



Trans-Atlantic Racial Redress Network: Spanish Case

FINAL FINDINGS REPORT

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ABSTRACT

The “Trans-Atlantic Racial Redress Network” Project is an initiative that stems from the “African-American Redress Network” project led by Columbia University (NY) and the Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center at Howard University. The latter has sought to conduct a mapping and advocate for reparations for individuals, families or groups who suffer or have suffered from historical injustices based on race in the United States.

The project, initially conceived for the US context, albeit adaptable to other geographical and historical realities, through case studies undertaken in the Netherlands (NIOD/University of Amsterdam) and Spain (European Observatory on Memories – University of Barcelona), has ultimately managed to initiate a multi-site and comparative phase. This report presents the findings of the latter during the mapping phase.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1

Preliminary Considerations

2

Category-based Overview of Initiatives

3

Qualitative Analysis:

- Territorial Dimension
- Chronological Dimension.
- Keys to Understanding

1. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Taking the mapping created in the USA and its methodology as a point of reference, new criteria had to be established for the Spanish case, which took the following considerations into account:

1. Mapping for Spain? Despite the fact that the territories that make up the current Spanish State have also had a slavery-related dimension internally in modern times, this reality bore a greater impact and was more deeply entrenched abroad.[1] Spain was both an emissive and consuming power, mainly in its colonies, which received a large volume of enslaved people. Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, the American Atlantic area absorbed millions of human beings originating from Africa (and Europe), who had to be integrated into the respective colonial societies and their subsequent national plans. The sociodemographic development of both continents – Europe and America – has undoubtedly differed, since there are no significant communities of African descent in Spain linked to the Atlantic's slavery processes in modern and contemporary times. Although most of the victims and descendants of these crimes do not live or have not lived in Spain, **it does not exclude or lessen Spain's accountability as a power, but does render its mapping and subsequent analysis more complex.** The phenomenon's triangulation and the diversity of agents involved[2] forces us to adopt a transnational approach and a dialogue with the processes of national and racial emancipation that took place in former colonies that are now sovereign countries, which have also had to manage the repercussions of these processes alone. This constitutes the first major difference with the American case study as regards the slave trade and consumption, which we separate from the colonial dimension since it does not always coincide or correlate.

[1] Without a doubt, slavery existed in the peninsula, legal until 1837, although in steady decline since the 17th century. Spain was home to a considerable slave population (African, Moorish, etc.), but neither the volume of these flows ever reached the magnitude of the traffic to America nor have these communities lasted to the present day, constituting a political matter.

[2] The banner under which the slave trade was practised and the slaves' final destination generally involved several countries at the same time.

The State's patent history of slavery has primarily been included and mapped in the study, albeit not solely, by means of its material vestiges (monuments, statues, etc.) and the small number of recognition initiatives. Nevertheless, specific discrimination cases (descendants, claims, etc.) could not be pinpointed taking the State's territorial limits as a reference point. At this stage we must ask ourselves, looking to the future, how the demands for reparations and recognition that occur in the different countries that have had to or should handle such claims and that somehow involve Spain should be included. In fact, Jamaica was one of the first countries to demand material compensation from Great Britain and the recognition of accountability for years of slavery, and Spain is expected to receive similar requests soon. We believe that comprehensive and coherent mapping should be executed in conjunction with groups located in these countries to come up with cross-findings and to broaden the project's scope. **In fact, this dialogue is imperative.**

Moreover, and in line with the approach outlined, Spain has also been a country of a colonialist nature. This is a paramount issue that, in turn, differs from the American case (which was a colony and then a State). It allows us to **pinpoint the second significant difference with regard to the mapping's scope**. On the one hand, because starting in the 1950s, the first migrations to the peninsula began from the small number of Spanish colonies in Africa (Morocco, Sahara and Guinea), giving way to the first organised Afro-descendant groups in the contemporary State. Beginning in the 1980s, once the Franco dictatorship came to an end and Spain joined the EU, new migratory processes originating mainly, although not exclusively, from former colonies in America and Africa would be added to them. **This political issue has been and is at the forefront of the fight against racism**, the laws that discriminate against them and the cities' colonial and slave legacy. On the other hand, the colonial focal point is what best encapsulates the debates on recognition and reparations today. We refer to the requests for public apology by a number of Latin American countries (such as Mexico) or to the requests for the return of plundered artefacts (Colombia, etc.). Obviously, again, this reality forces us to consider the **project's necessary transnational perspective and to alert us to the bias of the findings presented herein**.

2. Chronologies: The different historical contexts have led to the adaptation of the chronologies and the historical periods of reference. The historical eras used in the United States were: Slavery 1609-1865; Reconstruction 1865-1877; Jim Crow 1877-1950; Civil Rights Era 1950-mid 1960s; Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Beyond. In the case of Spain, the periods employed were: Slavery & American Colonialism 1492-1872; Modern Colonialism 1872-1950; Civil Rights – Decolonisation 1950-1975; Civil Rights 1975-Present. Like any periodisation, this chronology plays an instrumental role that facilitates classification, and we are aware that there are many possibilities.

3. The subject: The adaptation of the Afro-descendant category is complex in the Spanish case due to the geographical diversity of its colonial and slavery processes. Therefore, we have finally decided to dispense with this category and take into account all the people and/or communities who have suffered at the hands of processes of slavery, colonisation or discrimination that somehow involve Spain. We believe that this is much better suited to the diversity of historical processes within the State and to its existing vestiges and debates.

4. The categories concerning geography, injustices and reparations: The different historical contexts have also implied some methodological changes in the categories employed. On the one hand, in light of the small number of recognition and reparation initiatives **in Spain we have limited the methodology to a single territorial entity** (Spain) for the sampling and execution of data sheets, including the subsequent geographical specification in the corresponding section of the data sheets (municipality, region, etc.). Furthermore, the **list of historical injustices** has also been simplified to: slavery, colonialism, and racism-discrimination (post-1950). The category of racism could obviously prove problematic as it is implicit in slavery and colonisation processes, although this reality has been taken for granted in this mapping and it will be used exclusively for cases of racial discrimination within the State, mainly from 1950. However, in many cases we have had to use double categories, even for all of them. **The decision to use very broad generic categories is also owing to the dearth of initiatives.** We can thereby group them and not create specific labels that would surely be more accurate but that would ultimately include a single action. Finally, again for simplification purposes, under the reparations categories, it was decided to indicate only whether or not the demands have been met, **dispensing with the Watch List.** Again, the dearth of initiatives forces us to forgo an in-depth perspective. However, depending on the continuity of this study, the criteria could be expanded and specified further in future phases.

2.FINDINGS

Taking into account the historical reality and considerations made, the main search criteria in this first phase are as follows:

1. Legislative bills that include colonial and slave-owning historical memory, as well as formal petitions from third countries.
2. Removal/Request for removal/Resignification of monuments/addition of new monuments.
3. Renaming of streets, squares and buildings/schools.
4. Curricular adaptations and implementation of education plans that integrate matters concerning colonialism and racism.
5. Protest movements, entities and associations promoting visibility and advocating for reparations for Spanish colonialism, slave-owning and racism (hate crimes). In addition, movements, entities and associations promoting visibility and advocating for reparations for hate crimes and historical injustices in the present day.
6. Exhibitions, workshops and other cultural awareness-raising initiatives.

- **Legislative bills that include colonial and slave-owning historical memory, as well as formal petitions from third counties.**

In this section we have considered all legislative initiatives (approved or not), including non-legislative proposals and/or motions in parliamentary or municipal offices, which address issues related to the slave trade, slavery or colonialism. We have also included laws or initiatives aimed at preventing racial hatred, a phenomenon closely linked to the legacy of slavery and colonisation. We must point out, however, that we have not included in this sampling the legislative proposals for the abolition of slavery or the 21st-century slave trade, nor the various laws on colonial emancipation. Nor have we included any of the many motions, declarations or resolutions on the Sahara conflict,^[3] as this issue deserves a specific analysis that we do not rule out incorporating in another project phase. Thus, we have decided to incorporate only laws, motions and political declarations that address the issue from the point of view of reparations, recognition or historical memory. Claims for recognition or reparations from third countries have also been included.

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>“Non-legislative proposal for the recognition of the Spanish State’s accountability and reparations for damages as a result of the use of chemical weapons in the Rif”</i></p> <p>Submitted by Esquerra Republicana [Republican Left] in relation to the crimes of the colonial occupation of the Rif and its consequences.</p> <p>Level: State</p> <p>Status: Rejected</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustice: Colonialism</p>	<p>2005-2007</p>

[3] Formally speaking, the Sahara is still regarded to be a territory pending decolonisation by Spain. However, in practice, it is a territory under Moroccan sovereignty following the 1975 tripartite agreements – with no validity in international law. This reality implies that the Sahara issue is a focal point in many political debates.

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>“Non-legislative Proposal on the Memory of Slavery, Recognition and Support for the Black, African and Afro-Descendant Community in Spain” (PNL)</i></p> <p>·Initiative spearheaded by the Spanish pan-Africanist movement and the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party]</p> <p>·Level: State</p> <p>Status: Approved and non-binding</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery</p>	<p>2010</p>
<p><i>Public apologies from the Parlament de Catalunya [Parliament of Catalonia] for the crimes of colonisation and slavery.</i></p> <p><i>Motion submitted by Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia, ERC)</i></p> <p><i>Level: Catalonia</i></p> <p><i>Status: Approved</i></p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism, Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Colonialism, Slavery</p>	<p>2019</p>

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>“Equal Treatment and Non-Discrimination Act”.</i></p> <p>Law passed unanimously that not only includes racial discrimination, but also gender or sexual discrimination.</p> <p>Level: Catalonia</p> <p>Status: Approved</p>	<p>Historical period: Civil Rights</p> <p>Historical injustice: Discrimination</p>	<p>2021</p>
<p><i>Motion for “cultural policies” in the Parlament de Catalunya calling for action to recognise and make reparations for the historical memory of Catalan colonialism (especially in local festivities).</i></p> <p><i>Motion submitted by Catalunya en Comú Podem [Catalonia in Common-We Can, ECP] and Candidatura d’Unitat Popular [Popular Unity Candidacy, CUP]</i></p> <p>Level: Catalonia</p> <p>Status: Rejected in the vote</p>	<p>Historical period: All</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery, Colonialism, Racism</p>	<p>2022</p>

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Public apology from the King of Spain to the Government of Mexico for the crimes of colonialism.</i></p> <p>Request from President López Obrador.</p> <p>Level: State – transnational</p> <p>Status: Not evaluated</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery, Colonialism</p>	<p>2021</p>
<p><i>“Non-legislative Proposal on the historical memory of slavery and its relation to Spain and reparation measures”</i></p> <p><i>·Status: approved</i></p> <p><i>Level: State</i></p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p>	<p>2022</p>

• **Removal/Request for removal/Resignification of monuments/
addition of new monuments/restitution**

In this section we have included all initiatives concerning the removal or resignification of monuments related to colonialism or slavery, as well as memorial-type interventions (such as the creation of new memorials). Requests for removal have also been included, although no action or assessment has yet taken place formally. Finally, we have incorporated the initiatives or demands for the restitution of museum collections or pieces since they are considered to be part of the pillaging carried out by colonisation.

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Repatriation of the Negre de Banyoles (or the Bosquimano de Banyoles) to Botswana</i></p> <p>·Return of the mortal remains of an unidentified stuffed African, exhibited at the Darder museum in Banyoles</p> <p>Level: Local (Banyoles)</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustices: Colonialism, Racism</p>	
<p><i>Petition for the removal/resignification of the Columbus Monument by various groups, Portal de la Paz in Barcelona square.</i></p> <p>Level: Local (Barcelona)</p> <p>Status: Unresolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism, Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Colonialism, Slavery</p>	<p>2016-2021</p>

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Petition for the removal/resignification of the Andrés Urdaneta Monument by various groups in the Basque Country</i></p> <p>Level: Local (Ordizia)</p> <p>Status: Unresolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery, apology</p>	<p>2017</p>
<p><i>Repatriation of the Negre de Banyoles (or the Bosquimano de Banyoles) to Botswana</i></p> <p><i>·Return of the mortal remains of an unidentified stuffed African, exhibited at the Darder museum in Banyoles</i></p> <p>Level: Local (Banyoles)</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustices: Colonialism, Racism</p>	<p>1991.- 2000</p>
<p><i>Petition for the removal/resignification of the Columbus Monument by various groups, Portal de la Paz in Barcelona square.</i></p> <p>Level: Local (Barcelona)</p> <p>Status: Unresolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism, Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Colonialism, Slavery</p>	<p>2016-2021</p>

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Petition for the removal/resignification of the Andrés Urdaneta Monument by various groups in the Basque Country</i></p> <p>Level: Local (Ordizia)</p> <p>Status: Unresolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery, apology</p>	<p>2017</p>
<p><i>Removal of the monument to the slave-owner Antonio López y López in the Antonio López Square, in Ciutat Vella, Barcelona (Catalonia)</i></p> <p>Level: Local (Barcelona)</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery</p>	<p>2018</p>
<p><i>Exhibition of the temporary statue entitled “Humanitat” by the artist James Colomina on the pedestal of the monument to Antonio López to mark the anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Spain.</i></p> <p>Level: Barcelona</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery</p>	<p>2022</p>

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Petition for the return of the Quimbaya treasure (Museum of the Americas).</i></p> <p>Level: Madrid</p> <p>Status: Unresolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustice: Colonialism</p>	<p>2017</p>

- **Renaming of streets, squares and buildings/institutes**

In this section we include the name changes of streets, squares, buildings and museums. Also included are petitions, although they have not materialised. Lastly, initiatives to map monuments or streets have also been taken into account, even in the absence of any direct petition for removal.

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Renaming of street: Almirall de Cervera renamed Pepe Rubianes. Barcelona.</i></p> <p>Level: Barcelona</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism, Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustices: Colonialism</p>	2018
<p><i>Renaming of street: Rambla Antoni Vidal renamed La Rambla. Sant Feliu de Guíxols.</i></p> <p>Level: Sant Feliu de Guíxols</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery</p>	2018

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Renaming of street: Plaza Antonio López López renamed Plaza Idrissa Diallo [4]</i></p> <p>Level: Barcelona</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery</p>	<p>2017-2022</p>
<p><i>Renaming of street: Ejército de África renamed Modesta Calvo. Cádiz.</i></p> <p>Level: Cádiz</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustice: Colonialism</p>	<p>2021</p>

[4] Dedicating the square to Idrissa Diallo is a tribute to an immigrant killed in a Detention Centre for Foreigners in 2005. An anti-racism movement gave impetus to the initiative and was approved following a popular referendum. It is the first measure that links today's racism with historical injustices such as slavery (Antonio López was a slave trader).

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Database “La Catalunya negrera”. Iconographic map of monuments, streets and squares that pay tribute to renowned slave traders.</i></p> <p>This database identifies 27 streets in Catalonia alone named after slave traders or traffickers.</p> <p>Level: Catalonia</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery</p>	<p>2019-2022</p>
<p><i>Database “the Indiano [townsfolk who returned having made their fortune in the Americas] phenomenon in Vilanova. Cultural heritage and public space”</i></p> <p>Municipal report that locates buildings, monuments or streets related to the town’s Indiano (colonial and slave) past</p> <p>Level: Vilanova i la Geltrú</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery</p>	<p>2021</p>

• **Curricular adaptations and implementation of education plans that integrate matters concerning colonialism and racism.**

In this section we have documented unique pedagogical initiatives that seek to raise awareness of issues such as colonialism, slavery and racism in schools and secondary schools. We have not included, on account of their magnitude, the curricular adaptations carried out in each autonomous community in terms of guarantees of non-discrimination or awareness of racism, which would remain pending for a second phase.

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Route: “L’herència de l’esclavatge i l’abolicionisme a Barcelona” (The Legacy of Slavery and Abolitionism in Barcelona).</i></p> <p>Level: Barcelona</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery</p>	2018
<p><i>“Vilanova in the 19th century: Itinerary and Visit to the Balaguer Museum”</i> ·Educational visit that makes an issue of the city’s Indiano heritage and past.</p> <p>Level: Sant Feliu de Guíxols</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery</p> <p>Historical injustice: Slavery</p>	2018

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>VISQUEM LA DIVERSITAT [LET'S EXPERIENCE DIVERSITY]. Materials for an intercultural educational action.</i></p> <p>Level: Catalonia</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Civil rights</p> <p>Historical injustices: Racism</p>	<p>2017</p>
<p><i>Manual for the prevention and management of racist incidents in classrooms Promoted by SOS Racismo Bizcaia</i></p> <p>Level: Basque Country</p>	<p>Historical period: Civil rights</p> <p>Historical injustice: Racism</p>	<p>2016</p>

- **Protest movements, entities and associations promoting visibility and advocating for reparations for Spanish colonialism, slave-owning and racism (hate crimes). In addition, movements, entities and associations promoting visibility and advocating for reparations for hate crimes and historical injustices in the present day.**

In this section we have included, on the one hand, protest movements whose objective was to challenge the colonial and slave legacy in the State. However, we must recognise that the findings have been negligible in this field, even after Black Lives Matter and its iconoclastic boom. However, we have not included demonstrations against racist violence despite the fact that, in recent years, these protests have openly called the immigration system and institutional racism the “colonial order”. In fact, the links between both realities through the decolonial perspective is evident. For this reason, in the following project phases, work will be undertaken to include these movements and these links. Moreover, we have also identified the associations spearheaded by Africans or Afro-descendants in the State, regardless of whether their work is related to activism or cultural dissemination. Finally, we have mapped racially motivated hate crimes in the State, especially those that have borne a media impact and have driven protest or awareness-raising movements. Nevertheless, we do believe that this reality, together with anti-racism protests, deserve their own and more detailed analysis and in a second phase.

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Demonstration against the Statue of Christopher Columbus in Barcelona (in the framework of Black Lives Matter)</i></p> <p>Level: Barcelona</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery, colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery, colonialism</p>	<p>2020</p>

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Demonstration in Banyoles for the removal of “Negro de Banyoles” from the Darder Museum</i></p> <p>Level: Banyoles</p> <p>Status: Resolved</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustice: Racism</p>	<p>1992</p>
<p><i>Nineteen associations promoted by Africans or people of African descent who fight against racism and for cultural visibility.[5]</i></p> <p>Level: All</p>	<p>Historical period: Civil rights</p> <p>Historical injustices: Racism</p>	<p>1990-Present</p>

[5] The full list of associations and other numerical references are listed in the complete database.

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Twenty-seven documented hate crimes on the grounds of racial discrimination.[6]</i></p> <p>Level: All</p>	<p>Historical period: Civil rights</p> <p>Historical injustice: Racism</p>	<p>1992-Present</p>

[6] The list is not completed because it is limited to African people or Afro-descendants for the time being. Although here we wish to mention the project Hate Crimes that has executed a comprehensive database of all these crimes between 1990 and 2020: <https://crimenesdeodio.info/ca/casos/?type=Racisme%20i%20xenof%C3%B2bia#>

- **Exhibitions or other cultural awareness-raising initiatives**

In this section we have included exhibitions, plays, documentaries or other cultural initiatives that have borne an impact and have helped to revisit and raise awareness of colonial and slave memory, clearly committed to calling for reparations for this past. This list is provisional and does not ultimately include workshops or other fora for academic discussion that have burgeoned in recent years to address the issue of colonial debt.

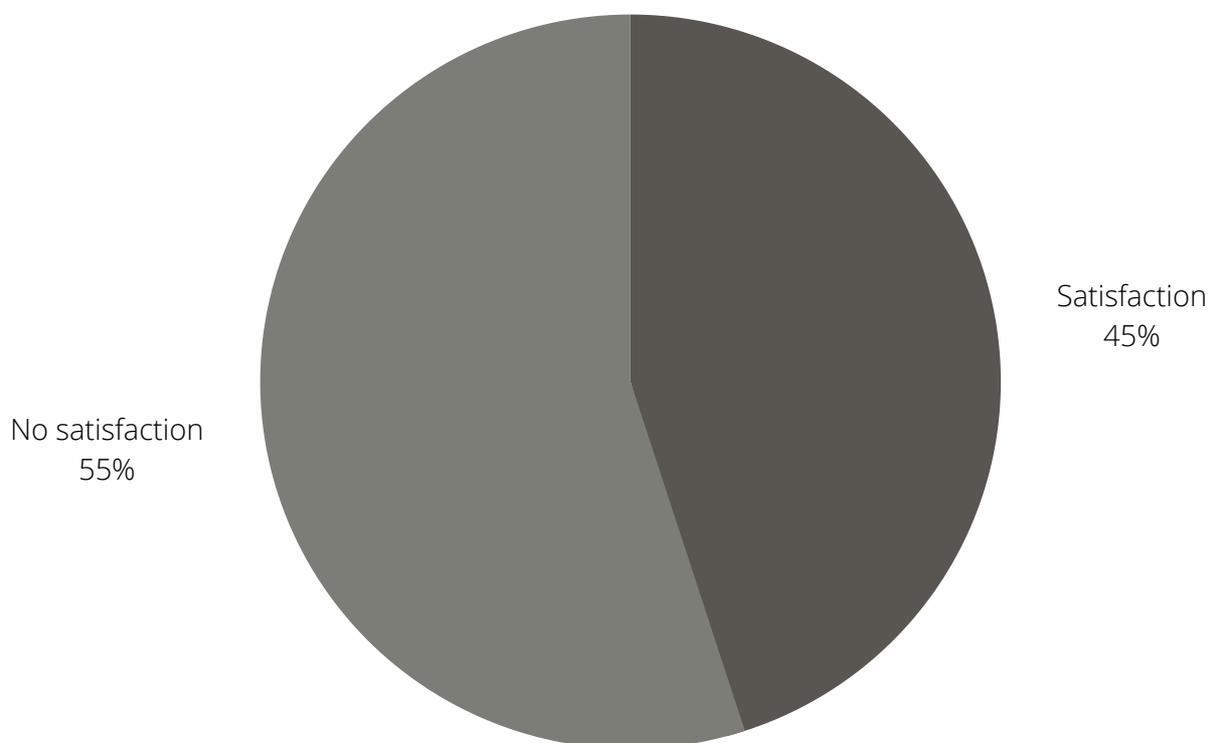
Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Exhibitions committed to the recovery of colonial and slave memory: 6[7]</i></p> <p>Level: Barcelona (4), Madrid (1) and Valencia (1)</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery, colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery, colonialism</p>	2016-2022
<p><i>Plays committed to the recovery of colonial and slave memory: 3</i></p> <p>Level: State (1), Madrid (1) and Catalonia (1)</p>	<p>Historical period: Colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustice: Colonialism</p>	2020-2022

Element	Validation	Year
<p><i>Documentaries committed to the recovery of colonial and slave memory: 6</i></p> <p>Level: State (4) and Catalonia (2)</p>	<p>Historical period: Slavery, colonialism</p> <p>Historical injustices: Slavery, colonialism</p>	<p>2016-2022</p>
<p><i>Plays committed to the recovery of colonial and slave memory: 3</i></p> <p>Level: State (1), Madrid (1) and Catalonia (1)</p>	<p>Historical period: All</p> <p>Historical injustice: All</p>	<p>2006-2021</p>

3.QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

• Scope of initiatives

If we directly evaluate the initiatives corresponding to a direct petition for reparations or restitution (excluding the case of hate crimes for the time being), fifteen actions can be identified. Most concern the resignification of the public space, heritage restitution or the legislative realm. Of this amount, nine have been concluded with full or partial satisfaction of the claims; six, on the other hand, have not come to fruition. A positive success rate, though not really notable, are the small number of initiatives – not so much in comparison to the US, but to the Netherlands, a country less involved in colonialism and slavery. The following sections will endeavour to put forward a number of keys to understanding this reality.



Success rate of initiatives

- **Territorial perspective.**

One of these keys is the territorial and geographical perspective, especially due to the significant geographical disparities in terms of specific initiatives for reparations. Although this reality is adjusted or relativised in some categories, the trend deserves to be addressed.



1. Withdrawal of the monument to Antonio Lopez (Barcelona)

For instance, Catalonia plays an undeniable role in the resignification of the public space. If we take actions concerning restitution and resignification, the removal or renaming of monuments as a yardstick, the figures are quite clear: of the four changes in name, three have taken place in Catalonia (75%) and of the five initiatives monitored concerning the removal of monuments or heritage restitution, four have been in Catalonia (80%). Barcelona is also the Catalan city that spearheads the most initiatives. Also in Catalonia are the only two databases or studies that conduct an in-depth analysis of the presence of slave traders or figures associated with colonisation, on the one hand, the project “La Catalunya Negrera” and, on the other, the study of Vilanova i la Geltrú. In terms of associations, the broad presence of decolonial movements and protest movements is also noted. This correlation could be enlightening. The greater pressure exerted on Catalan institutions by these movements is likely to explain the momentum behind a greater revision of the public space in Catalonia. Without these movements, the entrenched normalisation of colonialism and slavery in Catalonia would hardly remain unchallenged. In addition, legislative initiatives are also showing greater activity in Catalonia; even some of those presented at the Congress of Deputies in Madrid were led by Catalan parties. In fact, the first institution to process a public apology over the colonial issue was the Parlament de Catalunya.



2. Protest in Barcelona demonstrating against the monument to Columbus and against racism (2020)

In the remaining categories, the territorial issue does not point to notable singularities, although in comparative terms it must be emphasised that the marked territorialisation of certain initiatives is not specific to the Spanish case. In the case of the Netherlands, the Amsterdam region also absorbs almost 50% of the initiatives. In both the Spanish and Dutch cases, the researchers working on these reports live in these regions. In this regard, it is worth appraising the possibility that the reports include a larger number of initiatives influenced by the team's more in-depth knowledge of these realities.

• **Chronological perspective.**

The chronological focus also proves enlightening. Only a small number of initiatives are identified before the arrival of the 21st century, although the momentum clearly came about later, specifically as of 2016. As the findings of the Dutch report also reveal, the 2010s witnessed the emergence of racial reparations initiatives. This is a point of intersection between both studies, which is explained from an international view of the evolution of demands for reparations. Although it is difficult to elucidate the absolute reasons behind this boom, we put forward a number of key insights from this perspective:

1 The impetus for reparations in the USA: The fight for civil rights in the United States has been manifested in recent decades through the challenging of structural discrimination (impoverishment, police violence) that is linked to the absence of reparative transitional justice policies, related to the historical injustices suffered by Afro-descendant communities. The solutions to this reality today focus on the possibility of establishing reparations, both symbolic and economic and not punitive. An undoubtedly refreshing perspective that puts the victim and not the executioner at the centre of the action.[8]

[8] We recommend reading: Joan Wallach Scott, *On the Judgment of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2020

2. The rise of reparations initiatives in Africa and the Caribbean: In these contexts we also identify impetuses that we must undoubtedly link to the reality in the US and Europe. On the one hand, the creation in 1993 of the African Reparations Movement, promoted by the AU, whose initiatives came to be discussed in Great Britain's House of Commons. Later, in 2001, at the first international conference against racism held in South Africa (Durban), a resolution was discussed calling for compensation from the West for Africa and its diasporas.[9] Finally, in September 2013, the CARICOM Reparations Commission (Caribbean) was set up. One year later, fifteen Caribbean countries rolled out the "CARICOM Ten-Point Plan for Restorative Justice", which set out demands for reparations from Europe. Among these demands were formal apologies from all nations involved or programmes to help Africans and Afro-descendants learn about and share their stories and to help institutions to improve literacy and the physical and mental health of descendants of slavery. The difference between these movements and those in the United States is that their narrative places Europe and its powers at the forefront of accountability, a fact that for our study we must assess in differential terms and connect with the preliminary considerations that recommend a mapping based on a transnational dialogue.

3. Decolonial movements in Europe: The plethora of associations and movements of a decolonial nature and those engaged in the fight against racism promoted by racialised people in Europe undoubtedly explain the emergence of these trends in our geographical context. These movements have been in dialogue with the aforementioned phenomena and have incorporated the denunciation of the survival of the symbols and narratives of colonialism and slavery into their practice. These groups have been the ones that have led the largest protest movements in Europe in the last decade, noteworthy mobilisations in the case of Spain being Afroféminas, SOS Racismo, the Pan-African Movement and Black Lives Matter.

These three consecutive and correlated dimensions, but in constant feedback, explain the boom in recent decades in all the project's contexts, namely, the USA, the Netherlands and Spain.

[9] Please see: <https://www.un.org/WCAR/pressreleases/rd-d24.html>

- **Keys to understand the Spanish case and future perspectives.**

Although it is too soon to draw consistent and definitive conclusions and despite the need for a second sampling phase to complete the findings, a number of more specific keys to understanding can be considered on the state of the issue in Spain in relation to the management of colonial memory:

1. The historical memory law: Reference must be made to this law, not because of its contribution to the colonial issue, but because of its contribution to oblivion. Law 52/2007 of 26 December, which recognises and expands rights and establishes measures in favour of those who suffered persecution or violence during the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship, does not make any mention of the word “Africa”, “colony”, “Guinea”, “Morocco”, or “Sahara”. The first law approved in Spain, more than 30 years after the death of the dictator Francisco Franco, on the memory of his victims, forgot – or sought to forget – that Franco’s Spain had colonies in Africa that suffered from the dictatorship as much as the Spaniards on the Iberian Peninsula. This report does not seek to conduct a detailed analysis of the law, but it must be pointed out that said law recognises the possibility of acquiring nationality for international brigade members or descendants of exiles while keeping the claims for nationality among citizens of the decolonised colonies during the dictatorship in legal limbo – one fact does not exclude the other, but they are undoubtedly parameters worthy of reflection. Africans from Morocco, Sahara or Guinea are not recognised as victims of Francoism or colonialism; they are not subject to the memory law. The law “recognises and declares the injustice caused by the exile of many Spaniards during the Civil War and the Dictatorship” (“Art. 1, 3) but does not mention how unjust the racial segregation practised in its colonies was, the political repression of political movements developed there or so many other realities of Franco’s colonial Spain.

However, this law has, almost inadvertently, contributed at least twice to the removal of colonialist symbols. Nonetheless, not for being colonialist, but for being connected to the Franco regime. The latter had deep colonial roots: both Franco and other prominent rebels were part of the Africanists, a military group forged in the Moroccan campaigns. For this reason, part of the symbology and reference points of National Catholicism had an Africanist dimension. The changes to which we refer include, on the one hand, the street name change of Ejército de Africa to Modesta Calvo in Cádiz and; on the other, the removal of the statue to General Varela, in San Fernando. In the latter case, right-wing groups allied with the legal Francisco Franco National Foundation that demanded that the statue be kept, precisely emphasising its “brave” role in the wars in Africa. In this case and in many others, the colonial dimension continues to have positive

interpretations, against the clock of the challenges that are taking place throughout the world. Without further evaluation, what is relevant in this matter is the silence of the memory law, the only legislative initiative that would really have a capacity to make reparations as regards some colonial realities.

2. A small number of reparations and recognition initiatives and colonial nostalgia:

Spain has been one of the main colonial powers in the world in modern times, the third nation that was most involved in the Atlantic slave trade and a minor colonial power in contemporary times. For this reason, we would expect to find movements related to reparations and memory similar to those found in the US, France or Great Britain in this context. It would also make sense to find a political debate surrounding demands, revision of school curricula, symbols and recognition of accountability. However, the colonial issue, as anticipated by the distinctive features of the historical memory law, is ignored or even not advocated. There is an absence of memory coupled with nostalgic memories and exaltation of the empire that characterise the anomaly of the Spanish case – although they are also mentioned in the Dutch report. However, in Spain there are hundreds of streets and monuments that are not subject to revision, criticism or debate. There is accountability that is denied and even ridiculed. Exploring the roots of this phenomenon (nationalism, Francoism, etc.) and explaining the absences is one of the challenges of the subsequent project phases, which also seeks to document memory conflicts occurring at a narrative level but that have not yet acquired the potential for public or political debate. The comparison with the Dutch case in this case is also discerning, especially when even in this context an anti-colonial political party has been born with a political agenda that bursts onto the electoral scene and brings memory conflicts and historical claims to the fore. In this regard, we believe that the Spanish case is not very similar to the reality of other contexts (the Netherlands, USA, etc.), but that this peculiarity does not exclude the validity of the Spanish case as a case study in this project.

3. Academia's limited colonial view: Only two universities in the Spanish State in which degrees in History are taught offer History of Africa as a compulsory subject. Nor are there chairs or departments of colonial history or colonial studies. Moreover, colonialism is barely part of school curricula in the compulsory stages of education. These elements must also be included when we analyse absences, oblivion and lack of interest.

4. Collaboration with associations: For the subsequent project phases, we wish to collaborate with decolonial and anti-racism associations and movements in revising the methodology and broadening the samples and initiatives. We believe that the involvement of those presenting the claims is imperative for the project.

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