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Black Germany: The Cultural History of Africans and People of African Descent in the German-Speaking Lands from Antiquity to the Present

Course Description

Africans and people of African descent have been present in German lands since Antiquity and, although their numbers have always been relatively small, the history of Blacks in Germany – and particularly, the history of African Americans and their descendants – is garnering increased attention in various field of research for a number of reasons:

- The makeup of the Afro-German community is so different from Black communities found elsewhere in the African global diaspora that it fundamentally challenges key models of identity based upon categories of race;
- The German case challenges the field of Black Studies to expand its theoretical and methodological frame to include the entire African global diaspora, not just that located in the Americas and the Caribbean.
- By tracking the arrival and attempts of Black people to find a home in Germany over the course of multiple eras, we can gain insight into the shifting German vision of global connectedness and examine how different eras dealt with questions of human diversity;
- New research draws increased attention to the role African American GIs stationed in occupied Germany after WWII played in the US Civil Rights movement – their positive experiences in Germany fueled their resolve to bring real democracy back home to the US. It also indicates that the role played by African American GIs (and their offspring) in the democratization of Germany in the wake of Nazi racial genocide was more important and central than previous studies had suggested.

Institutional Setting: We (JB and KK) co-designed this course to teach simultaneously at two large public universities in the southern US, and on campuses which continue to be largely racially segregated. The course both augments departmental offerings in German cultural history (whether offered through a history or German studies program) and enables us to fundamentally alter the make-up of the students in the classroom: students who would not usually enroll in German courses can be brought in to our curricular fold because this course reflects the spirit of the general humanities breadth requirement. *Black Germany* is an important addition to the university's course offerings because it breathes fresh air into rather calcified conversations about race. In this course, the most difficult discussions about race, power, privilege and identity are enabled by the fact that the object of discussion is shifted outside of the US and into German space. The German case is *different*, but in order to articulate this difference, students often have to start by critically analyzing the state of affairs in the US. We thus found that students talked to each other in new ways about old problems. To enable such conversation, this course is best taught as a discussion seminar with 15-25 students. Although it is not targeted at majors, the most successful students were those who came to the course with majors in either German Studies, German History, or Black Studies.

Media Engaged: We employ a wide variety of primary sources in the course – maps, sculpture, painting, literature, memoirs, recorded interviews, documentary and fictional film, advertisements, newspaper articles, and photographs. This great diversity is driven by the questions we are attempting to address, and arose organically as we built the syllabus.

Assignments: The course material is fascinating, and students often reported discussing it with family members and friends. As assignment format that allows students to share their knowledge thus seems more appropriate than traditional papers or exams (although either would certainly work fine). In 2012, we introduced the Virtual Exhibition assignment (see below), which had each class develop a web-based museum of Black German history.

[NB: In 2012, the course featured guest appearances – via virtual conferencing software – of young African Americans who have lived, worked, and studied in Germany and Austria for extended periods: a playwright, an academic, and a international rights lawyer. In 2016, we will again recruit such guest speakers. To enhance this experience of global mobility and connectedness, we will also assign our students at UCL and MU into collaborative groups who will use virtual conferencing software (Skype, etc.) and webpage-building software to complete joint assignments.]

Course objectives

Upon completion of this course, students will be able to

- discuss the origins and development of Black communities in the German lands.
 - discuss critically the meanings of blackness and whiteness in modern German history.
 - discuss with sophistication the uses of primary and secondary sources.
 - assemble images and text into an engaging and analytical virtual exhibit.
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Course requirements

Attendance at all class meetings

Preparation of all reading (ca. 50-100 pp. per week) and active participation in class discussions

Weekly reading response papers (500 words)

Virtual exhibit critique (500 words)

Midterm Virtual exhibition (1500 words)

Final Virtual exhibition (1500 words)

Weekly Response Papers:

Beginning with week 2, there will be a response paper due each week. Response Papers are designed to help you synthesize the course readings and films in preparation for class discussion, and I will provide a question each week to guide your reading. You are not required to engage in outside research for the response papers, but you are required to refer directly to our course materials (citing informally but responsibly). In other words, this is more than merely a thinkpiece but rather a mini-research assignment meant to review course themes and also to prepare you for the Virtual Exhibit.

Virtual Exhibit Critique

Select a virtual exhibit from the list available at <http://coudal.com/moom/> and provide a 500-word critique. To assess its overall value as a historical resource, consider the following:

- Who is the author, and what is the site's purpose? What can you find out about said author and whether or not they should be trusted as an authority on the subject?
- Who is the intended audience? How successfully does the site address that audience?
- What sorts of resources does the exhibit rely on, and how well do they serve the site's ultimate purpose? Consider, for example, whether the site presents primary or secondary sources, visual or textual items, and so on.
- How easy is the site to use? Is it presented in an attractive and engaging way? Does the presentation get in the way of the content, or vice versa?

Midterm and Final Virtual Exhibitions

Students will collectively take part in constructing a virtual museum exhibition on the subject of Black Germany. The assignment will take place in two parts: The midterm exhibition will cover the period up until 1945, and the final exhibition will cover the post-1945 era. I will divide the class into groups according to chronological era, and those groups will be responsible for deciding how to divide the period by topic/theme. Each student will then select a minimum of 10 display items (these can be images, textual excerpts, artifacts, etc.) and arrange them meaningfully to construct an analytical argument relevant to the selected theme.

In 1500 words

- Provide brief captions for each item on display. Each caption must identify the display item, where it came from (both its citation and where you got it from). The caption should make clear how it relates to the larger argument being presented.
- Provide a summary overview of the room's theme and include its "argument." Explain how everything fits together.
- Include a paragraph (150 words or so) that explains how your room fits into the overall exhibition message—in other words, if you were organizing the entire exhibition, what

themes would you emphasize, what point would you try to get across? This can be partly the result of group effort, but the articulation must be yours alone.

- Make sure your page has a descriptive title!

You are required to draw from our readings and course discussions (citing formally), and you are required to do outside research to address context and to fill any gaps in your argument. In addition, you are required to provide a bibliography formatted according to the Chicago Manual of Style (Turabian).

Course Schedule

[NB: The following represents an overview of a 15-week semester with 30 class meetings. Each number thus represents one class meeting. In some cases, we assigned different sets of readings; where this is the case, we combine our lists for this sample syllabus.]

Required Course Texts

Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (Palgrave, 2010) **[BOF]**

Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann (eds), *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250-1914* (Berghahn, 2013) **[GBD]**

Eric Martone et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Blacks in European History and Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009) **[EOB]**

Patricia Mazon and Reinhild Steingrover (eds), *Not So Plain as Black and White: Afro-German Culture and History, 1890-2000* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009). **[NSP]**

May Opitz, Katharina Oguntoye, and Dagmar Schultz (eds), *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out* (Amherst, MA: Amherst University Press, 1992). **[SOC]**

William Gardner Smith, *Last of the Conquerors* (New York, 1948) [reprinted for use in the course]

Introduction

1. Introduction to Course Themes and Expectations

Pepe Danquart, *Black Rider* (film short, 1993)—to be screened and discussed in class

[NB: Danquart's "Schwarzfahrer" is 12 minutes long, and available with subtitles both on youtube and on several DVD compilations of film shorts.]

2. Questions, Concepts, Theory. In this first unit, we gain a very general overview of the material we'll be covering, along with some of the main issues at stake.

- Fatima El-Tayeb, “Dangerous Liasons: Race, Nation, and German Identity,” [NSP, 27-60]
- Molefi Kete Asante, “African Germans and the Problems of Cultural Location,” in *The African-German Experience: Critical Essays*, ed. Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay (1996), 1-11.
- Robbie Aitkins, “Germany, Blacks in” [EOB, 240-243]

Antiquity, Medieval and Early Modern

- 3. Africans in the Roman Empire:** “the world” consists of the Mediterranean Sea and the lands adjacent to it. For Romans, the northern coast of Africa is much “closer” than the distant German-speaking lands. Students must understand how very different this “world” was from that constructed later under colonial racism.

 - Gnamankou, Dieudonné. “African Diaspora in Europe.” In Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian Skoggard (eds), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World*, vol. 1, Overviews and Topics (New York: Kluwer, 2004), 15-24.
 - E. Agateno Mosca, “Popes, African” [EOB, 418-419]
 - Mark Anthony Phelps, “Roman Army, Africans in the,” “Roman Emperors of African Origin,” and “Roman Empire in Africa” [EOB, 452-459]

- 4. The Medieval Period I:** “the world” is both united by the Mediterranean Sea and divided by religious difference. In Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzifal*, medieval courtly culture is imagined as universal, such that Belacane’s African kingdom also adheres to its cultural norms. Blackness marks religious difference, but not cultural difference. In class, investigate the world as imagined on medieval world maps (images projected over powerpoint: T-O maps with Jerusalem at center, etc.).

 - Wolfram von Eschenbarch, *Parzifal* Book I
 - E. Agateno Mosca, “Italy, African Invasions of” [EOB]

- 5. The Medieval Period II:** the ideology of a universal Christian Church leads to the reinvention of religious iconography: figures previously depicted as white are now represented as black. In-class investigation of artwork including the statue of St. Maurice in the Magdeburg Cathedral, and various representations of the Queen of Sheba and the Three Magi.

 - Reinhold Grimm, “Two African Saints in Medieval Germany,” *Die Unterrichtspraxis / Teaching German* 25 (autumn 1992): 127-133.

- Paul H. D. Kaplan, “The Calenberg Alterpiece: Black African Christians in Renaissance Germany” [GBD, 21-37]
- Paul H. D. Kaplan, “Art, Blacks as Represented in European” [EOB, 37-40]; “Holy Roman Empire, Black Iconography and the” [EOB,273-275]; “Frederick II and the Moors of Sicily” [EOB, 223-224]
- Thomas Martin, “Moors” [EOB, 355-356]
- Miranda Kaufmann, “Prester John” [EOB, 423-424]

6. Early Modern Germany I: where we discuss Blacks serving in German courts, including African-Americans who arrive in Germany after serving in the Revolutionary War. While court service was, indeed, a form of servitude, recent scholarship reminds us that, in feudal Europe, most of the entire population was bound in service, and that, in certain cases, African servants were held in higher esteem, and promoted in their artistic, intellectual, and economic endeavors.

- Miranda Kaufmann, “Courts, Blacks in European Aristocratic” [EOB, 163-166]
- Richardine G. Woodall, “Renaissance, Blacks in the” EOB, 439-442]
- Paul H. D. Kaplan, “Heraldry, Blacks in European” (271-272)
- Anne Kuhlmann, “Ambiguous Duty: Black Servants at German Ancien Régime Courts” [GBD 57-73]
- Rashid-S. Pegah, “Real and Imagined Africans in Baroque Court Divertissements” [GBD, 74-91]
- Maria I. Diedrich, “From American Slaves to Hessian Subjects: Silenced Black Narratives of the American Revolution” [GBD, 92-111]

7. Early Modern Germany II: In which we examine the lives of famous Black men of the German courts: Anton Wilhelm Amo, Angelo Soliman, Ignatius Fortuna

- William E. Abraham, “The Life and Times of Anton Wilhelm Amo, the First African (Black) Philosopher in Europe,” in Molefi Kete Asante and Abu S. Abarry (eds), *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources* (Temple, 1996), 424-440.
- Eric Martone, “Soliman, Angelo (1721?–1796) [EOB, 503-504]
- Heike Raphael-Hernandez, “Fortuna, Ignatius (?–1789)” [EOB, 217-218]

Nineteenth Century

8. 19th-Century African American travel to Germany: For freed Black slaves as well as abolitionists, travel to Europe was a way to escape the hardships of life in the US, but also a way to learn of alternative cultural and legal norms.

- David F. Dorr, *A Colored Man Round the World* (1858), edited by Malini J. Schueller (University of Michigan Press, 1999), 49-56.
- Mischa Honeck, "Liberating Sojourns? African American Travelers in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Germany" [GBD, 153-168]
- Leroy Hopkins, "'Black Prussians': Germany and African American Education from James W. C. Pennington to Angela Davis," in David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Aisha Blackshire-Belay (Camden House, 1998), 65-81.

9. German Colonization in Africa and Africans in Germany: in this unit, students first gain a general overview of German colonial history, but the focus is placed on the ways in which colonization in Africa led to an increase of Africans and Afro-Germans in Germany.

- "The Germans in the Colonies" [SOC, 19-40]
- Krista Molly O'Donnell, "The First Besatzungskinder: Afro-German Children, Colonial Childrearing Practices, and Racial Policy in German Southwest Africa, 1890-1914" [NSP, 61-81]
- Robbie Aitken, "Education and Migration: Cameroonian Schoolchildren and Apprentices in Germany, 1884-1914" [GBD, 213-230]

10. Colonial Africans on Display in Germany: World Fairs and People Shows:

Around the turn of the century, a popular form of mass entertainment involved the spectacle of exotic peoples on display. While this practice has deservedly been criticized from a degree of angles (not least of which being the illnesses suffered by people forced to wear clothing not appropriate for the European climate), it is also true that some Africans saw participating in such shows as a means to access a world of travel and adventure.

- Jeff Bowersox, "A Reluctant Colonial Apprentice: Bernhard Epassi in Germany, 1896-1901," unpublished document available on academia.net
- Albert Gouaffo, 'Prince Dido of Didotown and "Human Zoos" in Wilhelmine Germany: Strategies for Self-Representation under the Othering Gaze', in *Africa in Europe: Studies in Transnational Practice in the Long Twentieth Century*, edited by Eve Rosenhaft and Robbie Aitken (2013).

11. African American intellectuals in Germany at the turn of the century I: Germany, African-Americans, and the Global South: Tuskegee-style. In the context of the German colonization of Togo, Booker T. Washington led a group of Tuskegee graduates to the

colony to help establish a cotton-based culture and economy there. Why would he work to promote the implementation of plantation life in Africa?

- Booker T. Washington 1895 Atlanta Compromise Speech. Available at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/39> along with a recording of Washington reading part of the speech – the only known recording of his voice - <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/88>
- Andrew Zimmerman, "A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers," *American Historical Review* 110 (December 2005): 1362-1398.

12. African American intellectuals in Germany at the turn of the century II: W.E.B. DuBois and Mary Church Terrell: Between 1850 and 1920 African-Americans saw in Germany a "Spiritual Homeland," a *locus amoenus* of philosophical traditions emanating from the Enlightenment.

- W.E.B. DuBois, "The New Fatherland"
- W.E.B. DuBois, "The Color Line Belts the World,"
- W.E.B. DuBois, "Europe 1892 to 1894," chp. 10 of *The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois*, 97-114.
- Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940)
- Eric Martone, "DuBois, W.E.B" [EOB, 188-189]
- Justin Corfield, "Terrell, Mary Church" [EOB, 525-526]
- Leroy T. Hopkins, "Spiritual Fatherland: African-American Intellectuals and Germany, 1850-1920," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 31 (1996): 25-35.

13. African-Americans in German Fin-de-Siècle Popular Culture: African American performers and artists flocked to Europe at the turn of the century, anxious for the opportunities afforded them there. We examine a range of operatic and popular singers, dancers, and the amazing velodrome cyclist Major Taylor, who became the reigning world champion through competition in Europe.

- Rainer Lotz, "The Black Nightingale," *The Black Perspective in Music* 8 (spring 1980): 5-19
- Rainer Lotz, "The Black Troubadours: Black Entertainers in Europe, 1896-1915," *Black Music Research Journal* 10 (autumn 1990): 253-273.
- Astrid Kusser, "Cakewalking the Anarchy of Empire around 1900," in Volker M. Langbehn (ed), *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory* (Routledge, 2010)
- Marshall "Major" Taylor, *The Fastest Bicycle Rider in the World* (1929)

14. World War I and the After-Images of Empire: "The shame on the Rhine" and the "Loyal Askari," in which students learn about the Black soldiers who fought in WWI – including the US Harlem Hellfighters, Germany's colonial Askari troops, and France's colonial soldiers –, the Black troops France used in the postwar occupation of the Rhine, and the children born out of relationships with these soldiers.

- Raffael Scheck, "World War I, Black Participation in" [EOB, 551-554]
- Keith L. Nelson, "The 'Black Horror on the Rhine': Race as a Factor in Post-World War I Diplomacy," *The Journal of Modern History* 42.4 (1970): 606-627.
- Susann Lewerenz, "'Loyal Askari' and 'Black Rapist': Two Images in the German Discourse on National Identity and Their Impact on the Lives of Black People in Germany, 1918-45," in Michael Perraudin and Jürgen Zimmerer (eds), *German Colonialism and National Identity* (Routledge, 2011), 173-183.

Weimar Germany

15. Weimar Harlemania: In which students learn about the popularity of African American entertainers in Weimar Germany. Clips of Josephine Baker, Louis Brody, etc. are available on line, and should be screened in class for discussion.

- Leroy Hopkins, "Louis Douglas and the Weimar reception of Harlemania," in Larry Greene and Anke Ortlepp (eds), *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange* (University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 50-69.
- Christine Naumann, "African American Performers and Culture in Weimar Germany," David McBride et al. (eds), *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World* (Camden House, 1998), 96-105.

16. Germany as seen through the Eyes of Robert Sengstacke Abbott: the founder of the *Chicago Defender* newspaper, who took on the name "Sengstacke" in honor of his German stepfather, and who traveled throughout Europe in the 1920s, reporting on his experiences and meetings with various Black men and women, including the film actor Louis Brody.

- Robert S. Abbott, "My Trip Abroad. VII: Sojourning in Germany," *The Chicago Defender* (12 Dec. 1929). [Transcription by Tobias Nagl, forthcoming in *Remapping Black Germany*, edited by Sara Lennox]
- Tobias Nagl, "Louis Brody and the Black Presence in German Film before 1945" [NSP, 109-123]

Nazi Germany

17. The Nazi Period I: In this unit, students learn about the intimate links between the laws of Jim Crow and Nazi race policy, particularly as seen through the eyes of African American intellectuals and eyewitnesses.

- W.E.B. DuBois, "Germany and Hitler," *Pittsburgh Courier* (5 Dec. 1936)
- Johnpeter Horst Grill and Robert L. Jenkins, "The Nazis and the American South: A Mirror Image?," *The Journal of Southern History* 58 (November 1992): 667-694.
- Harold Brackman, "'A Calamity Almost Beyond Comprehension': Nazi Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in the Thought of W.E.B. DuBois," *American Jewish History* 88.1 (2000):53-93.
- Paulette Reed-Anderson, *Rewriting the Footnotes: Berlin and the African Diaspora* (Berlin 2000), chp. 4 "National Socialist Dictatorship"
- Larry A. Greene, "Race in the Reich: The African American Press on Nazi Germany," in in Larry Greene and Anke Ortlepp (eds), *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange* (University Press of Mississippi, 2011), pp. 70-87.

18. The Nazi Period II: Black life in Nazi Germany. The experiences of Blacks living in Germany during the Nazi period were varied; different regions had different effective policies, and different individuals responded with both the desire to find a place in Nazi society (by joining the Hitler Youth, or the military) and the desire to fight the state in the illegal resistance movement. Clips from the film "Neger, Neger, Schornsteinfeger" (a film version of Hans Massaquoi's autobiography, available on German DVD) can be shown in class.

- Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (University of Michigan, 2004), chps 3 and 4 (interview segments only).
- Hans Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness: Growing up Black in Nazi Germany* (1999), pp. 17-23, 34-46, 52-63, 98-108.
- "African and Afro-German Women in the Weimar Republic and under National Socialism" [SOC, 41-55]
- Robbie Aitken, "Surviving in the Metropole: The Struggle for Work and Belonging amongst African Colonial Migrants in Weimar Germany," *Immigrants & Minorities* 28 (July/November 2010): 203-223.
- Clarence Lusane, "Blacks in the Resistance Movement," chp. 10 in *Hitler's Black Victims: The Historical Experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi Era* (Routledge, 2003), pp. 231-244.

19. The Nazi Period III: Sports and Identity. The 1936 Olympics and the 1936-38 boxing matches between Joe Louis and Max Schmelling were highly symbolic displays of racial identity. Parts of Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia* (available on DVD) can be screened in class to exemplify the aestheticization of the athletic body.

- Lerone Bennett Jr. "Jesse Owens' Olympic Triumph over Time and Hitlerism: Record-Breaking Performance of Track Star Discredited Racial Theories of German Dictator," *Ebony* (Dec. 1983): 140-146.
- Hans Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness: Growing up Black in Nazi Germany* (1999), pp.114-124 ("Joe and Jesse, my new heroes").
- William J. Baker, "Jesse Owens and the Germans: A Political Love Story," in David McBride et al. (eds), *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World* (Camden House, 1998), 167-176.
- Lewis A. Ehrenberg, "More than a Prizefight: Joe Louis, Max Schmelling, and the Transnational Politics of Boxing," in W. Fitzhugh Brundage (ed.), *Beyond Blackface: African Americans and the Creation of American Popular Culture, 1890-1930* (North Carolina, 2011), pp. 315-355

20. World War II and the "Double V" Campaign: African Americans join the US military with the determination to win victory over fascism abroad and victory over discrimination at home – two projects that were inherently linked.

- Höhn/Klimke, "Fighting on Two Fronts: World War II and Civil Rights" [BOF, chp.2]
- Kevin Chappell, "Blacks in World War II," *Ebony* (Sept. 1995): 58-64.

The Era of Germany under Foreign Occupation

21. Occupation I: African American soldiers stationed in Germany experience relief from Jim Crow laws that still apply at home. The military is still segregated, but Black soldiers are living amongst a German population that, on the whole, receives them more warmly than their white military counterparts. William Gardner Smith's *Last of the Conquerors* depicts the life of an African American occupation soldier and his (largely positive) relationships with Germans and (largely negative) interactions with white US military personnel.

- "GI Wives in Germany: US Women Lead Envious Life in Old World setting," *Ebony* (Dec. 1953): 104-108
- *Last of Conquerors I* (+ Occupation Primary Sources on website)
- "The New Germany and Negro Soldiers: Tan Yanks still popular with Germans although chocolate bars no longer buy friends as in early occupation days," *Ebony* (Jan. 1952): 54-56.

- “Germany meets the Negro Soldier: GIs find more friendship and equality in Berlin than in Birmingham or on Broadway,” *Ebony* (Oct. 1946): 5-6.
- William Gardner Smith, *Last of the Conquerors* (1946). Read first half.

22. Occupation II: In which we continue our reading of William Gardner Smith, and explore the online archive “The Civil Rights Struggle, African-American GIs, and Germany”

- William Gardner Smith, *Last of the Conquerors* (1946). Read second half.
- Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, ““The Civil Rights Struggle, African-American GIs, and Germany” <http://www.aacvr-germany.org/AACVR.ORG/>

23. Occupation III:

- “Breath of Freedom: Black Soldiers and the Battle for Civil Rights” (film, 90 minutes, 2014, available on website)
- Höhn/Klimke, “‘We Will Never Go Back to the Old Way Again’: African American GIs and the Occupation of Germany” [BOF, chp.3]
- Höhn/Klimke, “Setting the Stage for Brown: Integrating the Military in Germany” [BOF, chp. 4]

24. The so-called “Occupation Babies”: Thousands of babies were born to German women who had relationships with African American occupation soldiers. As was the case with babies born during the Rhineland occupation after World War I, these “mixed-race” children triggered the question of what it means to be German. This time, however, Americans took an active part in the discussion.

- Allan Gould, “Germany’s Tragic War Babies: Children of Negro GIs and frauleins face Nazi-like bias as they reach school age” *Ebony* (Dec. 1952): 74-78.
- Pearl S. Buck, “Should White Parents Adopt Brown Babies?: Noted author implores friends everywhere to open their hearts and homes to mixed-blood orphans regardless of religion or race,” *Ebony* (June 1958): 26-31.
- “Brown Babies go to Work: Germany launches smooth integration of 1,500 Negro youths in its work force,” *Ebony* (Nov. 1960): 97-106.
- May Opitz, “Afro-Germans after 1945: The So-called Occupation Babies” [SOC, 77-119.
- Regina Griffin, “Brown Babies: The Mischlingskinder Story” (film documentary, on DVD)

25. Talking about “Occupation Babies”: *Toxi* (film, 1952)

- Robert A. Stemmler, “Toxi” (available on DVD from DEFA Film Library)
- Heide Fehrenbach, “Narrating ‘Race’ in 1950s’ west Germany: The Phenomenon of the *Toxi* Films” [NSP, 136-160]

26. African Americans and People of African Descent in East Germany.

- Astrid Berger, "Aren't you glad you can stay here?" [SOC 114-118]
- Höhn/Klimke, "Heroes of the Other America: East German Solidarity with the African American Freedom Struggle" [BOF, 123-142]
- Uta G. Poiger, "Jazz and German Respectability," chp. 4 in *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold-War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (California, 2000), 137-167.

27. The Birth of the Afro-German Movement in West Germany: When the American Black, Lesbian, Feminist Audre Lorde travels to Germany to meet with Black women, it catalyzed a movement. *Showing our Colors* is a landmark publication introducing the term "Afro-German" to the nation and, after its publication into English, to the wider world. But this articulation of an Afro-German identity out of a feminist context would have lasting effects on the movement.

- "Nobel Prize Winner's Triumph in Europe: German spread red carpet for rights leader M. L. King on visit to Berlin," *Ebony* (Nov. 1964): 40-48.
- Höhn/Klimke, "Bringing Civil Rights to East and West: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Cold War Berlin" [BOF, 89-106]
- Höhn/Klimke, "Revolutionary Alliances: The Rise of Black Power" [BOF, 107-122]
- Forwards and Introduction to *Showing Our Colors* [SOC, vii-xxv]
- "Three Afro-German women in conversation with Dagmar Schultz" [SOC 145-164]

Germany Today

28. Addressing Contemporary Black German Identity Locally and Globally: the ISD: Initiative schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (Initiative of Black People in Germany) works to create a community out of a diverse group of people: Afro-Germans and Black people living either permanently or temporarily in Germany. It is a means of networking both locally (the Network Meeting for People of African Descent and Black Europeans) and globally (The current "Ferguson is Everywhere" campaign). In this unit, we investigate Black mobilization to confront violence, but also to generate a positive sense of global community.

- Brothers Keepers "Adriano (Letzte Warnung)" [song, lyrics, and music video available online]

- Grada Kilomba, *Plantation Memories: Episodes of Everyday Racism* (Münster: Unrast, 2010), chp 5: “Space Politics,” and chp. 11 “Performing Blackness”
- Fatima El-Tayeb, “‘If You Can’t Pronounce My Name You Can Call Me Pride’: Afro-German Activism, Gender and Hip Hop,” *Gender and History* 15.3 (2003): 460-486.
- ISD website: <http://isdonline.de/>

29. Africans, African Americans, and Black British students studying and traveling in Germany and Austria today. Interviews. One of the main motivations of this course is to support the global mobility of our Black student populations – who don’t currently take part in study abroad programs at the rate of their white counterparts. On the one hand, the course material should help some of them draw personal family connections to Germany (particularly those students with parents who have been stationed there), and to see themselves as part of a long tradition of Black intellectual travel to Europe. Yet students will want to know details about the experiences other Black students their age have had in Germany in recent years. How safe did they feel? How welcome did they feel? What were their biggest challenges (and how did these relate to issues of race?). For this session, we hold interviews with current and past students, using conferencing software where needed.

30. Final Course Wrap-up.