrance“. The topmost layer shows the traces of „racist realities and resistance“. The different thematic approaches allow readers to explore Leipzig from various points of view.

Each category has its own colour and symbol. Any one trace can have several symbols attached to it. Moreover, readers will find an introduction to every category in the margin of each page. Unfold the margin to reveal more detailed information on each (post-)colonial trace. The whole picture becomes visible when all five layers are superimposed. To make it easier to find a specific article, all traces are numbered 1–27. At the end of the map is a list with addresses of the specific trace.



RACIST REALITIES AND RESISTANCE

In the context of colonial expansion and conquest, the „foreign“ was increasingly marked as such in order to fit into the conquerors' worldview and become controllable. Discriminating categories were used to separate the „self“ from the allegedly inferior „other“. Opposite constructions such as „us/them“, „civilised/uncivilised“, „emotional/rational“ were applied, for example, in the context of so-called „human zoos“. In these exhibitions, humans were objectified for the amusement of White spectators. „Blackfacing“, still used in Leipzig to this day, originated as a racist tradition in the 19th century in North America. White persons painted their bodies black for short stage performances in which they acted according to their own stereotypical notions: as excessively cheerful, naïve or submissive characters. Blackface thus reproduces racist stereotypes held by White people against Black people. Racism in Leipzig took on varied forms then as it does now. Resistance and the perspectives of People of Colour often remain unheard. Stories of the past and the present are predominantly White stories.



RACIST REALITIES AND RESISTANCE



The Dead of the Human Zoos

The identity of the persons exhibited at the „human zoos“ („Völkerschauen“) in Leipzig is mainly unknown. Few documents by contemporary witnesses (or participants) record bad treatment and deaths. The members of one group exhibited at the zoo all died of smallpox. The grave of a Msukuma who was an involuntary participant in the East-African Exhibition in 1897 can be found at the Leipzig South Cemetery (Südfriedhof).



Patrice Lumumba

The freedom fighter and first prime minister of independent Congo was murdered in 1961 after only three months in government. In the same year, a monument was erected in front of the Herder Institute to honour Lumumba and the adjoining road was named after him. In 1997 the monument was defaced and the bust stolen. Only in 2011, as a way of commemorating the 50th anniversary of Lumumba's death, another bust was erected, this time a reproduction of a work by Jenny Mucchi-Wiegmann. The artist had created the original in 1961 under the impression of Lumumba's arrest and murder.



Blackfacing as „Advertising“

In 2010 a student carnival committee (Ba-Hu-Elferrat) advertised its carnival with a White person in blackface. Two years later, the travel agency „AT Reisen“ participated in Leipzig's annual company run. Its employees were dressed in blackface.



Everyday Racism and Attacks

In October 2014 the first „Leipzig speech“ („Leipziger Rede“) took place in the New Rathaus. Persons affected by racism reported their experiences with discrimination. For the year 2013 alone, RAA e.V., an organisation offering counselling for victims of hate crimes, documented 58 right-wing and racially motivated attacks in Leipzig. A social experiment in 2011 revealed that many night clubs and discos bar „non-German“-looking people from entrance.



Struggle for Asylum

„Racism is an everyday reality“ („Rassismus ist Alltag“) was the motto of a demonstration on May 24th, 2014. Thousands of people expressed their solidarity with refugees. Members of the „Saalekreis Refugees Association“ (SaRA), forced to live in isolated mass accommodation in Braunsbedra/Krumpa, asserted their right to humane housing.



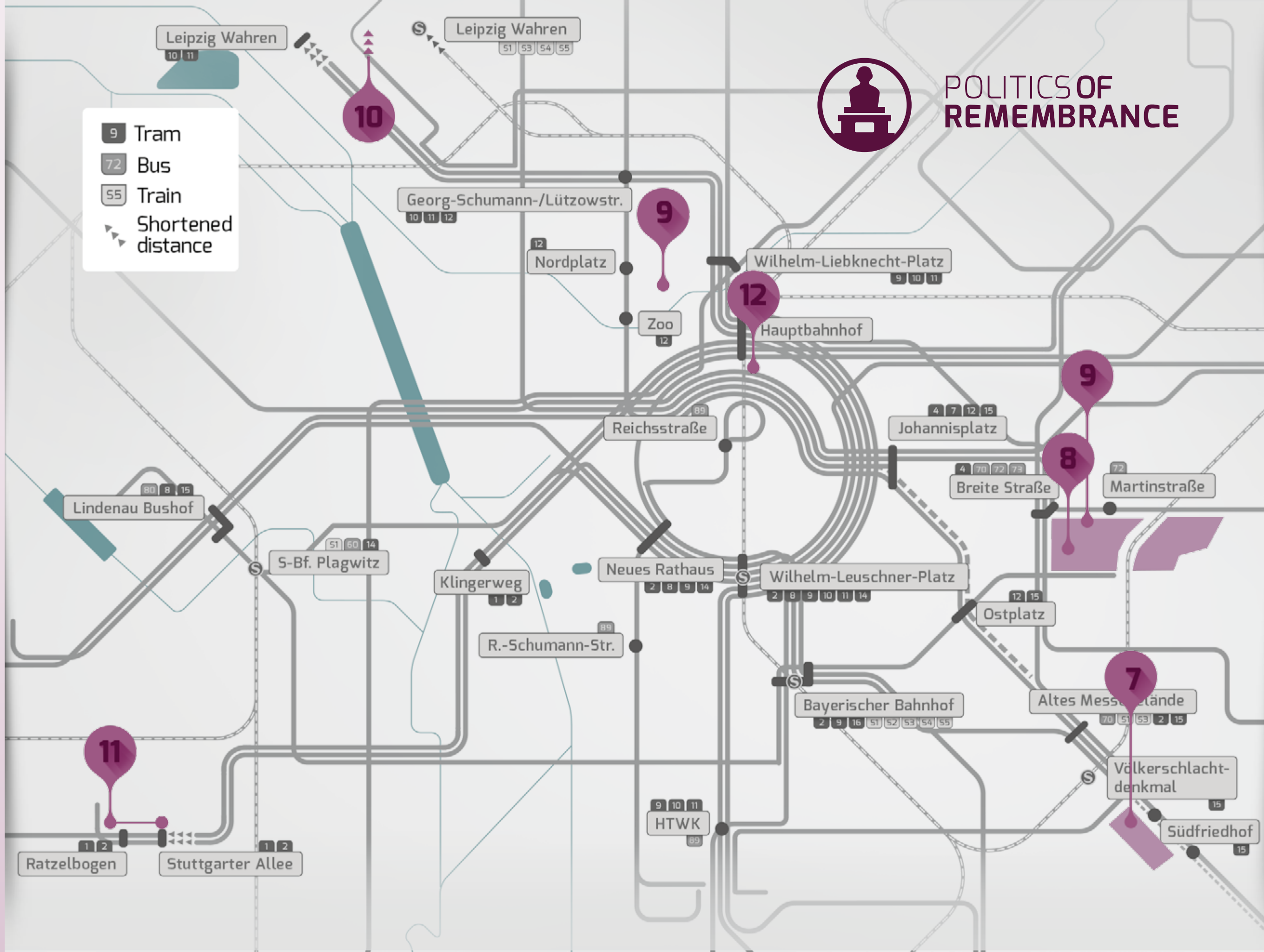
Anti-Muslim Racism

The Ahmadiyya community purchased a property in Leipzig-Gohlis in 2013 in order to build a mosque. The community's public request for dialogue has been met with massive protests, culminating in an attack with pigs' heads on spikes in late 2013.



POLITICS OF REMEMBRANCE

Street names, museums, places and monuments reflect history and serve as deliberately positioned spaces of remembrance. During the founding of the German colonial Empire in 1884, many streets were named after colonial events and places. Leipzig's cityscapes still remember Germany's colonial past. To this day, street names commemorate and honour protagonists of colonialism without comment or explanation. True decolonisation requires a responsible street naming policy, one which does not commemorate persons backing a racist ideology. This city map points out this gap in the city's politics of remembrance and aims at bringing public awareness to the ways in which German colonial rule is anchored and glorified in Leipzig's remembrance politics. Without a postcolonial perspective on commemoration and remembrance, the persistent racism in our society cannot be overcome. In recent years, a culture of commemorating victims of right-wing violence has begun to develop in Leipzig in order to call attention to and work against inhuman and racist attitudes and attacks.



POLITICS OF REMEMBRANCE

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Colonial Stone

Observers of the Colonial Stone can scarcely see traces of an inscription long since removed: "Germans Remember Your Colonies". A monument to colonial revisionism, the stone commemorates Germany's loss of its colonies since 1919. The silent erasing of the inscription is an example of the way the history of German colonialism was treated in the GDR. The stone, left without commentary then as it is now, bears witness to the missing politics of remembrance in Leipzig.

8

Windhuker Straße, Waterbergstraße, Wissmannstraße, Lüderitzstraße

Several streets with colonial names were renamed in the 1940s and 50s: Windhuker Straße became Segerstraße, Lüderitzstraße became Gregor-Fuchs-Straße, Waterbergstraße became Neumannstraße and Wissmannstraße became Schulze-Delitzsch-Straße. A consistent renaming of all street names that glorify colonial protagonists is desirable.

9



Ernst-Pinkert-Straße/-Schule

In 2009 a street was named after the founder of Leipzig Zoo, Ernst Pinkert (1844-1900). In 2010 a primary school followed. From the very beginning since the Zoo's opening, Pinkert exhibited humans from the colonised areas alongside animals.

10



Ernst-Hasse-Straße

Since 1929 Leipzig has honoured one of the most influential supporters of German colonial conquests through this street name. Ernst Hasse (1846-1908), a national-liberal politician, was president of Leipzig's Statistical Bureau, adjunct professor of statistics and colonial policy and managing director of the Pan-German League. Hasse emphasised the alleged inequality of peoples.

11



Ratzelbogen/-straße

This street, named as late as the 1990s, honours the founder of anthropogeography Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). Ratzel was an influential proponent of colonial thought and a member of the German Colonial Society.

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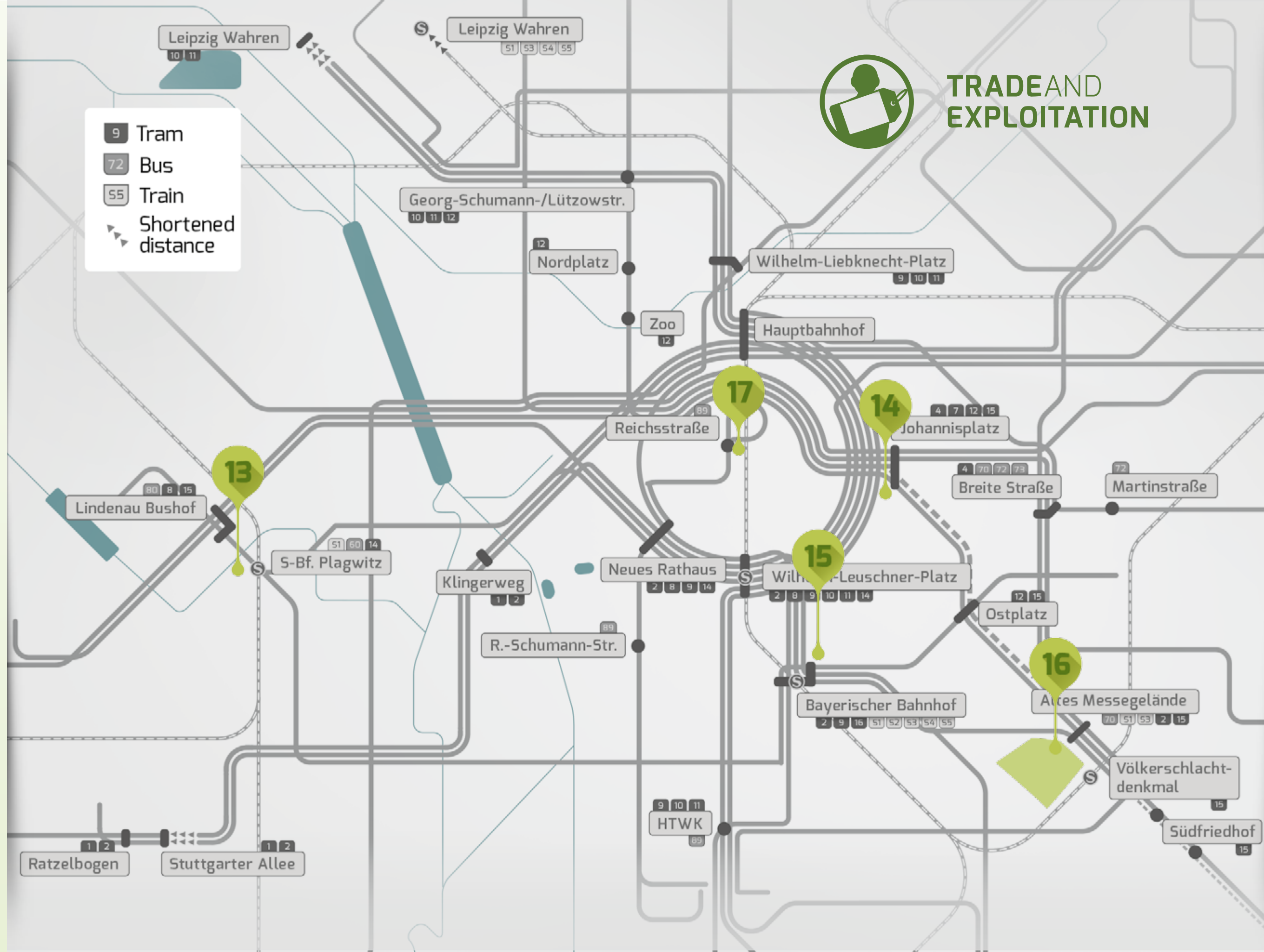
Monument to Kamal Kilade

It took three years after the racist murder of Kamal Kilade in 2010 to dedicate a commemorative stone with a plaque to him – after some opposition from the municipality. The monument is a warning and a summons to act together against inhuman attitudes and violence. Since 1990, at least eight people have lost their lives to right-wing violence in Leipzig.



TRADE AND EXPLOITATION

Colonialism was closely linked to the spreading of European (systems of) trade beyond the European continent. Power and rule were certainly not distributed equally between the colonial masters and the colonised. The idea of a “Civilising mission” was usually accompanied by the exploitation and oppression of local populations. Leipzig’s “traditional companies” such as the cotton mill (“Baumwollspinnerei”), the money printers Gisecke & Devrient or the Mission Society were active participants in the „economic and civilising development“ of the German colonies and all operated in „German East Africa“, on the present territory of Tanzania. Germany’s loss of its colonies did not automatically put an end to colonial thinking. Colonial revisionist groups created their own monuments and places of remembrance. During National Socialism, colonial revisionists met at the monument to the Battle of Nations (“Völkerschlachtdenkmal”) to demand back the colonial properties of the German Empire. Forms of exploitation live on today as economic dependencies and inequalities between countries of the global North and South. Colonial visions of humanity and merchandise still inform Leipzig’s cityscape.



13



Leipzig Cotton Mill

The Leipzig Cotton Mill (Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei, LBS) was founded in 1884 and ran its own cotton and sisal plantations in „German East Africa“. The local population resisted the forced cultivation of cotton imposed by the German colonial government in the „Maji Maji war“. After their brutal defeat at the hands of colonial forces there was increased investment in large-scale European plantations like the one run by the Leipzig Cotton Mill. At times, over 2000 African labourers worked for the export of cotton to Leipzig.

14



Gisecke & Devrient

Founded in 1852 in Leipzig, Gisecke & Devrient printed colonial rupee currency for “German East Africa” in the early 20th century. Today, G&D is a market leader in the production of bank notes, identity documents and chip cards and operates worldwide.

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Leipziger Missionswerk (Leipzig Mission Society)

In the early German colonial phase the Leipzig Mission Society (LMG, later LMW) began its work in the Kilimanjaro Region in 1892. Despite their partial criticism towards the colonial government, the missionaries referred to their “national Christian duty” to spread the gospel in the colony. LMW continues to maintain missionary activities in Tanzania, Papua New Guinea and India.

16



Altes Messegelände (Old Trade Fair)

In the course of colonial-revisionist aspirations, “Colonial Exhibitions” and trade fairs for “Tropical Technologies” took place in 1937 and 1939 on the premises of the Old Trade Fair/Alte Messe near the Monument to the Battle of Nations (“Völkerschlachtdenkmal”). Besides examples of „tropical technology“, the stalls exhibited propaganda materials of the “Reich Colonial League” (“Reichskolonialbund”) and the “German Colonial Journal” (“Deutsche Kolonialzeitung”). Leipzig’s Trade Fair as “a window on the world” dedicated itself to the spirit of colonial propaganda.

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Café Riquet, Zum arabischen Coffebaum

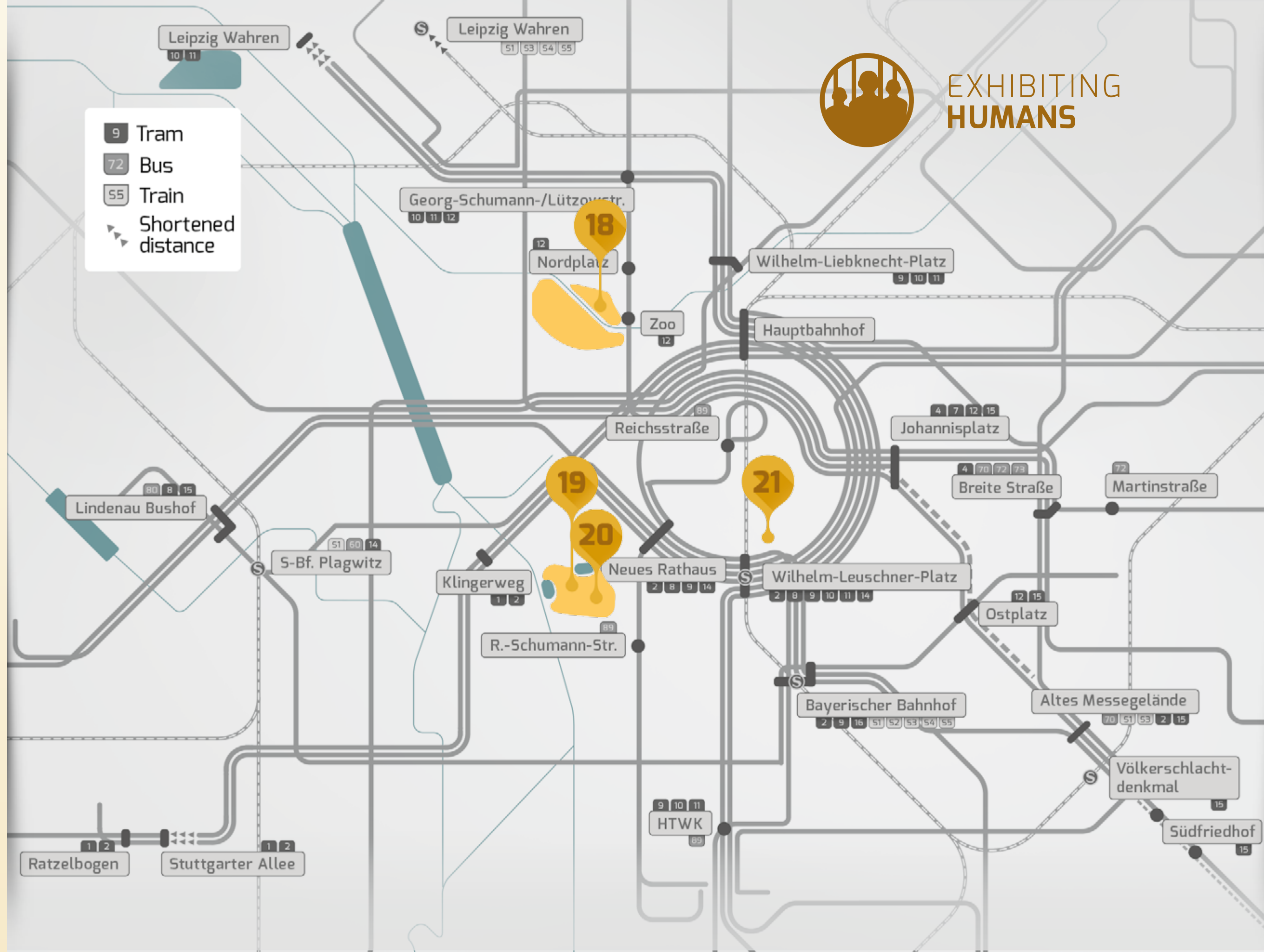
In 1908, the building that is now home to Café Riquet was commissioned by the Riquet company as their headquarters. The company earned its money from the cocoa trade in and with East Asia. The exoticizing architectural style and the depiction of „black servants” – ubiquitous in advertising for colonial goods at the time – continue to transport colonial imagery. A similar symbolism can be found on the façade of the Café and museum “Zum Arabischen Coffebaum”, Germany’s oldest coffee house.



EXHIBITING HUMANS

Public exhibitions of humans were immensely popular in Europe and Northern America in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The “human zoos” were a widespread entertainment business and reached a wide audience. The public exhibition of humans was intended to satisfy the visitors’ exoticising curiosity. At the same time, the shows served to re-value the audiences’ own self-image by devaluing the exhibited humans. The gawpers could feel reassured in their own “civilisedness”, “normality” and “sexual morals”. By embedding the shows in zoological gardens, the exhibited humans were put on a level with animals. This inhuman and dehumanising practice bears witness to colonial racist violence.

The desire for the exotic is still manifest in TV programmes, adventure literature and tourism. Leipzig Zoo aims to satisfy this desire with stereotypical culinary and cultural offerings, thus perpetuating racist clichés and prejudices.



EXHIBITING HUMANS

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Leipzig Zoo

From the opening of the zoo in 1876 to 1931, approximately 40 “Völkerschauen” or human zoos took place. The humans exhibited in this racist way were subject to abuse, illnesses and death. There is no mention of these inhumane traces of the zoo’s history on the zoo’s website. To this day, the zoo attracts visitors by featuring “African” dancers in its advertising and uses exoticising stereotypes in depicting them.

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Clara-Zetkin-Park

The park’s current namesake, Clara Zetkin (1857–1939), was a social democratic and later communist politician known for her anti-colonial stance. The park’s origins however date back to the Saxon-Thuringian Industry and Trade Fair that took place on this site in the summer of 1897. More than 600.000 people visited the event. Part of the show was the German East African Exhibition.

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German East African Exhibition

According to the exhibition newspaper, the exhibition’s goal was to “contrast the highly developed European culture with the peculiarly formed African one, which is only striving to reach the first steps of our cultural life, in order to compare them”. To this end, people from the colonised areas were exhibited in Leipzig. At least one of the exhibited people died during the show and is buried anonymously at the Südfriedhof (South Cemetery). The event was also intended to advertise the “colonial idea” among public and businesses. The expensive exhibition was sponsored by local businesses, politicians and colonial societies.

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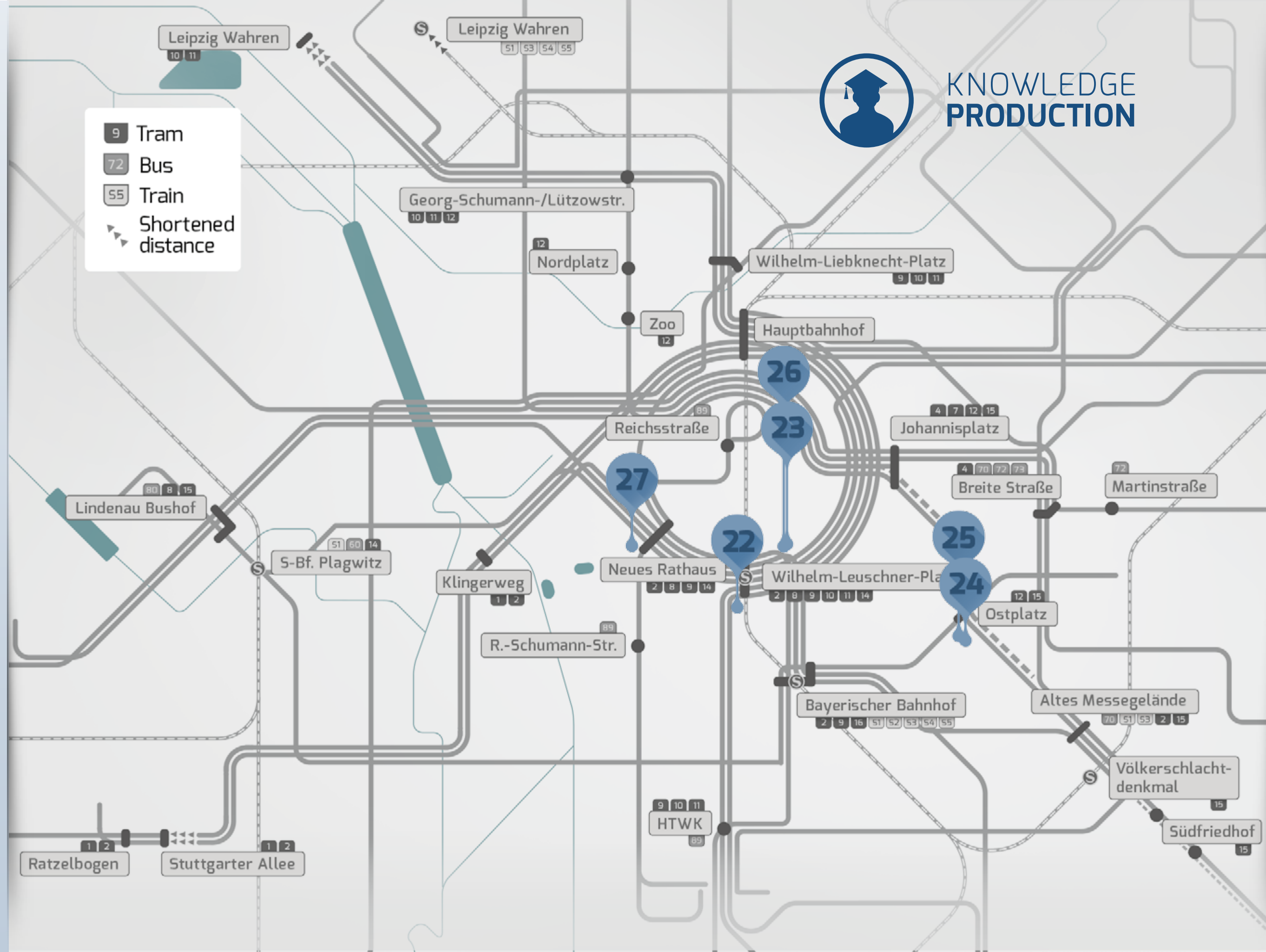


Krystallpalast Varieté

The historic Crystal Palace (Krystallpalast) variety hall was founded in 1882 and had its first home in Wintergartenstraße until its destruction in the Second World War. The entertainment palace was large enough to hold an audience of 15.000. In 1885, a troupe of dancers from the newly occupied colony Cameroon performed there, accompanied by the Royal Saxon Infantry Regimental Band’s rendition of the „Cameroon March“. Today’s Krystallpalast Varieté, situated in Magazingasse, was founded in 1997 and refers to the tradition of the historic variety hall.



The German Empire's colonial ambitions stimulated an academic description, ordering and mapping of the newly conquered territories. As a result, African studies, Arabic studies, Ethnology and Geography were established as institutes of the University of Leipzig. Scientific study both proved the fundamental unity of humankind and contributed to the racist construction of the "foreign". Academic inquiry was accompanied by widespread public curiosity, reflected in exhibitions and trade fairs as well as in the popularity of travel and adventure literature. While researchers struggled for conceptions of "the Orient", "Africans" and "race", the one-sided devaluation of non-European cultures dominated public perception. The findings gained through these studies were used to spread the ideology of "White supremacy" and to justify colonial occupation. Although the production of colonial knowledge has been critically scrutinised and dealt with within the disciplines themselves, these images still live on in opposing pairs such as "black/white" or "developing country/industrialised nation".



**Grassi Museum of Anthropology
(Grassi-Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig)**

Founded in 1869 as a semi-private museum, the Grassi Museum's collection was significantly enlarged between 1896 and 1918. The colonial administration helped to bring many objects, photographs, film and audio recordings to Leipzig. The museum also coordinated research activities in the colonies.

Institute of Anthropology

The institute was founded in 1914 as “Saxon Research Institute for Ethnology” (Sächsisches Forschungsinstitut für Völkerkunde). In 1927, the museum and the institute were separated. The new director, Otto Reche, added the research area of “race studies” (“Rassenkunde”), thereby playing into the hands of the National Socialist’s political project. After 1945, researchers from Leipzig started to critically debunk their discipline’s history.

Institute for Geography

The chair for geography was instituted in 1883 under Freiherr Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833 – 1905). Shortly after the publication of Richthofen's work „Kiautschou – Seine Weltgeltung und voraussichtliche Bedeutung“ (1897), the German navy occupied Jiaozhou.

Hans Meyer

Hans Meyer (1858-1929), “explore” and scion of the publishing dynasty Meyer. From 1915 onwards, Meyer was professor for „colonial geography and colonial policy“. His headstone still bears witness to the “fearless progress” of his activities on the African continent.

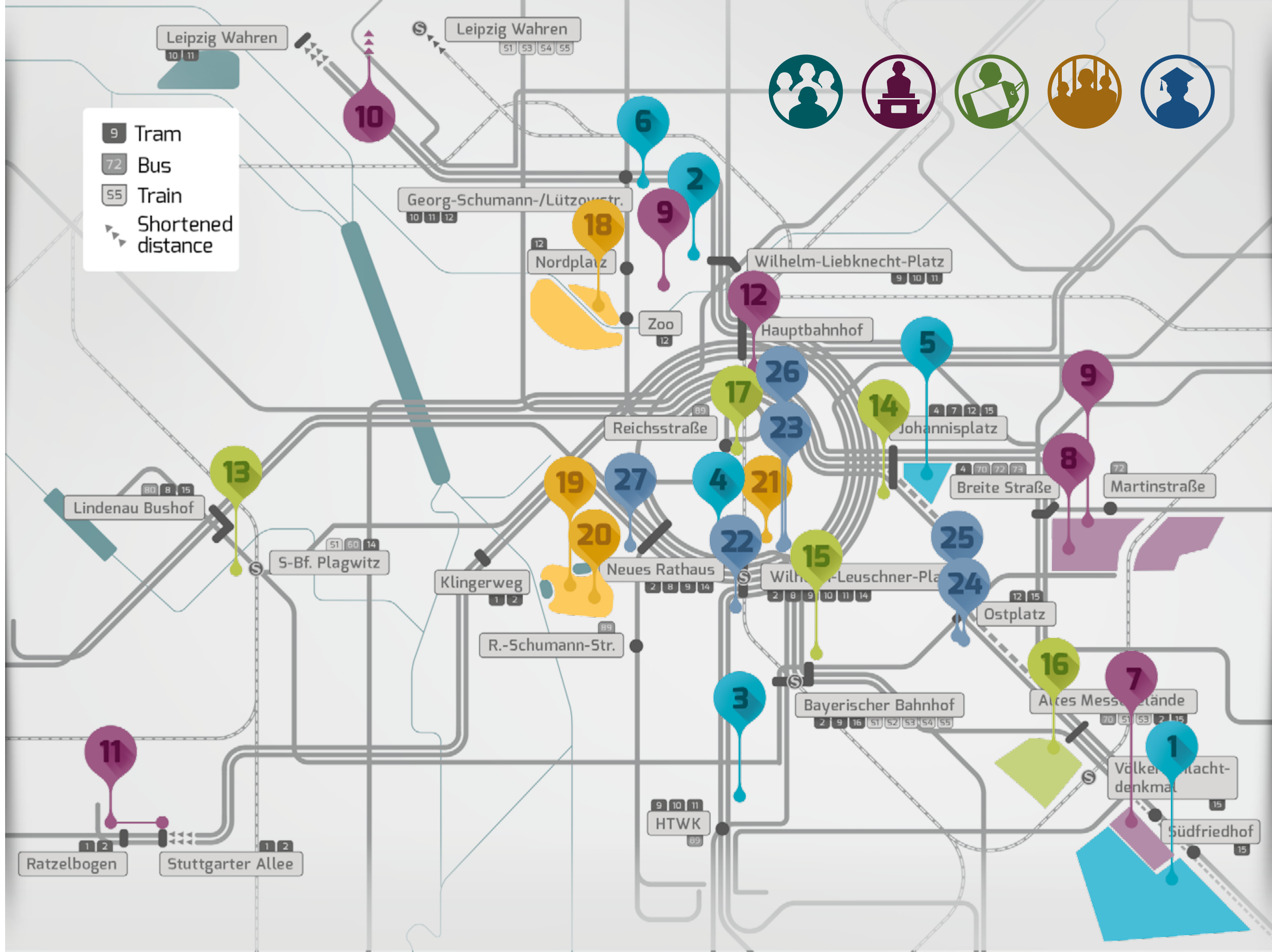
Institute of Oriental Studies

Since the 19th century the development of Arabic studies has been closely linked to Heinrich L. Fleischer, who contributed decisively to the establishment of "Oriental Studies" at German Universities. To this day, the Institute carries the generalizing name of "Oriental Studies".

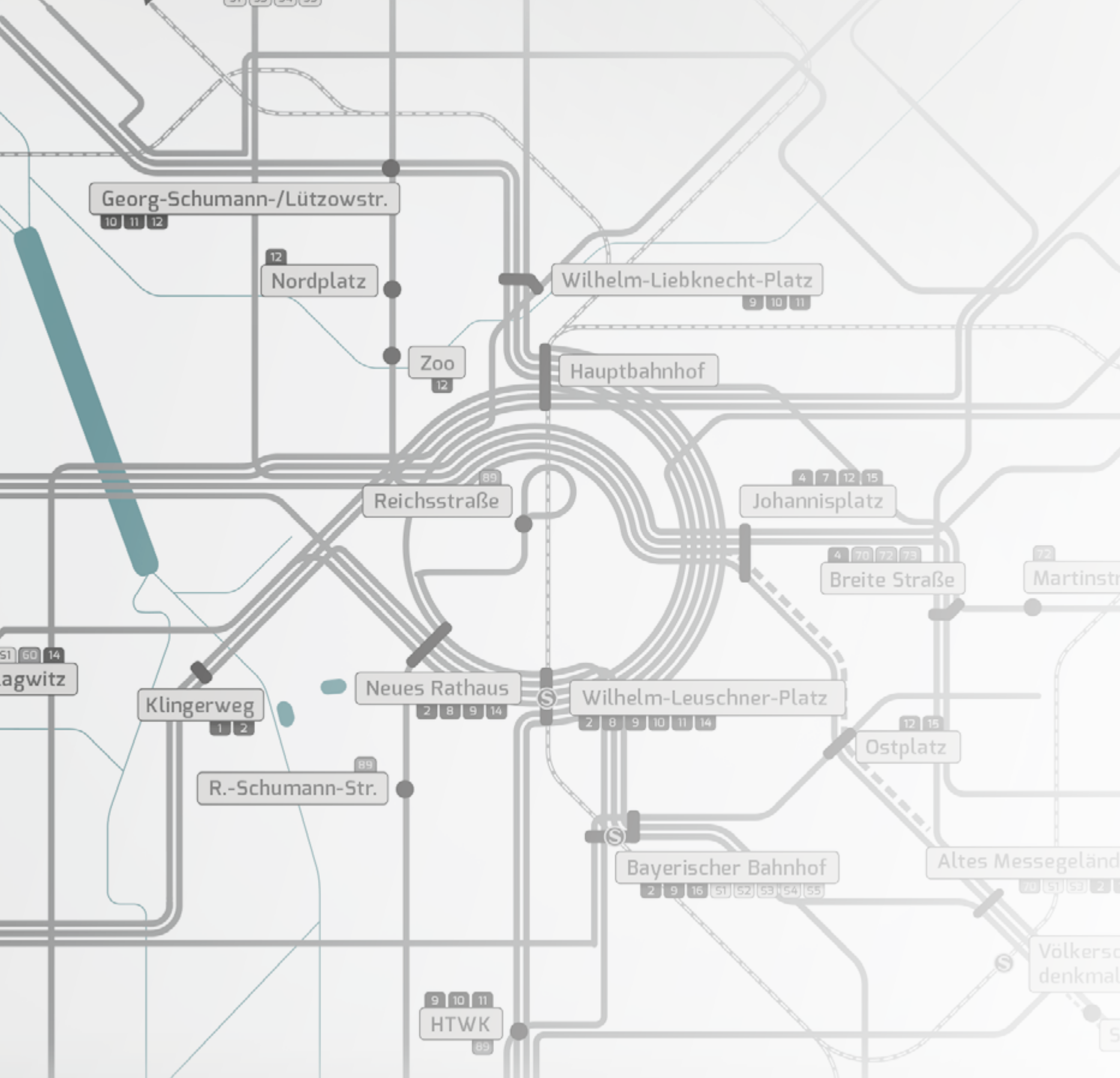
Institute of African Studies

In 1930, August Klingenheben became the first Director of the Institute. Contrary to the mainstream at the time he disproved Carl Meinhof's racist Hamitic Theory. Beside its scientific work, the Institute for African Studies contributed to colonial practice through the linguistic education of missionaries. After World War Two, Leipzig became the centre of East German African studies and aimed at a state-supporting role by educating diplomats.

- The Dead of the Human Zoos**
Südfriedhof
Friedhofsweg 3 – 04299
- Patrice Lumumba**
Lumumbastraße 4 – 04105
- Blackfacing as „Advertising“**
Werk II, AT Reisen
Karl-Liebnecht-Straße 127 – 04275
- Everyday Racism and Attacks**
Neues Rathaus
Martin-Luther-Ring 4-6 – 04109
- Struggle for Asylum**
Johannisplatz – 04103
- Anti-Muslim Racism**
Georg-Schumann/
Ecke Bleichertstraße – 04155
- Colonial Stone**
Völkerschlachtdenkmal
Straße des 18. Oktober 100 – 04299
- Windhuker Straße, Waterbergstraße,
Wissmannstraße, Lüderitzstraße**
Stadtteil Anger-Crottendorf – 04318
- Ernst-Pinkert-Straße – 04105**
Ernst-Pinkert-Schule
Martinstraße 7 – 04318
- Ernst-Hasse-Straße – 04159**
- Ratzelstraße – 04209**
Ratzelbogen
Kiewer Straße 1-3 – 04209
- Monument to Kamal Kilade**
Richard-Wagner-Straße 1/2 – 04109
- Leipzig Cotton Mill**
Spinnereistraße 7 – 04179



- Gisecke & Devrient**
Johannisgasse 16 – 04103
- Leipziger Missionswerk
(Leipzig Mission Society)**
Paul-List-Str. 19 – 04103
- Altes Messegelände (Old Trade Fair)**
Deutscher Platz 4 – 04103
- Café Riquet,
Zum arabischen Coffebaum**
Schuhmachergäßchen 1 – 04109
- Leipzig Zoo**
Pfaendorfer Str. 29 – 04105
- Clara-Zetkin-Park – 04107**
- German East African Exhibition**
Clara-Zetkin Park – 04107
- Krystallpalast Varieté**
Magazingasse 4 – 04109
- Grassi-Museum für Völkerkunde
(Grassi Museum of Anthropology)**
Wilhelm-Leuschner-Platz 10 – 04107
Johannisplatz 5-11 – 04103
- Institute of Anthropology**
Schillerstraße 6 – 04109
- Institute for Geography**
Johannisallee 19a – 04103
- Hans Meyer**
Johannisallee 19a – 04103
- Institute of Oriental Studies**
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- Institute of African Studies**
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