

**'The African Reich' - Germany's Imperial  
Campaign in Africa (1880-1914)**

By

Jan van Mil

ANR: s522310

Bachelor Thesis

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Tineke Nugteren

Liberal Arts and Sciences

Major: Humanities

Faculty of Humanities

Tilburg University

28/07/2011

## **Abstract**

This thesis explores two research questions which deal with Germany's colonial campaign during the 'Scramble for Africa' (1881-1914). Firstly the motives behind the Germany's involvement in a colonial campaign will be explored, and secondly their tumultuous campaign in South West Africa (modern-day Namibia) in which violence became a main theme. These issues will be addressed through the use of desk research mainly from a Western perspective and from non-Western perspective when applicable. There will be use of archive images, maps and other historical images as well as statistical information concerning this subject. The aim of this Thesis is to illustrate how Germany chose for a colonial campaign in order to match up to their European neighbors/competitors. However, in the process of this colonial adventure, violence became a recurring theme and especially in South West Africa where it escalated into the first Genocide of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to take a moment to thank all the staff members of Liberal Arts and Sciences who were a great help throughout my Bachelor studies. A special thank you goes out to my teacher and thesis supervisor Dr. Tineke Nugteren, who never failed to inspire me academically, as well as giving me the freedom to explore my academic interests in her classes and during the course of writing this Thesis.

## **Foreword**

The atrocities that took place during Germany's reign in the African continent have often gone beyond German as well as European history books. With the First and Second World Wars overshadowing these events, it can be noted that this 'forgotten' history has evaded many. However, on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *Herero Uprisings (1904 -1907)*, an official apology was issued by the German government which recognized that the first genocide of the 20<sup>th</sup> century took place in what is now modern-day Namibia. Although the German government has recognized their actions, there have been no reparations made to the victims' families. Germany reiterates that no international laws to protect civilians existed at the time of the conflict, and therefore there will be no compensation.

The intention of this Bachelor Thesis is to examine German imperial and colonial expansion in the African context. In late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Germany was among other European powers involved in what is often referred to as the 'Scramble for Africa' (1881-1914). The developments and motives behind this involvement have intrigued me to further explore the German campaign in Africa which as a result of a stern foreign policy resulted in organized violence and genocide in German South West Africa. This Thesis does not seek justice, but understanding: why did Germany become involved in imperialism and colonization in the African continent, and why did their campaign escalate into one of brutal violence?

## **Glossary**

**Colonialism** - Control of a power over another dependent area or people, or, a policy advocating such a policy.

**Colony** - A country or area controlled politically by another usually more powerful political body.

**Concentration Camps** – A camp containing prisoners of war, political prisoners or refugees in which they are detained.

**Direct Rule** – Form of colonial administration which employed centralized administrations in which no negotiation is undertaken with local populations and the weakening of indigenous powers is recommended.

**Genocide** – The deliberate and systematic destruction of a political or cultural group.

**Imperialism** - The policy, practice of extending power and dominion by direct territorial acquisitions.

**Indirect Rule** – System of government employed by colonial powers which allowed the day-by-day governmental issue left to the native population.

**Nationalism** – A sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above others.

**Protectorate** – A relationship of authority assumed by a state or territory over a dependent dispatch.

**‘Sphere of influence’** – An area or region controlled by colonial powers in which they had significant cultural, economic, military and political influence.

**Violence** – Extortion of physical force as well as non-physical through vehement feeling or expression.

***Vernichtung*** – German term for destruction, and extermination.

***Vernichtungsbefehl*** - Destruction/ extermination order.

***Weltpolitik*** – Translated: World Policy. A strategy adopted by Germany in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century applied to foreign policy, in which an attempt to improve its prestige internationally became a priority.

\* Glossary definitions retrieved from Merriam- Webster Dictionary. <sup>1</sup>

## **Table of Contents**

	Page
<b>Title Page</b> .....	i
<b>Abstract</b> .....	ii
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	iii
<b>Foreword</b> .....	iv
<b>Glossary</b> .....	v
<b>Chapter 1: <i>Introduction: Europeans in Africa</i></b> .....	1
1.1 Early European conquest and colonization (15 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> century) .....	2
1.2 ‘New’ Imperialism (19 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century) .....	3
1.3 The ‘Scramble for Africa’ .....	5
1.4 Imperial Violence .....	7
1.5 Central Problem Statement, Objective .....	9
1.6 Methods .....	10
1.7 Analytical Framework .....	12
<b>Chapter 2: <i>‘The African Reich’</i></b> .....	14
2.1 The ‘Second Reich’ .....	15
2.2 The rise towards the German Colonial Empire .....	16
2.3 German Colonial Trade .....	19
2.4 German Rule .....	20
2.5 ‘Justifiable presence’ .....	22
2.6 End of the ‘African Reich’ .....	22

<b>Chapter 3: <i>Vernichtung</i> – SWA Case study</b>	24
3.1 ‘Pre-historical’ German South West Africa	26
3.2 Pre-Colonial Times	27
3.3 The Herero	29
3.4 Events leading up to war	30
3.5 ‘The Herero Uprisings’ (1904-1907)	31
3.6 Concentration Camps	34
3.7 Genocide	35
3.8 Repercussions – Aftermath	37
<b>Chapter 4: <i>Conclusion and Discussion</i></b>	38
4.1 Germany, a late comer	39
4.2 Extreme Violence	40
4.3 Forgive and/or Forget?	42
4.4 Limitations and Recommendations	42
<b>Appendices: <i>Appendix A</i></b>	44
A-1 Ptolemy’s World Map (150 CE)	44
A-2 Heinrich Hammer’s World Map (1489)	45
A-3 World Map c.1800	46
A-4 Africa c. 1885	47
A-5 The German Empire (1871-1918)	48

A-6	‘Everyone gets his share’ (1885) .....	49
A-7	‘Dropping the Pilot’ (1890) .....	50
A-8	Askari Soldier .....	51
A-9	<i>Klodderadatsch</i> (1900) .....	52
A-10	Captured Africans in Chains (1907-1908) .....	53
<b>Appendices: Appendix B</b> .....		54
B-1	Extract from Genreal Act of the Berlin Conference (1885) .....	54
B-2	Statistics on Colonial territories and their German populations (1910) ...	55
B-3	Statistics on German Schutztruppe. (1914) .....	56
B-4	Maherero’s Proclamation (1884) .....	57
<b>Bibliography</b> .....		58
<b>Notes</b> .....		61



*It is [the Africans] who carry the 'Black man's burden'. They have not withered away before the white man's occupation. Indeed ... Africa has ultimately absorbed within itself every Caucasian and, for that matter, every Semitic invader, too. In hewing out for himself a fixed abode in Africa, the white man has massacred the African in heaps. The African has survived, and it is well for the white settlers that he has...*

Edward Morel (1920),  
The Black Man's Burden (163-164)<sup>2</sup>

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### *Europeans in Africa*

#### 1.1 Early European conquest and colonization (15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century)

European interaction with the African continent can be dated back to the Roman Empire in which the Republic's power spread across Northern Africa (from Carthage to Egypt), however, it was centuries later, from the mid 1400's onwards, that one can speak of a European 'age of discovery' within Africa. The Portuguese King's brother, Prince Henry, also known as 'the Navigator' instigated numerous exploration voyages down the African coast.<sup>3</sup> With the Italians and Catalans ruling over the Mediterranean, both the Spanish and Portuguese sought new possibilities in the Atlantic. This saw the Portuguese reach Cape Verde (1445) and with Bartolomeu Diaz reach the Cape of Good Hope some thirty years later (1488).<sup>4</sup> Although this briefly exposes one to the beginnings of what later turned into imperialism and the colonization of nearly the whole of Africa, it does not illustrate the complexity of the events and motives behind this expansion of European powers. The entanglement of these events makes it very difficult to give a single reason or explanation for the fact that European powers colonized Africa. However, a recollection of a somewhat broader scope may make this subject seem less obscure.

From the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, interactions between Europeans and Africans led to their trading along the western coast lines with local inhabitants, often trading commodities like gold, ivory, spices and slaves in exchange for European manufactured goods as well as guns and gunpowder. Europeans were already accustomed to encounters with foreign trade partners, having set up a rich trade tradition with the Levant as well as the Arabic world since Greek relations in Byzantium. Demographically Europe was experiencing an increase in population after 1400, and there was an increased need for both food and land, with Turkish competition moving westward. With Turkish attacks on Byzantium and the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottomans had become an obstacle in the European route to the East necessary for trading spices. The Portuguese thus sought a different route, namely southwards down the African coast. Although resources were an important factor, it was not the only interest Europeans had for the 'dark' continent. Religion was also a driving factor, which often saw Christians seek to convert the

‘unbelievers’. Coincidentally, it was Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) who, as Scammel writes; “saw himself, like some hero of chivalric literature ... [to] convert pagans, chastise infidels and seek out fellow Christians.”<sup>5</sup> In addition, some travelers may have been pulled by the numerous legends circulating Europe, for example, the legend of Prester John - which spoke of another Christian empire out there in the undiscovered world (this was initially applied to Asia, but later became a vague concept also applied to Ethiopia) - drove not only European discoverers to expand their horizons, but also European missionaries, scholars and treasure hunters involved themselves in this new and exciting adventure.

The importance of filling gaps on the map and discovering new territories was a driving factor in Europe’s yearning for knowledge. With geographical knowledge increasing per voyage, there came a gradual recognition that the great Ptolemy’s map which had served as the chief source from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards may actually have been limited. Discoverers soon realized there was much more beyond the Indian and Atlantic Ocean than the talented geographer had noted some 1,000 years before that (see Appendix A-1). As time progressed, the improvement of knowledge and technical capabilities of the Europeans saw their initially minimal and limited interactions with Africans and their continent increase dramatically. Europeans gradually became used to the idea of an unlimited range of possibilities in this place, from economic to political, social to religious. Africa was, as many came to see it, a continent with a potential for innovative possibilities.

## 1.2 ‘New’ Imperialism (19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> century)

The conquest and colonization from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century of Africa can as a whole be seen as a fluid process, with influences from various sources, and rapid development over centuries. However, what can be recognized as a turn or transition in this long process is the movement from ‘early’ or ‘old’ imperialism, to, as it is known, ‘new’ imperialism. It is vital to recognize this distinction in order to understand the shift in behavioral attitudes in the type of imperial and colonial engagement with the African continent, as well as the various motives behind this shift. The earliest explorative missions of Europe could be said to have taken place from the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 17<sup>th</sup> century; the Spaniards and Portuguese dominated the seas including the

African coastline until France, Britain and The Netherlands became more involved. The ideological reasons which Spain and Portugal had set for themselves to exclusively roam the sea, namely the *Bull Romanus Pontifex* (1455) and later the *Treaty of Torsedillas* (1494) had been greatly challenged, by Hugo Grotius' *Dissertation mare liberum sive de iure quod Batavis competit ad indicana commercial*, (1609). It soon became clear that there should be free access to the sea for all. With this in mind and with the introduction of new players, aspirations also began to change among the ambitions concerning the conquest of Africa. Trade limited to the western coast lines was no longer a prearranged given. Africa lay open for European movement into the interior.

Europeans had seen modernization in navigation techniques and machinery drastically improve since the start of their conquest of the African continent. Their military force saw improvement as well - the invention of the Maxim gun (1883) had greatly helped. This allowed them to act out their dominance over local governments and in essence achieve authority which greatly helped in the later foundation of what were to become colonies. The phase when Europeans moved from coastline depots to setting up actual colonies was of importance in the development of 'new' imperialism where storage areas, military stations and railways were built in essence eliminating the African middle man and increasing European opportunities to maximize profits. Imperialist activities were becoming of more and more importance to European nations from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which saw European governments experience great economic growth partly as a result of the exploitation of the African continent in terms of raw materials and labor. Some saw imperial activity as a way of building a national unity, while others saw their expression of power and dominance as a qualitative aspect of being a great nation. Trade was no longer the only thing at stake in Africa, but increasingly land and also the promise of new beginnings for many. Emigration increased, with the Americas no longer the most attractive place to start anew. The fear of malaria had also diminished with the discovery of quinine in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which more easily prevented and treated symptoms of this infectious disease. However, it must be acknowledged even with these major developments the argumentation and reasoning for European expansion continues to remain a multifaceted mystery. As J.M Roberts illustrates<sup>6</sup>:

*"Imperial expansion was so complex that in the end the notion of 'causes' is not very helpful. Part of the explanation were the sheer momentum, new forms, and the infectious example of*

*accumulating power. Ambitions and visions changed as new goals seemed to become achievable. Economic interests alone certainly cannot be the sole explanation, for it was itself stimulated by other changes.”*

With the continuous developments and increase in players, European competition for colonies became a fact: ‘new’ imperialism saw the emergence of what was called the ‘Scramble for Africa’ (1881-1914). We see that in addition to the increased economic prospects, the growing developments of national prestige, nationalism and international status, impacted European imperialism greatly. Additionally, as Butlin (2009) notes, Europeans had “cultural and humanitarian obligations to improve, inform, and educate the supposedly weaker populations of overseas territories; and the maintenance of military and naval power to protect trade routes and settlements”.<sup>7</sup> The colonial and imperial project had become a more cultural undertaking as the rhetoric surrounding the projects slowly changed into a civilization mission instead of the adventure and need for riches as it was made out before. Before 1880, only 10 % of Africa had been controlled by European powers,<sup>8</sup> whereas by 1885 the whole of Africa had been colonized except for Liberia and Ethiopia (See Appendix A-3&4).

### 1.3 The ‘Scramble for Africa’

As Europe progressed towards the 19<sup>th</sup> century the noticeable turn within European imperialism viewed as the progression from ‘early’ imperialism towards ‘new’ or ‘high’ imperialism was becoming more apparent. With the abolition of slavery and in addition the development of Europe economically as well as industrially, there was a need to continue making the most of the continent with ‘legitimate’ trade. There was however a need to locate the raw material reserves, and set up trade depots in order to continue this ‘legitimate’ trade, which meant there was a necessity to move from the coastlines into the interior. In 1870 the Belgian King Leopold II’s ‘new’ imperialist rants of glory and exploration eventually saw him send H.M. Stanley into Congo (1876) to establish the first real interior trading post otherwise known as the colony of Belgian Free Congo state. With this turn the question of control concerning the rest of sub-Saharan Africa became of fundamental importance to Europe. With improved technological advancements nothing could stop the European powers from getting more territories except their

own European counterparts who had now become competitors. The *Berlin West Africa Conference* (1884-1885) was thus called for by the German Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1862-1890) in order to regulate all activities concerning colonization as well as of trade within Africa. With a decree in favor of the 'great push', there came an end to the first phase of limited 'early' imperialism. The *General Act of the Berlin Conference* (1885) stated that the European colonizer was to realize an effective occupancy and develop a 'sphere of influence' (See Appendix B-1). Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness* (1902) ironically referred to this event as 'the international society for the suppression of savage customs'<sup>9</sup> which seemed a more realistic description for the white man slicing up Africa as if it were a cake to be cut into pieces (See Appendix A-6).

As Trutz von Trotha (2006) remarks in his chapter on colonialism: "Historians accurately view the decade before and after the Berlin conference as a turning point in the development of colonialism and imperialism, separating high imperialism from early imperialism..."<sup>10</sup> The mindset of 'early' imperialism may have had certain cultural intentions, however, there was an increased interest in the 'pagans' and 'savages' with the abolition of slavery in late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the upcoming civilizing mission was a notion that started to infiltrate the imperial operation. In his influential poem Rudyard Kipling speaks of the obligations of those colonizing - where there is a responsibility to 'civilize' – to take up the 'White man's burden'. This justification mechanism encouraged explorers, missionaries and campaigners to move further into the 'dark' continent; however their habitually subjective representations never took the 'Black man's burden' into account. As illustrated in the beginning of this chapter, Edward Morel highlights that the white man's occupation was just as much of a burden on the Black man. What is remarkable in Morel's text is how he demonstrates the essence of the Black man's survival which was essential to the 'Scramble for Africa' and the continuation of European revenue. Imperial nations often recruited African soldiers and continued to exploit African laborers to a certain extent. Although slavery in itself had been abolished, there continued to be an atmosphere of white dominance and superiority. Darwinian biology certainly played a role in these sentiments; reiterated was the need for imperialism on account of the alleged racial superiority of the Europeans, which was regarded as humanity's genetic destiny in the struggle for survival. When Africa was being divided into 50 separate countries, there was no consideration for cultural or linguistic borders. The idea of humanitarianism was in essence a façade where one

may speak of there being a scramble for proceeds which branched out into a somewhat smaller 'sub-mission' to civilize. Nonetheless, colonial societies varied, and the extremes of subjugation and domination differed among the various colonizers.

#### 1.4 Imperial Violence

It is J.M. Roberts who speaks of the subjugation and domination of the indigenous peoples by Europeans as a *Leitmotiv* which can be detected throughout Europe's impact on the rest of the world.<sup>11</sup> Central to this theme is violence, which became a recurrence throughout the 'Scramble for Africa'. With the move towards 'new' imperialism and the desire for gaining more land, Europeans often showed little interest in negotiation with local leaders in order to obtain their objectives. Their ideas of superiority often saw little need for peaceful negotiations. The only nation to save itself from European rule through a military victory was in fact Liberia. Others could not resist successfully, and this resulted in the French suppressing the Algerian and Tunisian revolts, the British demolitions of Zulu and Matabele powers in Southern Africa, the Portuguese in Angola, and the German massacre of the Herero and Nama in South-West Africa.<sup>12</sup> The Maxim gun had been an innovative tool in imperial violence with very small numbers of European troops being able to eradicate large numbers of Africans. Along with that there was its psychological effect, often installing fear in those up who were brave enough to stand up against the Europeans. It was Howard Hensman (1900) who recalled a British victory over the Ndebele in Southern Africa where a 50 man strong British army fought off 5,000 Ndebele fighters, killing and wounding about 500 of them.<sup>13</sup>

The postcolonial writer Frantz Fanon (1961) spoke of violence as a natural relationship between colonized and colonizer: "Their first encounter was marked by violence and their existence together – that is to say the exploitation of the native by the settler – was carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannons".<sup>14</sup> Although Fanon's anti-imperialist, minimalist stance on this subject is apparent, it cannot be said that all encounters between colonized and colonizer during the 'Scramble for Africa' were naturally violent. However, violence was indeed a central theme and what still remains disputable till today is how this increased wave of violence appeared. Still, there were instances where colonies which had been acquired by military force

continued to be governed by local rulers as well as instances where indigenous peoples were employed by colonial armies in which they partook in colonial warfare.<sup>15</sup> The British are an interesting example concerning this form of ‘indirect rule’ which allowed them to maintain their colonies while allowing for indigenous powers to remain animate. Indirect rule was of importance for economic reasons as well as maintaining a certain peace. With the use of ‘native councils’ and local administrators, the local rulers could regulate matters of local interest. In essence employing indigenous peoples within their armies and colonial governments would have been necessary taking into account the ratio of Europeans to Africans in the continent itself. However, as von Trotha (2006) remarks;

*“the utopia of the occidental state had been stripped of the civic, democratic, and constitutional aspects of the European process of nation building that it had in the second half of the eighteenth and of the nineteenth centuries, and there was no basis for fundamental cultural common ground. Colonial law was the ‘law’ of the conquerors. It strictly distinguished between ‘natives’ rights’ and rights applied to colonizers...”*<sup>16</sup>

Even though there were forms of indirect rule under some colonizers there still remained a stern difference in rights and equality among the colonizers and colonized. Violence therefore becomes a two-way process with those wanting to act out their dominance, and those restraining against the dominant force. The colonial state was born out of violent campaigns and functioned with continuous forms of violence – though not necessarily physical violence - within the colonial administration. European domination and superiority were acted out through violence on a daily basis in which colonial administration and their instructions were purely autocratic. Nevertheless, imperial violence is often viewed as a dichotomy in which European powers subdue the ‘other’ with their technologically advanced warfare methods. Therefore we must recognize imperial violence as a whole as well as within Africa as a much more complex state of affairs in which there are different forms of manifestation and not only a armed affair.



### 1.5 Central Problem Statement, Objective

In the final phase of overseas expansion, subsequently termed 'new' imperialism, Germany became an important player within the exploitation of the African continent. Of the European powers, Germany was one of the last to engage itself in the attaining of overseas empires; nevertheless, this did not prevent them from obtaining four African colonies. As a nation, Germany had achieved certain national unification (1871), which ideologically and economically saw a need to express active interest in foreign politics. Although Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck initially hesitated, within the space of one year (February 1884 to February 1885) during the *Berlin West Africa Conference* (1884-1885), Germany acquired Togoland(modern-day Togo), Cameroon, German South West Africa (modern-day Namibia) and German East Africa (modern-day: Burundi, Rwanda, mainland Tanzania). Germany's role as a participant as well as a catalyst in the 'Scramble for Africa' was of great importance which saw them linger within the African continent until the end of the First World War. The *Treaty of Versailles (1919)* ultimately saw them relieved of all their colonies on the African continent.

In contemporary times Germany's role in the 'Scramble for Africa' has been overshadowed due to their immense engagement within the First and Second World Wars. Unlike many former imperial powers, Germany no longer has any formal contact with its former colonies. Nonetheless, Germany's imperial campaign cannot, and should not, go unmentioned: the historical impact it has had on both the African continent as well as the German nation was far greater than is generally acknowledged. It is important to recognize that German priorities to involve itself with imperialism and colonization were not always apparent. Chancellor von Bismarck once stated "*Ich bin von Haus aus kein Kolonialmensch*".<sup>17</sup> He is also known to have stated that as long as he was Reich Chancellor, 'Germany would never go into colonial politics'.<sup>18</sup> Although Germany's colonial policy tried to mirror those of other European powers<sup>19</sup>, their lack of colonial experience and often adverse treatment of indigenous peoples has led me to explore why Germany's short-lived African empire was so tumultuous. Why precisely, did this empire, this 'African Reich', come into being, and under what circumstances? Why did the Germans conduct such brutality over the indigenous peoples of their colonies, which in German South West Africa (SWA) case saw 75 to 80 percent of the Herero population die and 50 per cent of the Nama? Not only did the first genocide of the twentieth century take place in modern-

day Namibia through the hands of the Germans but in addition those who survived the German military actions were entered into forced labor and subjected to an openly racist regime.<sup>20</sup>

This Bachelor Thesis therefore aspires to explore these matters in more detail. I have opted to divide the issues of German imperial ambitions and German imperial violence during the age of ‘new’ imperialism, and especially regarding the ‘Scramble for Africa’ into two separate, yet overlapping research questions. The first research question will examine why Germany became involved in the ‘Scramble for Africa’ and the connected developments. The second research question will explore German imperial violence with the use of the South West Africa (SWA) case which is of particular importance when regarding the subject of imperial violence;

**Research Question 1:** *Although Germany was a late participant within European colonial politics, what motives led Germany to become involved with the African continent?*

**Research Question 2 (Case Study):** *Germany’s colonial empire was notorious for its forceful and adverse treatment of the indigenous peoples they colonized. In the case of German South West Africa (SWA) it spiraled into a campaign of strict organized violence, which today has been recognized as genocide. Why did the German campaign escalate into such bloodshed, in particular in SWA?*

## 1.6 Methods

This Bachelor Thesis will make use of historical research in order to strive towards a response to the research questions in terms of a historical interpretation. This means historical data will be used, including: secondary sources, archival data, running records, visual media, images as well as personal recollections when applicable. Certain definitions and theories will be used, if pertinent. However what must be taken into account is that all data collected will be from desk research - the fact that this is a Bachelor Thesis limits me in time. In this way no primary research will be made. This may limit the nature of my research as I must rely on secondary

sources to conclude my investigation. I also recognize that my sources will largely be Western. At some points this limitation may cause a struggle when I would prefer to give a balanced perspective of certain developments and occurrences. However, when applicable I will try to apply an African, or as in the second research question, a South West African perspective as well, in order to prevent a 'Eurocentric' standpoint, such as is often the case in these types of situations. But the question remains: 'how can one prevent Eurocentrism?' A great deal of African history has been passed on through generations orally. Europeans often assume that African history only begins with European interaction with Africa. On the contrary, Africans have been sharing their rich histories with each other for centuries. This brings me back to the restrictions of desk research which will see my references of African history largely derived from a Western 'invention' of Africa. My sources will be restricted to literature, and will not include the oral tales which have been passed down from generation to generation. Furthermore, no fieldwork is included and no eyewitness accounts are available in these sources. This is the reason why some degree of audio-visional material will be applied to compensate the one-sidedness of most documents.

This thesis will tackle two overlapping research questions in which a chapter will be dedicated to each question. The second chapter will begin by investigating Germany's history leading up to the 'Scramble for Africa'. In addition there will be particular focus on how Germany became involved within a colonial campaign and if from their perspective this campaign can be seen as a practical and a reasonable decision. In this way chapter two will lead me to explore the rise and fall of what I have already referred to as the 'African Reich'.

The second research question and third chapter of this thesis will mainly focus on German violence in their colonial empire with particular focus on the SWA case. In this case the history of SWA will be explored as well as the factors leading up to violence within SWA and the nature of this violence. A second part of this investigation will focus on the development into a campaign of organized violence; it will also discuss whether this qualified as genocide; and finally I will examine the aftermath of the events.

In the fourth and final chapter, the conclusion will be presented in which a reflection as well as an interpretation of the historical data will be given in order to attain a deeper understanding and academic analysis.

The purpose of such a design is to explore certain developments which can be traced from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the First World War in a chronological manner. By proceeding historically we can see the emergence of ‘new’ imperialism, the ‘Scramble for Africa’ and Germany’s interaction with its colonies and more importantly SWA in a historical sequence. What I expect to achieve with this Bachelor Thesis is to gain a more coherent understanding of German Imperialism as a whole and also why, as such a late player within the colonial game, their campaign was characterized by a lack of experience, diminutive interest in the indigenous peoples, and extreme violence.

### 1.7 Analytical Framework

It was the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer in his *The World as Will and Representation* (1818) who wrote: “Clio, the muse of history, is as thoroughly infected with lies as a street whore with syphilis.”<sup>21</sup> When Schopenhauer refers to the muse Clio, and her infection, he marvelously illustrates the susceptibility of history to become distorted by fiction. Through the course of German Imperialism many details of what was really taking place in the African continent were often removed or even altered towards the German public back home. The power of the press already existed and this intertwined with military propaganda, illustrates that even during the *Herero Uprisings* (1904-1907) the complete truth was not always revealed to the German public. In addition I.V. Hull notes: “The destruction of the Army Archives in 1945, before any historians had used them to research the Herero Revolt, does not make our task easier.”<sup>22</sup>

Unfortunately these are some of the realities one faces in investigating such a sensitive subject. However ‘history’ is not only susceptible to lies and distortion but also from what tend to vary according to the perspective from which it is told. As mentioned earlier there will be no primary research in which I place my complete confidence and reliance in the sources I have personally selected. However, this does not mean that I must blindly fall into the the risks of employing secondary research critically. There is a necessity to be able to give and accept critique on these certain sources. From a post-colonial perspective exploring the risks of conducting research in the manner in which I do, one can ask and apply the important questions from a post-colonial

stance like Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) who asks: ‘*can the subaltern speak?*’ Does in this case, the ‘African voice’, the subaltern, really come to the fore in historical studies? As Gesine Krüger (2003) puts it:

*“Oral history is not an ‘archive of the spoken word’ in which texts are stored. It obeys rules other than those of written documents and records and is subjected to a different understanding of history.”*<sup>23</sup>

Therefore these limiting conditions, a priori acknowledged by me, invite me to a restraint when it comes to conclusions. I am fully aware of the limits of my sources and expressly articulate the need for a systematic research into subaltern voices to balance existing historiographies.

*“It is out of the question for the simple reason that we now have interests in all parts of the world. [ . . . ] The rapid growth of our population, the unprecedented expansion of our industry, the industriousness of our merchants, in short, the phenomenal vitality of the German people have integrated us into the world economy and drawn us into international politics. If the British speak of Greater Britain, if the French speak of Nouvelle France, if the Russians move into Asia, we too have the right to a Greater Germany. Not in the sense of military conquests, but, indeed, in the sense of a peaceful expansion of our commerce and its bases.”*

Bernhard von Bülow  
Speech on foreign policy before Reichstag (December 11, 1899)<sup>24</sup>

## **Chapter 2:**

### *'The African Reich'*

#### 2.1 The 'Second Reich'

Following the Napoleonic wars (1789-1802) the fall of the Holy Roman Empire became a fact in 1806. The empire once formed by Charlemagne in 800 had dissolved into separate territories. At the Congress of Vienna (1814) the German Confederation<sup>25</sup> was founded, by means of a union of 39 sovereign states. However, the Prussian Empire<sup>26</sup> as well as the Austrian Habsburg Empire<sup>27</sup> had already dominated Central Europe from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Both empires often co-operated with each other, as well as during the Napoleonic wars. Although both empires were German speaking, there was a certain rivalry often referred to as the *Deutscher Dualismus* (German Dualism), which saw fierce competition to politically represent the German speaking peoples. When in 1862 Otto von Bismarck was appointed as the first chancellor of Prussia he soon found himself 'rallying German liberal sentiment to the Prussian cause.'<sup>28</sup> In order to achieve German unification with Prussia he provoked France into declaring war in 1870. The Franco-Prussian war ended in Prussian victory with the aid of most German states. This not only meant the end of the French empire and the Prussian acquiring of Alsace-Lorraine, but more importantly the birth of a new empire, namely the Second German Empire. Sentiments of German nationality grew with the victory, and the creation of the second German empire in 1871 was the result of these sentiments: 25 states had formed one territory along with East and West Prussia (see Appendix A-5). Nonetheless, Wilhelm I, the Prussian Emperor had heavily pleaded against the unification: the emperor opposed the idea of being an emperor over the new liberal federal union and found it preferable to be King of Prussia.<sup>29</sup> He continued to blame von Bismarck for this until his death (1888) as the two never were able to form a proper working alliance. Nevertheless, all German states and Prussia united under the second Reich made Germany a force to be reckoned with.

During the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Germany was experiencing its ups and downs in both the agrarian and industrial sector<sup>30</sup>, however it cemented itself as a strong economic player close to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. With an eventual boom in the industrial sector, there was a necessity for more

raw materials to meet Germany's growing demands. Germany experienced a population boom as well, especially in the towns and cities, and from "1873 to 1895 it [the German population] jumped from 41.6 million to 52 million, an increase of 10.4, even discounting the fact that some 2 million Germans emigrated during these decades."<sup>31</sup> Most emigrations were to the Americas, as living conditions were often quite hard, even though von Bismarck had set up the first steps towards a concept of a social welfare state. There was thus poverty and protest; nonetheless, Germany became one of the world's leading powers at this time. Nationalism had been the important factor in uniting not only the Germans, but other European powers too. Nationalism was on the rise in the West and so was imperialism. The Bismarck era (1871-1890) was of great importance to how Germany's growth as a nation, but more importantly for the premise of my first research question: which may offer explanations to illustrate the emergence of their imperialist sentiments.

## 2.2 The rise towards the German Colonial Empire

Germany's history in the *Hanseatic League* (13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> century) illustrates that they already had a tradition of trade and merchants across foreign seas. There had been a few attempts at colonizing before the unification of Germany; however, these had been less successful. An example was the Brandenburg-Prussian trade on the island of Saint Thomas in the Virgin Islands, with the *Brandenburgisch-Afrikanische Compagnie* in 1685, "to which the sovereign, along with many privileges and monopolies, accorded traffic in [African] slaves."<sup>32</sup> The *Brandenburgisch-Afrikanische Compagnie* attempted to emulate the *Dutch West India Company* and its successes however never managed to meet the standards expected.<sup>33</sup> 'By 1896 the company was steadily declining and by 1716 completely abandoned.'<sup>34</sup> Along with their loss of St Thomas, the company also failed to thrive in Venezuela and the Crab Island (Guyana). It was again in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that a unified Germany, economically viable, showed a renewed interest in overseas expansion. Colonial expansion seemed unavoidable for a nation like Germany, as colonial acquisitions were an indication of nationhood as was the case for nations like France and Britain. However, it was the chancellor von Bismarck who initially opposed these colonial initiatives and Germany becoming a colonial empire. Von Bismarck initially saw no need to involve Germany in the expansion to Africa and Asia, but soon contradicted himself, pressured by Kaiser Wilhelm



I as well as the German people. There had already been *Privatkolonisatoren* (independent colonizers) of the German nationality in the 19<sup>th</sup> century who had purchased land from local rulers in Africa and the Pacific. Adolf von Lüderitz was one of these independent colonizers who had set up a trading post along the bay of *Angra Pequena* on the South West African coast which had been discovered by the explorer Bartolomeu Diaz some 400 years before. By offering the protection of the German Reich to trading posts like those of von Lüderitz (1884), Germany's colonial campaign soon came into being. In a period of two years, from 1884 to 1886, von Bismarck and the Reich took over these independent colonizers' protectorates in South West Africa, followed by Cameroon, Togoland and East Africa.<sup>35</sup> The Germans soon developed an imperial policy which was 'ideologically based on publications by those like Friedrich Fabri in 1879 (*Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?*) and William Hübbe-Schleiden in 1881 (*Deutsche Kolonisation*)'.<sup>36</sup> Fabri's *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* (Does Germany need Colonies?) had been written during Germany's dismal economic period. Fabri's (1824-1891) worries about unemployment and poverty and an increase in population, saw emigration to be the only viable solution for Germany according to him. Those who had emigrated to the United States were lost, and of no use to Germany any longer. Therefore there was a need for colonies where ties to the fatherland could remain intact. Fabri's concept can be seen as comparable to that of Friedrich Ratzel's later idiom: *Lebensraum*. Ratzel (1844-1904) coined this term in 1901, indicating that there was a need for expansion due to lack of living space. According to Ratzel there was a need for increased space as the German people increased, if they were to continue to prosper. This term later became even more influential to the German public after WW I and in Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1925), the stepping stone for the Third Reich and Nazi Germany. Hübbe-Schleiden's publication, which preceded that of Friedrich Ratzel's by almost twenty years, focused more on the sentiments of national consciousness. Hübbe-Schleiden believed these sentiments could be better implemented with an overseas policy. However, at the same period in time, what was expected from the overseas expansions of von Bismarck; was primarily economic affluence, as well as the 'diversion of France away from the issue of Alsace-Lorraine'.<sup>37</sup> When he arranged the *Berlin Conference* (1884) it was clear von Bismarck wanted to keep the peace and avoid armed conflict within Europe. Although Germany acquired most of its colonies under von Bismarck, "he abandoned his colonial drive as suddenly and casually as he had started it."<sup>38</sup> Of this he attempted to give South West Africa to the British, describing it in 1889 as a

“burden and an expense”.<sup>39</sup> Had he actually done so, he might have prevented a serious atrocity which found place some two decades later.

After the death of Kaiser Wilhelm I (1888) and his successor Friedrich III (1888) who died after only 99 days in power, Wilhelm II ascended to the Prussian throne (1888). His views on foreign policy did not coincide with those of von Bismarck who remained apprehensive in his colonial activity. Kaiser Wilhelm II preferred a more aggressive approach, seeking rapid expansion. Their tumultuous relationship ended with a disagreement on local policy and von Bismarck saw his reign as Reich Chancellor end in 1890 (see Appendix A-7). Wilhelm was now free to pursue his colonial ambitions and in 1900 appointed Bernhard von Bülow as his Chancellor. A year before when von Bülow had been state secretary of foreign affairs, he had stood before the Reichstag and had spoken of a ‘Greater Germany’. On that occasion he spoke of ‘rapid expansion’, but ‘not in the sense of military conquests, but, indeed, in the sense of a peaceful expansion of [our] commerce and its bases’. If von Bülow really meant this, he unfortunately never showed it during his reign as Chancellor. His desire for *Weltpolitik* had been apparent in another speech in 1897 before the Reichstag indicated that his reign as Chancellor would greatly influence Germany’s colonial and imperial activity with his famous words: “we do not want to put anyone in our shadow, but we also demand our place in the sun.”<sup>40</sup> Under Wilhelm II and Bernhard von Bülow, German *Weltpolitik*<sup>i</sup> flourished, “characterized by brutal military action against the Herero people of South West Africa in 1904-1907...”<sup>41</sup> *Weltpolitik* was an aggressive policy reinforced by the German *Schutztruppe* (German Imperial Army) which embodied the current ideas of *Social Darwinism*: survival of the fittest. Despite the influence of the ‘White Man’s burden’, and maintaining a ‘sphere of influence’ as stated in the *General Act of the Berlin Conference (1885)*, racist ideology was severely influential in German colonies. Especially the French Count Arthur de Gobineau’s (1816-1882) racialist theory influenced German thought. Gobineau in his *An Essay on the Inequality of Races (1855)* illustrated that all civilizations “flowed from the white race” which indicated that “other races were inferior in terms of their physical and intellectual qualities.”<sup>42</sup> The only way to ensure survival of the superiority of the white race would be to guarantee racial purity. The concept of ‘other’ was essential to keep alive German nationalist sentiments overseas, maintaining the idea of white purity. However, in spite

of the racial superiority expressed by the Germans in general, Jürgen Zimmerer (2003) reports how in the actual colonial situation there was still a certain interaction between Germans and the indigenous peoples, for example: many single men who adhered to relationships with African women:

*“Although they looked down on these women as belonging to a ‘subordinate race’, as was noted by the Rhenish Mission, the men accepted this [the ‘subordinates’] because of the lack of white women. In addition, marriages with African women, who came mostly from the most distinguished families, brought many economic advantages.”*<sup>43</sup>

The possibility of *mixed-race* offspring or mixed marriages was however of concern to the German authorities. They feared the threat of disrupting social relations and the authority of the white man if purity was not maintained. German culture and race was to be maintained at all costs and this was later made clear in General Lothar von Trotha’s policy during the *Herero Uprisings (1904 -1907)*. In 1908 Eugene Fischer, well known for his contribution to Nazi Germany’s racial theories, conducted phrenological research in German South West Africa. He also concluded that *mixed-races* and mixed-marriages should be prevented, after studies on children with German or Boer fathers and African mothers. In the concentration and death camps in German South West Africa he was known for measuring skulls and investigating facial features of prisoners, in which he concluded that the Germanic race was superior to the “animal like” Africans.<sup>44</sup>

### 2.3 German Colonial Trade

In 1886 the German colonial empire consisted of four African territories which included: Togoland (modern-day Togo), Cameroon, German South West Africa (modern-day Namibia) and German East Africa (modern-day: Burundi, Rwanda, mainland Tanzania). Having acquired these territories in the stretch of one single year (February 1884 to February 1885), Germany had acquired nearly 2500 km<sup>2</sup> in the African continent; this territory counted about 13,000 German inhabitants by 1910 (see Appendix B-2). Germans, however, seemed hesitant in emigrating to the African continent. Most of the German inhabitants who did leave for the African continent

lived in South West Africa which counted 9,283 Germans by 1910. Nonetheless, the Germans' rich industrial experience helped greatly in their industrial efficiencies within their colonies. There was a large export of diamonds, bronze and lead from their most highly populated African colony, while from Togoland and Cameroon and East Africa there was a large export of palm seed, rubber, palm oil, cacao and coffee.<sup>45</sup> The Germans also had railway lines built in order to efficiently transport materials. By 1914 they had 2,104 km railway in South West Africa as well as 1,587 km in East Africa, 327 in Togo and 310 km in Cameroon.<sup>46</sup> However, the German colonial empire often lacked in stability, due to uprisings like those in South West Africa (*Herero Uprisings 1904-1907*) or those in East Africa (*Maji-Maji rising 1905-1906*) which disturbed German colonial activity. As Fieldhouse (1966) remarks:

*Germany lacked experienced colonial administrators and soldiers. Her agents tended to excess through fear. German resources were severely strained by [these] simultaneous risings, reappraisals, were intended to prevent a recurrence.*<sup>47</sup>

It is Butlin (2009) who indicates that Fieldhouse (1966) had also hinted at the fact that Germany's short-lived empire was essentially 'not crucial to Germany's economic well-being'.<sup>48</sup> However, Germany's expansion was an economic investment. Whether it paid out is disputable. Nonetheless, Germany's main concerns throughout its campaign in the African continent were first and foremost economic, which meant that those standing in their way would be neutralized or in the extreme case eliminated.

## 2.4 German Rule

During the *Berlin West Africa Conference* (1884-1885) it was made clear that the European colonizer was to realize an effective occupancy and develop a 'sphere of influence'. German colonial policy mirrored 'direct rule' and on some level it could be compared to that of the French. With the implementation of direct rule by the Germans, there was usually little or no negotiation with local rulers. Assimilation was expected, and a strategy of 'divide and rule' was applied, which arose from the need for a weakening of local networks. However in the German case, the colonized often defied the German claim to legitimacy. It is von Trotha (2006) who distinguishes two separate forms of legitimacy relevant to colonial policy: organizational power

and cultural membership.<sup>49</sup> He states that the first undoubtedly applied to the Germans, who demonstrated their legitimacy through force when necessary. Von Trotha argues that through this organizational power, their basic source to legitimacy was created, which ‘followed up their arrogance and overbearing words with actions.’<sup>50</sup>

It follows from this that one can assume there might have been little interest in the indigenous peoples by the German colonizers, and that they employed a subjective approach towards the native perspective. Only missionaries had taken up the ‘White Man’s Burden’ and attempted to create the so-called ‘sphere of influence’. German missionaries were part of the few critics of German colonial policy and of adverse treatment of the indigenous peoples. In the case of German South West Africa, when missionaries opposed German treatment of the Herero, they were seen as traitors. It was von Bülow (1904) who before the Reichstag stated his feelings about the missionaries present in German South West Africa at the time:

*“In a war, the place of missionaries is on the side of their fellow countrymen. I can grant them neither right of neutrality between Germans and Herero nor the office of complaint or judge.”*<sup>51</sup>

The Germans, as P. Giordani (1916) illustrates: “did not understand the art of making themselves liked.”<sup>52</sup> Their campaign was founded on their firm obligation to meet market requirements, which meant there was no time to become involved in the interests of the natives. If there was a necessity to suppress there was no hesitation. Nonetheless, von Trotha (2006) points to an interview with an elderly man in Lama Kara, Togo, by D. Simtaro who interviewed him about the German colonial period:

*“It was very difficult during the German period. They [the Germans] did not waste time. With them you always had to be working. They were very strict. And still, people liked them. I liked them then and I still do. They got me to work hard.”*<sup>53</sup>

Those responsible for acting out any suppression or reappraisals in the German colonies were the *Schutztruppe* (The German Imperial Army.). The German *Schutztruppen*, were located within all of its African colonies. They consisted of commissioned and non-commissioned officers and common men, as well as medical and veterinary officers and other employees who had volunteered. Along with these European volunteers, there were also native volunteers who were employed in the *Schutztruppen*. An example is the *Askari* in German East Africa, who made up

2,472 officers of the 2,723 present in the colony (1914) (see Appendix B-3). Often highly trained and well paid, these native soldiers chose to serve the *Schutztruppe*, and were employed as police or guards (see Appendix A-8). Remarkable is that there were little or no indigenous volunteers for the *Schutztruppe* in German South West Africa. Native volunteers would serve under German officers, and their participation was seen as advantageous due to their capability of communicating with the local population as well as having ‘good health’. According to the colonizers, native troops were less susceptible to disease than Europeans. Nonetheless, the natives employed by the *Schutztruppe* remained subordinate to the Germans who employed them.

## 2.5 ‘Justifiable presence’

Whether or not German presence was justifiable or not, it must be noted that their African adventure may have some optimistic considerations about their presence. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Germany had become an important as well as innovative player in medicine and science. In their colonies they often employed university groups and staff to conduct research. Along with agricultural interests, the studying of diseases was also of grave importance and especially with the arrival of Robert Koch. Koch, a bacteriologist, conducted important research in German colonies in 1896 and in 1889. He later won the *Nobel Prize* for Physiology or Medicine in 1905. Being paid by the German imperial office, he often investigated agricultural problems, for example cattle fevers and diseases, in particular *Rinderpest*. Medical doctors had also been employed in abundance, illustrating Germany’s curiosity in new pharmaceutical discoveries. There was a special interest in ‘sleeping sickness’, with special campaigns in German East Africa and Togo. As C. Miller, a German citizen and nephew of a *Schutztruppe* officer, once wrote: “on the basis of its achievements in medicine and agriculture alone, the German presence [in Africa] seemed more than justified.”<sup>54</sup>

## 2.6 End of the ‘African Reich’

Before the outbreak of the First World War, Germany and Britain had already had some minor colonial issues with each other concerning German East Africa. Germany had acquired an

important piece of East Africa which had prevented the British from completing their *Cape to Cairo* railway. The British and Germans were leading powers in Europe at the height of European colonialism and competed militarily and economically at all levels. Both critical of each other's colonial regimes (see Appendix A-9), but fearing each other's supremacy, Britain saw a need to eliminate Germany in order to prevent it from becoming more powerful and threatening to the British Empire. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1914) on the brink of the Great War (1914-1918), saw the British seek a way to capture German colonies and eliminate Germany from the colonial operation entirely. The British spoke of the Germans' cruel and brutal forms of governing and on this ground pronounced them unfit to have colonies in Africa. By 1916 all of Germany's protectorates had indeed surrendered to the British and their Allies, except their East African colony. The Germans had won important victories in their colony with the help of the *Schutztruppe* and more importantly their *Askaris*, who had proven to be a major force to be reckoned with. However, by 1918 - the end of the First World War - the Germans were also relieved of German East Africa with the Treaty of Versailles (1918) when their African colonies were divided up between Belgium, Britain and France. With this arrangement the Allies had essentially eliminated German occupation in Africa and their bid for world hegemony. With the strength of their colonies and economic as well as military viability, there was good reason for the British to eliminate the much feared Germany on the global scene and end Germany's 'African Reich', after almost 25 years of direct rule.

*"I the great General of the German troops send this letter to the Herero people:*

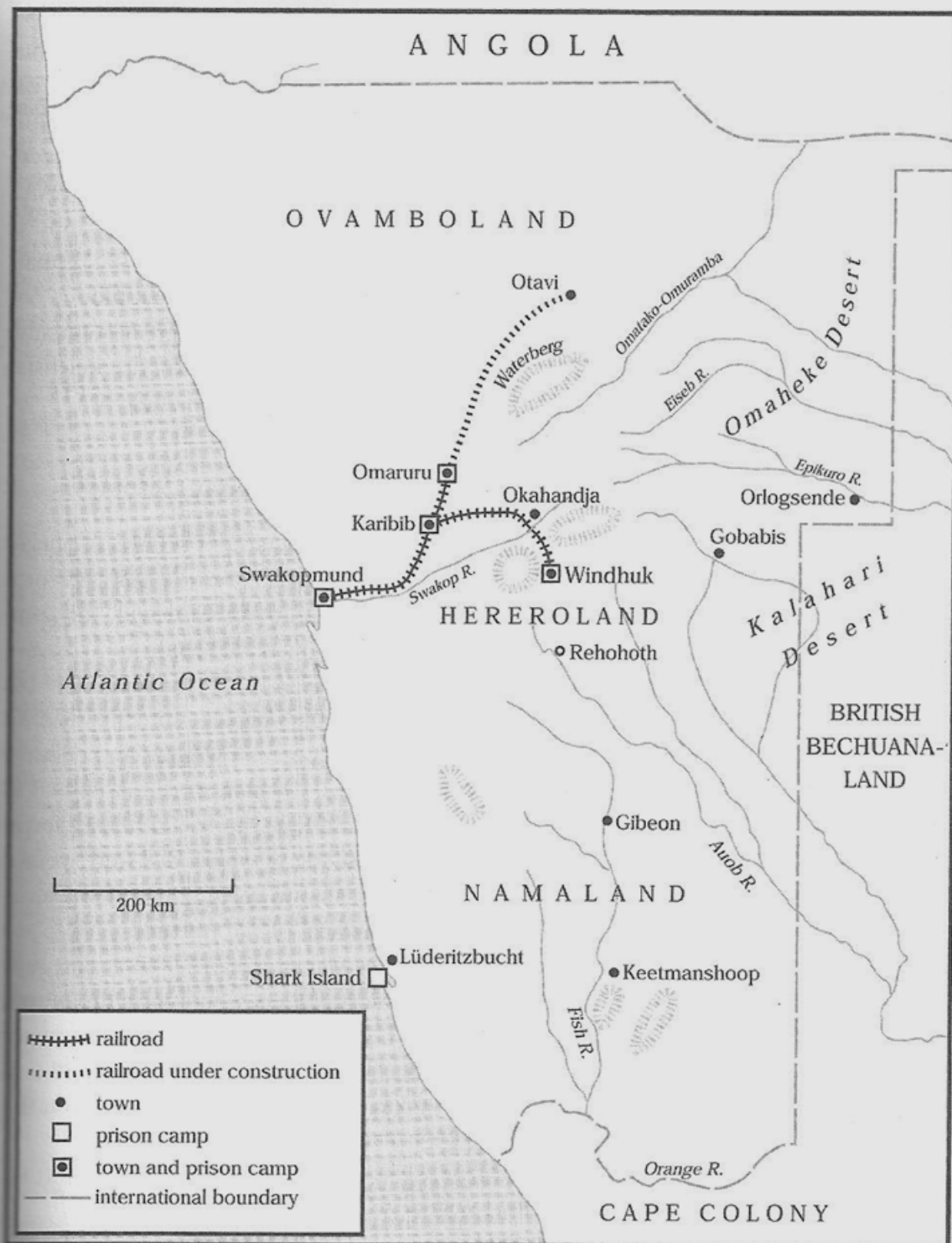
*The Herero are no longer German subjects. They have murdered and stolen, they have cut off the ears, noses and other body parts of wounded soldiers, now out of cowardice they no longer wish to fight. I say to the people, anyone who delivers a captain will receive 1000 Mark, whoever delivers Samuel will receive 5000 Mark. The Herero people must however leave the land. If the populace does not do this I will force them with the Groot Rohr. Within the German borders every Herero, with or without a gun, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will no longer accept women and children, I will drive them back to their people or I will let them be shot at.*

*These are my words to the Herero people*

*The great General of the mighty German Kaiser. "*

Lothar von Trotha -  
Addressing his officers, and declaring war against the Herero,  
2 October 1904. <sup>55</sup>





German Southwest Africa, 1904. Source: Berthold Deimling, *Aus der alten in die neue Zeit*, 59.

## **Chapter 3:**

### *Vernichtung – SWA Case study*

#### 3.1 'Pre-historical' German South West Africa

When one refers to the pre-historical period of Namibia or German South West Africa (SWA) as it will be referred to in this chapter (the focus being on Namibia's German colonial period in which the country was known as German South West Africa (SWA or GSWA)), one usually refers to a period from 30,000 B.C. to about 1485 A.D. Due to the fact that there are no historical writings or records of SWA during this period in history, it is referred to as 'pre-historical'.

However, already mentioned somewhat earlier in this Thesis, the fact that African territories may not have developed a system of historical written records until the arrival of the Europeans, we cannot assume that African societies were static and do not have a history before this so-called 'pre-historical' period. With the use of archeological findings historians have in fact been able to create a 'pre-historical' period in which findings have indicated the first civilizations in SWA. For example, in 1969 Wolfgang Wendt discovered rock art dating back to 27,000 B.C which indicated that populations already existed and expressed themselves in lasting forms of cultural artefacts.<sup>56</sup> These rock paintings indicate forms of hunting and gathering in which these peoples partook. However, we must remain aware that '[one] cannot accord them [the findings] much more significance than to the legends of Theseus and Romulus' as in the words of Gesine Krüger (2003),<sup>57</sup> whether or not this really indicates life in these times remains disputable.

These hunters and gatherers were the San, also largely known as 'Bushmen' in Europe. Present in other parts of Southern Africa, these peoples can be seen as one of the oldest communities of the African continent and of SWA. Over time different ethnic groups also began to settle in SWA, including the Nama and Damara, usually referred to as Hottentots by the German settlers. These two groups belonged to the Khoisan peoples, which like the San all spoke languages belonging to the Khoisan language group represented by the infamous clicking sounds. The Nama groups mainly inhabited the south of SWA where they could settle near to the Orange River. In the north of SWA, in Ovamboland near the Angolan border the Ovambo peoples and

Kavango peoples inhabited the region. Unlike the Khoisan groups, these groups descended from the Bantu peoples, an ethnic group having migrated from Central and Eastern Africa. Bantu groups relied on farming with cattle and were rarely found in other parts of the SWA due to the excessive difference in weather conditions. In SWA and modern-day Namibia the climate is geographically dependent extremely varied, for example the interior parts of the lands are semi-arid and hot, while at the coast regions there is mild sunshine and often cold spells. The Bantu peoples also can be linked to the earliest accounts of mining in SWA, involved in copper smelting, processing and trade for hundreds of years.<sup>58</sup> However, it is only after 1485 when European interaction and written records appear that more can be told about these ethnic groups as well as the later migration of the Herero (17<sup>th</sup> century), Oorlams (19<sup>th</sup> century) and Basters (19<sup>th</sup> century) into SWA.

### 3.2 Pre-Colonial Times

When in 1486 Diogo Cão set foot on SWA soil, the beginning of European contact with the country had begun. Only a year later the infamous explorer Bartholomeu Diaz reached the Namibian Coast, and another year later (1488) erected Angra Pequena (modern-day Lüderitz). This was to be the first German acquisition some 400 years later when the German merchant Adolf Lüderitz purchased this land from local chiefs and built a trade depot. With the discovery of the SWA bay in 1486, it was Heinrich Hammer, the cartographer, who first depicted the SWA coastline in his world map (1489) (See Appendix A-2). The SWA interior was not yet a priority with explorers seeking India and posing more interest in South Africa and Angola as trade centers. Thus it was almost 100 years later that the first written accounts of the SWA interior were recorded. In 1589 Andrew Battels, an English prisoner captured by the Portuguese, entered the interior of SWA. Sent to Angola as a soldier by the Portuguese, he soon escaped southwards and found himself in the Ovambo region. It is Battels who in 1595 brought out the first publication on the Ovambo peoples and the SWA interior after having lived with them for almost 16 months. Perhaps not the most objective writer, Battels did however illustrate the mining capabilities, and ‘great abundance and plenty of cattle, corn, wine and oil’ of what he referred to as ‘cannibals’.<sup>59</sup>

Before the 'Scramble for Africa' (1881-1914) and the arrival of the Germans, the SWA coast had seen short periods of rule by the Dutch (1793) and the British (1797) in Walvis Bay. Later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century European whale hunters often used this bay, hence the name Walvis Bay (Whale Bay). However, both the Dutch and the British did not seek opportunities within the interior and it was not until the 1800's onwards, that missionaries began to involve themselves, and European interests were properly vested in SWA. With the *London Missionary Society* (1805) establishing itself within SWA and later the *German Rhenish Society* (1828), habitual interaction between Europeans and the natives began to take place within SWA. However, even though many missionaries were skeptical of African ability ("It is indeed discouraging to be a missionary among a people who, as far as one can see, have no prospect even of learning to read"<sup>60</sup>), they imposed their Western systems of learning on the local communities. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, more and more local communities were using written script. However, the missionaries were also, as Klaus Dierks illustrates in his *Chronology of Namibian History* (1999-2005), 'right from the beginning, the main suppliers of guns and ammunition to the local communities.'<sup>61</sup> As Dierks (1999-2005) illustrates, in Namaland missionary influence led to a shift in society "from a kinship-based, pastoral, self-sufficient society, to military oligarchies supported by European missionaries."<sup>62</sup> Along with these shifts in African society and dependencies on Europeans, new diseases were introduced like smallpox, venereal diseases and alcoholism.<sup>63</sup>

At a similar period in time to the introduction of the missionaries, the emigration of the Oorlams in SWA near the Orange River took place. The Oorlams - greatly influenced by Boer customs, namely speaking a language similar to Afrikaans, and dressing in Western garments- were a sub-tribe of the Nama. Having migrated from the Cape colony, they descended from both the Khoisan and Malay slaves<sup>64</sup> situated in the Cape. By the 1850's they had been fully situated in SWA. Another group which came from the Cape colony which moved up into SWA was the Basters. The Basters descended from the native women who would have had relations with European settlers. The word Baster descends from the Dutch word for 'bastard'. The Basters spoke Afrikaans and had adopted Christian beliefs which they picked up in their period in the Cape. With their migration in 1862, they founded their own republic, Rehoboth, in 1872. During the German reign in SWA, Basters aided Germans in their colonial campaign, considering themselves more white than black, as well as fighting in the *Herero Uprisings* (1904-1907) on

the German side. Today Basters still maintain German customs which they adopted during the colonial period often proud of their European roots.<sup>65</sup>

### 3.3 The Herero

The origin of the Herero has been a mystery to many; however what has been confirmed is that they most likely may have descended from the Bantu peoples in Central East Africa. A pastoral, nomadic people, a part of their group is said to have entered SWA in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Europeans had penetrated the interior of SWA the Herero had established their own land from the Western Kalahari to modern-day Botswana's border in the east. They also dominated the Windhoek area, the present day capital of Namibia, after some pressure from the Oorlams and until the arrival of the Germans. The Herero people were divided into several tribes and it was in pre-colonial times that they interested European discoverers due to their strong decentralization.<sup>66</sup> By the 1830's they had however experienced problems with Oorlam raiders and lost much of their cattle and land. The tensions with the Oorlam people continued until 1863, when the Herero had defeated their enemies and approaching what is referred to as their 'golden age'.<sup>67</sup> The Herero were in regular contact with Europeans by this time, trading and often acting as middlemen between the Ovambo kingdoms and the Cape.<sup>68</sup> It was the Cape colonial office (1876) who commented on how the Herero then lived in profusion:

*"Long intercourse with white people has developed singularly few wants amongst them... More than three-fourths of the Damaras<sup>69</sup> [Herero] are without a single want that the trader can gratify that would compel them to part with a sheep or a goat from a herd of thousands; and the wants of the fourth are limited to a little [gun] powder, and lead, and a little clothing."*<sup>70</sup>

With a rich trade tradition with European merchants, especially in the Cape colony, the Herero political structures were also affected, and changed into centralized structures with the use of chieftaincies. They had also adopted modern methods like writing and the use of European weapons. As Gesine Krüger (2003) notes: by 1904 when the Germans declared war against the Herero, it was not a war against "pre-historic tribes' but groups which had lived for several generations in an increasingly militarized society, maintaining economic and diplomatic exchanges with the Cape colony."<sup>71</sup> An example is how the Herero Chief Samuel Maharero

drafted a 'proclamation' to Herero land after having heard that Nama chiefs had sold parts of their land to European traders (see Appendix B-4). This was however somewhat later, and by this time they had already often signed 'protection treaties' with the Germans.

The Herero were a very traditional community often misunderstood by their colonizers. In warfare for example, they were seen as cruel and without honor by the German colonizers. As I.V. Hull (2005) illustrates by quoting August Kuhlmann, a missionary who inspected German missions in SWA (1904):

*"They took no prisoners. They used large knives or clubs (kirris) to kill wounded enemy soldiers. When they lacked bullets, they made their own out of bits of scrap metal and glass, which left jagged, often fatal, wounds. They ritually mutilated enemy corpses, which caused the German to surmise (probably incorrectly) that they had tortured the wounded. They stripped the dead of their uniforms and wore these themselves. Herero women hid in thorn bushes and encouraged their men folk with chants, which German soldiers found chilling and which fed the myth that Herero women participated in killing."*<sup>72</sup>

It was Lothar von Trotha who spoke in similar fashion of the Herero cutting 'off the ears, noses and other body parts of wounded soldiers', in his declaration of war on the Herero. Nonetheless, although the two groups may often have misunderstood each other, the German-Herero war only took place some 20 years after the arrival of the colonizers, which illustrates how these peoples lived in some relative peace or at least agreement for quite some time, and more importantly that the Germans did not enter SWA with the preconceived idea of elimination of a population or even genocide.

### 3.4 Events leading up to war

With the arrival of the Germans in SWA (1884), their first five years were characterized by "lack of experience and improvisation."<sup>73</sup> Starting from the coast they worked their way into the interior by purchasing land and mining rights from local lords which included the Oorlam leader, Jonker Afrikaner (1885) as well as the Basters (1885). However, the Nama Chief Hendrik Witbooi and Herero chief Maharero, also known as Kamaharero, did not budge as easily. In this

period of time, there were internal wars taking place between native tribes, in particular the Nama and the Herero, thus one must remain aware that the Germans were not the only factor causing unrest. It was merely this which led the Herero chief of Okahandja, Maharero, to sign a protection treaty with the Germans (1885), to prevent the Nama Chief Hendrik Witbooi's regular attacks on Herero cattle posts.<sup>74</sup> The Germans saw this treaty as their claim to SWA. The Herero realized this only later and annulled the treaty 3 years after it had been signed (1888). However the Herero from Okahandja continued to be in regular contact with the Germans and especially with their missionaries, some of them adopting Christianity and setting up churches. It was Hendrik Witbooi who in 1890 wrote to Samuel Maharero, Kamaharero's son and successor, stating: "You will eternally regret that you have given your land and your right to rule into the hands of the whites."<sup>75</sup> Nonetheless in that same year Samuel Maharero renewed the protection treaty. As a result he was to be recognized as supreme Herero leader by the Germans to the exclusion of other Herero leaders.<sup>76</sup> The Germans were thus of importance to the Herero, in the same way they were to the Germans.

Hendrik Witbooi and the Nama had on regular occasions refused protection treaties from the Germans, and were recognized as the number one problem in the German colony. When the Nama and Witbooi sought help in the Cape they were neglected with the British not interested, and thus in 1891 agreed to a peace treaty with the Herero. As Klaus Dierks illustrates: "Witbooi perceived the Herero- Nama conflict to be secondary to the threat posed by German colonialism. [However] this peace treaty led to the employment of increased German troops in the colony."<sup>77</sup> The agreement between the two chiefs was seen as disastrous for German ambitions, and for colonizing more of the regions in SWA.

### 3.5 'The Herero Uprisings' (1904-1907)

In his book *Genocide in German South-West Africa (2003)*, Jürgen Zimmerer points out to the reader that we may not even speak of an 'uprising' when we refer to *The Herero Uprisings*. According to Zimmerer (2003) we should be aware of the fact that most African groups had forged tactical alliances with the Germans and we cannot see them as passive victims of colonial politics. As Zimmerer writes:

*“There is also considerable evidence that the African chiefs and captains viewed the so-called ‘protection treaties’ less as subjugation to some abstract German state personified by the Kaiser than as alliances between states. That is another reason why it is erroneous to represent the war of 1904 to 1907 as an ‘uprising’ or ‘rebellion’. That corresponds to the perception of the colonial powers who had, for the most part, reached agreements about the possession of territory at internal conferences, but it is not at all the African perspective. It is therefore more appropriate to speak of war.”<sup>78</sup>*

Whether or not one speaks of ‘uprising’ or ‘war’ the events and developments towards the outburst of violence from 1904-1907 are important to consider. With tensions starting in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and minor wars taking place between the Germans and the native groups, as well as the native groups with each other, violence was not uncommon. Just not of such a severe scale. With the Herero fearing more loss of their land, and perhaps as a result the diminishing of their tribes they were determined to relinquish the territory of German presence. According to many historians this revolt was a well planned and premeditated insurrection against the Germans by the Herero. As a result, on 11 January 1904 the war broke out. Rumors about the death of hundreds of German men, women and children at the hands of the Herero spread across the territory. Later it became clear only 123 Germans had perished under Herero attacks, not including any women or children.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, this was the catalyst for a war against the Herero and what later became genocide. Why the Herero attacked the Germans has been disputed, however it is Zimmerer (2003) who notes the outbreak of *Rinderpest* as a leading factor. As Zimmerer demonstrates, with the outbreak of *Rinderpest* in 1896, the Herero had seen great losses of cattle and infected springs due to rotting animal corpses.<sup>80</sup> As a result Herero saw their economic and patrimonial systems collapse, which affected them socially and politically. Thus results of the Herero attacks were “in protest against the appropriation of their land, the deaths of many cattle through epidemics, and hostile treatment by German settlers and administrators.”<sup>81</sup>

As a result of the attacks, the Germans sought revenge and punishment. Along with this anger, there was a possibility to settle the ongoing issues of land and property. More reinforcements were sent, as the Germans prepared for a war. Governor Theodor Leutwein, who had been governor since 1894, had not become as emotionally affected as the German settlers in SWA as well as the politicians back home. He saw a need for a rational approach and no need for a



bloody revenge. He saw the Herero as a workforce the Germans needed. Although he supported the destruction of the political and social organizations of the Herero his attempts at negotiation were seen as dishonorable, and he was forbidden to enter into negotiations with the Herero without approval from the Kaiser.<sup>82</sup> By May 1904, Leutwein had to relinquish his authority to General Lothar von Trotha. Unlike Leutwein, von Trotha had direct orders from the Kaiser but in this case to see the Herero submit power without negotiation.

General von Trotha arrived in SWA in June 1904 but before his arrival had already issued orders to the German soldier that they were authorized “to shoot dead without preceding legal process, according to the existing custom of war.”<sup>83</sup> Von Trotha had quite a reputation, especially in destroying outbreaks of protest and violence in German colonies; having played important roles in German East Africa (1894-1897) as well as the *Boxer-rebellion* in China (1900). Being a ruthless general his cruel tactics were soon to be felt in SWA. Von Trotha clearly believed that the only way the Herero would submit to German power was through force. By August 1904, the Herero had been pushed back to the Waterberg near the Omaheke desert. They expected peace negotiations after having pulled back from fighting against the Germans. It was more than normal to expect this after a defeat, as this was the tradition of Governor Leutwein’s policy; he would then present a peace offer.<sup>84</sup> However von Trotha had other plans, in which the notion of peace did not appear to be a viable solution. Two months later he made his decision clear with his infamous ‘*Vernichtungsbefehl*’ (extermination order), in which he made it clear that no Herero returning from the Omaheke desert would be welcome, not even women or children. Driven into the desert after a defeat at the battle of Waterberg (August 1904) the Herero now fled further into the desert. With a lack of water sources both the Herero people and their cattle began to diminish. The circumstances were so harsh that it “drove Herero to cut the throats of their cattle so as to drink their blood, or they squeezed the last drops of dampness from the stomach contents of dying animals.”<sup>85</sup> Colonel Ludwig von Estorff who served in SWA as well as during the German-Herero war recalls some of the atrocities he saw:

*“I followed their tracks and came upon a number of water-holes which were a terrible sight. The parched cattle lay around them in piles, having managed to reach the holes with their last gasp but without being able to drink in time. The Herero were now fleeing further still into the desert sands. The frightful spectacle was repeated again and again. [...] The policy of smashing the*

*people in this way was as stupid as it was heartless. We could have saved a great number of them and their herds if we had spared them and helped them recover. They had been sufficiently punished. I made this suggestion to General von Trotha but he wanted their total extermination.*<sup>86</sup>

By November 1905 von Trotha left SWA to return to Germany, but most damage had been done and the most important was that steps had been taken towards the genocide that was to follow. The Nama people had not ignored the events taking place in the Omaheke desert and feared that they too would become victim to von Trotha's cruel tactics. Having learned from Herero mistakes of engaging in open battle and fleeing from the Germans, they opted for guerrilla warfare.<sup>87</sup> Engaging in war against the Germans (1904-1908), the Nama were also to be defeated by the Germans, with von Trotha having extended his *Vernichtungsbefehl* upon the Nama. With a similar proclamation as that declared upon the Herero, von Trotha again declared all 'Hottentot people' to surrender or be killed including women, children and cattle.

The wars as a whole had drastic impacts on the Herero and the Nama peoples, in which almost 75-80 percent of the Herero population and 50-75 per cent of the Nama died. Most Herero were either shot or hung, but there were also numerous casualties as a result of thirst and starvation in the desert. As for the Nama, their guerilla war lasted to almost 1908 until they suffered defeat. Following the war and defeat by both the Herero and the Nama those who survived were condemned to forced labor without any rights. Along with losing all humanitarian rights the Herero and Nama lost the right to own cattle as well as great deal of land, which today in parts is still in German's farmers hands, inherited from generations of Germans living in SWA.<sup>88</sup>

### 3.6 Concentration Camps

Concentration camps were the German's reaction of dealing with the survivors of the battles. After the fighting between the Germans and Herero had ended a campaign of extermination had begun. Survivors were killed or left to starve. This was abruptly ended with the successful protest of Mission Societies in Germany.<sup>89</sup> Missionaries were employed to incite Herero to surrender, and those who did surrender, were housed in concentration camps. By 1905, when the German-Herero war had been decided in favor of the Germans, they forced the Herero and later

in 1908 the Nama into forced labor for private companies as well as state companies. Under harsh conditions, Herero and Nama people were put to work in mines as well as in regions where large labor force was required. After the war, the Germans had forced all Herero and Nama to wear metal identity tags and this is how they were to be recognized (See Appendix A-10). The Germans had regarded military victory as insufficient for the revolts and uprisings and it seemed as though they sought revenge to the full extent possible. Governor Leutwein's successor, Friedrich von Lindequist remarked:

*"Our actual successes in the battle have made only a limited impression on them. I expect that the period of suffering they are now experiencing will have a more lasting effect. In expressing this opinion I do not however want to take up the cudgels for Lieutenant General von Trotha's proclamation on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October last year. Economically the death of so many people [Herero] is certainly a significant loss."*<sup>90</sup>

Shark Island was one of the concentration camps in SWA and most likely the largest of them all. Being located along the southern coast lines it was a certainty for death, with its harsh climatic conditions and lack of food supply and thus malnutrition for those imprisoned.<sup>91</sup> Both Herero and Nama were imprisoned on the island, but it was the Herero who greatly suffered struggling to cope with the weather conditions which were relentlessly harsh. Of those who entered the camp, it has been said that 80% never left the island again.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.7 Genocide

To dispute that genocide did not take place in SWA during the period from 1904 onwards would be very difficult, but what is of importance is to realize why it did occur. As Zimmerer (2003) illustrates: "the premeditated slaughter of women and children and the deliberate physical extermination of a whole people makes this act [an act] of genocide, the first genocide in German history."<sup>93</sup> The Convention of the United Nations, defines genocide articulated in 1948 as "any of a number of acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group."<sup>94</sup> This definition can thus be applied, ex post facto to the SWA case as one can see von Trotha's real intent to destroy both the Herero and the Nama, and as a result see to their "total extermination".<sup>95</sup>

However, whether or not the destruction was premeditated has been a matter of debate with some arguing that the genocide was merely the result of a racial war. I.V. Hull (2005) is one of those thinkers who suggest that the acts of genocide were not deliberate by the German army, and that it was merely a “product of a particularly German type of military campaign, requiring swift and total victory and the neglect of prisoners of war and civilians.”<sup>96</sup> As Hull also highlights the symbolic value of the military actions as in “the context of *Weltpolitik*, the revolt in SWA assumed national security dimensions that only reinforced the symbolic importance of military success and the use of the military to punish offenders against state authority.”<sup>97</sup> However, these arguments seem insufficient to explain to what extent the violence actually went. It is Zimmerer (2003) who challenges exactly this and claims that it was the racist ideology of General von Trotha that led to a premeditated consciously designed of genocide. According to Zimmerer (2003) the act of genocide was deliberate; “as a consequence of an ideology of a race war, the German army shot men, women, and children, prisoners of war, and non-combatants; it forced thousands to die of thirst in the Sandveld of the Omaheke or in Southern Namibia during the anti-guerilla war against the Nama; and it killed hundreds through deliberate neglect in the concentration camps.”<sup>98</sup> Like Zimmerer, J.B. Gewald (2003) believes genocide was a result of a well thought out plan of von Trotha. After issuing his *Vernichtungsbefehl*, von Trotha wrote following in a letter the;

*“The question I had to ask myself now was: how is the war with the Herero to be brought to an end? [... ] The former [Governor Leutwein] have long wanted to negotiate and describe the Herero nation as an essential labour force for future utilization of the land. I am of a totally different opinion. I believe that the nation, as such, must be completely exterminated.”*<sup>99</sup>

In recent times there has even been a comparison in the methods and techniques used by the Germans in SWA and the Nazis during the Second World War. As Butlin (2009) writes on the basis of Zimmerer’s writing: “the genocide was a link forward and ‘close proximity’ to the later ‘colonial’ war of conquest in Europe [...], there is not just one ‘road from Windhoek to Auschwitz’.”<sup>100</sup>

### 3.8 Repercussions – Aftermath

With the end of German occupancy in 1914, SWA was left in the hands of South Africa (1915). When the Germans had departed, the South African administrators declared SWA part of South Africa. After a period of grisly colonialism, it became a fifth province of a nation tethered by racism and later what was to be known as Apartheid. It took another 75 years before SWA finally saw its nation become independent and known as Namibia in 1990. In essence what makes the repercussions of Namibia's colonial scars so difficult to deal with is the fact that the nation never had the proper chance to heal from colonialism before another form of colonialism, neo-colonialism induced by South Africa was forced upon them. As mentioned earlier, although family members of the Herero and Nama have sought recuperations from the German government, no such steps have been taken by the German state. Although Germany has recognized the atrocities that took place and acknowledged the occurrence of genocide, an apology has been issued, but in no way will families see any financial reparations. Germany reiterates that no such international human right law existed at the time to protect those mistreated. However, what the German government forgets to realize is that during their occupancy in SWA land was taken away from the Herero and Nama which today still continues to be in German-Namibians' hands. In 2007, 3 years after an official apology was issued by the German government, descendants of General von Trotha visited Namibia. Issuing an apology and expressing their shame of their ancestor's actions, it was Wolf-Thilo von Throtha who spoke the following words; “

*We say sorry, since we bear the name of General von Trotha. We however do not only want to look back, but also look to the future.”*<sup>101</sup>

It is on this note that I would like to point out the dilemma of Namibian nationality today or nation building in general. One can look to the future but in order to do this the victims often seem to have to forget the past. However, is forgetting the past an option?

*“Words are potent in debate, deeds in war decide your fate.”*

The Iliad – Book 16  
Homer<sup>102</sup>

## **Chapter 4: Conclusion and Discussion**

At the beginning of this Thesis I posed two central questions in which I sought more historical understanding and to shed more light on the German colonial campaign in Africa. What struck me as an interesting premises and what I thus chose to explore more in depth were the reasons behind Germany's desire to involve itself in a colonial campaign and their manner of conduct within their colonies; often notorious for deeds of extreme violence and mistreatment. I will deal with the answers to these two queries separately as I have done throughout the Thesis as well.

### **4.1 Germany, a late comer**

What began as curiosity and socio-economic interests for many powerful nations within Europe soon led to a wave of colonialism and imperialism from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. As more nations became involved, the wave of increasing knowledge and technical capabilities of the Europeans, the conquest of Africa was on many nations' agendas by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Germany, being a rapidly growing nation industrially, economically, politically and demographically, clearly saw possibilities in this continent. Although opinions differed, especially those of von Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm, Germany sought to exploit the viability of the overseas continent. Although Germany under the guidance of von Bismarck called for the *Berlin West Africa Conference* (1884-1885), it is clear that intentions behind this act were in order to allow for peace in European continent as well as in the 'dark' continent. In short, one of the objectives was that the German expansion would be unimpeded. Talk of creating a 'sphere of influence' at the conference, and taking up the 'White Man's Burden' was a side-story to the real narrative: power and wealth.

As mentioned earlier in this Thesis, explaining European expansion is often so complex that the reductionist 'notion of causes' are not sufficient for a full understanding. With continuous societal changes, in which economic reasons do not stand alone, the motives cannot be found in a single explanation. However, although the motives behind German participation in colonial politics are similarly intertwined to other European nations, one can make a selection of those of

greatest importance, as I have done. In my opinion these motives clearly lie within economic grounds sub linked to political and social influences. In terms of these economic factors it is evident that Germany as a nation growing industrially required raw materials available in abundance in Africa. This would ensure growth and strengthen their economic status. At the same time, this economic growth could strengthen their power politically especially up against Britain and France who at the time were their greatest competitors. Nationhood was a political essential which was stimulated by imperialism and it is what many great nations embodied in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century filled with imminent emergence of nationalism as a vital force. As already mentioned, Germany's population increase meant that expansion was seen as a solution in which emigration could benefit the German nation as well. Likewise one cannot ignore the rivalry Germany had with the British and the French in which it often it tried to emulate its opponents in order to achieve similar successes: colonialism was no exception to this rule. Their mimetic behavior soon led to problems however, as German mentality could not imitate that of the French and the British, especially when it came to embodying different ideas on race and superiority.

Nonetheless, Germany entering the colonial adventure may have been too hasty. Their lack of experience was apparent in most fields of their colonial enterprise and especially when dealing with native peoples. Their late arrival also did not aid the cause, with the "most desirable places already occupied" as Kaiser Wilhelm II once noted in an interview. And it can be said that as a result of this the consequences were that the Germans embodied dominance and superiority through forms of violence. This theme of colonial violence is further explored by closely examining the 'SWA case' in which violence became a major issue, representing German colonialism.

#### 4.2 Extreme Violence

Why the German campaign in SWA escalated into extreme violence and later genocide still remains a matter of dispute till today. The series of events as recalled in this Thesis show how continual clashes and minor wars were normality in the territory. There were not only a colonial war between the Germans and native tribes but wars between native tribes as well. However, the Herero attack on German camps in 1904 was the beginning of what is known to many as the



‘Herero Uprisings’. The lack of mutual understanding and respect for each other’s customs and traditions was often a guiding factor as illustrated by General von Trotha’s war decree where he explicitly mentions his disgust for Herero customs. The violence in SWA definitely escalated from 1904 onwards when even after the Germans had defeated the Herero at the Battle of Waterberg (1904) they continued to pursue their enemies till they were almost completely exterminated. Only after protest back in Germany and by German missionaries the Germans called back the Herero driven into the desert, only to send them into forced labor, namely concentration camps. The Germans sought to never allow the Herero to disrupt their colonial expansions and activities again: genocide was the result of this relentless attitude. It seems as if the Germans wanted to demoralize their enemies, first the Herero, and then the Nama, to such an extent that they would never encounter resistance again. As Homer once wrote: “Words are potent in debate, deeds in war decide your fate.”<sup>103</sup> The Germans had clearly run out of words. One can pose the question: if the Herero and Nama had not put up such strong resistance for so long, and had their military tactics not been so advanced, would the Germans have let the violence escalate to such a point?

The Germans sent a clear message to the peoples of SWA as well as back home: their *Weltpolitik* would not give in to anyone or any form of resistance for that matter. On the other hand it might also have been Germany’s embarrassment for being continually engaged in skirmishes with the Herero and Nama, that this war had become matter of personal prestige. One of the factors which should be taken into consideration is that those Nama and Herero who had already had ties with Europeans, especially in the Cape, were armed and often difficult opponents for the Germans.

When we look back at the Second World War and German forms of dealing with the Jewish, Roma and Sinti peoples there are many similarities to be found. One would be justified to see adverse treatment of the Herero and Nama in SWA, and the theories behind such treatment as the stepping stone to what happened in World War II. The racial theories which the Germans proclaimed were thus an important factor in the forming of both genocides.

#### 4.3 Forgive and/or Forget?

Almost 100 years after the genocide in SWA the German government has issued an ‘informal’ apology (2004). Informal, in the sense that they are not expected to provide any kind of recuperations to the descendants of those who suffered, died or lost land and property. The perpetrators cannot be put in front of a court, and neither can those who died or suffered tell their stories. Descendants of Germans can do nothing but show remorse and express their shame, while descendants of Nama and Herero can only express their anger. The fact that it has taken 100 years for this situation to be properly investigated and known makes the situation very complex. When comparing the way the SWA genocide is dealt with compared to the WWII and Holocaust there are obvious differences. Germany has formally apologized for its actions in the Second World War: most of those guilty of some form of inhumane behavior have been judged, while recuperations have also been provided. Unfortunately, not only Germany but many nations in and outside of Europe have chosen to forget shameful pasts: the Belgians and their colonial pasts, Dutch soldiers voluntarily joining the SS, the Americans in Hiroshima or the Mai Lai massacre in Vietnam, the Turkish influence in the Armenian genocide,<sup>104</sup> the list goes on. However, real solutions or actions that redress the wounds inflicted by such behavior in the past are missing. Attempts at compensation lack both in terms of symbolic as well as actual compensation.

#### 4.4 Limitations and Recommendations

Academically speaking the limitations in this Thesis are of vital importance to mention in order to create a foundation for further research. As mentioned at the beginning of this Thesis, due to largely a Western core of sources, it is important to realize that this historical research has fundamentally taken a Western perspective into account. I would recommend that further research in this field would impose more on the SWA perspective and make use of more personal recollections if at all possible. Although Namibia has not really become involved in a real dialogue tackling these issues through film, literature, poetry, art and so on, perhaps the use of these forms of dialogue could help give a more aesthetic view of the situation. However, I

remain adamant in pointing out the Eurocentric approach often taken when dealing with non-European history can be very limiting.

Another issue worth mentioning is the translating of modern terms into historical research. Can terms such as; genocide, colonialism, colonial violence be applied to these happenings in which we today perhaps define much differently? If the research questions are to be further researched I would recommend that this point would be brought to the fore as well.

Finally, in terms of further research I personally think there can be more research produced on how the German – Herero and German- Nama wars actually escalated into genocide. With numerous influences from all camps and several minor wars prior, it seems naïve to think that one single event sparked this violence. Also the reactions back in Germany as those of surrounding nations during the genocide can perhaps give more insight into how people actually saw the events happening and if they considered it what we today refer to as genocide.

## Appendices:

### Appendix A

1.



Ptolemy's 150 CE World Map (redrawn in the 15<sup>th</sup> century).

The map indicates Europe, the Middle East and India, Africa is not visible.

Source:

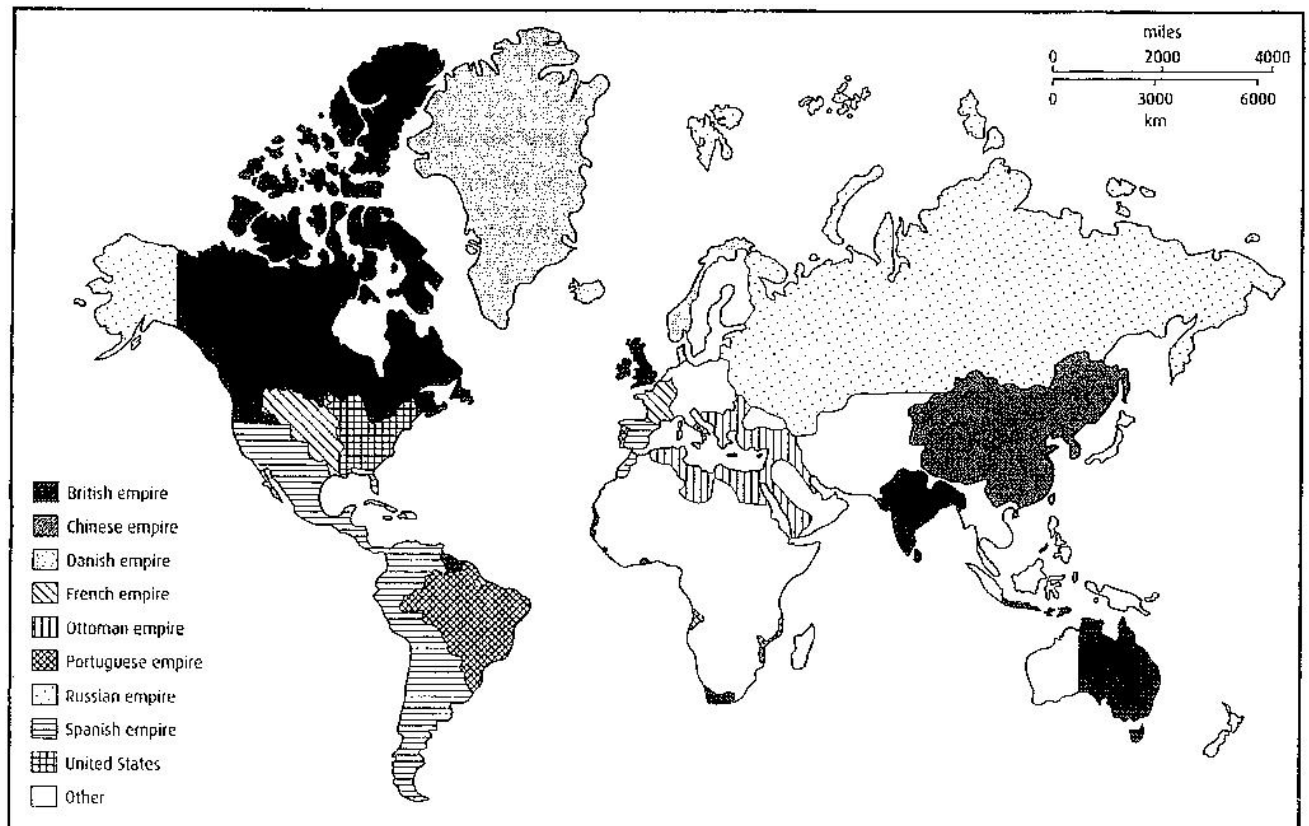
Located in The British Library. Harley Manuscripts 7182, ff 58v-5



This is a historical map of the world, likely from a 15th-century manuscript. It is a circular map showing the known world at the time, with the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Indian Ocean to the east, and the Southern Ocean at the bottom. The map is divided into four quadrants by the equator and the prime meridian. The Atlantic Ocean is labeled 'OCEANVS ATLANTICVS', the Indian Ocean is 'OCEANVS INDICVS', and the Southern Ocean is 'OCEANVS MERIDIONALIS'. The map features numerous place names in Latin, including 'MAGNETUM', 'AETHIOPIA', 'INDIA', and 'MAGNETUM'. The map is oriented with North at the top.

Retrieved from <http://www.namibia-1on1.com/bartholomew-diaz.html> (19/07/11)

3.



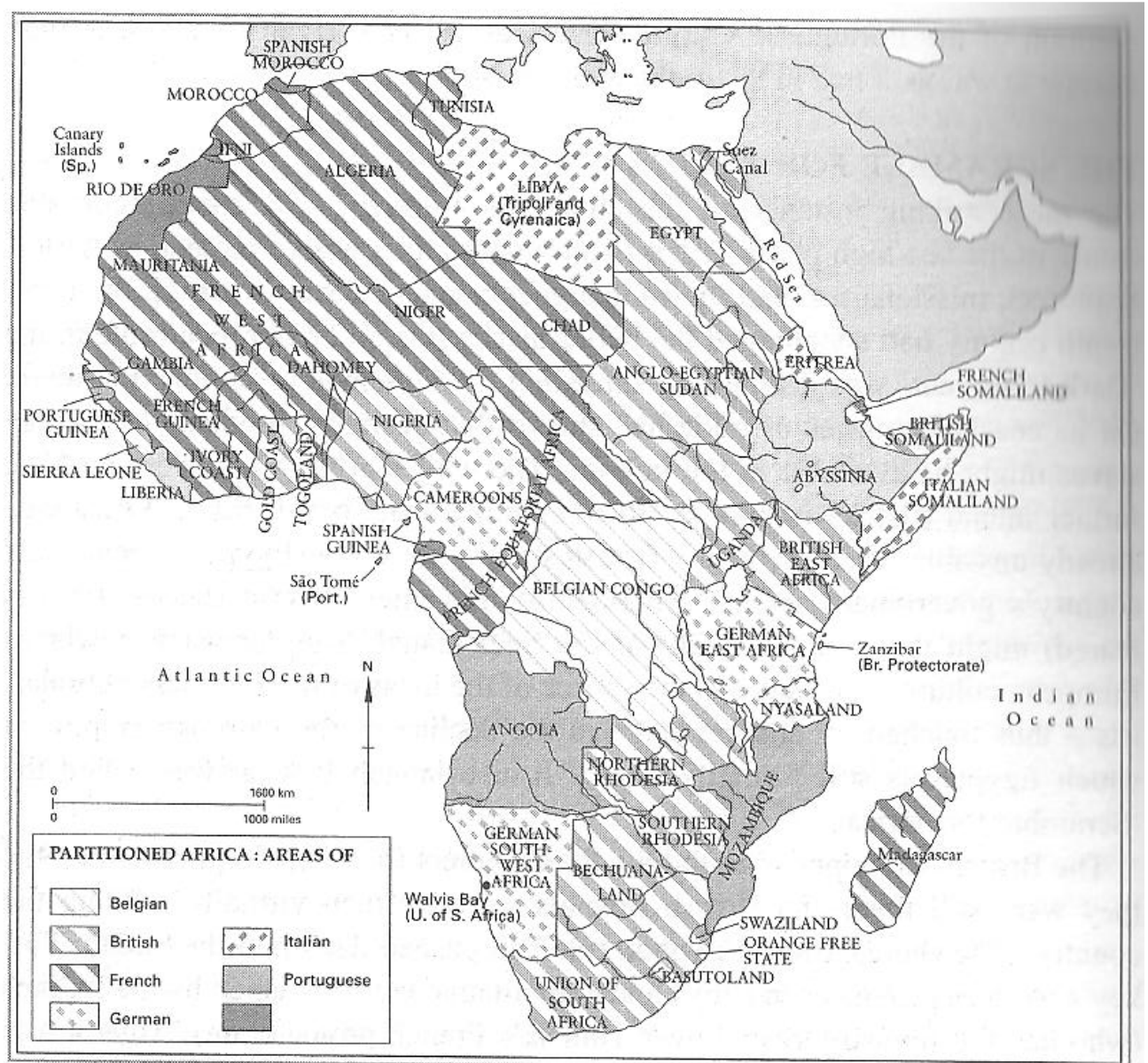
World Map, c. 1800.

Only the African coast lines are occupied by Europeans.

Source:

Butlin, R.A. (2009). *Geographies of Empire European Empires and Colonies c. 1880–1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4.



Africa, c. 1885

The whole African continent has been acquired for Europeans, except for Liberia and Ethiopia (Abyssinia)

Source:

Roberts, J.M. (1996). The Penguin History of Europe. London: Penguin Group.



5.



The German Empire (1871-1918)

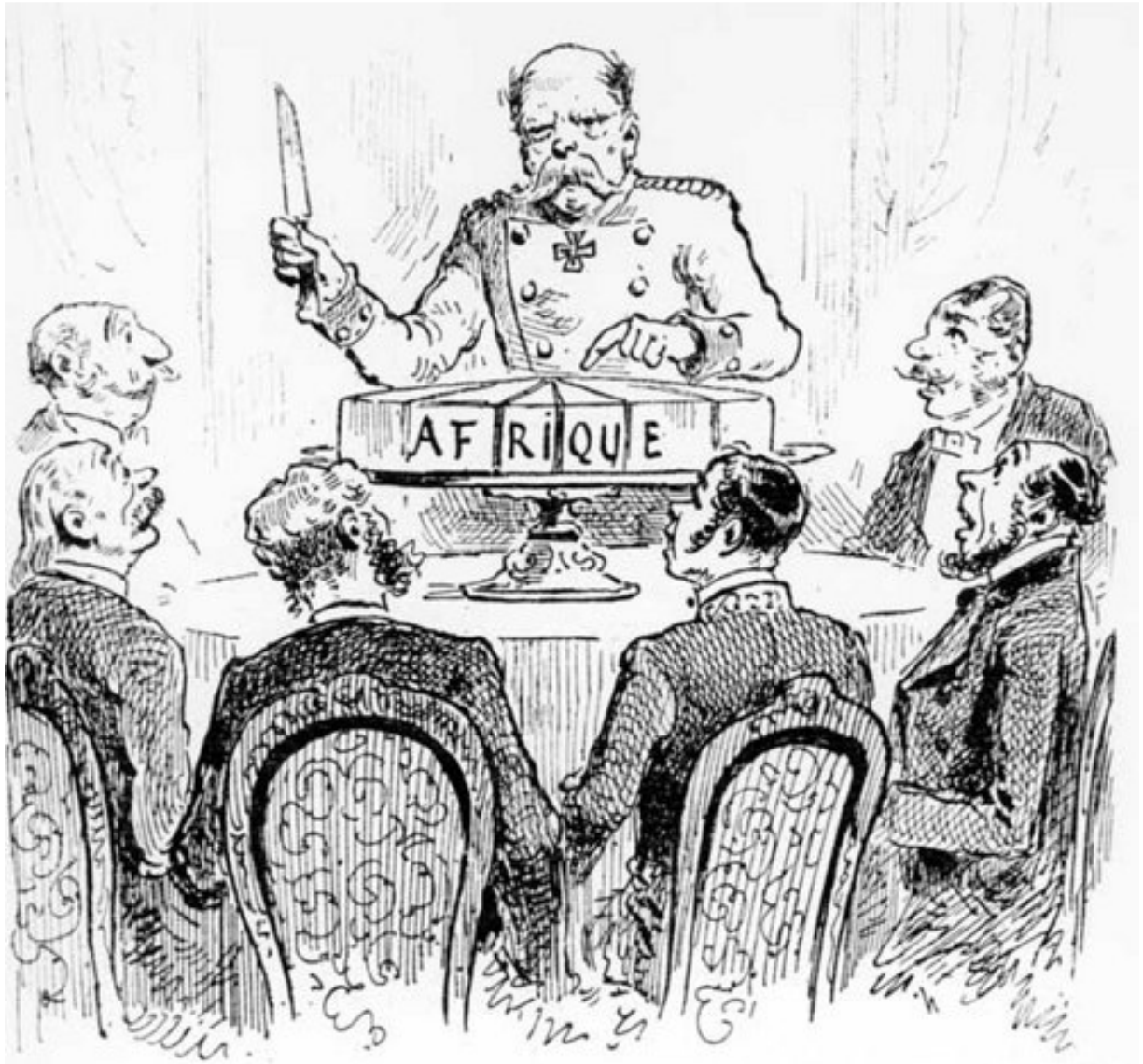
Source:

German Historical Institute, Washington, DC

James Retallack, 2007.



6.



Congo Conference, Berlin (1884-1885)

- 'Everyone gets his share.' -

French caricature of Bismarck, 'slicing up Africa like a cake.'

Wood engraving.

From: L'Illustration, 1885/I.

7.



‘Dropping the Pilot’ (1890)

Emperor Wilhelm II ‘drops his pilot’ von Bismarck, who has been steering unified Germany for almost 20 years.

Published in the British magazine *Punch* March 29, 1890.

Source: Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz

8.



Askari soldier – Schutztruppe in German East Africa

Source:

Bundesarchiv Bild

Deutsch-Ostafrika Askari

9.

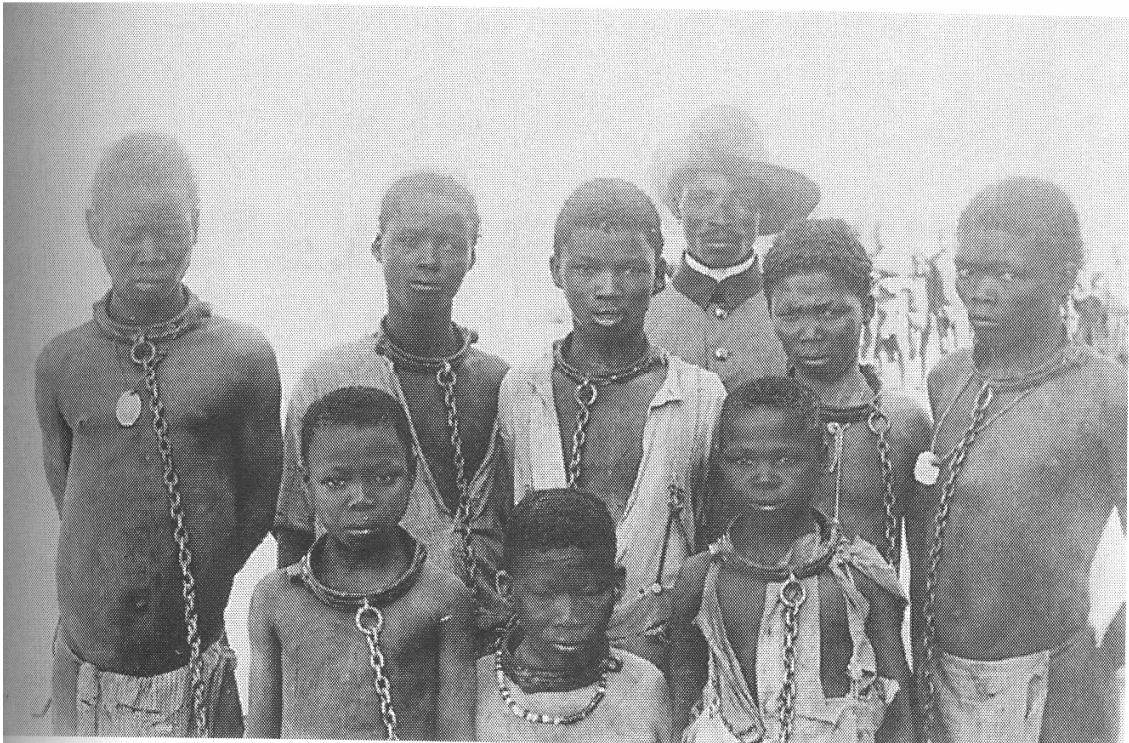


An example of a German cartoon satirizing British failures in the Boer War. As a result the British sent for more troops to fight. The German and British often ridiculed each other's colonial campaign.

Source: British Museum, Magazine: Klodderadatsch, 1900

Retrieved from: Graham, G.S. (1972). A Concise History of the British Empire. London. Thames and Hudson Ltd

10.



Captured Africans in chains, 1907/1908.

The pass badges are visible around the necks of the prisoners.

Source: Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. (2003) *Genocide in German South-West Africa- The Colonial War of 1908-1908 and its Aftermath*. Berlin: Merlin Press Ltd .

## Appendix B

1.

12 THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

### ARTICLE 3.

Merchandise of every origin imported into these territories, under whatever flag it may be, by route of sea or river or land, shall have to discharge no other taxes than those which may be collected as an equitable compensation for expenses useful to commerce and which, under this head, must be equally borne by the allegiants and by strangers of every nationality.

All differential treatment is prohibited in respect to ships as well as merchandise.

### ARTICLE 4.

Merchandise imported into these territories shall remain free from entrance and transit dues.

The Powers reserve to themselves to decide, at the end of a period of twenty years, whether freedom of entry shall or shall not be maintained.

### ARTICLE 5.

Every Power which exercises or shall exercise rights of sovereignty in the territories under consideration shall not concede there either monopoly or privilege of any kind in commercial matters.

Strangers shall enjoy there without distinction, for the protection of their persons and their goods, the acquisition and transmission of their movable and immovable property and for the exercise of the professions, the same treatment and the same rights as the allegiants.

### ARTICLE 6.

*Depositions relative to the protection of the natives, of missionaries and of travelers, and also to religious liberty.*

All Powers exercising rights of sovereignty or an influence in the Said territories engage themselves to watch over the conservation of the indigenous populations and the amelioration of their moral and material conditions of existence and to strive for the suppression of slavery and especially of the negro slave trade; they shall protect and favor without distinction of nationality or of worship, all the institutions and enterprises religious, scientific or charitable, created and organized for these objects or tending to instruct the natives and to make them understand and appreciate the advantages of civilization.

The christian missionaries, the savants, the explorers, their escorts, properties and collections shall be equally the object of special protection.

Extract from General Act of the Berlin Conference 1885

General Act of the Conference of Berlin Concerning the Congo

Source: The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 3, No. 1, Supplement: Official Documents (Jan., 1909), pp. 7-25 Published by: American Society of International Law Stable

URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2212022>

2.

**Table 1. Colonial territories and their German populations, 1910**

Colony	Land area (thousand km <sup>2</sup> )	German inhabitants
Southwest Africa	835.1	9,283
East Africa	995	2,384
Cameroon	495.6	986
Togo	87.2	300
New Guinea	240	549
Caroline, Palau, Mariana and Marshall Islands	2.47	236
Samoa	2.57	270
Kiaochow	0.5	1,412
Total	2,658.44	15,420

Source: Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, ed., *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1910 (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1911), p. 396

Retrieved from: <http://www.oxford-modernworld.com/entry?entry=t254.e506-s8&srn=2&ssid=1142879395#FIRSTHIT> (20-05-2011)



## 156 THE GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRE

## IMPERIAL TROOPS (SCHUTZTRUPPE)

## AFRICAN COLONIES, 1914

Colonies.	Officers.	Medical and Veterinary Officers.	Other Employés.	Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.		
				Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
East Africa . . .	68	44	5	134	2,472	2,723
South-West Africa	90	31	20	1,828	—	1,969
Cameroon . . .	66	27	2	118	1,650	1,863
Total . . .	224	102	27	2,080	4,122	6,555

The imperial troops of the German colonies were subject to the Chancellor of the Empire until 16 July 1896.

In South West Africa the police force comprised 9 officers, 3 paymasters, 470 white policeman, 550 police agents, 250 of whom were coloured men.

At Kiao-Chau the garrison was composed as follows: Governor's Staff, 4 officers; the 3rd Battalion of Marine Infantry, comprising a battery of pieces from 75, and the Naval Detachment of the Far East; 45 officers, 213 non-commissioned officers; a section of Marine Artillery of Kiao-Chau with 27 officers, 101 non-commissioned officers and 769 men.

CHISWICK PRESS: PRINTED BY CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.  
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

## Statistics on German Schutztruppe (1914)

Source:

Giordani, P. (1916) The German Colonial Empire – Its Beginning and Ending. London: G. Bell and Sons



4.

#### Proclamation 1884

I, Maherero, Principle Chief of Damaraland, declare herewith in my name and that of my subordinate Chiefs, that the frontiers of my territory are as follows:

1 In the north, the whole of Kaokoland as far as the coast.

2 In the west, the Tsoachaub and Omaruru region as far as the river mouths.

3 In the south, the region of Rehoboth which has been granted to me by agreement with the Basters who are my allies.

Written to dictation from the mouth of Maharero by his Secretary, Wilhelm Kaumunika

(Quoted from Vedder, Heinrich, Maharero und seine Zeit im Kichte der Dokumente seines Nachlasses, in Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen für S.W.Afrika, Vol. V, 1929-31, windhoek, 1931, p.28)

Source: Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. (2003) Genocide in German South-West Africa- The Colonial War of 1908-1908 and its Aftermath. Berlin: Merlin Press Ltd .

## **Bibliography**

Alcock, A. (1998). *A Short History of Europe*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan

Bülow von, B. (1897) Speech given: *Place in the Sun* (1897) German History in Documents and Images (GHDI). Retrieved from: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage\\_id=1371](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=1371) (18-05-2011)

Bülow von, B. (1899). Speech given: *Dynamic Foreign Policy* (December 11, 1899). German History in Documents and Images (GHDI). Retrieved from: [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=779](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=779) (17-05-2011)

BBC Documentaries (2007). *Namibia, Genocide and the second Reich*. Retrieved from: <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-899627923732856130#>. (23-05-2011)

BBC News (2007). German's Family's Namibia Apology. Retrieved from: BBC News- <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7033042.stm> (13-07-2011)

Butlin, R.A. (2009). *Geographies of Empire European Empires and Colonies c. 1880–1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bundesarchiv (Koblenz). *Reichskolonialamt*. Center for Research Libraries Online. Retrieved from: <http://catalog.crl.edu/search/?searchtype=o&searcharg=655448866-0>. (16-05-2011)

Conrad, J (1902). *Heart of Darkness*. London: Everyman's Library.

Crankshaw, E (1981). *Bismarck*. New York: The Viking Press.

Dierks, K (1999-2005). *Namibian Library of Klaus Dierks: Chronology of Namibian History*. Retrieved from: <http://www.klausdierks.com>. (01/05/2011- 15/07/2011)

Fanon, F. (1961). *The Wretched of the Earth*. tr. Constance Farrington. London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Fieldhouse, D. K. (1966) *The Colonial Empires*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson

- Gewald, Jan-Bart (1999). *Herero Heroes: A Socio-Political History of the Herero of Namibia 1890-1923*. Ohio: University Press
- Gewald, Jan-Bart (2003). Chapter 7, Colonization. Genocide and resurgence. in *German South-West Africa- The Colonial War of 1908-1908 and its Aftermath*. Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. (2003) Berlin: Merlin Press Ltd
- Giordani, P. (1916) *The German Colonial Empire – Its Beginning and Ending*. London: G. Bell and Sons
- Hensman, H (1900). *A History of Rhodesia*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons.
- Hobson, J.A. (1902) *Imperialism, A Study*. New York: James Pott and Co.
- Hull, I.V. (2005) *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*. New York: Cornell University Press
- JSTOR. Online preservation of academic documents. Documents retrieved from:  
<http://www.jstor.org/>
- Krüger, G (2003) Chapter 1, *The Golden Age of the Pastorilists*. in *German South-West Africa- The Colonial War of 1908-1908 and its Aftermath*. Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. (2003) Berlin: Merlin Press Ltd
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2011). *Dictionary and Thesaurus*. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <http://www.merriam-webster.com> (25/02/2011)
- Miller, C. (1974). *Battle for the Bundu: The First World War in East Africa*. London: MacDonald and Jane
- Morel, E.D (1920/1962). *The Black Man's Burden: The White Man in Africa from the Fifteenth Century to World War I*, in Louis L. S Snyder. (1962) *The Imperialism Reader*. (Princeton, N.J van Nostrand), first published in 1920, Great Britain. pp 163-164.
- Ravenstein, E.G. (1901). *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battel: in Angola and Adjoining Regions*. London: Hakluyt Society

- Roberts, J.M. (1996). *The Penguin History of Europe*. London: Penguin Group.
- Scammell, G.V. (1989). *The First Imperial Age - European Overseas Expansion c. 1400 – 1715*. New York: Routledge.
- Schopenhauer, A. (1918) *The World as Will and Representation*, trsl. by R.E. Aquila. New York: Longman.
- Taylor, A.J.P. (1967). *Bismarck. The Man and the Statesman*. New York: Random House, Inc.
- Trotha, v, T. (2006). Chapter 32 in *A Companion to Nineteenth –Century Europe: 1789-1914*. Berger, S. (2006). Oxford: Blackwell.
- VPRO Documentaires (2008), *Adriaan van Dis in Afrika. Episode 6*. Broadcaster VPRO Retrieved from:  
<http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/index.php/search?serID=3102&md5=f054421e36ed63686137a49233f3fc6&sq=adriaan+vas+di+in+afrika> (19/07/11)
- Wehler, H.U. (1973) *The German Empire 1871-1918*. New York: Berg.
- Wesseling, H.L and Emmer P.C. (2004). *Reappraisals in Overseas History: Comparative Studies in Overseas History*. The Hague. Leiden University Press: Martinus Nijhoff,
- Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. (2003) *Genocide in German South-West Africa- The Colonial War of 1908-1908 and its Aftermath*. Berlin: Merlin Press Ltd .

## **Notes**

---

<sup>1</sup> Merriam- Webster Dictionary online.

<sup>2</sup> Morel, E.D 1920: 163-164.

<sup>3</sup> Scammel, G.V. 1989: 51.

<sup>4</sup> Roberts, J.M. 1996: especially 222-228.

<sup>5</sup> Scammel, G.V. 1989: 51-52.

<sup>6</sup> Roberts, J.M. 1996: 439.

<sup>7</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 48.

<sup>8</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 65.

<sup>9</sup> Conrad, J. 1902

<sup>10</sup> Berger, S. 2006: 436.

<sup>11</sup> Roberts, J.M. 1996: 335.

<sup>12</sup> Roberts, J.M. 1996: 441-442.

<sup>13</sup> Hensman, H. 1900: 45.

<sup>14</sup> Fanon, F. 1961: 35.

<sup>15</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 53-54.

<sup>16</sup> Berger, S. 2006: 437.

<sup>17</sup> Giordani, P. 1916: 10.

<sup>18</sup> Reichskolonialamt, Bundesarchiv.

<sup>19</sup> Wesseling 2004: 136.

<sup>20</sup> Hull, V.I. 2005: 39-40.

<sup>21</sup> Schopenhauer, A. 1818

<sup>22</sup> Hull, V.I. 2005: 13.

<sup>23</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:4 Text; *The Golden Age of the Pastorilists*; Gesine Krüger.

- 
- <sup>24</sup> Bülow von, B. Dec 11, 1899 Reichstag speech.
- <sup>25</sup> The German Confederation refers to a collection of states from the Holy Roman Empire that united to ensure peace and a balance of power after a long period of turmoil and war in Europe.
- <sup>26</sup> The Prussian Empire was a kingdom deriving from the Duchy of Prussia and the Margraviate of Brandenburg.
- <sup>27</sup> The Austrian Habsburg Empire ruled over what is today Austria and Hungary. Habsburg rulers were in charge of the Holy Roman Empire until the end of the Austrian Habsburg Empire in 1806.
- <sup>28</sup> Roberts, J.M. 1996: 408.
- <sup>29</sup> Roberts, J.M. 1996: 462.
- <sup>30</sup> Wehler H.U. 1973: 33.
- <sup>31</sup> Wehler H.U. 1973: 35.
- <sup>32</sup> Giordani, P. 1916: 6.
- <sup>33</sup> Jones, A. 1984 Text: History in Africa, vol 11 pp.379-389 <http://www.jstor.org/pss/3171645>
- <sup>34</sup> Jones, A. 1984 Text: History in Africa, vol 11 pp.379-389 <http://www.jstor.org/pss/3171645>
- <sup>35</sup> Reichskolonialamt, Bundesarchiv.
- <sup>36</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 96.
- <sup>37</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 97.
- <sup>38</sup> Crankshaw, E 1981: 397.
- <sup>39</sup> Taylor, A.J.P. 1967: 221.
- <sup>40</sup> Bülow von, B. Reichstag speech 1897.
- <sup>41</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 97.
- <sup>42</sup> Alcock, A. 1998: 207.
- <sup>43</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003: 19.
- <sup>44</sup> BBC Documentaries - *Namibia, Genocide and the second Reich*.
- <sup>45</sup> Giordani, P. 1916: 153.
- <sup>46</sup> Giordani, P. 1916: 154.

- 
- <sup>47</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 97 quote in Fieldhouse, D.K 1966. *The Colonial Empires*.
- <sup>48</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 97.
- <sup>49</sup> Trotha, v. T 2006: 440.
- <sup>50</sup> Trotha, v. T. 2006: 440.
- <sup>51</sup> Bülow von, B(1904), quote from I.V. Hull 2005:189.
- <sup>52</sup> Giordani, P. 1916: 116.
- <sup>53</sup> Trotha, v. 2006: 439.
- <sup>54</sup> Miller, C. 1974
- <sup>55</sup> Gewald, J-B. 1999: 172-173.
- <sup>56</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: Pre-Historical Period – BC to 1485.
- <sup>57</sup> Krüger, G 2003:3.
- <sup>58</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: Pre-Historical Period – BC to 1485.
- <sup>59</sup> Ravenstein, E.G. 1901: 25-27.
- <sup>60</sup> Krüger, G 2003:5.
- <sup>61</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: The Pre-colonial Period: The Missionaries.
- <sup>62</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: The Pre-colonial Period: The Missionaries.
- <sup>63</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: The Pre-colonial Period: The Missionaries.
- <sup>64</sup> Malay slaves were originated from South East Asia and Java which the Dutch moved transported to South Africa when they possessed colonies in South Africa and modern day Indonesia.
- <sup>65</sup> VPRO Documentaires: *Adriaan van Dis in Afrika*.
- <sup>66</sup> Gewald, J-B. 1999: 25.
- <sup>67</sup> Gewald, J-B. 1999: 25.
- <sup>68</sup> Gewald, J-B. 1999: 26.
- <sup>69</sup> Herero were often referred to as Damara by the Germans in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, only later to be called by their proper names.
- <sup>70</sup> Gewald, J-B. 1999: 27.

- 
- <sup>71</sup> Krüger, G 2003::14.
- <sup>72</sup> Krüger, G 2003::11
- <sup>73</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: The Colonial Period: German rule.
- <sup>74</sup> Gewalt, J-B. 1999: 31.
- <sup>75</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: The Colonial Period: German rule.
- <sup>76</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: The Colonial Period: German rule.
- <sup>77</sup> Dierks, K. 1999-2005: The Colonial Period: German rule.
- <sup>78</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:26.
- <sup>79</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:43.
- <sup>80</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:43.
- <sup>81</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 99.
- <sup>82</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:46.
- <sup>83</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:46.
- <sup>84</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:47.
- <sup>85</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:49.
- <sup>86</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:49 quoting von Estorff.
- <sup>87</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:51.
- <sup>88</sup> VPRO Documentaires: *Adrian van Dis in Afrika*.
- <sup>89</sup> Gewalt, J.B. 2003:135
- <sup>90</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:54.
- <sup>91</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:54.
- <sup>92</sup> BBC Documentaries: *Namibia, Genocide and the second Reich*.
- <sup>93</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:50
- <sup>94</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:50
- <sup>95</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:49



---

<sup>96</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 99

<sup>97</sup> Hull, V.I. 2005: 44

<sup>98</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:53-56

<sup>99</sup> Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. 2003:135

<sup>100</sup> Butlin, R.A. 2009: 100. Quoting J. Zimmerer, (2003). *Genocide in German South-West Africa- The Colonial War of 1908-1908 and its Aftermath*.

<sup>101</sup> BBC NEWS 2007: *German's Family's Namibia Apology*. Retrieved from: *BBC News*

<sup>102</sup> The Iliad, Homer. Book 16

<sup>103</sup> The Iliad, Homer. Book 16

<sup>104</sup> VPRO Documentaires. *Adriaan van Dis in Afrika*: Quote from Justine Hunter