A Deterritorialized History:

Investigating German Colonialism through Deleuze and Guattari

by

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Abstract

This study seeks to understand the forces initiating and sustaining colonialism, specifically the German colonial expansion in Africa. The history of this colonialism, and the relations between Germany and Africa, is difficult to understand holistically, given its complex and contentious nature. In order to best comprehend the composite interactions within the expansion of German control over Africa, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's theory of deterritorialization will provide the interpretative framework. This analysis begins by grappling with the notion of deterritorialization and then relates the theory to the social, cultural, economic and political manifestations of German colonial expansion. By taking a broad perspective upon the diverse articulations of power in Africa, the multiple elements of colonial control and resistance are manifest. In conclusion, this study finds difference, syncretism and negotiation between German and African to determine the history of German colonialism in Africa.

Supervisor: Dr. Thomas J. Saunders, (Faculty of Humanities / Department of History)

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Introduction

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, European nations spanned the globe with overseas colonies in a belligerent quest for territory. These colonies were developed as commercial and strategic dependencies by the European states. The control extended through this colonialism reveals much about the European imperial state itself in its efforts to gain and maintain colonies. Colonialism is here defined as a desire for colonial possessions and imperialism is broadly termed a more fluid dynamic of dominance between collective societies encompassing much more than purely colonial relations. These two energies present a vivid image of Europe's extension of power over the non-European world. The following examination will focus upon the actual expansion of colonial control in the context of the late nineteenth-century acquisition of African colonies by Germany and their subsequent maintenance through to the early twentieth century. By examining the specific actions in the extension of German rule over African territory, the composite interactions of colonialism will be exposed. The study of German colonialism is significant because the dynamism and violence of colonialism make it more than just an anomaly of European history. Colonialism therefore represents a major theme of wider history because of its influence upon both the colonizer and the colonized. In addition, many of the elements that gave birth to colonialism are very much still in existence today, a reality that connects this historical excavation to the present. It is for these reasons that this analysis seeks to inquire into the power differentials of imperialism in general through study of German colonialism with

the ultimate aim of interpreting the relationships underpinning German colonial expansion in Africa.

The historiography of imperialism is riddled with controversies and complexities. This inquiry unabashedly places itself against the older histories of imperialism that focused upon imperialism only in relation to broad issues within European economic and political history.[1] More recent studies move beyond these topics in favour of research into specific social and cultural elements of colonialism.[2] This work hopes to combine elements of the old interpretations with new approaches so as to gain new insight when it seeks to consider the true breadth of imperialism in realms as diverse as culture, economics, society, and politics.[3] This analysis consequently accepts Johan Galtung's sage assertion that imperialism must be examined on a general level in order to most effectively render its structural character.[4] To best understand the structure of imperialism, the more specific facts of German colonial expansion will be elaborated. This in turn will allow the extrapolation of the general dimensions of imperialism.

The primary motivating factor for colonialism is a pivotal historical question in the historiography of imperialism. Marxists in the early twentieth century saw colonialism as a consequence of the economic and social structures of capitalism that require ever-greater markets, labour and resources.[5] The Marxist economic argument has prompted a number of critical responses. Octave Mannoni stressed the psychological dimension of colonialism instead of relying upon causal references to economics or politics.[6] Arguing in 1961 specifically against Marxist mechanism, David Landes dismissed economic rationales and sees colonialism as not based in a mono-causal explanation.[7] Others find European diplomatic imperatives responsible for the growth of

colonialism. Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher contended in 1961 that colonialism represents a cumulative process of European expansion without determining goals outside of strategic concerns.[8] Later leftist scholars like D.C.M. Platt and G.W.F. Hallgarten have refined the Marxist economic dimension to colonialism.[9] Writing in 1966, Hannah Arendt believed that nationalistic mass political movements combined patriotism and national chauvinism to precipitate actions like colonialism.[10] Inverting the traditional relationship between the metropolitan centre and the colonial periphery, David Fieldhouse declared that colonialism was encouraged by events in the colonies that required the European powers to safeguard their strategic interests.[11] Alternately, Wolfgang Mommsen and Jean-Paul Sartre argue a systemic character to colonialism that rejects mono-causal explanation in favour of structural examination.[12] Finally, there is another possible interpretation stressing the random and inchoate that sees no central internal logic to colonialism. Moving away from the inquiry into rationales, more recent studies of colonialism examine narrower aspects such as race, culture, society, gender and power relationships.

The German expansion of control in Africa between the years 1884 and 1914 is significant in several ways to the broader study of colonialism. The German conquest of what are now the countries of Togo, Cameroon, Namibia and Tanzania is a relatively under-explored area in colonial historiography when compared to histories of the colonies of Portugal, Britain and France. While other countries had successful colonies for the most part outside of Africa, Germany's territories in the Pacific and China were unusually pale shadows of its African colonies. The late and intense entry of Germany into colonialism also holds particular interest for the scholar of colonialism. Moreover,

German colonialism represents a fascinating subject because of its telescoped time frame; the acquisition, extension and loss of the colonies all happened within three decades. Germany is additionally remarkable in that its colonialism began on a different track than the other colonial powers because of the perceived significance of commerce in the expansion. Finally, Germany presents an interesting paradigm of colonialism in relation to later events in the twentieth century.

It is the actions of Germany in the First and Second World Wars that have led to the *Sonderweg* thesis of Germany's "special path" of development. The *Sonderweg* argument is one of the reasons why many explanations have been sought for German colonialism and the subsequent heated debate that has surrounded the discussion of motivations. The dispute has been particularly contentious between ideologically-opposed historians in divided post-war Germany.[13] The German colonial experience is frequently cited by scholars as a precursor to the later events of the twentieth century by fitting the abuses of the colonial period into the *Sonderweg* thesis of purportedly Germanic exceptionalism.[14] The Versailles Treaty's judgment of Germany's unique colonial brutality drew on acts of violence in the colonies like the 1904-1906 war against the Herero tribe of Southwest Africa. But the question must be asked, without engaging in a comparative discussion of colonialisms, was the German conquest of colonial territory inordinately brutal? To answer this question, analysis must look beyond the *Sonderweg* thesis to consider all of the economic, social, political and cultural motivations for German colonialism. It is the particular circumstances of these elements within German colonialism that provide the rationales for this project.

A frequent argument in the thesis of German exceptionalism is the economic one, an especially significant controversy in the historiography of German colonialism. This is because the German colonies had a large number of business monopolies which have long been used as an explanation for the economic dimension of German colonialism. Marxist scholars like Jürgen Kuczynski, Fritz Müller and Helmuth Stoecker advocate the pivotal supporting role of monopoly capital in this colonialism.[15] Non-Marxist scholars like Mary Townsend, H.P. Jaeck and Horst Drechsler also declare that economic necessities and merchant capital propelled the colonial expansion.[16] These arguments remain strong within studies of German colonialism, though their applicability is increasingly questioned.

Calculated government policy for reasons related to international diplomacy is seen as another major cause of German colonialism. For instance, Werner Frauendienst argues that colonialism can only be seen as one minor component of the *Weltpolitik* or "world policy" of international involvement.[17] Similarly, some historians like Landes, Hallgarten, Townsend and A.J.P. Taylor contend that colonial expansion was designed to serve German strategic interests.[18] A final argument contends that Germany acquired and developed a network of colonies solely to provide a backing for its claims to great power status.[19]

Supporting the domestic explanation of colonialism, Hans-Ulrich Wehler finds that domestic peace was sought as a by-product of a strong imperial policy by the "pragmatic expansionist" Chancellor Otto von Bismarck.[20] This so-called "social imperialism" argument asserts that German imperialism was a wholly endogenous phenomenon created to pacify the German population, rather than a creation of external

stimuli.[21] Wehler's contention specifically works against the centre-periphery interpretations of Gallagher, Robinson, and Fieldhouse as well as the Marxist argument for the primacy of commercial expansion. Yet even within social imperialism, Mommsen argues for some reconsideration of the role of external forces.[22] The social imperialism argument also contests Thaddeus Sunseri's belief that historians have traditionally ignored the linkages between German colonial policies and German society as a whole.[23] For this reason, discussion of Germany's colonies needs to address the quantity and quality of support for colonial expansion in the German populace.

The domestic argument is significant, for despite their relatively miniscule economic contribution, the four African colonies were quite important to Germany because of their effect upon national pride. This is a major facet of social imperialism; the colonies were supposed to galvanize the population, consequently bringing Germany together. Linking the leftist and social imperialism interpretations, Hans-Christoph Schröder connects colonialism intrinsically with supra-nationalism and social relations.[24] This inquiry will consider contemporary society because the propaganda efforts of the government and the various social organizations propounding colonial expansion had an important effect upon the German public. Looking at society in this manner renders a vision of colonialism from a bottom-up perspective and allows a realistic portrayal of the role of popular sentiment in colonial expansion.

All of these different explanations of German colonial expansion may appear complex but they are further complicated by Landes' suggestion that many colonial acquisitions may have been the result of a fait accompli or unforeseen circumstances.[25] It is also possible that German colonial expansion was established by one motive and

carried further by another. Similarly, it is likely that the extension of control over the colonies was established by the means considered most applicable to the time and context, as Gallagher and Robinson assert.[26] It is also eminently possible that colonialism is a matter of scale where a steady escalation of degree results in further increases in territory, brutality and control.

Alongside these issues, a considerable lacuna exists in the discussion of the actual inhabitants of the regions that Germany annexed. These African peoples were very important in determining the actual course of the colonial expansion in Africa. For example, parallel to the expansion of German rule was the growth in native resistance to this expansion in various manifestations, from passive opposition to taxes and laws, to covert resistance and outright revolt against German authority. It is the extension of colonialism and the opposition to it that constitutes the essential form of colonialism. However, this inquiry acknowledges the considerable difficulty which exists in capturing the suppressed native voice since few histories have been written from the perspective of the original inhabitants in the German colonies.

Comprehending these diverse issues requires more than empirical data; a theory is needed to link the dominant themes. Histories of colonialism come from very disparate perspectives, and can therefore be very difficult to understand holistically. Winfried Baumgart and Wehler once called upon historians to forge new paths in German colonial history to further understand the historical past through the application of new theoretical models of interpretation.[27] Since Baumgart and Wehler, new research into gender, race and power relations has broadened the field, but wider use of theoretical models has not been manifest. In addition, newer approaches have moved away from necessary

discussions of motivations for the expansion. The implications of the uncertainties elaborated above, as well as developments in the field of German colonial history, inevitably lead to the question of which interpretative framework to utilize in order to most accurately interpret the expansion of German control over Africa.

The theories elaborated in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's two volume work, *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* offer an approach through which the understanding of German colonialism can be better extended and deepened.[28] This analysis will employ primarily their ideas of the deterritorialization and concomitant reterritorialization of forces, but will also incorporate some of their other concepts like schizoanalysis, nomadology and the rhizome. The ability of Deleuze and Guattari's idea of deterritorialization to encompass the economic, social, political and cultural facets of an entity makes it a potentially attractive interpretative structure. For this reason, their notion of deterritorialization and reterritorialization will form the theoretical underpinning of this investigation. As Ian Buchanan declares, "[i]t is hard work being Deleuzian," but the measured and critical incorporation of several elements of Deleuze and Guattari's thought can open up significant and novel areas of investigation.[29]

Deleuze and Guattari's ideas of deterritorialization, schizoanalysis, rhizome and nomadology shed light on the German colonial expansion in several respects. Their theories can resolve the problem in world history of the occlusion of the so-called "people without history" by Eurocentric historiography's focus upon the nation-state, for the authors would stress the collectivities and individuals within both Germany and Africa.[30] Following Ranajit Guha's and Edward Said's assertions that all cultures are involved in one another, this examination works in awareness of the inter-connections

between German and African societies.[31] Secondly, by incorporating Deleuze and Guattari, this project attempts to be broadly "postcolonial" in its examination, by incorporating recent interpretations of the colonial past, while still remaining fully cognizant of the nuances and heterogeneity of this term. The most visible way that this postcolonialism manifests itself in this study and in Deleuze and Guattari is the attention paid to difference and agency.[32]

The methodology of this inquiry's use of Deleuze and Guattari will be fairly orthodox. The authors' thought will be investigated first, with the aim of establishing its relevance for the events under examination. Next, the specific social, cultural, economic and political elements of German colonial expansion in Africa will be examined with deterritorialization in mind. Deleuze and Guattari's work will be examined, evaluated and related to the history under discussion. By approaching German colonialism as a multi-polar enterprise of overlapping interactions, involving both Europeans and Africans, this methodology can render the complex power relations of colonialism in the most satisfactory manner.

This methodology, and its indebtedness to Deleuze and Guattari's theory, represents a novel approach to the discussion of German colonial expansion in several ways. With the exception of John Noyes' work, the use of Deleuze and Guattari's deterritorialization to highlight issues within the history of colonialism is almost unprecedented. Moreover, Deleuze and Guattari are rarely found in actual historiography. Deterritorialization has also never before been used to represent the ebb and flow of interaction between colonial metropolis and African periphery. Finally, older

German colonial history has been a rather orthodox history, with little research outside of political and economic realms.

Recently more variegated studies of the legal, sexual, racial, social and cultural elements of colonialism have appeared. Some examples of this are the works of Jürgen Zimmerer, Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantop who see German colonialism in terms of imaginaries.[33] Their conceptions depict how Germans constructed utopian ideas about the expansion that clashed with realities. Similarly, Birthe Kundrus stresses the fantasies underpinning German colonialism.[34] Kundrus identifies whimsical visions of colonialism that guided the multiple German responses to their colonial possessions. Finally, Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt portray German colonialism as determined by changing encounters between Africans and Germans.[35] In many social and cultural realms, they see reciprocal influence as important to the nature of colonialism.

This application of Deleuze and Guattari reveals new perspectives within the German colonial conquest of Africa by combining facets of the older research with these recent approaches to the topic. This study focuses upon an admittedly specific history, yet hopes that it offers some wider conclusions. The inquiry begins with the ideas of Deleuze and Guattari in the first chapter. Through analysis of the social and cultural relations of German colonialism in the second and the excavation of economic then political facets in the third chapter so as to reveal the connections of colonialism separate from government policy, more sophisticated conceptions of the dynamics of power within colonialism will be developed. But before this examination can begin, the context must be elaborated to aid comprehension of German colonial expansion.

The German Setting

The growth of Germany's colonies must be viewed in relation to contemporary German history. Germany came to strength in Europe through wars with Denmark, Austria and France, finally leading to unification in 1871. The unification of the German states was brought about largely through the diplomacy and the power politics of "blood and iron" championed by Chancellor Bismarck.[36] Strategically, the new European nation was the epitome of Mitteleuropa vulnerability, hemmed in by the French and Russian powers on both sides. Politically, Germany was ruled by the autocratic Kaiser and his Chancellor. Although Germany possessed an elected Reichstag and universal male suffrage, the governing elites maintained considerable independence of action. Beneath the Kaiser, a leadership cadre of aristocrats occupied the crucial seats of power.[37] Under Kaiser Wilhelm I, the stoutly conservative Bismarck worked to restrain the press, outlaw socialist organizations and repress Catholics through his quasi-autocratic power. With the accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II to the throne in 1888, Bismarck's power declined until he was finally removed from office in 1890. In contrast to Bismarck's term, domestic and foreign policy under Wilhelm II proceeded along a much more random and inchoate path.[38] Ruling above a succession of weak Chancellors in a society simultaneously traditionalist and modernizing, Wilhelm II also was both more liberal and much more inconsistent than Bismarck.

Germany was subject to these tensions because of modernizing impulses in economics and politics. In economic matters, Germany was developing into the industrial power-house of Europe as traditional agriculture fuelled the growth of heavy industry. The newly-centralized state also fostered the expansion of German

international trade. However, in 1873 Germany was struck by a debilitating recession that was to last until the last years of the nineteenth century.[39] Germany was hit particularly hard because of problems caused by over-production and declining prices. Bismarck tried to solve these through the imposition of tariffs in 1879 and in 1884 during the fiscal restraints of the "door-closing panic" where German business perceived the doors of free trade commerce closing to their products and causing an economic downturn.[40] The perceived disappointments of free-market liberalism provoked a re-evaluation of liberal economics and politics. Popular desires for political reform and internal divisions with regard to class, status, religion and region also continued to plague the government.[41] One policy designed to preserve domestic peace was the 1879 "politics of rallying-together" which united the Prussian agricultural Junker elites with the Ruhr industrialists to create the Alliance of Iron and Rye.[42] The collective-policy was also revisited from 1897 to 1904 to unite the traditional elites of Germany against growing social fractures.

These circumstances were to provide fertile ground for the development of colonial policy. Bismarck indicated as early as 1881 his total rejection of a colonial policy. But in 1884, his paradigm shift in foreign policy towards colonialism was to initiate storms of debate, both at the time and in subsequent historiography. The transition from a middle European nation obsessed with the balance of power in European diplomacy to a country involving itself in territories thousands of miles away in Africa was a surprise then and continues to challenge scholars to explain Bismarck's volte face in international affairs. Bismarck's perennial willingness to change tactics in order to achieve his goals means that his change of course needs explication, but also indicates

that the colonial expansion was not necessarily a departure from Bismarck's opportunistic approach to foreign and domestic politics.

Given Germany's recent consolidation as a nation-state and the recent recession, it is at first glance very strange that in early 1884 Bismarck would suddenly agree to establish a protectorate over the tiny hamlet of Angra Pequeña on the southwest coast of Africa.[43] One reason Bismarck's move is odd is that German taxpayers were reluctant to fund overseas expenditures. Furthermore, German public opinion on the colonial issue was an unknown variable and could potentially have problematized the expansion greatly. Similarly, the impact of a colonial policy in European diplomacy could also have been negative if the great powers took exception to Germany participating in the "scramble for Africa."[44] Logistical problems such as the question of whether or not the German bureaucracy could expand to administer the colonies also cast doubts upon the viability of the acquisitions. Finally, the protection and control of African colonies with Germany's hitherto continental army and inconsequential navy seemed to indicate intractable difficulties.

The reconciliation of these problems reveals much about contemporary Germany. For as much as Germany did not appear ready to accept a colonial policy, there were signs in 1884 that a colonial expansion was both desirable and possible. In 1884 the circumstances in Europe seemed to favour a German land-grab since European diplomacy was placid.[45] Additionally, fears of repeated recessions fostered the idea that colonies could provide a way out of cyclical depressions and economic isolationism. In this respect, the Young Historical School of economics and its demands for foreign markets found resonance in the economic policies of the government.[46] Government was

also pressed by the private sector to acquire colonies to guarantee raw materials and additional markets. Furthermore, Bismarck saw the colonies as a tool for European diplomatic wrangling and an outlet for German emigration.

While the government began to see the benefits of colonies, the public became more aware of colonies through the work of the colonial propagandists. For example, the German Colonial Society or Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (hereafter DKG), while small in membership, was loud in demanding the necessity of colonies.[47] The public began to believe that a colonial policy could generate great profits, especially if conducted on the British model. The promises advanced by European colonial adventurers of an "El Dorado" in the far reaches of Africa soon reached the German populace. Consequently, the population, especially the middle class, began to identify the potential benefits of German colonies. This combination of diplomatic, commercial and nationalistic motivations proved enough to push Bismarck toward a policy of colonial expansion.

It is necessary to sketch the development of German colonial sentiment in order to provide some background to the entire history of the colonial expansion. Germany itself had not previously been a significant force in world trade though some of the Hanseatic cities had traded overseas. The first colonial enterprise was a trading post and transport hub established on the Gulf of Guinea by the Brandenburg trade federation in 1682. After the loss in 1717 of this territory, the only other initiative in the pre-history of colonial expansion was the installation of missionary outposts on the coasts of Africa such as the Bethany mission station in southwest Africa half a century before the government's acquisition. The rapid doubling of German territory after 1884 therefore raises questions about the motivations behind this expansion.

In 1883 the economic motives for colonialism achieved newfound prominence. The Foreign Office or Auswärtiges Amt (hereafter AA) bureaucrat Heinrich von Kusserow, the trading company Woermann's, and the banker and Bismarck-confidante Gerson von Bleichröder, all identified the beginning of a European rush for African colonies and wanted a place for Germany in this race.[48] The trading cities of Hamburg and Bremen begged for naval protection of their African trade and perpetual guarantees for the rights of German traders in the colonies. Bismarck, goaded by the purported ease and economy of the British charter-company administration model and Kusserow's urging, began to accept Germany's need to participate in colonialism. Soon after the acquisition of Angra Pequeña by the trader F.A.E. Lüderitz, German business interests and the government, particularly the AA, began their close association.[49] Though Kusserow embodies Marxist assertions of conspiracies between the finance oligarchy and the government, Kusserow's later decline illustrates that the Marxist paradigm is not necessarily apt.[50] Although Bismarck called the early colonies "supply posts," he believed that the companies should be responsible for the administration of the territories.[51] With Lüderitz's claim accepted, Bismarck bestowed imperial charters "*Freibriefe,*" thereby sanctioning the claims of Woermann's and other companies in Cameroon and Togo. Yet, after the initial extension of German control, it was not long before the charter companies like Woermann's politely declined to administer the new German colonies under imperial charters. There was a dawning awareness that the colonies were not the new El Dorado. Germans began to realize that their colonies were not like Britain's India, but were in Africa, where consistent profits could not be assured.

In addition to these complex economic motivations, there were several international political considerations that indicated the potential advantages of a colonial policy. While the other European powers had earlier grasped pieces of Africa, Germany stood idly by. But in 1884, with a favourable economic and political climate, it was Germany's chance to acquire colonies. Bismarck realized that no other powers desired Angra Pequeña; consequently he decided to extend German protection over Lüderitz's trading post. If no other European nations desired the colonies, Bismarck could avoid antagonizing the other European powers while simultaneously acquiring potential bargaining chips for future European negotiations. But was this the dominant motivation? The thesis that Bismarck was a covert colonialist from the beginning for international reasons is advanced by Townsend and Taylor. However, these arguments have subsequently been effectively challenged by William Aydelotte.[52] Alternately, H.P. Merritt argues that Germany's expanding interest in Africa was largely a product of Bismarck's own beliefs in the protection of commerce.[53] Nevertheless, the possession of the protectorates did establish a place for Germany in the new global diplomacy. European relations were also strengthened by the British support for German concessions since the German territory acted as a hedge against French claims.

Though the benefits of colonial expansion were present in international politics, they were even more clearly evident in domestic politics. H. Pogge von Strandmann and Wehler assert that domestic political elements motivated the acquisition.[54] Many then, as now, believed Bismarck's colonial plans were solely aimed at domestic concerns: even Bismarck's Senior Councillor Friedrich von Holstein quoted Bismarck as saying: "[a]ll this colonial business is a sham, but we need it for elections."[55] Public opposition to

European competitors' exclusionary treaties and the restriction of free trade led the Chancellor to conclude that the public mood was in favour of acquiring commercial rights for Germany in Africa. Even though Germany was markedly undemocratic, this public support was important to Bismarck. For instance, the Kartell-Politik compromise of 1887-1890 depended upon the consensus gained in the initial colonial expansion. However, the 1884 elections manifested increased support for the Social Democrats, whose cautious imperialism spoke to working class acceptance of colonial policy. Another possible domestic goal within Bismarck's policy of colonial expansion has been identified in Bismarck's attempt to isolate the pro-British Nationalliberale Partei and its supporter, the reform-minded Crown Prince Friedrich.[56] By providing a colonial competitor for the German population, Bismarck likely saw an opportunity to concurrently vilify the British, the Nationalliberales and the popular Crown Prince.

In addition to domestic politics, concerns about the population also contributed to the domestic argument. The colonies were hoped to serve as a domestic safety-valve by pushing discontent from Germany to the colonial periphery. In addition, many Germans, like the historian Heinrich Treitschke and the economist Arnold Wagner, believed the contemporary over-population myth and, even worse, that Germany was being over-populated by the lowest social orders.[57] It was hoped that the colonies would provide a place to settle this "excess" German population that would not be a loss to Germany as was immigration to other countries. Colonial expansion would therefore be a domestic palliative for the supposed threats of over-population, over-production and under-consumption by providing new space and new markets for Germans.

This short introduction to the main motivations of colonial expansion has provided some context for the following brief survey of the history of German expansion in Africa. After the extension of German protection over Lüderitz's claim, German traders traveled throughout the newly-German territories of Southwest Africa, Togo and Cameroon signing treaties with local chieftains. In these treaties, German "commercial houses on the coast" were often specifically mentioned as having economic rights to territory.[58] Finally, rights to the East African territory were initially gained in 1885 but German rule was finally cemented in 1890 for four million marks. As with Southwest Africa, the borders of all of the colonies were further extended throughout the colonial period. After the first 835,000 square kilometers of coastal territories had been agreed upon, Bismarck justified his right to further expansion with the statement: "[*e*]*ine genaure Abgrenzung auch nach dem Innern zu, behält die Regierung seiner Majestät späten Festsetzungen nach Maßgabe der Entwicklung der Ansiedlungen und ihres Verkehrs vor.*"[59] Further territory was important to Bismarck's plans for huge, centralized conglomerates to administer the early colonies, but the trading houses refused to merge. As mentioned above, the four colonies soon devolved into crown colonies when the companies could no longer manage their administration. The consolidation of German territory ended with the outbreak of war in 1914 and the loss of German territory in Africa.

Yet before this there was a long period of expansion, from four small charter colonies to much larger territories. However, there were also incidents of stymied German colonialism. Germany held the Witu district of East Africa until 1890 when it was relinquished to Britain in exchange for the Heligoland territory. Significant German

interest in 1888 in acquiring a colonial possession on the Niger River, renowned for its mineral wealth and transport links, coupled with British acquiescence, very nearly gained another colony for the Reich. Germany also tried to acquire parts of northeast Africa and south Africa with no success.

This continued desire for territory was one of the few unifying characteristics between the four very different German colonies. The largest of the colonies, Southwest Africa, was established primarily as a settler colony because of its much-publicized grasslands that seemed to offer a bountiful prairie for German colonists. In Southwest Africa land became critical to colonialism as ranching was the colony's most profitable business. Nonetheless, the barren steppes of the colony never proved a success for either companies or settlers. Unlike Southwest Africa, the large German East African colony was blessed with verdant soil and forests. The colony became a plantation colony because of the difficulties involved in settling and farming the available land. The two small west African colonies of Togo and Cameroon were more successful because of their fertile climate that nurtured desirable products for the German market. In fact, Togo's productive tropical agriculture meant the colony was the sole German African dependency that could turn a profit. These local differences and the links between the colonies mandate an approach to their history that contrasts much existing historiography by conceiving all the colonies as situated within a variegated yet inter-connected system.

Additional variation is present diachronically, for whenever one speaks of colonial expansion, one cannot ignore the phases of rule, since differing themes were dominant in different times. Baumgart identifies three phases: annexation euphoria, anti-climax, and revolt.[60] But the colonial period can conversely be seen as developing from a

period of thorough ambivalence to guarded acceptance and finally considerable enthusiasm in the new colonies. In the broader German population, the colonies remained peripheral issues until the shock of the colonial uprisings in the early twentieth century. After the revolts and the massive expenditures on their repression, the African colonies definitively entered German society. The subsequent reforms to the colonial system instigated by the Deutsche Zentrumspartei (hereafter Zentrum) and Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (hereafter SPD) established a new direction in colonial policy. In the aftermath of the disclosure of a range of scandals over the administration of the colonies and the "Hottentot" election of 1907, the governing parties maintained their hold on power, but with significant changes to the colonial system. The reforms were led by State Secretary Bernhard Dernburg, who immediately restructured the colonial economies and improved the treatment of indigenous peoples. The reforms to the colonial system persisted until the beginning of the world war.

Along with diversity and change, the theme of continual expansion stands out. While the initial colonies were acquired between 1884 and 1890, there was a recurrent momentum of expansion into the African interior and further along the coast. Though the boundaries of the respective European spheres of influence had been established at the 1884 Berlin Conference, the expansion of German control into further areas of the African hinterland was to continue for the following three decades. Both the Colonial Department or Kolonial-Abteilung (hereafter K-A) and its 1907 successor, the Imperial Colonial Office or Reichskolonialamt (hereafter RKA), worked to increase the size of its colonies by annexing contiguous territory.[61] Germany also expressed significant interest in acquiring more land in the Niger district from either France or Britain from 1889 to

1908. There were also plans to connect Southwest Africa, Cameroon and areas of west Africa into a vast German Mittelafrika trading bloc. As seen above, the German government always retained its rights to further expansion.[62] After the initial acquisition of territory, the consolidation of existing territory and conquest of further territory continued throughout the three decades. This expansion highlights the forces driving German colonialism as a whole, leading this study to focus upon colonial expansion as indicative of the general character of colonialism.

One final theme, inseparable from this continual expansion, was contestation between German and African, ranging from passive negotiation to active rebellion. Colonial discord was always based on the expansion of territory into foreign dominions or the consolidation of German control over existing territory. The actions of German administrators, soldiers and traders frequently caused unrest as indigenous societies fought the expansive energies of the Germans. For example, the most severe example of violence, the wars of 1904-1906 against the pastoralist Herero and Nama tribes, present colonial resistance and repression in their cruellest shape. Over seventy thousand Herero were killed in what can now be easily termed genocide.[63] Almost concurrently a peasant uprising in East Africa known as the Maji Maji War lasted from 1905 until 1907. The history of German colonial conflict, from major actions in 1888-1890, 1889-1894 and 1904-1907 to the many smaller struggles, reveals both the ability of Africans to resist German rule, and the ends to which Germany was prepared to go to dominate Africa.

Chapter 1

Although Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari do not discuss colonialism at length, this study believes that their ideas can shed light upon colonial expansion for several reasons. Deleuze and Guattari's theories, especially the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization (hereafter referred to as deterritorialization), present a novel perspective on the motivations of individuals within the colonial system.[1] Additionally, the authors' ideas minimize some of the problems evident in previous histories of colonialism. However, their theories also present their own unique difficulties, which will shape the application of their notions to this analysis. The discussion of the relevance of their ideas to German colonial expansion begins with the authors' philosophy. The concept of deterritorialization will then be examined and related to significant themes in colonialism such as territory, society, state, capitalism, empire, and history. Finally, Deleuze and Guattari's theories will be related to trends in world history and colonial studies.

The two authors' philosophy is eclectic and wide-ranging in its inspiration.[2] Deleuze's writing is coloured by the thought of Hume, Spinoza, Kant, and Bergson. But his major ideas descend from Marx's economics, Freud's psychoanalysis, Foucault's philosophy, and Nietzsche's visions of power and plurality.[3] Guattari's influences can be more easily explained by his background in Lacanian psychoanalysis and his "Freudo-Marxism."[4] It is this voluminous knowledge that facilitates the broad applicability of Deleuze and Guattari's theories to philosophy, psychology, political science, cultural studies, anthropology, sociology, economics and history. But their thought is not solely

limited to abstract academic investigations, for both authors stress the applicability of their ideas to the examination of human relations.[5]

There are three essential elements in immanent human interaction which provide the foundation of deterritorialization: schizoanalysis, rhizome and nomadology. Schizoanalysis lies at the heart of the two books of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Schizoanalysis rejects Freud's and Lacan's psychoanalysis in favour of a varied, fragmentary or "schizophrenic" approach to the examination of human social interaction and power structures like colonialism.[6] This method of analysis opposes the notion of a separated subject and object by linking the human intrinsically to society. By analysing how social structures interact, the two authors work toward notions of un-totalizable and indivisible entities.[7] These relationships involve a model of diverse entities in a connective synthesis.

Connected with schizoanalysis is Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor of the rhizome root system and the rhizomatic character of all human connections. Deleuze and Guattari use the rhizome as an ideological and political structure to escape the rigid and sedentary formations of the monad, the dialectic and the state. In the rhizome, actions occur transversally, parataxically and non-hierarchically.[8] Through rhizomatics, there is a perpetual "*continuum* of singularities" where there is no determinism, no beginning, no end, no singularity, and no hierarchy.[9] In their rhizomatic view of the world, Deleuze and Guattari find humans connected in multiple, inchoate and inter-connected ways; much like the networks and power dynamics of colonial relations. Finally, the rhizome metaphor is designed to provoke the reconsideration of relationships.

The third crucial element of Deleuze and Guattari's thought is the concept of the nomad. The writers base this idea upon a historical nomad, liberated from territory and norms. Nomad thought, or "nomadology," is premised upon multiple and non-rigidified lines of action, and the plurality of causalities in history.[10] Nomadology is also positioned as the opposite of history as it is focused upon "perpetual displacement" versus the "sedentary," reductivistic and biased nature of what the authors deem to be history.[11] Deleuze argues that the historical event cannot be seen as a singular, homogenous entity, but a nomadic, vast and multiple phenomenon.[12] Furthermore, nomad theory is related to the rhizome where connections are multiple and all-encompassing, and all phenomena are mobile and transitory. But the nomad exemplifies movement more than the rhizome which is the pattern of that movement. The nomad is perhaps the notion most applicable to histories of colonialism because, not only can the nomad represent the colonial native or colonizing settler, but it can also portray the structures and ideologies within colonial discourse and policy.

Schizoanalytic, rhizomatic and nomadologic thought form the foundation of the "admittedly difficult notion" of deterritorialization.[13] The concept is problematic to explain since it is defined by the authors in abstract semiotic terms. Deterritorialization exhibits rhizomatic interactions by challenging conceptions of territoriality and linking separated entities. Though the root of the word is spatial, deterritorialization itself does not require spatial movement, for it can exist on the level of ideology, belief and structural transformation.[14] The authors characterize deterritorialization itself as the movement out of what they label a territory, object or phenomenon into a new composition. More fundamentally, deterritorialization can also be a decoding of essences

where change is performed upon an entity.[15] However, Deleuze and Guattari reject reification and hypostatization by being careful to admit that the concept of deterritorialization does not motivate changes, only that it will "strictly determine their selection."[16] Fundamentally, deterritorialization is enacted by the framing of a system, a movement away from the former system and construction of a new energy, removed from the original system.[17] Finally, because deterritorialization in one element can also provoke shared or combinative deterritorializations in other elements, deterritorialization is never singular, but exists rhizomatically in composites.

The "always multiple and composite" nature of deterritorialization is central to its ability to represent the agent of change.[18] In deterritorialization, evolution and teleology are abandoned because of the myriad desires within entities, each containing the potential toward deterritorialization and each with relative degrees of deterritorialization, which renders progressive causality an impossibility.[19] Deterritorialization rejects the binary oppositions that Fredric Jameson and Christopher Miller identify, for it offers a more-nuanced vision of constitutive forces.[20] The fact that deterritorialization can be located within the dimensions of space, time and desire means that it functions as what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri call "the primary force" through which human interaction makes itself manifest.[21] This contrasts with Noyes' narrow vision of deterritorialization, but deterritorialization should also not be reified into concrete form.[22] Deleuze and Guattari maintain that their purpose is not to represent the world specifically through deterritorialization, but to connect social entities through the dominant characteristic of the world: deterritorialization.[23]

Concomitant with the exterior change of deterritorialization is the reciprocal internal force of reterritorialization. This idea is premised upon a basic action-reaction continuum where every mobilization of deterritorialization necessitates and depends upon a complementary and sedentary reterritorialization.[24] Deterritorialization can thus be seen as a movement out of an established system in a novel direction while reterritorialization is the reciprocal movement within the system to compensate for the deterritorializing movement. Reterritorialization acts upon the territory that has lost its boundaries through deterritorialization by enacting new, internal boundaries in the social field that confine and repress desire. Therefore, reterritorialization is never to be confused with a return to territorialization. After a movement of deterritorialization, the object can return only to something approximating its previous state by effecting a conversion of reterritorialization, but the return is unprecedented. Reterritorialization is caused by the same forces as deterritorialization, for within the founding forces of deterritorialization, the stimulus of reterritorialization is also born and vice versa. Consequently, social transformation requires both an exterior movement of deterritorialization and an interior reterritorialization.

Obviously, deterritorialization is a theoretical notion, but it is rooted in relations within society that connect with the study of German colonialism, specifically territory, society, state, economics and empire. Space and territory play an important role in deterritorialization and Deleuze and Guattari's broader thought. Deterritorialization is premised upon an extremely wide conception of space. In the authors' vision, the connections between territories and territorial conglomerates are inseparable from the deterritorialization which exists within them. In fact, the notion of territory or property

implies a deterritorialization of previous territories and peoples.[25] Such territorial entities as land, property and nation inherently possess a force of deterritorialization. Similarly, people's relations with territory are demonstrably highly fluid and deterritorialized. Territory also forms a crucial area of investigation for this study, both in the notion of spatial power that Michel Foucault identifies and in the fact that the desire for territory was vital to the colonial expansion.[26]

Correspondingly important to their theory is the vision of deterritorialization's exemplification of the human social system. Social groups transform from relatively isolated entities into socially-conditioned and amorphous multiplicities through deterritorialization. Deleuze and Guattari maintain that no historical social system has ever existed in exclusion that did not permeate its neighbours.[27] This leads the authors to argue that there is no history except the history of the aggregate majority, for no minorities can escape deterritorialization or assimilation. However, this is not to suggest that difference does not dominate the populace, for the sole way minorities can escape history and the majority is through deterritorialization.[28] Therefore, syncretic social relations and resistance to hegemonic social codes demonstrate deterritorialization within colonial expansion. This is critical to history since Deleuze and Guattari contend that deterritorialization and attendant reterritorialization animate social relations.[29]

The two authors have a quite negative conception of the state, chiefly because of its despotic need to dominate other forms of social relations.[30] Deleuze and Guattari believe that the state exists as an entity separated from the territory that it controls, an ideological and transcendental entity above the immanent application of power that organizes the whole.[31] By disrupting and combining forms of territorial organization that

existed before the nation-state, Deleuze and Guattari believe the polymorphic state serves a regulatory function in controlling space, a perfect linkage to colonial relations between the nation-state and the colony.

Another critical facet of Deleuze and Guattari's theory is economic relationships. This is evident when Deleuze sides with Louis Althusser's structural Marxism and opines that "the economic is the social dialectic itself."[32] Hence, Deleuze and Guattari see capitalism as the epitome of deterritorialization.[33] While capitalism is intrinsically connected with the state, the evolution of private property is purported to have rendered the state unnecessary as global capital now presents the decisive deterritorialization since it does not require the presence of the state and the state does need capitalism. The state also provides a moderating energy upon the superior deterritorialization of capitalism and in doing so, bestows "compensatory reterritorializations" upon capitalism.[34] Deterritorialization thus serves as the obliteration of plurality, and the homogenization of space through capitalism.[35] Similarly, capitalism is also the ultimate nomadic and deterritorializing force, possessing no territorial boundaries and having its roots in cross-cultural interaction. Deterritorialization allows the authors to reveal how capitalism colonizes human desire by subsuming all needs under economics.[36] The skilful balance of radical change and reversion in relations between the society, state and capitalism has significant potential for the study of the human interactions within colonialism.

Crucial to this investigation and to Deleuze and Guattari is the extension of power, especially that of colonialism. The authors see empires mostly as abstract "megamachines," but differ from Foucault in seeing such power as infinitely contestable and not at all unavoidable.[37] The conquest of territory by this force necessitates the

extension of deterritorialization through the combination of state and capitalist forces in a violence-perpetuating system. It is also through deterritorialization that empires are able to shift from their autochthonous territory to acquire new territory. Likewise, compensatory actions of reterritorialization are present in resistance to colonialism.

Unsurprising given the authors' connection to empire, economics, the state, society and territory, history also forms a considerable element of their thought. Though Deleuze espouses the possibility that human nature could not be understood by history and both authors rail against the "sedentary" vision of history, overall they appreciate history and only suggest new approaches to historiography to correct difficulties.[38] This is evident in the vital role the authors give to "difference and repetition" and a universal history where forces of desire and power shape society.[39] By working toward a "coexistence" of events instead of a "succession," the historian can render "the history of contingencies and encounters."[40] Concurrently, Deleuze and Guattari call upon historians to investigate the social stratum and look to the deep structures that lie beneath.[41]

Some of Deleuze and Guattari's visions of history appear excessively relativist or to negate history. Yet their work is heavily informed by historiography and can even be considered a historical investigation. Deleuze in particular argues the importance of empirical knowledge to historical awareness.[42] Their history is a highly unpredictable and contingent history, but it is only degrees more contingent than the history written by most academic historians. The authors clearly intend their ideas to be applied to historical formations for they always seek to determine significant themes in human interaction in the past, present and the future. In this context, their theory emerges as another new species of the "intellectual history" that Elizabeth A. Clark sees as beneficial

to the study of history.[43] This is because Deleuze and Guattari's schema questions aspects of "traditional" history in a way that challenges historians to formulate new ways of understanding the past without meta-narratives and definitive interpretations. The desire of Deleuze and Guattari's work, as well as this project, is thus not to establish a radical new history but, as Robert Young states, to construct "a different framework" for conceiving history.[44]

Deleuze states that their work was "philosophy, nothing but philosophy," and this has led many scholars to question the instrumentality of Deleuze and Guattari in historical research.[45] For example, Gayatri Spivak contends that Deleuze is excessively macrological and incapable of interpreting the influence of colonialism.[46] Additional charges of essentialism, relativism and absurdity have also been levelled against the two writers by their critics.[47] But is there truth behind Jay Cantor's and Manfred Frank's assertion that their "delirious" work holds no import for the scholar?[48] Can Deleuze and Guattari's engagement with power's macrostructures adequately relate to actual historical investigation? In answer, this inquiry follows Noyes, Said and Alfred López who believe that Deleuze and Guattari's "mysteriously suggestive" works are more than purely metaphysical excavations and can provide possibilities for the history of colonialism.[49]

How then does the theory of deterritorialization apply to the specific context of German colonialism? The role of economics, and capitalism in particular, in the colonies appears to be an area of significant applicability for deterritorialization. Through the dislocation of traditional boundaries in favour of their redefinition with relation to the demands of capital accumulation, territory is deterritorialized and stripped of its former character and reterritorialized according to the requirements of colonial control.[50] The

reciprocal reterritorialization means that capitalism establishes boundaries and territorialities that are conducive to the colonizers' market. This view reveals the authors' adherence to rather simplistic ideas of the exploitative metropolis and the exploited periphery. Nevertheless, this notion represents yet another engagement with the issue of capitalism's role in the world system advanced by many scholars of colonialism and capitalism.[51]

Deleuze and Guattari's theories also pertain to the world history topic of colonialism. Though colonialism does not figure in their work greatly, Deleuze and Guattari do discuss colonialism in the context of hegemonic paradigms.[52] The comparison with their other theories also reveals how colonization can be an excellent example of schizophrenic connection, as well as deterritorializing and rhizomatic movement. Trans-cultural interaction and transformation feature largely in both deterritorialization and colonialism. As well, the increasing power of the economic system in their idea of the state-capitalism relationship has obvious repercussions in colonialism. Although Nicholas Thomas believes that "psychoanalytical" (by which he means deconstructive) approaches to colonialism cannot bear fruit, the authors' rejection of the tools of orthodox psychoanalysis and literary deconstruction renders their theory an adaptation of psychoanalysis that can more accurately render the colonial past.[53] This is because their sociological and heterogeneous psychoanalysis holds benefit for world history in its research into the universal human condition.[54]

A crucial facet of colonial studies is the centre-periphery debate, focused upon respective arguments over the driving force of colonial actions, either motivated by the metropolis or by the periphery. In Deleuze and Guattari's conception of the relationship,

the deterritorializing flows travel from the centre to the periphery, then from the new centre to the new periphery, falling back upon the old system later.[55] This vision prioritizes the periphery since the authors consider much decentralization to exist within even the most centralized of social formations and empires because all power centres are molecular, diffusive and dispersed. This study's focus upon the shifting relations between the centre and the periphery of colonialism will be heavily informed by Deleuze and Guattari's vision.

The administrative structures of colonial domination that linked the centre and periphery are always of particular interest to scholars of imperialism. Deleuze and Guattari's emphasis upon organizational groupings can assist comprehension of the German colonial bureaucratic system in both Berlin and the colonies. In their vision of such systems, the authors see bureaucracies as powerful structural entities that subsume and control popular desires. These ideas mirror Sartre's idea of the "heavy machine" of the colonial apparatus.[56] Seeing the colonial bureaucracy as interconnected with many aspects of society and thus, more complex than frequently suggested, Deleuze particularly works against the narrow view of the instrumentality of institutions, declaring that "utility does not explain the institution."[57] These ideas of a schizophrenic, rhizomatic and deterritorialized administrative system will be of particular salience to the investigation of the German state and its colonial policy.

Another beneficial element of deterritorialization is the theory's ability to avoid some of the major problems of world history, such as determining the appropriate breadth of analysis. Deleuze and Guattari's deterritorialization suggests an appropriate scope by utilizing a combined vision of both the macro- and micro-levels of human interaction.

Deterritorialization rejects focus upon individual conceptions for stress upon the human and social objects in a manner reminiscent of Andre Gunder Frank's research into the "whole global context."[58] By focusing upon all of humanity, Deleuze and Guattari also avoid the problems of definition and qualification that plague paradigms such as nations. Similarly, deterritorialization deals well with the excessively large analytical categories that conventional history finds difficult to capture and that world history requires. Deterritorialization is accordingly well placed to render the "total history" of the Annales School and Marxism that forms the basis of world history.[59] Indeed, the entire notion of deterritorialization renders elemental human nature and the multiplicity of historical events at work across a plurality of temporal and spatial references in a highly synthetic and holistic framework.

Yet their analysis is not a totalized approach to history. Deleuze and Guattari also stress the individual phenomenon, event and theme.[60] Deterritorialization, the rhizome and nomadology all prioritize a singular entity within the structure. By stressing an exemplar of a system, the authors skilfully connect the singular to the general. But no society can exist in isolation, since deterritorialization and reterritorialization interact, and through the parataxis of the rhizome, connect all entities with each other.[61] Nor can one entity be identified as static over time. Therefore, Deleuze and Guattari reject reductionism by contending that the human past contains a plurality of histories and subsequently seek to convey the foremost themes.[62] World history's focus upon the particular and the universal sometimes can do violence to either level of analysis, but Deleuze and Guattari are able to synthesize both the individual and the aggregate.

However, the simultaneous rejection of singularity and totalization in deterritorialization leads logically to a charge of relativism on Deleuze and Guattari's part.[63] This problem also plagues much literature in world history. The theory can become excessively holistic and lose touch with empirical reality. Yet, the very nature of their investigation requires a broad and to some extent relative analysis. Therefore, it is a relativism subject to the limits and degrees of deterritorialization and this is precisely what permits its application in a range of contexts in history.[64]

Looking at historical change across cultures and through vast sweeps of time sometimes leads world historians to write mechanistic histories. This is particularly relevant to colonial histories where historical events can often seem pre-destined by European impositions, whether economic or social. Deleuze and Guattari avoid the nomothetic fallacy identified by Immanuel Wallerstein by maintaining that no principles govern social relations other than the cycle of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.[65] Nor do they commit an idiographic error by stressing the determining factor of the uniqueness of specific historical phenomena.[66] Some determinism is evident in the idea of the eternal repetition of history, but this repetition includes a transformation, so complete repetition is impossible. Yet the authors' relativist stance does not include an attack upon causality in history. Deleuze believes that ideas do flow naturally from one to another, which demonstrates his belief in causal relationships.[67] Deterritorialization is therefore a contingent analysis, looking at the most fundamental of human interactions without positing determinist relations in history.

Deterministic or excessively causal histories are problematic in removing agency from historical actors. This is particularly significant in colonial studies as Eurocentric

historiography has traditionally removed the agency of colonial natives. But Deleuze and Guattari warn that excessive focus upon the human figure in history can obscure the forces of history that restrain the human. This contention obviously belies the structural dynamic of their theory as well as casting doubt on the place of human agency in their conception.[68] Yet the authors attempt at all junctures to eschew "micro-fascisms" and all dominating forces that oppress the individual.[69] This is because human agency and society determine the nature and degree of the deterritorializations. Colonial agency can be abrogated within structuralist conceptions like deterritorialization, as Mahmoud Mamdani argues, but sufficient human agency is retained within deterritorialization.[70]

The authors have a comparable applicability in both world history and postcolonial studies.[71] Deleuze and Guattari best parallel postcolonial writing in their stress upon difference. Russell Berman's, Homi Bhabha's, Guha's and Thomas' focus upon the hybrid and transgressive nature of colonial experience in representing the culturally diverse mirror Deleuze and Guattari's ideas of heterogeneity.[72] Thomas' argument that colonialism cannot be seen as wholly destructive to either colonizers or colonized is also very similar to the two authors' ideas.[73] This is not to minimize the appreciable horror of colonial conquest but merely to present the idea that positive and negative, good and bad both flowed and ebbed in the colonies. As well, the perpetual spatial transformation of the deterritorialized colonial subject works in complete opposition to the "fixity" that Bhabha identifies in traditional colonialist discourse.[74] Finally, it is the process of negotiation between deterritorialization and reterritorialization that most mimics Bhabha's notions of hybridity and ambiguity in colonial representation.[75] The similarities between work in postcolonial studies and the two

authors' work indicate that Deleuze and Guattari's theory is another way that space can be opened which is tolerant of difference without totalizing the diversity of elements present.

Deleuze and Guattari's perspective parallels, but also moves beyond, the approaches to historical writing taken by many authors in postcolonial studies. The authors facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of power relations within the relationship between colonizer and colonized. Their theory can also apply to multiple manifestations of colonial power, in realms as diverse as economics, politics, society and culture. Additionally, Deleuze and Guattari examine broader sweeps of history and can consequently introduce a more diachronic discussion to colonial studies. Finally, the authors' theories of schizoanalysis, rhizomatics, nomadology, and deterritorialization provide a vast array of strategies for the study of the relations within colonialism.

Though not without its problems, Deleuze and Guattari's application of poststructuralism to cross-cultural relations indicates some ways of escaping the traps of nominalism, totalization, relativism, and determinism in history and consequently represents an innovative way to examine human interaction.[76] The authors' formulation also brings an expanded awareness of difference to history that is frequently not evident in older histories; through this, as Noyes, Said, Paul Patton and John Protevi indicate, deterritorialization can supply new points of view for investigation of colonialism.[77] Even with regard to newer histories, Deleuze and Guattari's theory brings an awareness of heterogeneity, broad representation and power that is not often evident in holistic frameworks. Therefore, Deleuze and Guattari's ideas illustrate possible resolutions to the

problems of colonial history, but also serve as a caution about some of the dangers of the writing of comprehensive history.

Echoing Thomas' belief that only the specific inquiry can reveal the general, this study focuses upon the German African colonies in order to represent one facet of colonialism, yet shed light on the multiple articulations of the power dynamics of colonialism.[78] With regard to the perspective of this analysis, the descriptive dimensions of Deleuze and Guattari's work will be manifest in the application of deterritorialization to the theme of expansion in the German African colonies. In this manner, the very elements of German colonialism can be deterritorialized from their context and given new voice through Deleuze and Guattari's theories. By applying these theories to this historical issue, while emphasizing change throughout history, this project is also an attempt to refute Deleuze and Guattari's claim that "history is always written from a sedentary point of view."[79] This refutation in the shape of historical exploration will be evident in the next chapter's examination of the shifting relations between Germany and Africa in the social and cultural manifestations of colonial expansion.

Chapter 2

The preceding chapter sets an ambitious goal for this inquiry, at once to investigate the expansive path of German colonialism and to keep the visions of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in mind. This complexity means that this study must first analyse significant historical elements and then link these phenomena to the deterritorialization of Deleuze and Guattari. A brief examination of the four main themes of German colonial expansion will introduce the more complex elements subsumed under these larger topics. This chapter engages with the social and the cultural manifestations of the colonial experience, while the subsequent chapter examines the commercial and the political. By organizing the themes in such a manner, the vividly rhizomatic, nomadologic and schizoanalytic connections between these broader categories and their sub-fields can be illustrated. The point of departure is the social dimension of expansion. The cultural field follows since it is the site of the interactions and expressions of the social formation. The highly syncretic relations that ground the next chapter will be located in the ways in which society and culture interacted to shape German colonial expansion.

The Social Aspects of Colonial Expansionism

Contrary to both Helmuth Stoecker's argument that Germany's colonies had virtually no social significance and Taylor's belief that German public opinion exercised little influence over policy-making in government, this analysis asserts that the social

represented a vital dynamic within German expansionism.[1] From the very beginning of the expansion and the conquest of Angra Pequeña, much interest in colonialism was aroused in the German press and German society.[2] In fact there is much to support Wehler's argument that German imperialism was unique amongst imperialisms because of the relative importance of its social dimension.[3] By examining the various manifestations of the social through domestic relations, constructions of social difference, interactions between societies, the role of women, labour, social organizations, and the initiatives of these social organizations, it is evident that social groupings both within Germany and in the colonies played a vital role in the history of German colonial expansion. Yet this is not to fix a concrete conception of either, for both German and African societies represented heterogeneous and evolving societies, as the history of German colonialism in Africa poignantly demonstrates.[4]

At the very beginning of the conquest, some elites in Germany advocated colonialism as a strategy to distract the population from domestic social problems, an early "social imperialism" argument. Many agreed with the arch-conservative Treitschke that an interventionist colonial policy would displace tensions within the metropolis to the colonial periphery. But this palliative benefit of colonialism was not realized, for the colonies never provided a rallying point for the German population. One aspect of this desire for social pacification was the physical transfer of "excess" or "disruptive" Germans to the colonies. As a whole however, the settlement of Africa was a dismal failure, amounting to little more than ten thousand emigrants over thirty years. Additionally, instead of transporting reform-minded citizens to the colonies as conservatives hoped, the settling of the colonies was mostly accomplished by

moderately-wealthy bourgeois citizens who could afford the cost of relocating to Africa. Nevertheless, the DKG called for "[f]ewer proletarians, more colonists" in 1907, arguing that while emigration to Africa was desperately low, it was still important to demand "appropriate" settlers.[5] For this and other reasons, the "social imperialism" thesis may have been a contemporary argument but was certainly not realized. Therefore the desire to displace domestic pressures toward colonialism can be seen as a deterritorialization of contemporary social norms by seeking to change German society. Concurrently, reterritorialization is evident in that the deterritorialization was impeded and the prospect of further domestic reform was strengthened by the inability of Germany to displace desires for reform to its colonies. This form of deterritorialization as the articulation of the dominant discourse and reterritorialization as the subversion of this desire is a frequent theme within the social field.

All levels of German society were the target of much of the colonial propaganda and the rationales advanced for colonial expansion. The government particularly used the social and economic improvement of German society as a justification for expansion. Stoecker and Richard Weikart recognize the strong component of eugenics, biological racism and Social Darwinism within German propaganda in favour of the expansion of the colonies.[6] During the colonial revolts, the violent and racist character of the propaganda campaigns intensified.[7] No longer were economics primary to propaganda, but social improvement and control became the principal motivations for colonial expansion. The propaganda had an economic dimension as well, for the head of the K-A declared before the Reichstag that the chief benefit of colonies was that they were cheap and would accrue profits.[8] In this manner, propaganda represented the deterritorialization

of economic, social and political interests in colonial expansion. When expansionists sought to create interest throughout German society through propaganda, they hinted at some of the propelling forces of colonialism by stressing certain aspects of colonial expansion.

At the beginning, German colonists sought to displace African values in favour of German social structures. As Mannoni observes, the social dimension of colonialism is vital to understanding colonial relations, for colonist populations brought their own prejudices to the colony and tried to impose them on indigenous peoples.[9] Germans sought to establish what Zimmerer identifies as a *Herrschaftsutopie* (utopia of domination) in their colonies where German social, political, cultural and economic codes would be paramount.[10] This was an attempt by the colonizers to remake African society in a German image.[11] German attempts to destroy the social existence of the Herero tribe after their 1904 revolt, by taking their land and their cattle, is clearly indicative of this desire. Government endeavours to confine nomadic groups to sedentary reservations and to establish European economic relationships over traditional barter trade networks also display this desire to Germanize African society. Native social orders were also stratified in European terms to reflect German administrative desires. Noyes' argument that the nomad represents the contrary of empire is illustrated in the German efforts to force African nomad society to conform to German social, political, economic and cultural norms that would position them within colonial power.[12] As well, the efforts of government agents and missionaries to establish *Deutschtum* (German-ness) in African society clearly testify to the German colonial practice of reterritorializing difference and deterritorialization in African society.

Though Germany strove to establish difference between its citizens and the "peoples" of its colonies through ideas of *Deutschtum*, this bifurcation shifted to a certain syncretism over time.[13] The tiny proportion of Germans in the colonies mandated a close relationship with indigenous peoples, since German rule could not survive without the acceptance of local social groups. African cooperation necessarily contributed to colonial administration at all levels except the highest, for German control depended upon connections with friendly African chiefs, akidas (native functionaries), interpreters and traders.[14] Without this cooperation, German recourse was only to the firearm, and this policy could not be maintained eternally. Because of this, German colonists and bureaucrats came to realize the necessity of maintaining existing colonial social orders. This realization obviously contradicted German desires for a *Herrschaftsutopie* that clearly demarcated German and African identity. Flatly contradicting German control fantasies, the 1905 Maji Maji revolt in East Africa led administrators to work towards the minimization of social disruption in order to maintain the colonial economy. The early desire to remake the colonies in the image of the Reich was moderated by the sheer impossibility of the task. Therefore, German society paradoxically consolidated itself by identifying a colonial "other," yet also sought to establish African society as a mirror of the German while simultaneously negotiating colonial difference in practice. This effort to repress African difference in order to secure the German control of Africa represents the deterritorialization of German social codes in the African context. The unfeasibility of the attempt suggests the reterritorialization of both the German and African situation. These desires also indicate how deterritorialization and reterritorialization can reveal structural dynamics underneath change in the colonies.

There was great potential for societal change in the African context as a consequence of German colonialism. But in examining African social groupings, one must always be aware of the danger of hypostatizing an essentialist African that elides the autochthonous foundations of the groups in rhizomatic and heterogeneous familial, tribal and trading connections. Therefore, the search for the deterritorializations and reterritorializations in the African social grouping echoes what Jean-François Bayart has called the "indissoluble" connections between external and internal dynamics.[15] It is consequently important to realize that many of the African tribes experiencing Germanization were already deeply penetrated by European values, like the Khoikhoi people of Southwest Africa who spoke Dutch, practiced Christianity and followed European social codes. It was mostly incidents of native resistance to German efforts that caused substantial transformations in native societies. The 1904 revolt can be seen as the result of the traditional African social structure's conflict with the imposed German social order.[16] After the revolt, the Herero were completely destroyed as a social group when survivors were either incarcerated or put to work laying railroads. Yet, African groups often exploited German influence to further their own interests. One example of this was the army agent Paul Samba who faithfully assisted German colonialism until leading the 1898 Bulu revolt against his former masters.[17] Traditional tribal enemies would often collaborate against the Germans, or ally with the Germans to defeat political competitors. In addition, certain sectors of tribal society exploited German weakness and established new power for themselves in society thanks to the power dynamics of colonial expansion. Hendrik Witbooi solidified his political and social position as chief of the Nama because of his early assistance to German colonialism, and later used his

strength to revolt against the Germans.[18] The chief who led the Herero against the Germans first came to social and political power above his rivals by gaining German support through his temporarily accommodationist policy.[19] Nonetheless, the intrusion of Germany into new territories always resulted in forced adaptation on the part of the African peoples as a way to accommodate and moderate the difference between cultures.

Within the broader field of social interaction, the role of women was significant in both colonialism and the pro-colonial social organizations such as the Frauenbund (Womens' League) of the DKG which was loud in demanding the preservation of the *Deutschtum* of the colonies.[20] For instance, in 1905 some of the women of the league toured German cities in very lady-like *Schutztruppe* ("protective troops") uniforms in an effort to raise awareness and funds for the repression of the Herero revolt.[21] The league was also particularly vocal in encouraging settlement to the colony most suited to the German family, Southwest Africa; and sent more than five hundred single women to the colonies between 1897 and 1907. Much like the conservative nationalists who wished to create an idyllic German community in the colonies, the women of the Frauenbund wished to deterritorialize a vision of German-ness in the colonies which opposed changes underway in German society. Through such deterritorializations, the colonizers constructed themselves through the fabrication of the colonial social order.

Another issue within women's role in colonial society is that of the potent combination of race and sexuality. Friederike Eigler, Lora Wildenthal and Helmut Walser Smith show how reported instances of miscegenation in the colonies provoked great debates over race and sexuality.[22] Social-Darwinist worries of racial mixing became a topic of Reichstag and public debate. Unsurprisingly, organizations like the

Frauenbund were vehemently opposed to the mixing of races and racial dilution in the colonies.[23] But colonial reterritorializations of gender and society frustrated the deterritorialization of German norms of racial purity and *Herrschaftsutopie*. Of particular interest is the passing of many racial laws during the 1904-1905 Herero revolt.[24] More ironic is the fact that the war was in part brought on by the rapes of prominent Herero women by German settlers.[25] The challenge to German authority posed by both the war and miscegenation seemed to require a reterritorialization in the shape of racial and sexual definition through the establishment of racial and sexual difference in the colonies. But what is remarkable is that this difference was only established at the colonial level, for the highest colonial courts in Berlin refused to legislate exactly what constituted German, native and mixed race. Here was another example of the oft-ignored separation of opinion between Germans in the metropole and in the colony.

Overall, such efforts to establish *Deutschtum* in the colonies were stymied by local realities that worked in favour of syncretic mixings of German and African social codes. This sexual syncretism was evident in the efforts of male colonists to meld German racial norms with African acceptance of polygamy and mixed-blood marriages.[26] Thus men incorporated selective elements of both German and African racial and sexual codes. Deterritorialization and reterritorialization become evident in this linkage between internal and external dynamics as well as the fact that colonial practice challenged supposedly "Germanic" social and cultural standards.

A more specific component of society, the employment of people by colonial companies, shows how various social units were imbricated in the colonial economy. Given economic necessities and the small German population, native labour became a

vital part of colonialism.[27] Labour law was enshrined as early as 1896 in East Africa and colonial administrators continually strove to retain and control the indigenous labour force.[28] This utilization of labour meant subversion of two of the "3 Cs" of colonization, since Christianity and civilization were often forgotten in favour of integrating the colonized into the resource extraction of the colonial economy. Similarly, labour relations within Germany were altered by colonial expansion as well as the brutal exploitation of colonial labour.[29] Gerda Weinberger considers German workers' concerns to be intrinsically connected to colonial labour.[30] As employment in German enterprises became moderately "globalized," there were demands both in Germany by workers and leftist political parties, and by colonial administrators for equal treatment of colonial labour.[31] When capital and labour were deterritorialized in the colonies, forces in both Germany and Africa reacted to bring about a reterritorialization of this labour.

Organized labour provides an example of one of the many social organizations that are a key location of social identity. Such organizations, both large and small, were significant in Germany's colonial expansion, playing roles in support of and in opposition to the expansion as well as providing voices for Germans and Africans. Discussions over colonial issues served to highlight tensions both within and between social formations such as the missionary societies and colonial organizations in Germany and therefore provide excellent tools for an examination of German society.

German missionary organizations like the Rhenish Mission predated and prepared the way for the colonial expansion by establishing a German presence in Africa. They continued to play a central role in the consolidation of German control where missionaries frequently educated indigenous peoples in German religion, culture,

medicine, social organization and moral beliefs.[32] By introducing German social values to African communities, missionaries functioned as a colonial avant-garde, diffusing German ideas into African societies and paving the way for future assimilation. In this respect, missionaries' efforts were especially effective in targeting the tribal elites for integration into the structure of German colonial rule.

The connections between missionary organizations and the German government are well-documented. Under the auspices of the missions, German schools were established in all four of the African colonies. The missions and their schools performed a vital service to the German state by reinforcing German values.[33] Colonial labour policy and businesses in general received vital assistance from Germany's pastors who inculcated the Protestant work ethic in Africa's people. The Catholic *Germania* attacked this open collusion between the government and the missionaries through which Protestantism was overtly favoured in the colonies.[34] It was obvious that it was government acceptance that permitted missionaries to proselytize in Africa and that the missionary organizations had to court government favour in order to survive. Government efforts were obviously successful, for tribal leaders like Hendrik Witbooi of the Nama tribe threw out missionaries who refused to preach the "Kaiser's gospel." For this reason, Horst Drechsler, Jeremy Silvester and Jan-Bart Gewald explicitly connect the missionary with German colonial expansion by naming him the "advance agent of German control."[35]

Yet the German missionary organizations did not always act in the state's best interests. Nils Ole Oermann questions Drechsler, Silvester and Gewald by providing a more-nuanced investigation and concluding that missions played an important part in

conveying German political, social and cultural goals but that their overall support for expansion was marked by heterogeneity.[36] For example, from as early as 1894 colonial administrators complained to the K-A about how German missionaries were interfering in political affairs.[37] But the very fact that colonial bureaucrats expected missionaries to be compliant transmitters of German policy is a statement in itself. Therefore, the deterritorialization of German interests in Africa met not only opposition from the peoples of colonial Africa, but also from Germans themselves who questioned the government dictation of missionary objectives. This variation indicates an occasional problem of definition within deterritorialization, since missions were subject to many tensions that render understanding the interchange of deterritorialization and reterritorialization somewhat difficult. Missionary activities nonetheless are understood by emphasizing specific and plural articulations of such social organizations.

Missionary organizations were closely linked to the campaigns against some of the perceived "evils" of African social life. These campaigns often had obvious public support; for example, one lottery in support of missionary and DKG efforts against the slave trade garnered 2.1 million marks in 1891.[38] Additionally, missionaries traveled throughout the German territories, preaching against the liquor and firearm trade, and labouring to suppress aspects of traditional African social life such as polygamy, animism, sacrifice and tribal social structure. But the largest missionary campaign was against the slave trade. The crusade provided a vital source of funding for the missionary groups who in their anti-slavery speech tours always stressed the "Christian mission" to be accomplished in Africa.[39] A particularly illustrative story derives from an 1892-1894 military expedition to central Africa to suppress the slave trade. The voyage was funded

by the K-A, the Admiralität, and the German Anti-Slavery Committee, a collaboration between the DKG and some missionary societies. In 1894, complaints started to surface about the expedition's leader Wilhelm Langheld. It was alleged that efforts to curb the trade in human beings were being counteracted by Langheld's invasion of foreign colonies, abuse of natives and acquisition of slaves. The government was eventually forced to recall Langheld's expedition in embarrassment.[40]

While Langheld's expedition is just a single case, the example is illustrative of the anti-slavery campaigns designed not only to root out the slave trade, but also to open up previously undiscovered territory to German commerce. The Anti-Slavery Committee was only moderately philanthropic in its efforts. Besides paving the way for further expansion, the committee funded such expeditions in order to garner interest in colonialism, raise money for other ventures and enhance the prestige of the German colonies. In relation to the interactions of deterritorialization, Langheld's expedition was a social deterritorialization of the European suppression of the slave trade practiced by African "savages." But the financial incentives of the slave trade proved too lucrative for Langheld; consequently his trading and raiding for slaves became a reterritorialization of the expedition's mission. European "civilizing" impulses were hence blocked by local reterritorializations when the economic benefits of slavery became apparent. As well, the colonial government itself considered quasi-slavery to be necessary to the welfare of the natives and the colonies themselves.[41] In this manner, the desires of the German population were subverted by German officials in the colonies who identified the imperative of this labour system for colonial survival.

Vitally linked to the missionary societies, yet indicative of the energies impelling German colonialism as a whole, was the DKG.[42] The society was founded in 1887 as an agent of propaganda for the cause of German colonialism. The DKG was to exert heavy pressure upon government, colonial policy and German expansion in the colonies more generally. The society's membership were overwhelmingly petit-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists who Richard Pierard calls "colonial romantics," wishing a greater place for Germany in colonialism and a larger place for colonialism within German domestic and international affairs.[43] The primary goals of the society were the development of colonial profits, the acquisition of territory and the settlement of German migrants.[44] The DKG constantly lobbied in support of greater German penetration of the continent, while stressing the great ease of expansion and the strategic benefits of additional territory.[45] Another focus of the society was advocacy for colonial explorations predicated upon revealing the wealth of the colonies to the German population.[46]

The ties between the DKG and the German government were well-known and have led many historians to identify a conspiracy between the society and the imperial government.[47] There is some truth to this, for the society had close links to the Chancellor, Admiralität, AA, and obviously very close ties to the K-A and RKA.[48] The society was instrumental in connecting government with commerce and vice versa, as in their efforts to gain government acceptance of a steamship line between Germany and Zanzibar. After the line was established, the DKG established prices for the transportation of essential goods in addition to determining the levels of customs tolls.[49] The society even acted as a de facto government in some contexts, such as when the

society actually facilitated treaties with local indigenous leaders on behalf of the German government. The DKG also played a role in domestic politics, lobbying in support of an interventionist government policy. For example, the society supported the government during the 1906 dissolution of the Reichstag over colonial scandals. The group considered the opportunity "unusually favourable" for the election of more colonially-minded legislators, given that colonialism would influence the election significantly.[50] By backing expansionist politicians, the DKG helped the government gain stronger support in the Reichstag. Subsequently, the DKG contributed to a more right-wing and nationalist Reichstag in 1906.

The DKG and its links to the government also assisted Germany's commercial businesses. The society was active in the promotion of German products in the colonies and encouraged domestic purchase of farm, plantation and mining products from Africa.[51] The lack of financial success in the colonies motivated the DKG to try to stimulate ever-larger markets for colonial goods.[52] This was accomplished by educating the population about German-African wares through colonial exhibitions and publications.

The propaganda efforts of the DKG highlight the reciprocations within deterritorialization. The DKG provides an example of the deterritorialization of monopoly capital through social organizations. Stymied by perceived government hesitation, commercial and nationalist groups coalesced into such organizations in order to advance the economic and patriotic interests of colonialism. The DKG's lobbying, its propaganda, its stoutly nationalistic telegraph address of "*Mutterland*" and its commercial focus denoted the flow of nationalistic and commercial desires from

Germany to new articulations in Germany and in the colony. But the ultimate failure of the DKG's expansionist, commercial and settlement advocacy indicates how German and African circumstances acted as reterritorializations of expansionist dreams.

The society was additionally a potent force of deterritorialization in Africa. The DKG was sometimes pushed to rash action in the colonies when it thought its interests were threatened. The chaotic acquisition and confiscation of territory in East Africa by the DKG's subsidiary, the Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (hereafter DOAG), was to some extent responsible for the 1888 revolt of Sultan Said Khalifa.[53] As a result of the rebellion, chaos ruled: German trade was wrecked, property was destroyed and many German traders, missionaries and settlers fled the colony. The DOAG was so focused upon territorial acquisition that it very nearly precluded the possibility of any German territorial control by provoking the unrest. In this case, the commercial and national goals of the society formed the deterritorialization of German colonial desires while the refutation of these aims through the unrest disclosed the African reterritorialization.

Second in social importance to the DKG was the Pan-German League. The league was formed in 1893 as a lobby group for German nationalism and aggressive territorial expansion. The Pan-Germans were highly active in the colonial propaganda arena as it was seen as a prestigious demonstration of German power. Roger Chickering paints the league as extremists driven by "conspiratorial and exaggerated apprehensions" of foreign dominance and German racial extinction.[54] This led them to vociferously demand German "living space" through enlarged colonial possessions and strengthened colonial military power.[55] For this reason, the league cultivated close connections to government offices like the K-A and RKA.

But the Pan-Germans' relationship with the government was never as placid as that between the DKG and the Reich. This contests the connection between the DKG, Pan-Germans and the government drawn by Arendt and Schröder.[56] The groups' frequent opposition to the supposed weakness of government colonial policy indicates that their nationalist demands were not considered to have been met. As well, the Pan-Germans did not have as close a relationship to business as the DKG. Chickering dismisses the arguments of Dieter Fricke, Kuczynski and Hallgarten in favour of the underwriting of the league by monopoly capital, finding instead that the organization was represented by only a narrow part of the bourgeoisie without great financial support.[57] Overall, both of the groups represented a small, but loud, lobby for colonial expansion.

The influence of the league was mostly manifest in German society rather than the colonies; as such it illustrated deterritorializations of the interior. After the revolts of the early twentieth century, the Pan-Germans were especially loud in demanding punishment of the African rebels. The Pan-Germans were thereby somewhat responsible for bringing the vicious racism of the colonies home from Africa to be applied to the domestic situation.[58] By viewing the world in racially oppositional terms and demanding action to secure Germany's dominance, the league performed a reterritorialization upon German society after the deterritorialization of the colonial revolts by stressing militarism and aggression against foreign enemies. In this manner, German social conditions were altered as a result of German and African encounters, as Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt argue.[59]

The analysis of the major social organizations linked to colonial expansion allows several conclusions to be drawn. By working to extend German power, settlement and

commerce in the African colonies, social organizations like the DKG and Pan-Germans cemented close contacts due to the confluence of their interests. Through this union, a colonial lobby was established when a section of bourgeois German society separated and deterritorialized from the German population. The hesitation of the majority of the German population that these groups found themselves opposing can be seen as the concomitant reterritorialization and indicates the developing fissures in German society over the colonial extension. The conception of deterritorialization encourages the uncovering of the motivations for these deterritorializations and reterritorializations, which in this case were clashing visions of the future of German society. The Pan-Germans and DKG sought to create a Germanic utopia in the colonies, where patriotism, economic success and traditional social norms were enshrined. Others in German society resisted these desires, often in the interests of German domestic welfare.

To sway the population towards a pro-colonial stance, the colonial groups relied upon propaganda, mostly the popular journal. The aforementioned social organizations all had official organs that propounded colonialism, such as the *Kolonial Zeitung*, *Alldeutsche Blätter*, *Die Flotte* and the *Organ des Zentralvereine für Handelsgeographie und Förderung Deutscher Interessen im Auslande*. Even the newspapers of the respective colonies worked with the obvious object of stirring German domestic support for colonial expansion.[60] Alongside this advocacy, many newspapers promoted the requirement of a colonial policy that reflected the commercial and national necessity of colonies. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* declared that "eine Kolonialpolitik ist . . . nur dann patriotisch, wenn sie rentabel ist."[61] This statement perfectly demonstrates the conflation of the political and the national with the commercial and the colonial.

Nonetheless, not all German papers were wholly in support of the government's colonial policy.[62] For instance, when the Zelewski expedition of 1891 was defeated by a native uprising, the *Berliner Tageblatt* determined the K-A's native policy to have been the cause of the unrest and the deaths of Germans.[63] But in a more comprehensive picture, continual support came from the colonialist organs, augmented by occasional support during times of crisis from the conservative press, and later criticisms of the abuses of the government's colonial policy by many popular journals across the political spectrum. In this respect, the primary deterritorializing forces appear to be the efforts of the colonial lobby which sought to shift public opinion with their propaganda but were countered by the reterritorializations of the German public who resisted and ignored the efforts of the propagandists. This in turn reveals what little support colonial expansion enjoyed in the German populace.

To aid the efforts of these social groups, the imperial government was not afraid of overtly advocating in favour of colonial growth. In addition to allowing free reign to favourable newspaper coverage of colonial issues, the government under Bismarck and Wilhelm II worked to inform Germany society and the Reichstag of the benefits that could accrue from increased colonial involvement.[64] State Secretary Dernburg gave public lectures stressing the importance of colonial business and calling for public support of increased involvement in Africa. This government propaganda is significant because it wove government policy together with social, economic and political objectives. This advocacy was a reciprocal reaction to both exogenous and endogenous pressures, for it was an effort by Germans to create domestic support for colonial adventures that in turn was predicated upon more public support for colonialism.

In examining the different manifestations of social deterritorialization through the analysis of social change, relations between social formations, organizations and initiatives of these formations, several conclusions are immediately obvious. Interactions between Germans and Africans were highly reciprocal and cannot be explained by either central or peripheral interpretations. Similarly, monocausal explanations cannot explain how African and German social values were deterritorialized from their contexts into foreign situations. Deterritorializations are primarily rooted in the transmission of German social codes into the African context and vice versa, but an interesting dynamic is the transformation of German ideas by contrary domestic pressures that shaped, transformed and sometimes blocked the deterritorializations of the colonial centre. The diverse foundations of social support for and resistance to colonialism and the highly syncretic relations that influenced the expansion testify to the importance of social forces in German colonialism.

The Cultural Aspects of Colonial Expansionism

As the study of the social relations of colonial expansion reveals how social formations relate, interpret and transmit ideas, the study of cultural aspects illustrates the actual expression of these notions. The vivid linkages between the social, economic, political and cultural demonstrate how culture is imbricated in, yet symbolic of, all of the other spheres discussed in this inquiry. Although the social, political and economic themes are permeated by the cultural, this examination seeks to regard cultural objects as historically located and to avoid reification of objects with the aim of uncovering

discourses surrounding cultural artifacts.[65] Focus upon culture does not argue for a hypostatized vision of a cultural entity, only that the history of colonial expansion can be conceived through cultural articulations. The choice of what to include as cultural manifestations is based upon a phenomenon's ability to highlight the power relations and tensions of this time. Through these representative, though admittedly Eurocentric, cultural expressions, this study advances a cultural *Alltagsgeschichte* that transcends literal interpretations of art, music and expression in favour of a history of everyday cultural experience. This attempts to move beyond the recent cultural histories of colonialism that do not embrace the whole African and German context.[66]

In the context of cultural manifestations, deterritorialization will be defined as an articulation of the dominant cultural tropes and the subsequent reterritorializations as subversions of these dominant voices. Unfortunately, these deterritorializations will be primarily based in the transmission of European cultural imaginaries of Africa. Reterritorializations will be located in both German and African efforts to re-establish and segregate traditional cultural symbols. Examining colonialism through this power dynamic will also portray the diverse and pervasive nature of the power relationships within cultural colonialism. The novel manner of representing difference in German and African representations of self and other will similarly highlight the action-reaction continuum of deterritorialization.

Analysis of German cultural symbols of the African expansion begins with the dissection of urban structures relating to colonialism. The most obvious example of this colonial architecture is the 1898 Deutsches Kolonialmuseum. The museum was designed to display the missionary work, trade, literature, history, culture and everyday life of the

German colonies.[67] Particular focus was given to advertising colonial products designed for the German domestic market.[68] A clear indication of the propagandistic focus of the museum was the layout, which included import and export rooms, life-size representations of village life, *Schutztruppe* battle scenes, and an exhibition of missionary activities.[69] The contemporary inclination towards colonial exotica meant that the museum soon became a popular destination for Germans of all classes.

Other important colonial-themed structures included the 1891 Berlin tropical greenhouses, the 1903 Africa-Haus of the DKG and the 1911 Kolonialhaus. The Kolonialhaus featured minarets, Ottoman domes, lions, elephants and African warriors on its façade. The building featured a wealth of exotic products and technologies, combined with overtly pro-interventionist colonial propaganda. The buildings of the colonial organizations in Dresden, Kassel, Leipzig and Wiesbaden similarly carried forward these same expressions of Africa-in-Germany and Germany-in-Africa. The appropriation of African motifs in German culture is interesting not just because of the creation of difference between Africa and Germany, but also because of the harmonization of elements of both in the cultural syncretism of the buildings. Reciprocally, the construction of oppressive and patently alien German buildings in the colonies stressed the solidity of German rule and power. In the colonies, churches, traders' houses and government buildings were built to impress indigenous peoples and to provide places of redoubt. In both situations, such structures functioned as cultural symbols of predominant social, economic and political themes in the metropole and the colony.

Other constructions also exhibited the same themes as the colonially-oriented buildings. Temporary exhibitions were held throughout Germany that sought to contrast

the civilization of the Germans with the "exotic" nature of their colonial wards. The DKG-sponsored 1896 Colonial- and Transvaal-Exhibition was a major attraction, bringing more than two million visitors to Berlin in seven months and showcasing the people, art, technology and products of colonial Africa.[70] It is of note that this construction of an Afro-German culture implied direct violence to Africa as many of the Africans exhibited in the Berlin zoo cages at the exhibitions had been forcibly removed from their homes. Other representations of Africa-in-Germany and Germany-in-Africa were the statues and memorials built to reflect colonial themes. These can be linked to expansion, for many had the explicit purpose of advancing the cause of colonial intervention. The DKG made obvious efforts by erecting memorials scattered throughout Germany stressing "Friendship" between Africans and Germans in addition to the exertions of colonialism.[71] For example, the society planned to build a replica East African station in a Berlin suburb to demonstrate the travails and exoticism of colonial life.[72] For the purposes of memory and propaganda, commemorative plaques were erected for the fallen soldiers and veterans of African wars.[73] Reciprocally, statues of Bismarck, the explorer Carl Peters and others were erected in various colonial towns to display German remembrance and power. These sites of colonial memory altered the cultural landscape of Germany and Africa. Such cultural negotiations of difference and the interactions between Germany and Africa relate deterritorialization and reterritorialization to the motives and discourses underpinning German appropriations of Africa. Obvious desires to transform German public opinion by introducing an idealized vision of the colonies and consequently gaining public support for expansionism underline the social, economic and political content of these cultural expressions.

Broader cultural production in Germany was similarly inflected by the colonial experience. In 1908, the composer Walter Kollo wrote *Das kleine Niggergirl*, a music hall ballad that dove into the contemporary political debate on racial miscegenation by revelling in the transgressive sexual proprieties of the colonies.[74] Exhibitions of paintings of colonial scenes involving punitive raids and meetings between German and African leaders were also in vogue during the colonial period. Pictures such as these adorned advertisements, postcards, popular journals and syndicated art throughout the period.[75] Some artists journeyed to Africa to capture the essence of their subjects and brought an awareness of African artistic styles back to Germany. In this vein, the work of Ernst-Ludwig Kirchner had substantial impact upon contemporary art.[76] Similarly, voyages to Africa by pioneers of Germany's budding film industry introduced African motifs to German cinema.[77] Additionally, propaganda by the "colonial academics" such as Max Weber, Hans Delbrück, Werner Sombart and Gustav von Schmoller did much to advance the cause of colonial expansion.[78] In literature, popular books by writers like Ernst von Weber, Karl May, Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, Carl Peters, Hans Grimm, Friedrich Fabri and Frieda von Bülow popularized and valorized the colonial experience.[79] As John Short indicates, there was a substantial and diverse readership of such colonial literature.[80] Through these cultural expressions, a continual portrayal of alterity was communicated.[81] This art frequently conveyed the image of empty land and hostile natives in obvious hopes of encouraging the German extension of commerce, Christianity and civilization.[82] Additionally, a developing awareness of African culture led many African motifs to be incorporated into an Afro-German culture.[83] These cultural efforts marked the establishment of difference and syncretism in German culture.

Through such cultural deterritorialization and reterritorialization, Germany's interaction with Africa shaped the cultural history of Germany.

Although Germans happily consumed these expressions of the African exotic and as striking as these interactions were, the broad impact of colonial cultural propaganda was minimal. The continually-reiterated focus upon developing popular awareness of the colonies in order to secure increased government funding and intervention demonstrates how the various colonial social organizations viewed the apathy of the populace. Yet the cultural propaganda ultimately failed in that it never garnered much support for expansion. The expressions of colonial deterritorialization in the cultural sphere were therefore reterritorialized through public ambivalence.

There was an additional deterritorialization of cultures through the transplanting of people and not just German emigration. A substantial number of Africans also traveled to Germany, such as the young men who were brought from the colonies to assist advertising in the Kolonialhaus.[84] Through this cultural exchange, Africans deterritorialized some elements of Africa to Germany. In this respect, Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt's ideas of the importance of encounters between African and German introduce a neglected dynamic within colonialism.[85] Likewise, in Africa the introduction of German culture, like the introduction of German social values, prompted a re-assertion of traditional African culture alongside a syncretic assimilation of favourable elements of European culture.[86] This reciprocation problematizes the notion of colonial metropolis and periphery as cultural flows traveled back and forth in a manner similar to Bhabha's vision of colonial mimicry.[87] Yet this cultural assimilation was not just the creation of alterity that was essential to colonial domination, but also suggests syncretism in culture.

Cultural articulations like German technology were also important to the German conquest of the colonies. Technology was both a benefit and a detriment to African peoples since what was used as an instrument of power could also improve African lives.[88] Advances in tropical medicine through government-sponsored work like Robert Koch's research minimized plagues like sleeping sickness, but it was also used to wittingly infect Africans with diseases in order to test the efficacy of new pharmaceuticals.[89] In fact, Wolfgang Eckart argues that colonial medicine was devoted to the control of the colonial labour economy. Similarly, technological improvements in communication, as D.E.K. Amenumey argues, were predicated largely upon the facilitation of economic exploitation.[90] The engines of liberal economics that thrust Germany further into the interior also brought European diseases, taxation and soldiers. But European technology vital to the German expansion was also reterritorialized by African peoples and used to block the expansion. An example of this were the Herero attacks upon German trade and communications and the exploitation of the European technologies of "God and the Mauser" during the 1904 war.[91] In this African willingness to reterritorialize and adopt German technologies, the cultural mimicry described by Bhabha is again evident.[92]

This European technology was vital to expansion because it aided the many expeditions that opened the African continent to German control. A growing number of expeditions in the later years of the colonial period attests to increasing German interest in its colonies. Government and organizations like the DKG and the missionary societies gladly funded colonial exploration under famous explorers such as Carl Peters and Leo Frobenius in the hopes of inculcating German cultural values, establishing Germany's

claim to further African territory, ending the slave trade, encouraging settlement, converting new souls and developing colonial trade.[93] Commercial companies and the DKG frequently played a critical role in determining where expeditions would venture by emphasizing the exploration of areas with economic potential.

These expeditions garnered considerable attention for the colonial advocates through the exciting tales of African exoticism related by Germany's celebrity explorers. Dr. Eduard Schnitzler, otherwise known as Emin Pascha, galvanized public opinion through his East African voyages, his capture by the Sudanese Mahdi and his subsequent rescue by the British adventurer Henry Stanley in 1892.[94] Such adventures concretized colonial dichotomies of Europeans and Africans as Germans were forced to ally with European competitors in order to conquer the African wild.[95] The African opposition to explorers like Emin Pascha stirred Germans to establish racist visions of Africa, where absolute binary identities and absolute solutions to African problems were constructed.[96] There was a subsequent valorization in German society of the returning heroes who had fought against great odds to bring German commerce, culture and Christianity to Africa.

Though Schnitzler was universally hailed as a hero, the trajectory of Carl Peters was markedly different. A central founder of the DKG and tireless advocate of colonial expansion, Peters continuously traveled across Africa for German interests.[97] It was not long, however, before word got back to Germany that Peters' actions in Africa were less than "civilized." This was quite true, for Peters was the most pugnacious of Germany's explorers in Africa; he unashamedly confessed the "intoxication" of killing Africans.[98] Because of his ferocious approach to colonialism, Peters lost public favour and was dismissed from government service when he was eventually convicted of murder,

financial manipulation and the creation of a private African fiefdom.[99] Many in Germany identified the fall of Peters as indicative of Africa's negative influence upon the European. Like that of Langheld, this barbarization of a purportedly "cultured" European by the "savagery" of Africa illustrates cultural and social deterritorialization and reterritorialization and shows how the colonies influenced the colonizer. Here, a deterritorialized conception contrasts with much historical literature which unidirectionally finds only the colonizer's culture having an effect upon the colony.[100]

Many of the expeditions undertaken by Frobenius, Schnitzler and Peters had the development of knowledge about Africa as their purpose. German administrators became cognizant of their inadequate knowledge of their colonial subjects and sought to gain such information in order to make their colonies more successful and efficient. As such, this desire for information exemplified a growing trend in Germany toward a developing awareness of the cultures over which it governed. Increasing expeditions aimed at the comprehension of Africa's unique circumstances suggests the growing relevance of colonial science.[101] Research on these expeditions included everything from sexual relations amongst the tribes to migratory bird patterns to epidemiological, meteorological and astronomical studies.[102]

The German administration also considered the acquisition of information about its colonial subjects increasingly germane, especially the development of a new "scientific colonialism" designed to invigorate colonial economies. The government and the DKG worked together on the creation of a statistical database of colonial trade and the compilation of intelligence on foreign colonial business competitors.[103] With regard to colonial subjects, the 1913 muster of all people in Southwest Africa typifies a

Foucauldian collection of knowledge as the state sought to regulate and control its restive inhabitants through the accumulation of cultural and social knowledge.[104] The development of German information also worked to control the native population in explicit ways, like the regular reports on the dispositions of native tribes sent from the colonial administration to Berlin.[105]

More specifically, the German government and universities attempted to determine an African cultural episteme through anthropological research, which expanded exponentially after 1890. For example, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität's Seminar for Oriental Languages was founded in 1887 in a desire to acquire tools to better understand languages like Swahili, Turkish, Arabic and later Herero, Nama, Duala, and Gujarati.[106] Native speakers were brought to Berlin to teach the students, who were mostly colonial administrators, *Schutztruppe* officers, missionaries and traders. Through this deterritorialization of population, language and culture, Berlin became an internationally-recognized centre for the study of African cultures and languages.[107]

This ethnographic research had another side, revealed principally after the revolts of 1904-1905. Following the wars, government-sponsored research into phrenology and racial eugenics by the "geneticist" Eugen Fischer of the Pathologisches Institut and Rudolf Virchow of the Königlichen Museen für Volkerkunde und Naturkunde was carried out upon more than a thousand Herero prisoners' corpses from the Shark Island concentration camp.[108] Most hideously, this research was in turn used to justify German expansion on the African continent as Virchow could prove the superiority of German culture through his studies. The evil uses of German research on the colonial "other" are important to remember when discussing the reciprocal inter-mixing of cultural symbols

between Germany and Africa. The fact that colonial administrators were instructed by the K-A to acquire cultural artifacts for Germany because many Germans thought African cultures would wither and die in the face of the European onslaught underscores the exploitative character of the acquisition of a colonial cultural episteme by Germans.[109]

The final manifestation of the cultural dimension of German expansion, and more specifically, the evolution of knowledge about the colonies, is the creation of organized space in Africa. From the early days of the Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884-1885, where the delegates divided up a continent before a five meter tall map, cartography was vital to the construction of territory in the colonies. The administration of the colonies necessitated a clear conception of territory and spheres of occupation. Similarly, colonial business and commercial transport routes such as roads and railways depended upon cartographic knowledge. Cartography also assisted the expansion of control when German survey expeditions led to German claims over territory and claims resulted in assimilation into German territory.[110] A poignant example of the German attitude toward territory is an early map of Southwest Africa with the stamp of Lüderitz's company impressed upon Agra Pequeña Bay.[111] Here in the shape of the watermarked "F.A.E. Lüderitz, Bremen" was an excellent representation of the coercive power of German expansion, and the imposition of European colonial space identified by Thomas and Henri Lefebvre.[112] Cartography was also closely tied to propaganda, for organizations like the DKG and Geographisches Institut published maps of Germany's colonies for popular consumption in hopes of stirring public awareness and support.

The cartographic power exercised by Germany illustrates deterritorialization and reterritorialization in several ways. The cartographic deterritorializations of the

establishment of boundaries and tribal lands in order to force them into a fixed and relational position with regard to white traders resulted in the demographic reterritorialization of nomadic herders. In this manner, a process of territorialization under colonialism, deterritorialization by African nomads, and reterritorialization by German administrators and cartographers was continually enacted. The development of a cartographic consciousness further stunted African social and cultural life by identifying zones of exclusion and inclusion. In this way, the construction of commercial, political and social spheres by German colonial power forced indigenous peoples into demarcated locations, subject to German social, cultural, political and economic power. The formerly distributional notion of African cultural identity and economic subsistence was rendered impossible by German territorial and political geography. African attempts to deterritorialize and transcend these borders in migration or revolt resulted in reterritorializations through German repressions and the later creation of tribal reserves.

Looking comprehensively at the social and cultural manifestations of German expansionist colonialism in Africa, several conclusions can be drawn from the presentation of evidence above. In the attempt to impose European cultural and social norms upon Africa, German expansion reflected German notions of self and power in the mirror of Africa.[113] Germany deterritorialized its cultural and social ideas upon Africa, and the history of German colonialism shows the various reterritorializations produced by German and African resistance to this colonialism. The obviously Eurocentric focus of this study underscores the fact that it is predominately a study of Germany's influence upon Africa; and thus Africa's reciprocation cannot be discussed in equal terms. Nonetheless, this analysis has also revealed how German impositions were subverted and

blocked by both German and African initiatives. The realization of this combined influence is absent from many of the cultural and social histories of the period.

By examining the social and the cultural, this study moves against the "statist" vision of contemporary German history in favour of an *Alltagsgeschichte* of German colonialism that refuses monolithic conceptions. In this total vision of culture, it is evident how culture connects with social and political issues to both propel and restrain colonial power. Thus by eschewing the thinly-veiled economic or political determinism of some historians as well as the narrow focuses upon social and cultural manifestations, a fuller and deterritorialized vision of Germany's colonial expansion in Africa can develop. But in order to most accurately render the multi-faceted and complex terms of colonialism, studies must fuse the social and cultural with the economic and political. This discussion has engaged the imaginaries of German colonialism, but now returns to the concrete realities of colonial rule in order to convey the utopian and pragmatic articulations of German colonial expansion.

Chapter 3

The social and cultural elements of the German colonial expansionist discourse help reveal the foundational forces of the commercial and political facets of colonialism that are the topic of this chapter. The economic and political dimensions can be viewed as more elite manifestations of colonial expansion since it was mostly leaders, businessmen and administrators who articulated the themes under discussion. Yet these economic and political frames were not entirely the formulation of German or African elites, for other strata of society also shaped them. The economic and political are further vital to this investigation because the expansive force of liberal free-trade economics and disputes over political sovereignty represent poignant examples of expansionist colonialism and deterritorialization. For this reason, the analysis works to respect all of the economic and political aspects of colonialism by acknowledging African as well as German peoples.

The Economic Aspects of Colonial Expansionism

The contemporary German context and the beginning of colonial expansion placed economics at the forefront of colonial rationales through the catalytic effect of the "Great Depression." Linkages between administrative and commercial organs like the Anglo-German Kharaskhoma Syndicate, and its closeness to the Reich render the economic dimension a potent explanatory device for colonial growth. But do the Marxist-informed arguments for the intrinsic links between monopoly capital in the

metropole and economic exploitation in the colony hold true for all of the three decades of expansion?[1] Were the colonies nothing more than a "marginal appendage to the German economy" as Woodruff Smith contends?[2] Or does Baumgart's argument for the importance of the economic motive, while simultaneously rejecting Marxist conspiracy ideas, appear more helpful?[3] But all of these arguments must not obscure the fact that the colonies, originally predicated upon free trade capitalism and the profit motive, were certainly woeful failures, accounting for only 49.8 million marks of the 10 billion marks aggregate German foreign trade in 1910.[4] Yet the dogma of free trade remained dominant in the colonies, for although it did not work in the European context, it was expected to apply to the colonial situation. How is this tension between expectations and reality to be explained? Additionally, what can account for the fact that some sectors of German society such as the DKG complained that businesses made "*keine beachtenswerte Opfer*" (no noteworthy sacrifice) for the betterment of Germany's colonies?[5] For all of these reasons, it is vital to ascertain what role commerce had in the context of German colonial expansion.

From the very beginning the colonies were founded in expectations of economic benefit to Germany. All of the colonies were lacklustre performers economically and yet businesses continued to embark upon the money-losing enterprise of supporting German expansion overseas.[6] The continued investment of these enterprises despite the lack of financial success indicates the possibility of an *idée fixe* explanation for colonial commerce as companies continued to invest in hopes of finally capturing profits from the colonies. The commercial explanation for colonialism thus must account for the prospective rationales for expansion in which territory was acquired in hopes of potential

profits. The expansion of colonial business was therefore premised upon a forecast of future gain.

An idea of transformation over time is critical to understanding economics in the colonial expansion. Despite its early beginnings, German commerce was not fast to invest in colonial enterprises and trade.[7] Early economic colonialism was a product of contemporary fears of protected markets, over-production, surplus population and economic depression. But as ideas of free-trade capitalism gained ground, the expansion of commerce in the colonies assumed greater precedence. With the death of Bismarck's utopian dreams of laissez-faire colonialism, businesses were more eager to participate in government-secured and subsidized business in the colonies.[8] Additionally, in the twentieth century, bigger conglomerates and cartels like the DKG and the Kharaskhoma Syndicate staked far larger claims in the financing of colonial expansion than the smaller companies of the nineteenth century.[9] Yet in the aggregate, the colonies saw a steady decline in profits after the actual acquisition of territory as the costs of administering the colonies rose. The growth of colonial cartels after 1900 may also indicate a reason why Germany's colonies were so singularly unsuccessful, since simply more money was squandered in larger monopolies. These alterations over time disclose the difficulties inherent in the monolithic and static vision of economics over a thirty year period that frequently colour older colonial histories.

Nonetheless, there were several continuities in relations between the government and German colonial businesses that perennially facilitated commercial expansion. Mercantilist goals of material autarky, larger world markets for German goods, continued access to precious resources, a cheap labour force and the desire to expand profits

coincided with government economic aims. Once established in Africa, enterprises always looked to expand their markets and trading areas in order to maximize profits, and the government strove to facilitate this.[10] In fact, companies often required government protection to conduct business. For example, during the 1893 war with the Witbooi tribe, trade completely ceased when the Southwest African colonial administration was unable to exert its authority. As well, utopian dreams of "a German India" in Africa continued to exist in the imaginations of businessmen and citizens that demanded both more money and effort to fully realize.[11] Businesses maintained government support by reiterating how colonial economic success would result in benefits for all Germans.[12] Commercial groups and the government also ceaselessly tried to develop industries as diverse as mining, rice, tobacco, rubber and the ostrich-feather trade.[13] Whatever the industry, the Reich appreciated the profits accrued by successful companies and extolled the success of the showpiece Togo colony.[14]

The expected benefits of the exploitation of African resources, people and territory led companies to zealously guard their colonial possessions and continually look to expand their respective commercial zones. For instance, the plantation economy of East Africa encouraged the DOAG to consolidate all social, political and economic power in the colony in its hands. The DOAG provides a model of Marxist monopoly capital in its rule of East Africa from 1887 to 1891. This and the DKG's role in colonial expansion present a crucial vision of the paradigm of cartel capitalism and its links to the nation-state. The efforts of the government to assist companies' extension and consolidation through the construction of colonial infrastructure such as railways further evidences the connections between commerce and government.[15]

Yet, while there was much association between colonial commerce and the government, there were also many instances of discord. While companies frequently collaborated with the government, the relationship was a parasitical one where companies looked to their own interests almost entirely, expanding when they could and consolidating their possessions when circumstances did not allow growth. Therefore, banks and large commercial enterprises did not determine colonial policy, despite Marxist assertions. True, some heavy industrial concerns endorsed expansionist sentiment in the interests of expected profits, as Eckart Kehr and Wilhelm Deist argue, but a comprehensive capitalist conspiracy is not evident.[16] Though Müller asserts that irrespective of quiet or unrest in the colonies, finance-capital always benefited, this assertion is clearly mistaken.[17] Although the German colonies were permeated with commercial companies and interests, the economics of the colonial business were poor. For instance, the DKG für Südwestafrika reported consistently poor profits, only achieving positive results in rare years.[18] In fact, some of the best profits were achieved in early years such as 1885. This was largely the result of the years of strife that led to steady falls in net gains; for example, profits in Southwest Africa in 1904 were less than those of 1900.[19] As well, contemporary German tariff policy undermined the profits that could accrue from colonial exports. Other government regulations also made it difficult for companies to participate in the commercial expansion in the colonies.[20]

Assertions of conspiracies between the companies and the imperial government are further called into question by the numerous ways in which the companies took advantage of the German government. The legitimacy of Lüderitz's appeal for Reich protection was undermined by the fact that he fabricated mineral and commercial wealth

in Angra Pequeña in order to assure government protection and gain investment for his project.[21] Similarly, other companies and the DOAG joined together frequently in order to force government to acquiesce to their desires for commercial expansion. Companies also sometimes exploited the machinery of law to acquire more ownership rights to territory. For example, the DKG pushed its claims through the German colonial court system in order to establish its entitlement to mineral-rich land.[22] Likewise, nearly all of the colonial companies struggled to wrest more concessionary territory from the colonial administration. One large commercial enterprise was even prosecuted by the government for land speculation and the manipulation of government land grants.[23] The prosecution illustrates how allegations of monopoly capitalism's absolutely determining influence over German colonialism are mistaken.

The colonial enterprises were for the most part able to avoid any significant restrictions upon their practice by the Reich. The numerous cases of corruption cited by the Zentrum deputy Mathias Erzberger during the colonial scandals of 1905-1910, such as those of the Cameroon railroad, the Tippelskirch firm, the Woermann's shipping line and the land grants of the DKG, reveal how companies would exploit various illicit means to guarantee control over the colonial market.[24] Other strains, like the bankrupting of Southwest African colonial finances because of the massive 600 million mark cost of the Herero war, while the DKG, whose confiscation of Herero land was largely responsible for the revolt, prospered, further demonstrate the autonomy of colonial business.[25] In all of these cases, the railroad, Woermann's, the DKG and Tippelskirch firms received only cursory reprimands for their abusive business practice. The independence from government interference reveals how capital deterritorialized itself in

the colonies in a new manner, since German domestic commercial standards barely existed in the unregulated colonial trade. Therefore, new economic relations were created by the deterritorialization of German trade to the colonies through the local power of these companies. This influence questions Landes', Hallgarten's and Taylor's assertions that strategic concerns trumped economic motives, for economic interests appear predominant over strategic issues in this context.

Nonetheless, it would be incorrect to assume consistent exploitation of the government by the colonial companies. The enterprises were occasionally brought to heel by the government in extreme cases of abuse or negligence. An illustrative example is the government's restructuring of the East African economy after the Maji Maji revolt in 1905. Sunseri observes how the revolt caused the government to reject plantation-style agriculture in favour of small-scale cultivation in order to avoid a repeat of the violence.[26] Cotton was the most important colonial raw material transported to Germany and fears of a "cotton famine" provoked the government to assure its continued supply, even through forced labour and a restructuring of colonial commerce.[27] Thus colonial business and the entire East African cotton economy were shaped by fears of colonial instability and the domestic requirements of Germany. This instance of the colonies' influence upon the companies and the metropolis is a powerful argument for the colonial agency thesis and the "compensatory reterritorializations" of the state discussed by Deleuze and Guattari. However, the more holistic picture shows colonial enterprises subverting government's interference in commerce.

More frightening to the colonial firms than government intervention was the potential of foreign commercial competition. Fears of competition were a frequent theme

amongst the colonial business lobby; Woermann's, Lüderitz and Peters continually stressed the potent forces waiting to take advantage of German colonial weakness. Examples of this were present when the Deutsche Witu-Gesellschaft began an international trade dispute by interfering with the British East Africa Company.[28] The trade disagreement ended up involving both the German and British governments. Wilhelm II also caused a diplomatic incident with Britain when he supported President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal Republic because of Kruger's favourable relations with German commerce. Quarrels such as these encouraged German ideas that colonial business was under foreign threat. Further international strife was stirred by colonial administrators who forced foreign traders to pass through German territory in order to secure tax and transit revenue from them.[29] These are potent examples of the ability of capital to deterritorialize its power and move beyond the control of the nation-state to further its own interests. Yet in rare circumstances the nation-state was able to reterritorialize and stabilize the deterritorializations of colonial commerce.

Economics also had a great impact upon the African and German peoples embroiled within the networks of colonialism. Commerce proved one of the chief motivations for colonial expansion for the German populace. German interests in colonial goods prompted interest in, and the subsequent growth of, the colonial trade. Similarly, through propaganda anticipating colonial profits, the colonial organizations could motivate a small yet influential section of the population to support further German intervention in Africa. In this manner, deterritorialization allows the historian to see how capitalism colonizes social desire. Contemporary social, cultural, economic and political pressures stimulated German desires for colonial products, wealth, sovereignty and

security that in turn motivated some Germans to support aggressive economic expansion in the colonies. However, later abuses in the colonies shifted public opinion as the abuses were seen to be the result of the lack of restraints upon the charter companies.[30]

Economics had an even greater impact upon the African population, since they were the subjects of the European economic system forced upon traditional African economic networks. The wealth-potential of German trade that was introduced to African systems of exchange had an understandably massive effect. Pre-colonial African economics were shattered by the possibilities of Western technology and economics. Traditional trade networks were disrupted in favour of products favoured by German business, and precious goods that could have supported African economics were often diverted to European trade. As German control was consolidated, African peoples were forbidden from selling their products on the market and had to enlist German intermediaries.[31] This illustrated the deterritorialization of native economics in favour of German trade. While autochthonous peoples tried to reterritorialize alternate commercial transactions, the German economic structures rendered this impossible. Widespread impoverishment amongst groups caused the Southwest African administration to suspend credit sales to the nomadic tribes, but even this "radical" measure was rescinded by the Chancellor upon the request of the business lobby.[32] Extortionate business dealings like the exploitative credit transactions forced upon the Herero peoples by German traders and the reciprocal trading practices on the part of powerful autonomous tribes like the Herero show the precedence of economics in relations between Germans and Africans.[33] In fact, one of the first indications of the 1904 revolt was Herero attacks upon these same German merchants.[34] Here was a reterritorialization of German capital as tribal peoples

rejected European economics. But this transformation of German economic structures was minimal as African populations could only resist the German economy in minor ways. As the following study of land disenfranchisement and native labour indicates, indigenous peoples could not effectively challenge German economic imperatives.

The extension and restriction of land rights to native peoples makes manifest how companies were able to undermine government in order to permit their commercial expansion. While the government established indigenous territorial rights in Southwest Africa as early as 1896, the colonial administration was hamstrung by the settler and business lobby who desired the land for themselves.[35] The local government in the colonies favoured the right of German commerce to acquire more territory over those of the original possessors of the territory, which consequently led to the forced sedentary life on reservations and the poverty of the region's formerly nomadic pastoralists. In this manner, the deterritorializations of colonial capital had great impact upon African society.

In a manner similar to that described by Deleuze and Guattari, colonial peoples were webbed into a colonial labour system founded in European capitalism.[36] The labour system was premised upon a model of "*schwarze Arme, weiße Köpfe*" where Germans directed and natives worked. African peoples registered their dissatisfaction with this model by migrating out of German territory. Additionally, the abuses of the indigenous population at the hands of German settlers, owners and traders also created a labour shortage when migration further drained the labour pool. The solution to the labour question was through the establishment of a peonage system or "half-free labour market."[37]

In addition to territorial disenfranchisement and virtual serfdom, indigenous peoples were faced with other depredations. Colonial companies often came into conflict with the German government, and the German and African populations, because of trading in forbidden products. Examples of these were the horrific traffic in slaves, the socially-disintegrating sale of alcohol and the unethical commerce in firearms. Few voices were raised in support of German commercial interests in slave-trading for, in addition to its moral depravities, it was also seen as financially unviable. However, though officially forbidden and contradictory to Germany's signature of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Act of 1890, slave trading was allowed in East Africa as the local economy depended upon its use.[38] The trade occupied an important part of the regional economy and brought important tax and transit revenue into German territory. Sale of other merchandise like liquor and firearms to the indigenous tribes was also forbidden. But traders never worried about prohibitions upon selling such goods.[39] The continuation of these trade networks represents an example parallel to that of the anti-slavery crusader Langheld where European "civilization" was eroded by pragmatic considerations in the colony. In these circumstances, the profit motive again trumped the illegality and immorality of such practices. This presents evidence of the applicability of the concept of deterritorialization in explaining German-African, state-capital and social-cultural relationships. The inability of German social desires to cease illegal commerce also illustrates how deterritorialization can render the vital component of capitalist economics within such colonial interaction.

As is evident above, the imposition of the German capitalist economy in Africa had a great impact upon the colonial population. Deleuze and Guattari's

deterritorialization allows the historian to conceive how peoples enmeshed within commercial networks can exert their own social and economic agency. Native tribes did try to return to traditional trading networks and exclude the Germans but as colonial commerce expanded, less trade could exist without German acquiescence. Faced with such a massive socio-economic transformation, African peoples were hard-pressed to resist the inexorable push towards a liberal free-market economy on a German basis. Though there were instances of reterritorializations of German economic deterritorializations, the fight was slowly lost.

By tying Germany and Africa together, commerce in the colonies displays the inequalities of colonialism, the importance of economics in establishing and maintaining colonial power, as well as the inter-connections between colonizer and colonized. The expansion of free-trade capitalism in the German colonies also unites colonial capitalism with Deleuze and Guattari's study. The primary instance of deterritorialization in this circumstance was the separation of commercial entities from the dictates of the German state that guaranteed their interests. With the creation of the large colonial conglomerates, capital became deterritorialized and established power for the cartels rivalling the German state in the colonies. Here, Deleuze and Guattari's prioritization of the power of capital above the state is demonstrated. The extension of trade by the government and the companies represents a vital deterritorialization of German desires in Africa, and a particularly effective tool of colonial expansion as African peoples found resistance to German capitalist economics almost impossible. In this context, deterritorialization is not just the action of capital but also the reaction of capital. Thus,

capital does not only reterritorialize to achieve conformity, but also deterritorializes to create differences and hierarchies between German and African, have and have-not.

The Political Aspects of Colonial Expansionism

This examination will describe general German colonial policy, specific articulations of policy in the realm of law, tax and military force and finally domestic political issues. With reference to the forces of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, this analysis attempts to incorporate African experiences by stressing the fluidity of action-reaction, and does not categorize political expressions in solely German terms like the many excessively managerial or statist histories. As the political also provides the foundation of notions of power, this inquiry works to highlight the rhizomatic, nomadologic and schizoanalytic elements within deterritorialization. The discussion of government policy was purposely left to the end of the analysis in order to facilitate thought about the vivid connections between the social, cultural and economic spheres distinct from government colonial policy.

The study of colonial policy can do much to highlight the German desire for expansion in its colonies. Nevertheless, there were also examples of quietude or stasis in government policy. For example, not all administrators always chose a forward policy of expansionism. The first governor of East Africa frequently opted out of further commitments in the unsecured hinterland for fiscal reasons, choosing instead to consolidate existing territory.[40] In some circumstances, even the K-A and RKA would advocate maintenance of territory rather than dangerous over-stretching in conquest of

new territory. The Reichstag would also frequently be reluctant to vote new funds for colonial expansion. It was not the Reichstag alone that believed this, for even a settlers' newspaper questioned high military costs.[41] Yet these are exceptions to the rule rather than indications of an absence of expansionist sentiment in German colonialism. As will be demonstrated below, with only occasional aberrations, expanding control was the dominant discourse within the political aspects of German colonialism.

Before investigating German colonial policy, it is necessary to give some structure to the following discussion by sketching out the dominant features of the government's policy. Through the re-organizations of the colonial administration discussed above, imperial policy separated from AA strategy and became based upon individual cases instead of decisions united around a single policy. Given the plurality of interests, and the tangle of priorities, personalities and pressures at work within the colonial expansion, the government's policy was often inchoate and uncoordinated.[42] Another dominant theme was the government's attempts to emulate British colonial policy, likely in awareness of the successes of British colonialism.[43] These tensions combined to render German colonial policy greatly divergent diachronically and often contradictory synchronically. Deleuze and Guattari's notion of a deterritorialized bureaucracy reveals how this difference and contradiction is caused by the extension of social, cultural, economic and political desires. It is this presence of alterity, ambiguity and heterogeneity in policy that many older histories fail to comprehend.

The reasons for the differences in policy and the transformations throughout the colonial period were not only based in Germany and Europe, but also resulted from changing circumstances in the colonies. With the collapse of the charter companies and

the state's assumption of sovereignty, a sea-change in colonial policy was manifest. Furthermore, the continuing disputes with the Nama and Witbooi tribes quickly made it evident that the DKG's colonial militia and the non-intervention policy of Germany could not continue. The end of the Bismarck system of laissez-faire commercial expansion ended with the inevitable dispatch of an imperial commissioner, the extension of treaties and the final assumption of German sovereignty. This system was later thrown into confusion by the proliferation of rebellions, such as when the Herero war caused the entire colonial system in Southwest Africa to disintegrate. The Herero and Maji Maji wars and the consequent scandals in Germany began a process of colonial reform that emphasized the consolidation of German rule. While indirect rule and desires for "peace and security" took increasing precedence in the twentieth century, it was indirect rule established by very direct rule from the Wilhelmstraße 62 headquarters of the RKA and consolidated through the ruthless expansion of German colonial policy.[44] For this reason, though there was a transformation of policy through time, it would be a mistake to see the later policy of reforming colonialism as dominant throughout the three decades of German rule.

The actual nature of the German bureaucracy is important in understanding how German colonial expansion was administered. The German authoritarian state (*Obrigkeitstaat*) controlled by civil servants servile to the monarchy, meant that civilian control over the colonies was minimal. Following this, Bismarck was keen to keep the Reichstag out of colonial administration in favour of the rule of the charter-companies.[45] The Reichstag was limited to control over the K-A and RKA budgets and only intervened in actual policy after the twentieth-century scandals. Budgets for the administration were

critical, especially in consideration of the growth experienced by the bureaucracy. The German administration grew exponentially from occupying seven offices in the AA building to thirty-two offices in its own building, and from consuming 1.7% to 15.4% of the entire AA budget.[46] Controversies involving the K-A and RKA grew as they became more bureaucratic and more militaristic.[47] Through this burgeoning bureaucracy, Germans both imposed and negotiated the relations of power with African peoples. Bearing the development of a social and cultural episteme of colonial inhabitants in mind, the German bureaucracy exerted control over the African population. This was especially evident in its efforts to know, label and reconstitute colonial peoples, which extended a Foucauldian discourse that sought to compose the native objects of its knowledge in German terms.[48]

The corollary to this bureaucratic growth was the extension of German policy in Africa. This prompted conflict, both internal to Germany and external in the colonies. This contrasts with the monolithic or essentialist view of German colonial policy taken by many political histories. The Berlin bureaucracy, the colonial administration, the *Schutztruppe*, the missions, the colonial propagandists, the many commercial concerns, the German settlers and other social entities seemed often to be focused upon competition. In fact, the expansionist desires of colonists and the K-A and RKA often opened fractures within the German bureaucracy, such as the conflicts between the K-A and the Admiralität over colonial governance.[49] Conflict between German expansionist imperatives and native desires also existed throughout the three decades of rule. This tension between German and African was often responsible for the direction of colonial growth, when Africans exploited German circumstances and vice versa.[50] Furthermore,

the RKA bureaucracy and the local administration were frequently at odds over the content and form of colonial expansion. For example, one governor complained that the Berlin bureaucracy governed "too much" and did not allow local initiative.[51] This flux and flow of policy could explain John Iliffe's belief that no single policy was pursued through the colonial period.[52] Because of the lack of a coherent policy from Berlin, there was a synthesis of German and African contexts in the German government's colonial policy. Like social dreams of colonial *Herrschaftsutopie*, idealistic political ideas were subject to similar moderation in the colonies. Consequently, colonial policy was marked by variation, contestation and negotiation instead of unified direction. This resulting incoherence in policy can be comprehended through Deleuze and Guattari's deterritorialization continuum as the nomadic and schizophrenic facets of colonial rule established multiple tensions in colonial policy. The ability to recognize the pressures within policy while understanding the motivations of colonialism stands as one of deterritorialization's chief attractions over other theories.

The political aspects of German colonialism had significant effect upon the German population, both in the colonies and in Germany. This is the heart of the social imperialism argument, yet the explanation ignores the plurality of attitudes within the German population and wholly ignores the influence of the African periphery upon the German centre. True, the various articulations of propaganda designed to gain popular support for colonial expansion speak to the importance of the population's acceptance of government policy. In its dealings with the German public, the government always stressed the financial improvement of the colonies that would be achieved through the development of infrastructure in areas such as sanitation, health and railroad construction.

Similarly, minute details of colonial expenditures were constantly provided by the government to the Reichstag and the German people in order to prove the economic benefit of the colonies. However, the German public never truly endorsed the colonial policy of expansion. As with the DKG and the Pan-Germans, popular support for the government's colonial policy was mostly within a small, yet vocal, section of the populace. Many histories focus on the instrumentality of institutions, but deterritorialization reflects an uncoordinated and structural element to the bureaucracy that can explain German society's ambiguous acceptance of the government's colonial policy. Since colonial policy did not express the desires of the German population, only of the colonial enthusiasts, any conception of the bureaucracy that envisioned a close link between the population and the government's policy would be problematic.

However, even the colonial propagandists did not always support the government's policy. The 1890 exchange of East African territory for the tiny island of Heligoland provoked outrage amongst the colonialists and nationalists and was a contributing factor to the ouster of Chancellor Caprivi in 1894.[53] After the colonial wars of the twentieth century, even the colonial groups called for reforms to colonial policy.[54] The DKG particularly wanted indirect rule, which was expected to allow the colonies to become more profitable.[55] The colonial organizations' support of colonial policy was always lost when the government was forced to intervene on behalf of indigenous peoples against German traders, missionaries, administrators and soldiers. For example, the Sultan of Zanzibar demanded the K-A restrain the excesses of Carl Peters and the DOAG in the Zanzibari hinterland.[56] The government, already in a delicate position with regard to the Sultan, was forced to control the eager colonialists. Other actions by

settlers, administrators and soldiers mandated government responses that earned the ire of the DKG and the colonial supporters who believed that the government should support vigilante expansionism. Their responses to restraints imposed upon Germans, by Germans, for Africans presents a vivid example of the entrance of Africa into metropolitan social affairs.

Public reaction to incidents like the 1893, 1904 and 1905 wars in the colonies highlighted widespread animosity to colonial policy.[57] Many newspapers gave voice to public dissatisfaction when they blamed business interests for encouraging the government to proceed with the ruinous policy that eventually culminated in war. Because of the violence of the government's repression of the Herero uprising, many Germans found the war unpalatable, despite the colonialist propaganda that aimed to portray the suppression as justified and bloodless.[58] Even some *Schutztruppe* officers returned to Germany to protest the horrors they witnessed in the repression of African revolts.[59] Responding to what it believed to be the German population's lacklustre response to the war, one colonialist newspaper even complained of the "indifference" of the general public.[60]

But the German public was greatly shocked and moved by the uprising. As a consequence of the wars, the population began to develop an increased awareness of the African colonial situation. The newly-uncovered abuses and corruption of the colonial administrators Horn, von Puttkammer, Kannenberg and von Besser combined with the circumstances of the war to create the colonial scandals of 1906.[61] As the government sought to investigate allegations of violence and exploitation, even more indignities and venalities came to light where colonial authorities had been arbitrarily ruling without

consideration for law or decency. Subsequent inquiries resulted in minor punishments for the guilty, but the larger question of what had gone wrong in the administration of the colonies remained.[62] Chancellor Bülow and the entire colonial bureaucracy were forced by public pressure to address the colonial disgraces. Interest in the native political groups grew and appropriate relations with them assumed greater prominence as both German citizens and administrators began to consider African traditions and contexts when determining colonial policy.[63] This reciprocation of interest in African political ideas represented a reterritorialization of the German deterritorialization of German political ideals in Africa. It was through this, and deterritorialization's ability to highlight the interactions within policy, that colonialism effected and shifted the German public.

Further transgressing the limits between German and African identities were the German settlers of the African colonies. The predominately right-wing settler lobby and its links to the DKG, DOAG and Pan-German League exerted considerable influence over the colonial policy of the government. The chief opponents of colonial reforms were always the nationalistic German colonists who opposed Berlin's interference in colonial affairs. The settlers continually sought more money for the development of colonial commerce, fewer restrictions upon the treatment of natives, the protection of existing territory and the exploration of future territory. The influence of the settler lobby and the actions of men like Peters and Lüderitz exemplified the "turbulent frontier" discussed by J.S. Galbraith that drew the colonizer deeper into colonial affairs through auto-catalytic forces.[64] As colonial actions grew more intense, the colonizing power was forced by its citizens on the ground and local situations to extend the flag of sovereignty further into the hinterland. After the revolts, the settlers and colonial administration were

dominated by memories of war and hysterical fears over the potential for further violence.[65] In addition, the wars provoked awareness both in Germany and in the colonies that Africans were neither understood by Germans, grateful for German rule, nor ready to accept German occupation. "The negro does not love us, but only fears our power," succinctly captured in the post-war orders of the *Schutztruppe* a sentiment that echoed within the settler population.[66] These colonists represented the deterritorialization of mainstream German desire in the colony and the reactions of the African population and the German metropolis can be seen as responses to this extremist vision of colonial policy.

The expansion of German settlement into the hinterland prompted increased fears in Germany of miscegenation and racial dilution; these fears were duly reflected in colonial policy.[67] In 1912, the Reichstag hotly debated the maintenance of the racial and national purity of its colonial inhabitants, in hopes of securing the status quo. State Secretary Wilhelm Solf declared that "borderlines between both races" needed to be maintained in the legal sense.[68] Consequently, government policy began to differentiate between the categories of native, non-native-non-white, and interbred populations. This legal demarcation of race followed the stress upon legality in the policy of the K-A and RKA as well as desires for the *Herrschaftsutopie* which guided German colonial policy. But even the German desire for a racially-segregated colonial state was ultimately moderated by the realities of colonial relations. The actual implementation of the *Herrschaftsutopie* could only be carried out with the weakening of indigenous tribes after the 1904-1907 wars; yet even this implementation was mitigated by the diversity of interests at play. The social and cultural elements of *Deutschtum* were deterritorialized in

the African context. But, the inability to truly implement this racial utopia represents the expression of both the German and the African reterritorialization of German desires. In Germany, this resulted in growing calls for the maintenance of racial and national identity, while in the colonies both an increased tolerance of African assimilation as well as a virulent backlash against the dilution of German control were evident. Deleuze and Guattari's ideas accommodate the influence of both German society and settler opinion upon colonialism illustrated in this reciprocal blend of African and German opinion.[69] Even more recent formulations of the encounters between Germans and Africans ignore this contesting and shaping of colonial discourse in both the colonies and the metropolis. To truly investigate social and political concerns, the complete social, cultural, economic and political context must be researched.

When examining the relationship between the German population and the colonial policy of the German nation, some bifurcations and differences are immediately evident. It is questionable whether Deleuze and Guattari's idea of a bureaucracy that subsumes and controls popular desire is apparent. Perhaps the clash between utopian hopes for the colonies and the realities of colonial control separated the bureaucracy from the German populace? The manner in which the German government imagined the world and the African colonies is obviously separated from the early popular ignorance of colonial affairs. Therefore, the sometimes capricious and uncompromising actions of government policy in expansion appear to be more than just deterritorializations of German power in the colonies, but deterritorializations within German society as well. Consequently, the citizenry's reterritorializations are evident in the later reforms of German colonial policy.

German popular desires were intrinsically connected to government policy and its relation to African populations. There appear to be two policies at work within German colonial strategy: a "pro-native" policy and a native-destroying policy. "Colonization is always inhumane," opined Southwest Africa's Governor Leutwein unashamedly.[70] Nevertheless, some elements of German policy can be construed as more positive with regard to native populations than others. Though these are both arbitrary distinctions, separating them like this acknowledges the poles of colonial policy. Lastly, while both assisted the expansion of German control in the colonies, the latter became predominant in certain contexts.

Through the expansion across African territory and increasing contact with the African population, pro-native colonial policy endeavoured to build up the local infrastructure, constructing everything from telegraphs and hospitals to prisons and breweries. Though developments like the latter two have obviously negative connotations for Africans, the German technological improvements were predicated upon a desire to not only expand German power and enlarge profits but also to assist the African native. The development of a colonial episteme was also based upon a genuine desire to facilitate the above and to acquaint colonial bureaucrats with African culture and society. Many of these efforts were also designed to guarantee friendly tribal support since this assistance remained vital to military expeditions against hostile tribes as well as the process of expansion.[71] Through a divide-and-rule policy, colonial administrators and traders offered weapons, ammunition and liquor as bribes to friendly native tribes.[72] But the underlying aim of expansion guaranteed that conflict would be eventually visited upon hostile and friendly tribes alike as Germany expanded its sovereignty.

A chief rationale behind the government's pro-native policy was the instrumentalization of indigenous peoples as a colonial workforce. With the legal end of slavery in German Africa in 1905, a pragmatic policy of tacit acceptance of slavery was implemented in East Africa to facilitate the colonial economy. It has already been shown how colonial medicine was harnessed to the purpose of keeping a healthy workforce and thus a profitable plantation economy. Eckart and Zimmerer describe how colonial officials and doctors imbibed ideas of eugenics and Social Darwinism that worked in perfect collusion with the needs of the state for a healthy and docile native labour pool.[73] In fact, one of the chief concerns raised by the massacre of the Herero was that Southwest Africa's labour force would be wiped out, with a commensurate loss of colonial income.[74] In this context, the Marxist vision of labour is substantiated by Eckart and Zimmerer's research.

After the Herero, Nama and Maji Maji wars and the resulting colonial scandals, State Secretary Dernburg implemented significant improvements to native welfare in colonial policy. Under Dernburg, the new colonization of the native was to proceed by "preservation" through missionary and railroad instead of the "assimilation" by bottle, missionary and gun that had been practiced before.[75] In addition, the German state of law (*Rechtsstaat*) upheld the rights of native labourers against the worst abuses of the German settlers, traders and administrators. Because of new German sensitivities to the plight of colonial subjects in this period, the government continually reiterated the evolution of positive relations with indigenous peoples.[76]

Though Germany had always assumed a paternalistic attitude toward its colonial subjects, the aftermath of the revolts reaffirmed this doctrine.[77] Erzberger attacked

colonial policy and declared that the relationship should be one of guardian and ward rather than enemy and enemy.[78] The government reacted swiftly to the criticisms and made colonial decision-making more transparent and devoted increased funding to indigenous peoples' welfare.[79] For instance, taxes collected in Southwest and East Africa were set aside for indigenous improvement.[80] This was largely in response to the prevalence of revolts amongst these same tribal groups. As a result, Germany gave African populations increased freedom through more indirect rule.[81]

In several excellent examples of the ways in which the colonized subverted German rule, the pro-native policy was undermined by indigenous populations in the interests of tribal politics. Here the reciprocal process of accommodation between colonizer and colonized was used by some tribal elites to achieve power unimagined in pre-colonial times, as Ralph Austen evidences in the Haya chiefdom in East Africa.[82] The Germans depended upon hereditary chiefs to act as intermediaries and therefore great efforts were expended to keep or place friendly leaders in power. Tribal chiefs often exploited the weakness and ignorance of German colonists and administrators to establish and consolidate their own power. Tribal groups could also gain advantageous bargaining positions by conveying images of power, particularly in the potential to organize and carry out armed resistance against the colonizer.[83] In this manner, African peoples reterritorialized the deterritorialization of German rule over their existing social orders. By exploiting German efforts, social organizations at the tribal level were able to gain leverage and thus respond to the impositions of the German occupiers. Here deterritorialization and reterritorialization highlight otherwise ignored connections within social and political interaction and bestow greater complexity upon them.

Other aspects of "pro-native" colonial policy were transformed by local circumstances or manipulated by African peoples to their own interest. Aspects of African culture vital to colonial trade like the "unifying language" of Swahili were often retained by German administrators.[84] The preservation of Swahili in spite of colonists' calls to expand the *Deutschtum* of the colony testifies to the strength of the African context in modifying colonial policy. Alongside the Islamic faith, Swahili became a powerful tool of resistance against the German colonists, especially during the Maji Maji war.[85] As the Nama people were denied the right to possess cattle or move freely after the war, their resistance frequently took on an anti-capitalist or nomadic dimension when fractured tribal groups stole cattle or deserted forced labour. Even after the wars of repression, German colonial policy was still frustrated by African opposition. This opposition contrasts with the older conception of a crushed resistance. But nor was this resistance always overt or military; as Sunseri, Phillip Prein, and Allen and Barbara Isaacman indicate, it was also visible through passive resistance, through pragmatic manifestations and with frequently contradictory goals.[86] Resistance to the imperatives of colonial expansionism can be seen as an important manifestation of African deterritorializations of German power. Some of these reactions were specific responses to capitalism as almost total African social disruption was brought about by the twin requirements of German capitalist economics and German colonial policy.

The policy that worked to destroy African peoples found its true articulation in the scores of colonial wars that Germany fought with its colonial populace.[87] Within these wars of expansion was the innate violence of colonialism identified by Frantz Fanon.[88] The wars before 1904 were based on the suppression of native resistance to

German colonial imposition. But after the shock to the German colonial system presented by the 1904-1905 uprising, a policy of annihilation took over with General Lothar von Trotha's *Vernichtungsbefehl* (extermination order).[89] The subsequent massacre of the Herero population has been seen in genocidal terms by many historians.[90] The deaths were on such a large scale that companies and colonial administrators cynically decried the extreme post-war shortages of workers for the farm, plantation and mining industries.[91] When this absolute extension of German power is compared to other colonial actions of compromise, it is evident how variable the degrees of deterritorialization and violence were that were inflicted upon Africa. Yet there was an innate quality to the violence that the extension of German power manifested over Africa for African peoples were subject to German desires more than vice versa.

Less devastating but still predicated upon desires to destroy African tribal, social, cultural and commercial structures, was the government's policy of restriction of native land and movement. The administration restricted natives' movement geographically through systems of "Control Orders" and "Pass Orders" that kept pastoral tribes away from traditional grazing grounds and resource areas.[92] Though these limits upon movement were designed to control nomadic tribes, the regulations resulted in widespread impoverishment and immiseration when indigenous political, social and economic existence was severely threatened. After the revolts, colonial policy had to balance the military and political requirements of the weakening of the restive tribes with the commercial and social needs of the native labour force.[93] Within this syncretic compromise, German and African realities achieved some degree of harmonization.

The decisive expression of the restriction of African movement was through the "half-free labour market" policy. While slavery was technically abolished, this servitude was tolerated through the government system of "slave ransoming" where former slaves were forced to work in debt peonage until a ransom had been paid.[94] Even after freedom had been gained, the movement restrictions forbade the migration of ex-slaves away from their work. German attempts to acquire further control over the hinterland were predicated upon this exploitation of the colonial labour force through quasi-slavery. While former slaves often manipulated the system to further their own interests, as Sunseri remarks, the overall effect of the labour system was the destruction of traditional native social formations and a potent challenge to native existence.[95]

In contrast to government policy on native issues, government policy was rather one-dimensional with regard to the various colonial companies. The government affirmed the primacy of the profit motive and was consequently driven by fears of the loss of its colonies to either internal or external enemies. To prevent British companies' attempts to annex parts of Southwest Africa to South Africa, the German government cemented German control over the territory through the introduction of local administrators and companies.[96] An excellent example of expansionist desires was the fact that while official government policy did not encourage interference in other colonies, tacit government approval for vigilante expansionism was assumed by German traders.[97] This assumption provoked a number of minor border incidents with neighbouring colonies when settlers and traders transgressed the limits of German territory. Further evidence of collusion between policy, social organizations and companies was the government's use of the DKG as consultative body for government

policy.[98] However this still does not conclusively prove the Marxist argument of commercial dictation of colonial policy.[99] As seen above, colonial businesses had an important role in guiding policy, but by no means an absolutely determining role.

Periodically, colonial companies were required by unusual circumstances to take over for the German government in the colonies. In the early period, company rule existed in the colonies for years with the government's blessing. The companies' aggressive efforts to acquire larger territory existed with government sanction, if not encouragement.[100] The early rebellions resulted in the DKG and DOAG providing protection for colonial bureaucrats. Additionally, as the Reichstag was reluctant to contribute towards infrastructure development like railways, concessionary companies like the 1904 East African Railway Company filled the gap.[101] It was close linkages like this that led the SPD delegate August Bebel to accuse colonial cartels like the DOAG of having the "Reich in its pocket."[102] However, when actual military resistance like the 1888 uprising in East Africa threatened, companies like the DKG and DOAG quickly cried for government intervention since their own forces were too weak to act against the insurgents.[103]

One measure to assist colonial decision-making was the establishment in 1890 of a Colonial Council. The council of experts, almost exclusively from the realm of commerce, was to report directly to the government on important colonial affairs. But historians now acknowledge that the council was specifically designed to circumvent the Reichstag's interference.[104] While leftist or reform-oriented politicians within the Reichstag were noisy in their condemnations of the council, the council had the ear of the K-A and RKA, and reinforced a bias towards military and commercial emphases in

colonial strategy.[105] The council exemplifies the deterritorialization of German economic and political discourse in the African context through colonial policy. It also symbolizes differences between colonial policy and German domestic society and politics.

There were frequent areas of strife between the desires of the colonial administration and those of commerce in the colonies and in Germany. The very inception of German colonial expansion saw the government struggling to devolve responsibility for the rule of the German colonies to the commercial organizations.[106] After Lüderitz had gained government support for his acquisition of Angra Pequeña through false reports, Governor Heinrich Göring of Southwest Africa reciprocally manipulated commercial interests by "seeding" potential mining sites with minerals in order to encourage development and exploitation.[107] Conversely, the reforms of colonial policy carried out in 1906 under Dernburg saw government attempting to wrest more control over colonial economic affairs from the companies. Similarly, the colonial administration imposed more regulations upon business transactions in the colonies to curtail the predatory business practices that had brought on widespread unrest.[108] Nevertheless, it was only in circumstances of great abuse that the government interfered in commercial transactions.

Colonial policy is further manifest in such mechanisms as treaties, taxes, laws and military ambitions. Colonial treaties reveal the expansionist motors underpinning German colonialism through the enshrined right to expansion within Bismarck's declaration cited earlier.[109] Treaties with African elites often guaranteed a nebulous "protective sovereignty" that left actual territory and actual sovereignty unresolved.[110] Many of the German treaties with autochthonous groups also invoked specific

commercial rights for German companies within the territories.[111] The economic and expansionist character of these treaties belies their existence as deterritorializations of German colonialist desire in the colonies.

The colonial tax regime was a similar expression of colonial imperatives in the colonies. One of the first actions taken by Lüderitz upon planting the German flag was to impose a tax upon the local inhabitants.[112] All four of the colonies were subject to house (1886-1888, 1908), dogs (1906-1911), spirits (1908-1914), brewing (1908-1911), land (1906-14), trade (1909-1913) and municipal taxes (1910-1914). As African peoples were often seen as "born sluggards," many taxes were not premised upon work or wealth.[113] Colonial enthusiasts called for head and hut taxes that would secure taxes from all citizens as well as benefit the traders who would subsequently pave the way for further expansion.[114] These duties served a dual function for the colonizers by gaining revenue for the state and forcing natives to labour in order to acquire the money to pay the tax. These taxes were in contradiction to an earlier policy of minimizing taxes over concerns of poverty, migration and revolt.[115] But German administrators were growing desperate for funding as they were never able to squeeze enough tax revenue out of the colonies to pay for their administration. German domestic requirements were deterritorialized to the colonies in the form of tax regimes and were modified by the syncretism of settler demands and African situations. The tax impositions were further subverted and reterritorialized by indigenous groups by false reporting, migration from German territory and the refusal to pay taxes.

Intrinsically connected with policy on treaties and tax, law formed an essential part of the German extension of control over its colonies.[116] There was a special

dispensation for companies in colonial law as legal arrangements all contained significant discussions of commercial rights to resource extraction.[117] Colonial native law is particularly salient in its provision of legal backing for the government's expansion. While Walter Nuhn observes that indigenous peoples had a highly "irregular" relationship with German law, the domineering nature of native law indicates something more than this.[118] More realistic is Silvester and Gewald's belief that native law offered a continual tool of oppression to the Germans.[119] Although belief was maintained in the German "legal state" and the 1906 reforms did bring improvement, native law was premised upon the control of indigenous peoples. These disciplinary regimes of power exercised over the bodies of African peoples were just the sort of power identified by Foucault as "war continued by other means," where every repression of native desire represented the extension of power over the African indigene.[120] Here also was the creation of absolute difference between German and African that was vital to the extension of power by the colonizer. As seen above in the social and cultural domains, the surveillance of the native was another form of this disciplinary regime, with law instead of science as the instrument of domination. But if the history of the social and cultural realms of German expansive colonialism has shown anything, it is how the actual borders between the German and the African were quite fluid. Therefore, whereas the extension of German law did represent a deterritorialization, these laws were often the specific targets of reterritorializing forces which sought to evade the imposition of German social, cultural, economic, political and legal codes through various acts of defiance, from resistance to German law to defaulting on taxes to outright revolt.

Though law played an important role, it was through the military extension of German power that control was cemented.[121] In the historical course of Germany's colonial rule, numerous punitive raids and battles served to coerce local populations.[122] The frequency of these actions and the importance of military force in Africa indicate how colonial rule flowed often not from the K-A or RKA but from the *Schutztruppe*.[123] Also indicative of the highly militaristic character of German colonial expansion was the German willingness to rely upon military solutions to colonial problems. This is linked by Pascal Grosse and Weikart to the prevalence of "scientific racism" and Social Darwinist thinking in contemporary Germany.[124] The combination of militarism and racism is reflected in such policy statements such as the Kaiser's 1900 "Hun Speech" in which he ordered the army to fight with no quarter in the colonies: "*Pardon wird nicht gegeben, Gefangene nicht gemacht*."[125] The power of the *Schutztruppe* has led historians to connect it with an especially German brutality.[126] Yet, the frequent public criticisms of colonial barbarity and the later colonial reforms cast great doubt on the notion of a uniquely Germanic propensity to cruelty.

The extension of German power through military force can also be connected to the prevalence of economics in the colonies. One of the major reasons for maintaining a colonial army was that is was deemed necessary to assure the safety of German commercial interests.[127] These forces were also often called upon by both settlers and traders for protection against the encroachments of foreigners and natives.[128] This is not surprising, for earlier discussions have proven how exploitative business practice was a major reason for attacks upon Germans.[129] For this reason, larger concerns like the

Kharaskhoma Syndicate, DKG and DOAG raised their own private militias to combat native unrest.[130]

But the Germans did obviously not have the sole monopoly on violence. Native tribes often used armed force to subvert the actions of German expansionism and colonialism. Besides the obvious uprisings, native politics were even shaped by the manipulation of German violence as a tool to achieve power. For instance, Samuel Maherero used the German military to crush his rivals for succession to the head of the Herero tribes.[131] Tribal adversaries like the Witbooi and the Herero would often put aside ancient antagonisms to collaborate against the Germans.[132] African social formations coalesced in opposition, a vivid example of African resistance and reterritorialization, as well as the power of both to provoke change in Africa.

The examination of government colonial policy and its specific articulations would be incomplete without discussion of the role of domestic politics in the formulation and transformation of colonial policy. The colonies played a substantial role in the Reichstag politics of the early twentieth century and vice versa. Like policy in general, the politics underpinning the government's colonial policy changed greatly over time. What had begun as tacit acceptance of a colonial policy gave way in the early twentieth century to ideas advocating an end to the wastage of men and money for the system that perpetuated colonialism. "*Diesem System keinen Mann und keinen Groschen!*" demanded the SPD.[133]

It was funding that was the focal point of political conflict with the government's policy.[134] Later Chancellors followed Bismarck's tactic of extracting funds from a recalcitrant Reichstag by asking for funds for the suppression of the slave trade. Such

appeals to the Reichstag usually followed the "3 Cs" of colonialism as capital was best secured through pleas to commerce, civilization and Christianity.[135] However, the political parties continually complained about the consistent financial loss to the taxpayer where no profits had accrued from large investment. Economics once again offered an excellent example of deterritorialization since financing mixed with social and cultural issues to assume centre stage in political debates. Indeed, economics also functioned as reterritorializations in the reluctance of the German population to contribute more money to government policies of colonial expansion, especially after the colonial outrages.

The colonial scandals of 1906 transformed politics with regard to colonial policy. There was substantial public opposition to Trotha's policy from the missionaries, the bureaucracy and some political parties.[136] Newspapers such as the *Berliner Tageblatt* joined the fray by grumbling about the 500 million mark cost of retaining Southwest Africa with a cumulative profit of only 16 million marks.[137] The issue came to a head when Chancellor Bülow dissolved the Reichstag over the refusal of Zentrum and SPD delegates to grant a further 29 million marks for the final conclusion of the Herero war.[138] Splits amongst the critics won Bülow the election, in turn vindicating the government's colonial policy. In electoral terms, the unrest in Africa provoked a return to the Reichstag's conservative forces. But the public debate generated by the scandals mandated reforms; therefore Dernburg was made colonial director. With a new focus upon commercial colonialism and the mitigation of abuses, Dernburg echoed the concerns of the majority of the German population. In this manner, the colonial abuses represent a deterritorialization, while the reforms illustrate the concomitant reterritorialization and the attempt to achieve stability both in the colonies and in

Germany. But, true to Deleuze and Guattari's formulation, true stability was never achieved, since the colonial scandals had already left their mark.

The controversy over the colonial abuses altered German politics. As the war consumed more and more money, soldiers, time and effort, traditional political categories were polarized into supporters of interventionist colonial expansion and those calling for moderation in colonial policy. For instance, the SPD was split into a left-wing and a pro-colonialism right-wing.[139] Germany also developed a cadre of "liberal imperialists" like Friedrich Naumann, Max Weber, and Ernst Francke who hoped a successful *Weltpolitik* would ameliorate the situation of the German working class.[140] The expansion even provided the SPD with an argument to encourage an anti-colonial coalition with the liberals by citing growing taxes and international entanglements. Even the nationalist and bourgeois parties were transformed by growing gaps between advocates of overseas expansion and those who stressed European affairs.[141] German politics were therefore deterritorialized by the novel circumstances of the African wars. Deterritorialization reveals how the diversity of factors within colonial politics influenced these polarizations.

This analysis of colonial policy and the politics inflecting this policy offers a unique perspective on the articulation of political interests. As indicated above, Deleuze and Guattari provide a theoretical perspective for the examination of political ideas that recognizes the presence of difference, fluidity and irrationality within discourses of the nation-state and one that moves away from the excessively managerial vision of politics used by many historians.[142] Deterritorialization incorporates political influences in discussions of society, economics and culture while simultaneously restoring marginalized voices.

Conclusion

This study has focused upon the expansion and consolidation of German rule because expansion provides a connecting thread between the diverse strands of the social, cultural, economic and political aspects of German colonialism in Africa. Expansion also proves the motivating force for German actions in all of these fields. As Noyes argues, colonial expansion often caused a distancing from home and metropolis since focus upon the colony involved neglecting the metropolis and challenging ideas held there, an idea that parallels the model of deterritorialization.[1] Deterritorialization consequently conceptualizes in an outstanding and unprecedented manner how the German state was transformed by the relations of colonial expansion.

These shifts manifested themselves in all four of the fields under investigation. Social beliefs in Germany were distorted and contested by attempts to create a colonial *Herrschaftsutopie*. The failure of these efforts established an awareness of both alternate cultures and absolute binaries that differentiated between European and African. It is also remarkable how social imperialism so manifestly failed, and in fact created more antagonisms within German society. German culture was altered by African syncretism in various literary, architectural and artistic articulations. Imaginaries in German art represented social desires for the colonies which were frustrated by German and African circumstances. These colonial fantasies reveal much about how Germans saw themselves and the colonies. Similarly, notions of German "civilization" were challenged by the events of African colonialism as German cultural desires clashed with African realities. Utopian desires in Germany for traditional cultural and social values therefore indicate an

anti-modernist impulse in German colonialism. In the economic realm, new configurations of business practice were established in the colonies that illustrated how colonialism was shaped by capitalist free trade economics. The articulation of commercial beliefs in colonial policy provided a mainspring of government policy. Finally, deterritorialization shows how domestic politics were polarized by the colonial expansion. Deterritorialization thus helps clarify the multiple relationships within German colonialism in a way not seen in any other existing interpretation.

The clear benefits of Deleuze and Guattari's formulations do not mean that they have been used here without qualification. German colonialism poses several potential problems for the two authors' ideas. One difficulty is the all-inclusive binary of action-reaction, which can be excessively imprecise in analysing the diversity of positions within and against colonial expansion. But the formulation is much more than simply action-reaction, as this study has hopefully indicated. The theory constantly reiterates how change in one context brings readjustment to multiple frames. Deterritorialization's ability to represent the myriad changes within every historical transformation therefore shows a history constructed of multiple causes and effects. One can also question whether this reciprocal relationship bifurcates colonial relations into a dialectic of domination and subordination instead of the potent mixture of various exogenous and endogenous forces?[2] The answer is that various expressions of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in Germany's expansionism override this notion, for Germans frequently reterritorialized the wishes of their own countrymen, and Africa often deterritorialized in Germany. That said, deterritorialization was often the province of Germans but only because they acted upon African territory more than vice versa.

Lastly, Deleuze and Guattari's paratactic questioning of absolute and linear causal relationships could perhaps threaten the place of meaning in history. But the search for the diverse motivations for German colonialism and African responses to expansionism illustrates how an open approach to cause-effect interactions reveals both the contiguities between specific historical moments and the broader picture of social, cultural, economic and political relations. Deterritorialization's mixture of telling detail and over-arching structure depicts colonialism in a manner that bestows significant historical meaning.

Deterritorialization reveals how the traditional approach to colonial history exemplified within some historiography advances simplistic and over-stated arguments. Similarly, the Marxist interpretations cannot capture colonial economics since they do not seriously investigate how capitalism affected Africa. Similarly, the narrow works that try to make colonial expansion explicable through isolated causalities cannot render a history of colonial expansion on both the micro- and macro-level. It has been argued here that the social cannot be separated from the cultural, commercial and political elements that influenced the expansion. A more comprehensive interpretation needs to move away from the metropolitan facets of German colonialism towards research into local events, which can render a more holistic vision of colonialism. Examples of a more holistic method are found in the work of Heyden and Zeller, Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt, Zimmerer, Kundrus, and Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop. These interpretations attempt to weave together the diverse strands of German colonial history into a comprehensive vision. But even these fail in not excavating the broader trends beneath colonial encounters. By not looking to the motivations for colonialism as the older historiography has, they assume the presence of a definitive explanation for German

colonialism. An explanation that seeks to avoid the problems of older historiography, while incorporating more recent arguments, is the preferred approach. Deterritorialization excels in being able to combine the search for the elements that motivated colonialism with an awareness of the multiple interactions within colonial relations. The theory's ability to easily accommodate the layering of important themes of older interpretations under new approaches to the historical event is unparalleled in the available historiography.

This palimpsestic methodology layers new interpretations on top of older approaches to the topic in order to present the most holistic image of German colonialism. The methodology is mirrored in the discussion of the role of the centre and periphery in colonial power relationships which highlights the respective influence of both Germany and Africa. This follows Robinson and Gallagher's "excentric" theory, where colonialism is a function of both resistance and collaboration.[3] Fieldhouse's peripheral resistance thesis also holds true in the German context: the processes of negotiation and compromise between metropolitan and colonial influences demonstrably guided German colonial policy. Thus, in isolation both the centre and the periphery theses are problematic. In this respect, the approaches of more recent works that stress the equality of internal and external factors in the expansion offer great benefit.[4]

If there can be no determining pole of colonialism, how can the motivating forces of colonialism be identified? This analysis has stressed the motivations behind colonialism because these forces are so vital to understanding structures and discourses underpinning the expansion. The exploration of the four themes and the ways in which Africa impinged on German colonialism aims to indicate how any singular conception of

colonialism is impossibly simplistic.[5] Yet German expansionism was not Joseph Schumpeter's irrational colonialism of an "objectless disposition without assignable units," for several elements were of greater importance than others in motivating the conquest of Africa.[6] Certainly, the social, profit and cultural explanations deserve some prioritization as driving forces behind expansionism.[7] Two motivations that can be dismissed are the two highly problematic *Sonderweg* and Marxist conspiracy theses. Neither an ineluctable progression to uniquely Germanic violence nor an orchestrated capitalist plot is evident in German expansion. Overall, the hybridity that Bhabha identifies in colonial relationships banishes singular explanation to the rubbish bin of history. Instead of a mono-causal explanation, a palimpsestic layering of historical events and interactions best sheds light on the dynamics of colonialism.

Through discussion of the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of German expansionism, several connecting themes are immediately apparent. Deleuze and Guattari's conception reveals how deterritorializations in the social field often have repercussions in the cultural and vice versa. Change in and through all of the elements consequently becomes a dominant trope of the history of expansion. For the most part, the actions and reactions of colonialism between Germany and Africa appear to be balanced, but always present in different proportions. This is certainly not a facile conclusion, since the actions of the colonizer were at all times shaped by African circumstances and frequently German contexts. Colonial actions were therefore subject to significant mediation through different levels of society, a conclusion rarely drawn in both old and new colonial historiography.

This study has advanced a new vision of colonialism. By not focusing upon the older economic and political tropes, nor the recent social and cultural deconstructions of colonialism, this analysis attempts to incorporate these four themes and their multiple components. Furthermore, Deleuze and Guattari's arguably poststructuralist approach and its opposition to totalization gives voice to marginalized histories within colonialism. The revelation of the multiple African acts of resistance to German capitalism, rarely discussed in other inquiries, testifies to this ability to better depict colonial interactions. Deterritorialization's capability to render relations of space and power also has great advantage for the history of expansion. But, deterritorialization also weakens strictly territorial conceptions by taking social formations as its field of study. The search for the roots of deterritorializations and reterritorializations also allows the theory to disclose the desires underpinning such reciprocal actions. In renouncing mechanistic theories, whether excessively broad economic or political rationales or excessively narrow interpretations, this study accommodates the variety of forces and actors at play within colonialism.

One of the most significant advantages of Deleuze and Guattari's theory is its ability to harmonize the multiple elements of colonialism. Primarily, deterritorialization integrates the experience of both the colonizer and the colonized into a coherent historical narrative. By allowing the historian to better comprehend historical relations between such differing historical structures and circumstances as the German and the African, deterritorialization aids connective synthesis. By indicating the interplay of Germany-in-Africa and Africa-in-Germany, a vital dimension of colonialism is revealed.

Deterritorialization helps the historian realize how Germany and Africa were interrelated within the colonial system, a realization frequently ignored by other colonial histories.

The specificity and historicity of this study of German colonialism admittedly qualifies extrapolations to imperialism in general. Nonetheless, notions important for the study of imperialism flow logically from this particular investigation. This study has proved Galtung's structural conception of imperialism to be correct. In seeing imperialism as an accretion of elements, social, cultural, economic and political, the most comprehensive image of imperialism can emerge. By stressing variation, syncretism, negotiation and composite forms, Deleuze and Guattari's vision encourages generative and mutative histories of imperialism. Through this analysis of the broad reaches of colonialism, Spivak's contention that Deleuze and Guattari essentialize imperialism becomes questionable.[8]

Deterritorialization is further helpful in capturing the social and economic dimensions of imperialism. Deterritorialization locates the important role of social groups in the colonial expansion. Social desires to create or re-establish society in the colonies formed a vital element of German colonialism and African resistance. Similarly, different social groups displayed very different actions in deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Finally, deterritorialization illustrates how much of the interaction between and within colonialism was socially constituted. In economic matters, the authors' formulation establishes the importance of capitalist modes of exchange within imperialism. This study of German colonialism in light of the deterritorializing power of capital has placed economic motivations at the centre of the expansion. As well, economics have a guiding role in determining the exact course of the conquest. It was

the amalgamation of social and economic elements, together with cultural and political rationales, that determined the form of German colonialism in Africa. Deterritorialization alone seems capable of combining these diverse elements into a coherent framework.

Deleuze and Guattari's theories also provide a broad idea of power not often seen in colonial history. This project concludes that German colonialism was not the story of un-mediated submission to the colonizer but a complex series of interactions and mediations that gave the power relations of colonialism their unique character. This examination has down-played overt talk of power relations, for in the colonial relationship power was present in all spheres. Hence this inquiry, like that of Deleuze and Guattari, has been a work of synthesis, amalgamating varied manifestations of colonial power. This is truly one of the best ways in which the two authors open up new lines of investigation.[9] Looking at the diverse manifestations of colonial power shows the multiple nature of power in political, social, cultural and economic realms. In examining the big picture as a sum of aggregate singularities, deterritorialization allows a micro-level analysis of power that also corresponds to macro-structures. This articulation characterizes a history that stresses power dynamics in multiple fields and in multiple circumstances. Deterritorialization reveals how power is more than just a dialectical relationship of domination and resistance. Additionally, Deleuze and Guattari's theory stimulates thought on the institutional structures of power. Thus, this analysis has revealed not only how Germans and Africans related to power, but also how they were respectively situated within power relations.

Much like the new images of colonialism, imperialism and power, Deleuze and Guattari's formulation provides an awareness of multiplicity and transformation not often found in colonial histories. Deleuze and Guattari reveal how colonial interactions were not solely social, economic, cultural or political but were in fact inter-connected. Vital to this inter-connection is a continual process of change that renounces the foreclosure of thought on colonialism. Their deterritorialization also permits the understanding of how reciprocity informs and shapes the social, cultural, economic and political expressions of colonialism. Deleuze and Guattari's elaboration of the negotiations and differences in deterritorialization and reterritorialization creates a deterritorialized history of German colonialism that distances itself from homogenized and essentialized conceptions of German hegemony and African resistance. It is this openness to holistic frameworks that marks the novel nature of this examination of the relationships within the German colonial expansion in Africa.

Notes

Introduction

[1] Examples of these are: H.P. Meritt, "Bismarck and the German Interest in East Africa, 1884-1885," Historical Journal 21, no. 1 (1978): 97-116. C.D. Penner, "Germany and the Transvaal before 1896," Journal of Modern History 12 (March 1940): 31-59. G.N. Sanderson, "The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 and the Upper Nile," English Historical Review 78, no. 306, (1963): 49-72. A.J.P. Taylor, Germany's First Bid for Colonies 1884-1885: A Move in Bismarck's European Policy (London: Macmillan and Co., 1938).

[2] Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds. Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002). Birthe Kundrus, ed. Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturegeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2003). Pascale Grosse, Kolonialismus, Eugenik und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2000). Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt, eds. Die (koloniale) Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003). Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantop, eds. The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

[3] Edward W. Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Vintage, 1993). Nicholas Thomas, Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[4] Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," Journal of Peace Research 8 (1971): 81.

[5] Examples of the traditional Marxist argument are: Vladimir Lenin's 1917 *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* and Rosa Luxemburg's 1913 *The Accumulation of Capital*. Kenneth J. Tarbuck, ed. Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital by Rosa Luxemburg and Nikolai Bukharin, (London: Penguin Press, 1972).

[6] Octave Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization (New York: Praeger, 1956), 18, 29, 202, 204.

[7] David S. Landes, "Some Thoughts on the Nature of Economic Imperialism," Journal of Economic History 21, no. 4 (1961): 498-499.

[8] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism (London: Macmillan, 1961).

[9] D.C.M. Platt, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Some Reservations," Economic History Review 21, no. 2 (August 1968): 296-306. Hallgarten identifies the cause of imperialism in human psychology as well as capitalist economic forces. George Wolfgang Felix Hallgarten, Imperialismus vor 1914: die soziologischen Grundlagen der Aussenpolitik europäischer Grossmächte vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg (München: Beck, 1963).

[10] Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966). Wolfgang J. Mommsen, ed. Theories of Imperialism (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), 71.

[11] David Fieldhouse, The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).

[12] Mommsen, Theories of Imperialism, 149. Jean-Paul Sartre, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism (New York: Routledge, 2001), 30-31, 44.

[13] Historians of East Germany asserted an intrinsic path to German fascistic or imperialistic development. Dieter Fricke, "Der deutsche Imperialismus und die Reichstagswahlen von 1907." Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 9 (1961): 538-576. Müller, Deutschland-Zanzibar-Ostafrika: Geschichte einer deutschen Kolonialoberung, 1884-1890 (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1959), 23. Kuczynski. Some West German historians found a similar pattern reflecting authoritarian German tendencies.

[14] Recent historiography has embraced the colonial period's relation to the *Sonderweg* thesis. Russell A. Berman, "German Colonialism: Another *Sonderweg*?" European Studies Journal 16, no. 2 (1999): 25-36. Marcia Klotz, "Global Visions: From the Colonial to the National Socialist World," The European Studies Journal 16, no. 2 (1999): 37-68.

[15] Jürgen Kuczynski, Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Imperialismus. Band I: Monopole und Unternehmerverbände (Berlin: Dietz, 1948), 285, 318. Müller. Jürgen Kuczynski, Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Imperialismus. Band II: Propagandaorganisationen des Monopolkapitals (Berlin: Dietz, 1950), 36, 258, 311. Helmuth Stoecker, Drang nach Afrika: Die koloniale Expansionspolitik und Herrschaft des deutschen Imperialismus in Afrika von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1977).

[16] Mary Evelyn Townsend, "The Economic Impact of Imperial German Commercial and Colonial Policies," Journal of Economic History 3 (December 1943): 124-126. Penner, 57. Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis. eds. Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 716,719. Müller. Horst Drechsler, Aufstände in Südwestafrika: der Kampfe der Herero und Nama, 1904-1907, gegen die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft (Berlin: Dietz, 1984), 17, 146-148. Horst Drechsler, "Let Us Die Fighting:" The Struggle of the Herero and Nama Against German Imperialism (1884-1915) (London: Zed Press, 1980), 3.

[17] Werner Frauendienst, Das deutsche Reich von 1890 bis 1914 (Konstanz: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1959).

[18] Landes, 504. In Hallgarten's case, this rivalry was primarily economic. Hallgarten, Imperialismus vor 1914. Taylor, Germany's First Bid for Colonies. A.J.P. Taylor, Review of Britain and Germany in Africa, by Prosser Gifford and Roger Louis, English Historical Review 84, no. 333 (October 1969): 816. Mary Evelyn Townsend, The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire 1884-1918 (New York: H. Fertig, 1966). Volker Rolf Berghahn, Rüstung und Machtpolitik; zur Anatomie des "Kalten Krieges" vor 1914 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1973), 18-35. Winfried Baumgart, Deutschland im Zeitalter des Imperialismus (1890-1914) Grundkräfte, Thesen und Strukturen (Frankfurt am Main, Ullstein, 1972), 152.

[19] Richard Victor Pierard, "The German Colonial Society, 1882-1914" (Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1964), 4, 258. Klotz, 47.

[20] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Bismarck und Imperialismus (Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1969), 113-193. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, "Bismarck's Imperialism 1862-1890," Past and Present 48 (August 1970): 120.

[21] H. Pogge von Strandmann, "Domestic Origins of Germany's Colonial Expansion," Past and Present 42 (1969): 142-144.

[22] Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Review of Bismarck und der Imperialismus by Hans-Ulrich Wehler Central European History 2 (1969): 371.

[23] Thaddeus Sunseri, "*Baumwollfrage*: Colonialism and the Wool Trade," Central European History 34, no. 1 (2001): 32.

[24] Hans-Christoph Schröder, Sozialismus und Imperialismus: Die Auseinandersetzung der deutschen Sozialdemokratie mit dem Imperialismusproblem und der "Weltpolitik" vor 1914 (Hannover: Verlag für Literature und Zeitgeschehen, 1968), 7-9. Klotz.

[25] Landes, 505.

[26] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," Economic History Review 6 (1953): 12.

[27] Winfried Baumgart, "Die Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Afrika: Neue Wege der Forschung," Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 58 (1971): 469, 481. Wehler, "Bismarck's Imperialism," 119.

[28] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983). Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari,

A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

[29] Ian Buchanan, ed. A Deleuzian Century? (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 8.

[30] Obviously, this analysis draws upon the work of Eric Wolf, Europe and the People without History, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). Despite the obvious problems of definition, this project therefore considers Africans and Germans to constitute the best social units of analysis.

[31] Ranajit Guha, History at the Limit of World History (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). Said, xxv.

[32] Ruth Frankenburg and Lata Mani, "Crosscurrents, Crosstalk: Race, 'Postcoloniality' and the Politics of Location." in Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader ed. Padmini Mongia (London: Arnold, 1996), 347-362.

[33] Jürgen Zimmerer, Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner: Staatlicher Machtanspruch und Wirklichkeit in kolonialen Namibia (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 77. Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop.

[34] Kundrus.

[35] Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt, 10.

[36] Imanuel Geiss, German Foreign Policy, 1871-1914 (London: Routledge, 1976).

[37] Volker R. Berghahn, Imperial Germany, 1871-1914: Economy, Society, Culture, and Politics (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1994), 190-191.

[38] John C. G. Röhl, Germany Without Bismarck: The Crisis of Government in the Second Reich, 1890-1900 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 160-166, 272.

[39] Berghahn, Imperial Germany, 12-17.

[40] Helmut Böhme, "Big-Business Pressure Groups and Bismarck's Turn to Protectionism, 1873-79," Historical Journal 10, no. 2 (1967): 223, 227, 236. "Door-closing panic" is translated from *Torschlußpanik*. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

[41] Berghahn, Imperial Germany, 123-130.

[42] Behnen especially stresses the complicity of the agricultural-industrial complex in colonialism in: Michael Behnen, ed. Quellen zur Deutschen Aussenpolitik im Zeitalter des Imperialismus 1890-1914 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), xix. "Collective policy" has been translated from *Sammlungspolitik*. Dirk Stegmann,

Die Erben Bismarcks. Parteien und Verbände in der Spätphase des Wilhelminischen Deutschlands: Sammlungs-politik 1897-1918 (Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1970).

[43] Berghahn, Imperial Germany, 266.

[44] Taylor, Germany's First Bid for Colonies, 3.

[45] Geiss, 49-50.

[46] The Young Historical School of economics included thinkers like Gustav von Schmoller, Werner Sombart and Max Weber.

[47] The DKG was never a large group, counting only 41,000 members in 1912. Pierard, 373.

[48] Fritz Stern, Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder, and the building of the German Empire (New York: Knopf, 1977), 396, 412-416, 435.

[49] R1001 Reichskolonialamt. 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 9.23 Vermischtes. Mflm 79499/1996. Auswärtiges Amt, Kolonialabteilung. Letter from Reichskanzler to Kaiserlich Deutsches Consulat Capstadt, 28 April 1884.

[50] Müller, 135. Schröder, 7-8.

[51] J.H. Esterhuyse, South West Africa, 1880-1894: The Establishment of German Authority in South West Africa (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1968), 46. Wehler, Bismarck und Imperialismus, 258. Bismarck called the colonies "*Versorgungsposten*."

[52] Taylor, Germany's First Bid for Colonies. Townsend, The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire. Mary Evelyn Townsend, The Origins of Modern German Colonialism: 1871-1885 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921). William O. Aydelotte, Bismarck and British Colonial Policy: The Problem of South West Africa, 1883-1885 (New York: Octagon, 1974).

[53] Merrit, 115.

[54] Pogge von Strandmann, "Domestic Origins of Germany's Colonial Expansion," 142, 159. Wehler, Bismarck und Imperialismus, 20.

[55] Friedrich von Holstein, The Holstein Papers. Second Volume. eds. Norman Rich and M.H. Fisher. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955-1963), 161. This specific entry is from 19 September 1884. Bismarck was reported to have used the word *Schwindel* which was translated into the English "sham."

[56] H. Pogge von Strandmann and Erich Eyck stand as the greatest supporters of this thesis: H. Pogge von Strandmann, "Domestic Origins of Germany's Colonial Expansion," 147. And Erich Eyck, *Bismarck and the German Empire*. The best refutation of this argument is: Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Bismarck und Imperialismus.

[57] Heinrich von Treitschke, Aufsätze: Reden und Brief: 4. Bd. Schriften und Reden zur Zeitgeschichte (Merrsburg, FW Hendel, 1929), 670. Woodruff D. Smith, "The Ideology of German Colonialism: 1840-1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1972), 148. Gunther Pakendorf, Of Colonizers and Colonized: Hans Grimm and German South West Africa (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1985), 8.

[58] R1001 15 Sammlung Georg Thiemann-Groeg. Erwerb von Kolonialgebieten – Photokopien von Dokumenten aus den Jahren 1883-1899. Mflm 80680 /9325. Treaty between Germany and King Mosasso of Cameroon, 7 January 1885.

[59] Esterhuyse, 67, 88. In other words, Bismarck justified further expansion inland with the statement that Germany reserved the right to fix additional boundaries into the interior as settlements and traffic developed.

[60] Baumgart, "Die Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Afrika," 469-470.

[61] Germany wanted to expand the Togo colony by annexing the contiguous areas of Gridji, Aganaque, Tschantscholand and Gambaga. R 1001 11 Kamerun und Togo. 11.1 Allgemeine politische Angelegenheiten. 11.1.3 Togo. Mlfm. 4221. Deutsche Flaggenhissung in Gridji und Abanaque. 1885. As well, Germany acquired further territory in East Africa in 1900 by annexing a northern province. Germany also had designs on South African territory. C.D. Penner, "Germany and the Transvaal before 1896," Journal of Modern History 12 (March 1940): 51-53, 57. After 1890, the K-A was separated from the AA and made responsible to the Chancellor alone. After 1907, the K-A department formally transformed into the Imperial Colonial Office or RKA.

[62] Alfred Zimmermann, ed. Die Deutsche Kolonial-Gesetzgebung: Sammlung der auf die deutschen Schutzgebiete bezüglichen Gesetze, Verordnungen, Erlaße und internationalen Vereinbarungen. 1893 bis 1900. 4 vols. (Berlin, Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1898). Volume 2, 143. Letter from Reichskanzler to AA (K-A), 2 February 1895.

[63] Isabel V. Hull, "Military Culture and the Production of 'Final Solutions' in the Colonies: The Example of Wilhelminian Germany," in The Spectre of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective eds. Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), 147-148. Phillipp Prein, "Guns and Top Hats: African Resistance in German South West Africa, 1907-1915," The International Journal of African Historical Studies 20, no. 1 (1994): 102, 107.

Chapter One

[1] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus. Deterritorialization pervades several of Deleuze's other books as well as its partner volume: Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.

[2] Deleuze and Guattari incorporate scholarship from varied fields, from literary work by Antonin Artaud to the psychiatrist R.D. Laing to the anthropology of Gregory Bateson.

[3] The primacy of Nietzsche in Deleuze lead Best and Kellner to identify Deleuze as a "Nietzschean-inspired post-Kantian" and Patton to identify an "anarcho-Nietzschean" philosophy. Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations (London: MacMillan and Guilford Press, 1991), 80. Paul Patton, "Marxism and Beyond: Strategies of Reterritorialization," in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture eds. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), 124.

[4] Yet it is important to remember that Guattari rejected many of the fundamental tenets of psychoanalysis. Pierre-Félix Guattari, The Guattari Reader ed. Gary Genosko (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

[5] Pearson especially thinks Deleuze rejects transcendence and successfully engages in interpretation through his empirical analyses. Keith Ansell Pearson, Deleuze and Philosophy: The Difference Engineer (London: Routledge, 1997), 4. Lambert, 153. This is the "critical" philosophy that Deleuze relates to an analytical interaction with everyday life.

[6] Sherry Turkle, Psychoanalytic Politics: Freud's French Revolution (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 149. Deleuze, Difference and Repetition, 290.

[7] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 216.

[8] The rhizome resembles the rhizomatic growth of a seedling where all are connected but not causally linked. Because of this, it is an "acentred, nonhierarchical, nonsignifying system" without a beginning or end, central direction or memory, and functioning through expansion, conquest, variation and capture. Ibid., 7, 11, 12, 21.

[9] Gilles Deleuze, The Logic of Sense (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 100, 110-111. The author's italics are retained.

[10] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 15, 23, 381-384. Deleuze, Difference and Repetition, 285. John K. Noyes, "Nomadism, Nomadology, Postcolonialism: By Way of Introduction," Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies 6, no. 2 (June 2004): 159-168.

[11] The phrase "perpetual displacement" is from Gilles Deleuze, "Nomad Thought," In The New Nietzsche: Contemporary Styles of Interpretation ed. David B. Allison. (New York: Dell, 1977), 146. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 23. It is likely that Deleuze and Guattari base their conception of orthodox history upon a positivist and empiricist history that many contemporary historians would disdain.

[12] Deleuze, Logic of Sense, 122. Young, White Mythologies, 83.

[13] Passavant and Dean, Empire's New Clothes, 294. Deterritorialization is vital to the two authors' wider thought and has even led authors like Patton to remark that their entire philosophy is "a philosophy of deterritorialization." Paul Patton, Deleuze and the Political (London: Routledge, 2000), 136. Deleuze, "Nomad Thought," 144. Deleuze, Difference and Repetition, 36, 118, 210, 272, 278, 281, 303.

[14] The concept of deterritorialization originally comes from Lacan's idea of the imprint of maternal care on the child's libido. Patton, Deleuze and the Political, 106.

[15] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 508.

[16] Ibid., 54. Robin Mackay illustrates the changes within deterritorialization well by stating that as soon as the word leaves the written page, it is already doing deterritorialization in: Robin Mackay, "Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Wildstyle in Free Effect," in Deleuze and Philosophy: The Difference Engineer ed. Keith Ansell Pearson, (London: Routledge, 1997), 264.

[17] The authors refine this by stating that deterritorialization is governed by the "K.-function" which defines the deterritorialization but is transformed by the resulting reterritorialization in: Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 88-89, 142.

[18] Ibid., 509.

[19] Pearson, 197. Deterritorializing energies can be deconstructed into positive, negative, relative and absolute deterritorializations. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 143, 145, 334, 510.

[20] Though *A Thousand Plateaus* is premised against all forms of binary dichotomies, several instances crop up throughout the text. Even within deterritorialization itself, a binary exists where a major and minor are required to coexist. However, the two authors are also careful to acknowledge that the two are not linked in: Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 142-143, 306. Christopher L. Miller, "The Postidentitarian Predicament in the Footnotes of A Thousand Plateaus: Nomadology, Anthropology and Authority," Diacritics 23, no. 3 (Autumn 1993): 30-32. Fredric Jameson, "Marxism and Dualism in Deleuze," in A Deleuzian Century? ed. Ian Buchanan, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 26-29.

[21] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, Empire (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 347.

[22] Noyes thinks deterritorialization is brought about by the twin forces of money and an amorphous "signifier," in: John Noyes, Colonial Space: Spatiality in the discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915 (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic, 1992), 92. The societal foundation of deterritorialization is illustrated in its transformative influence upon society. Eugene W. Holland, "From Schizophrenia to Social Control," in Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy, and Culture, ed. Eleanor Kaufman, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998): 66. Patton takes this even further and contends that utopian deterritorialization means that society will always change for the better. Patton, Deleuze and the Political, 9, 136.

[23] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 3-25.

[24] Ibid., 10, 88.

[25] Ibid., 456. Yet the authors also insist that the earth itself is not deterritorialized by global connections, only by deterritorializations where territory is destroyed and then re-established at specific sites and locations.

[26] Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge, and Power," in The Foucault Reader, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 251-255.

[27] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 204.

[28] Ibid., 292.

[29] Ibid., 220. The movements of deterritorialization mean that society is also perpetually under threat by deterritorializations of radical desire that clash with the social requirement for conformity, according to Attias in: Bernardo Alexander Attias, "To Each Its Own Sexes? *Toward a Rhetorical Understanding of* Molecular Revolution," in Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy, and Culture eds. Eleanor Kaufman and Kevin Jon Heller (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 100.

[30] Deleuze and Guattari, Anti-Oedipus, 193.

[31] For this reason, the state is not territorial for it performs a deterritorialization, consolidating the earth into a "forced aggregate of coexistence" instead of the unbound interaction of territories amongst themselves. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 219, 453.

[32] Deleuze, Difference and Repetition, 186. The authors see the development of private property under capitalism as a vast increase in the potential for deterritorialization since

the notions of labour and independent capital are essentially movements of deterritorialization. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 453.

[33] John Protevi, Political Physics: Deleuze, Derrida and the Body Politic (London: Athlone Press, 2001), 193-194. Judy Purdom correctly observes that capitalism is intrinsically an "anti-systemic" deterritorialization in that it counters the power of the state. Judy Purdom, "Postmodernity as a Spectre of the Future: The Force of Capital and the Unmasking of Difference," in Deleuze and Philosophy: The Difference Engineer ed. Keith Ansell Pearson, (London: Routledge, 1997), 119.

[34] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 455. For example, Deleuze and Guattari see monopoly capitalism as evolutionary: social production > state > market. Guattari, 239.

[35] Deleuze and Guattari, Anti-Oedipus, 225. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 454. Hardt and Negri, 61, 124.

[36] Holland, "From Schizophrenia to Social Control," 67.

[37] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 353. The authors draw their idea of the "megamachine" from: Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilization (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1934), 43.

[38] An earlier work by Deleuze nonetheless contends that human nature itself can not be understood through history: Deleuze, Empiricism and Subjectivity, 44.

[39] Holland, "Deterritorializing Deterritorialization," 62. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 433-435.

[40] The authors describe the purpose of history as to "translate a coexistence of becomings into a succession." The authors' conception of "becomings" refers to a perpetual state of change. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 221, 430. Deleuze and Guattari, Anti-Oedipus, 195.

[41] Ibid., 165.

[42] Deleuze, Empiricism and Subjectivity, 6, 105.

[43] Elizabeth A. Clark, History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 28.

[44] Young, White Mythologies, vii.

[45] Patton quotes Deleuze from his *Negotiations* work in: Paul Patton, "Conceptual Politics and the War-Machine in *Mille Plateaux,*" SubStance 44/45 (1984): 61, 63. Lambert.

[46] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, eds. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), 273, 279, 286, 290.

[47] Paul A. Passavant and Jodi Dean, Empire's New Clothes: Reading Hardt and Negri (New York: Routledge, 2004), 262. Slavoj _i_ek, Organs Without Bodies: Deleuze and Consequences (New York: Routledge, 2004), 48. Patton, "Marxism and Beyond," 129. Alistair Welchman, "Machinic Thinking," in: Deleuze and Philosophy: The Difference Engineer ed. Keith Ansell Pearson, (London: Routledge, 1997), 211-226. Jameson, "Marxism and Dualism in Deleuze," 20-21, 26-29, 31, 34. Fredric Jameson, "Marxism and Historicism," New Literary History 11, no. 1 (Autumn 1979): 41.

[48] Jay Cantor, Review of Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in New Republic 177, no. 26/27, (December 24 and 31, 1977): 37. Manfred Frank, "The World as Representation: Deleuze and Guattari's Critique of Capitalism as Schizoanalysis and Schizo-Discourse," Telos no. 57 (Fall 1983): 167, 173.

[49] Noyes, Colonial Space. Said, 278, 331. Alfred J. López, Posts and Pasts: A Theory of Postcolonialism (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2001), 6.

[50] In this manner, their deterritorialization mirrors Marx's idea of the colonizing government as a "conqueror, who, with each new land, only conquers a new border." Karl Marx, Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (23) I, 147. is cited in: Noyes, Colonial Space, 59.

[51] This study understands such scholars to be Rudolf Hilferding, John A. Hobson, Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Nikolai Bukharin, Mao Tse-Tung, Eugen Varga, Joseph Schumpeter, Max Weber, Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, Hannah Arendt, David K. Fieldhouse, and Herbert Lüthy.

[52] Deleuze and Guattari, Anti-Oedipus, xx.

[53] Thomas, 19. More specifically, the authors contend that their schizoanalytic perspective should be utilized in the study of colonialism, for Freudian psychoanalytic discourse grounded colonial power relations and therefore schizoanalysis must correct its misrepresentations. Deleuze and Guattari, Anti-Oedipus, 170.

[54] Phillip Pomper, "World History and its Critics," History and Theory 34, no. 2 (May 1995): 5, 7.

[55] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 53.

[56] Sartre, xiii.

[57] Deleuze, Empiricism and Subjectivity, 47, 53.

[58] Andre Gunder Frank, ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 33.

[59] R.I. Moore, "World History," in Companion to Historiography ed. Michael Bentley, (London: Routledge, 1997), 944.

[60] Deleuze, Difference and Repetition, 130.

[61] Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 307.

[62] Deleuze and Guattari stress the essential difference and "polyvocality" of human history throughout their work. Ibid., 144. Jameson particularly appreciates this in: Jameson, "Marxism and Dualism in Deleuze," 404, 413.

[63] The work of _i_ek, Patton, Welchman and Jameson cited above particularly criticize Deleuze and Guattari's relativism.

[64] For the different degrees of deterritorialization, see Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 143, 145, 334, 510. Passavant and Dean, 262. _i_ek, 48. Patton, "Marxism and Beyond," 129. Welchman, "Machinic Thinking," 211-226. Jameson, "Marxism and Dualism in Deleuze," 20-21, 26-29, 31, 34. Jameson, "Marxism and Historicism," 41.

[65] Immanuel Wallerstein, The Essential Wallerstein (New York: New Press, 2000), 150-156. Deleuze and Guattari do contend that determinism exists wherever collective formations determine the use of language and tools in society. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 90. Similarly, Deleuze and Guattari's deterritorialization is guilty of materializing their entities into organic metaphors. But their counter to criticism of this nature would be that reification is necessary to adequately conceive how their assemblages act upon humanity through deterritorialization and reterritorialization, and that this reification does not represent determinism.

[66] Deleuze, Difference and Repetition, 2, 90.

[67] Deleuze, Empiricism and Subjectivity, 123.

[68] Deleuze and Guattari, Anti-Oedipus, xx.

[69] Ibid., 42.

[70] Mahmoud Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 11. The two authors repeatedly assert that individuals can give voice to their own desires, which leads Patton to assert that the minority is imbued with special power to deterritorialize and change dominant social codes. Patton, Deleuze and the Political, 7.

[71] The term "postcolonial" is obviously used with some trepidation, given the multiple interpretations of the word. In this context, postcolonial applies to recent theoretical criticisms of older colonial histories. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, eds. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), 273, 279, 286, 290.

[72] Russell A. Berman, Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 15-16, 229, 235, 237. Berman reinforces the particular situation of German colonialism in: Ibid., 15. Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994). Robert J.C. Young, Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 392. Deleuze and Guattari also mirror the historicized and anthropological investigation of colonialism that Thomas seeks in: Thomas, 4, 12, 192. Guha, History at the Limit of World History.

[73] Thomas, 15.

[74] Bhabha, 94-95. This is the logical consequence of the postcolonial belief that the colonial experience varied in different localities and thus postcolonial theory must be similarly different.

[75] Ibid., 37-38. This negotiation matches Deleuze's idea of compatibility between all entities, even contraries.

[76] Passavant and Dean provide the linkage between poststructuralism and international relations in: Passavant and Dean, 172. This conception of poststructuralism is informed by: Young, White Mythologies, 1.

[77] Patton and Protevi, 16. Brian Massumi, "Requiem for Our Prospective Dead (Toward a Participatory Critique of Capitalist Power)," in Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy, and Culture eds. Eleanor Kaufman and Kevin Jon Heller (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998) 53.

[78] Thomas, ix-x.

Chapter Two

[1] Stoecker, 155. Taylor, Germany's First Bid for Colonies, 5.

[2] R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 9.23 Vermischtes. Verhältnisse in Süd- und Ostafrika. Mflm 79499 /1994. Kölnische Zeitung no. 376, 10 August 1883; no. 149, 29 May 1884.

[3] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Das Deutsche Kaiserreich 1871-1918 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973).

[4] Jean-François Bayart, State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly (London: Longman, 1993), 270.

[5] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 18 Kolonialpropaganda und Ehrungen. 18.3 Werbung und Propaganda. Kolonial Preisausschreiben der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft. 1096 Bd. 1. Election address, 1907.

[6] Stoecker, 168-170. Richard Weikart, "Progress Through Racial Extermination: Social Darwinism, Eugenics, and Pacifism in Germany, 1860-1918," German Studies Review 26, no. 2 (2003): 275-276. Grosse.

[7] Drechsler, Let Us Die Fighting, 144-147.

[8] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe IV Finanzen. Mflm 30975 /1160. Aufnahme von Anleihen für Zwecke der Schutzgebiete. Speech by Abteilungsdirigent Paul Kayser, 13 March 1891.

[9] Mannoni, 12, 18.

[10] Zimmerer excellently identifies the tensions between the *Herrschaftsutopie* and *Herrschaftsrealität* in: Zimmerer, 77, 127-133, 283.

[11] Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop.

[12] Noyes, "Nomadism, Nomadology, Postcolonialism," 162.

[13] Africans were labelled "peoples" by Germans because they could not be named "citizens" of a nation.

[14] D.E.K. Amenumey, "German Administration in Southern Togo," Journal of African History 10, no. 4 (1969): 630-631. Albert-Pascal Temgoua, "Lamibé et sultans du nord-cameroun et l'administration coloniale allemande, 1899-1916." in Die (koloniale)

Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918 eds. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 314-322.

[15] Bayart, 266.

[16] Helmut Bley, South-West Africa under German Rule 1894-1914 (London: Heinemann, 1971).

[17] T.O. Ranger, "African Reactions to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in East and Central Africa," in Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960. Volume 1: The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870-1914 eds. L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969): 309. Isaacman and Isaacman. Patrick M. Redmond, "Maji Maji in Ugoni: A Reappraisal of Existing Historiography," The International Journal of African Historical Studies 8, no. 3 (1975): 412. Thaddeus Sunseri, "Statist Narratives and Maji Maji Ellipses," The International Journal of African Historical Studies 33, no. 3 (2000): 567. Ralph Austen, "'Ich bin schwarzer Mann aber mein Herz ist Deutsch': Germanophones and 'Germanness' in Colonial Cameroon and Tanzania." in Die (koloniale) Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918 eds. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 34-37.

[18] R1001 15 Sammlung Georg Thiemann-Groeg. Mflm 80680 /9331. Das Tagebuch des Hottentottenkapitäns Hendrik Witbooi in Deutsch-Südwestafrika aus den Jahren 1884-1894.

[19] R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 9.1 Allgemeine politische Angelegenheiten. Mflm 79500 /2025. Verträge mit Häuptlingen aus dem Gebiet von Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Sammlung von Abschriften.

[20] Women were also important to tropical medicine in organizations like the Deutscher Frauenverein für Krankenpflege in den Kolonien. R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 5 Deutscher Frauenbund und dessen Einrichtungen. Deutscher Frauenbund der Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 153. Bd. 1.

[21] Heyden and Zeller, 51.

[22] Lora Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire." in Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 263-265. Helmut Walser Smith, "The Talk of Genocide, the Rhetoric of Miscegenation: Notes on Debates in the German Reichstag Concerning South West Africa, 1904-1914," in The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy eds. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 116-121. Friederike Eigler, "Engendering German Nationalism: Gender and Race in Frieda von

Bülow's Colonial Writings," in The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy eds. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantop, 69-85. Grosse, 146-179.

[23] Heyden and Zeller, 51. Especially galling to the organization's members were relationships between German women and native men. Grosse believes that the mixture of eugenics and sexual concerns within the colonial expansion were intrinsically linked to the growth of middle class society. Grosse.

[24] Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire," 268. Smith, "Talk of Genocide," 108.

[25] Bley. Herero sources list this as a major contributive factor in the revolt.

[26] Wildenthal, "'When Men are Weak,'" 70-71. Fatima El-Tayeb, "Verbotene Begegnungen – unmögliche Existenzen. Afrikanisch-deutsche Beziehungen und Afro-Deutsche im Spannungsfeld von *race* und *gender*," in Die (koloniale) Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918 eds. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 85-94.

[27] Albeit during a period of colonial reform, Dernburg stated that "the native was the most valuable asset of our colonies." Dernburg is quoted in: Schnee, 92. Gerda Weinberger, "Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Kolonialpolitik." Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 3 (1967): 402-403, 414. Prein, 105-106.

[28] Zimmermann, Volume 2, 318. Verordnung betreffend Arbeitsberträge mit Farbigen in Deutsch-Ostafrika, 27 December 1896. The K-A even appointed Eingeborenen-Kommissare (native commissars) to safeguard the interests of this labour force.

[29] Gründer evidences mortality rates as high as 30 percent in forced labour in: Horst Gründer, Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schönigh, 1985), 151.

[30] Weinberger, 402, 419.

[31] Roger Fletcher, Revisionism and Empire, Socialist Imperialism in Germany 1897-1914 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984). Schröder.

[32] Horst Gründer, Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus: Eine politische Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen während der deutschen Kolonialzeit (1884-1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Afrikas und Chinas (Paderborn: Schönigh, 1982), 17-18, 271.

[33] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.19 Kirchensachen. Mflm 79393 /6895. Missionstätigkeit in den deutschen Kolonien - Allgemeines und Einzelfälle. Bd. 3. Letters between the Minister of Spiritual, Educational and Medical Affairs and Reichskanzler, 4 September 1889 and 18 October 1889. The schools were particularly effective at countering the spread of Islam in the northern colonies. Per Hassing, "German Missionaries and the Maji Maji Uprising," African Historical Studies 3, no. 2 (1970): 382, 386.

[34] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.19 Kirchensachen. Mflm 79393 /6894. Missionstätigkeit in den deutschen Kolonien - Allgemeines und Einzelfälle. Bd. 2. Germania, 3 November 1885. Germania, 8 January 1886. This same action prompted requests for Catholic access to the German territories from groups as diverse as the Bavarians, the French and the Pope.

[35] Silvester and Gewald, 21. Drechsler, Aufstände in Südwestafrika, 9-10.

[36] Nils Ole Oermann, Mission, Church and State Relations in South West Africa under German Rule (1884-1915) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), 242.

[37] R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika. 9.24 Verwaltungssachen. 9.24.1 Allgemeine Verwältung. Mflm 79501/2039. Verordnungen, Bekanntmachungen, Runderlasse des kaiserlichen Kommissars für das südwestafrikanische Schutzgebiet. Verwaltungssachen 4b. Bd. 1. Colonial Governor to RKA 1894.

[38] Pierard, 132.

[39] R 8023 1 Antisklaverei. 5. Broschüre 'Gegen den Sklavenhandel' von Frl. J. Sutter (Hochwohlgeborene Edingburg). 19 January 1889.

[40] R1001 8 Deutsche-Ostafrika. 8.9 Expeditionen, Inspektionen und Reisen. Mflm 79327 /242 Militärische Expeditionen des Hauptmanns Wilhelm Langheld in das Innere Ostafrikas mit Unterstützung durch das Deutsche Antisklaverei-Komitee.

[41] Schnee, 129, 132.

[42] Pierard, 2.

[43] Ibid., 373.

[44] R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.12 Gesellschaften. 8.12.2 Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft. Mflm 79336 /359 Bd. 1.

[45] R 8023 4 Behörden und Ämter. 134. Reichstag, Bundesrat, Auswärtiges Amt, Reichsmarineamt und andere Reichsämter – Korrespondenz. Letter from the DKG to the Reichskanzler, January of 1891.

[46] This is poignantly evidenced in an 1890 petition for further explorations of central Africa to achieve the unrealized worth of the Mittelafrika hinterland. R 8023 4 Behörden und Ämter. Reichskanzler – Korrespondenz. 139. Letter from the DKG to Reichskanzler Caprivi, 1 April 1890.

[47] This is typical Marxist argument is refuted by Pierard who evidences close connections but considers the government to have the determining power in: Pierard, 141-142, 370.

[48] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 4 Behörden und Ämter. 134. Reichstag, Bundesrat, Auswärtiges Amt, Reichsmarineamt und andere Reichsämter – Korrespondenz.

[49] R 1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.33 Zollwesen. Mflm 1106. Einrichtung der Zollverwaltung in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Agreement, 14 June 1890.

[50] R 8023 17 Kolonialpolitik. Agitationen nach Reichstagsauflösung. 509. Circular from DKG President to departments, 21 December 1906.

[51] R 8023 19 Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee. 593. Komitee zur Einführung der Erzeugnisse aus den deutschen Kolonien.

[52] R 8023 19 Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee. 593. Komitee zur Einführung der Erzeugnisse aus den deutschen Kolonien. The 1895 Deutsches Kolonial Adressbuch shows imports to Germany to total 10,859,684 marks while the exports from the colonies to total only 11,388,514 marks in: Deutsches Kolonial Adressbuch, Berlin: Mittler, 1897.

[53] The Sultan had earlier complained to Berlin of the abuses of the DOAG in a telegram to Bismarck dated 3 October 1888, quoted in: Müller, 376.

[54] Roger Chickering, We Men Who Feel Most German: A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886-1914 (Boston: George Allen and Unwin, 1984), x, 6.

[55] R8048 All-Deutscher Verband. 1 Organisation und Tätigkeit – Allgemeines. 1.7 Eingaben und Öffentliche Erklärungen des Alldeutschen Verbandes. 575 Eingabe an den Reichskanzler in der Transvaal-Frage, January 1896. 577 Entschließung betragen Deutsche Südwestafrika, Marokko-Frage und Verstärkung der Deutschen Seemacht.

[56] Schröder. Arendt.

[57] Chickering, 10, 303. Fricke, 557. Hallgarten, vol. 2: 19-23. Kuczynski, Volume 2: 6, 158, 311-312.

[58] Hull asserts that the colonial experience had a critical impact upon later right-wing politics. Hull, 141-142.

[59] All of the articles collected within Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt's work identify such encounters.

[60] For example, newspapers such as the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung were an obvious tool of the colonial settlers' lobby. R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.27 Stationen. Mflm 79393 /1026. Militärstationen in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Das Kleine Journal, no. 139, 23 May 1893. Flugblätter des Deutschen Kolonial-Bundes, 27 October 1903.

[61] Allgemeine Zeitung, 6 November 1886. The statement can be roughly translated as: "A colonial policy is only patriotic when it is profitable."

[62] R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika. 9.24 Verwaltungssachen. 9.24.1 Allgemeine Verwaltung. Mflm 79501 /2033 Verwaltung und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung von Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Behandlung der einheimischen Bevölkerung in Südwestafrika. Taglicher Anzicht no. 212, 9 September 1904.

[63] R1001 8 Deutsche-Ostafrika. 8.9 Expeditionen, Inspektionen und Reisen. Mflm 79392 /279. Militärische Expeditionen der Schutztruppe. Berliner Tageblatt, 19 September 1891. Responses to these criticisms were equally vehement, Freiherr von Bülow of the *Schutztruppe* slammed the unpatriotic and negative view of colonialism propounded in some liberal newspapers. R1001 8 Deutsche-Ostafrika. 8.9 Expeditionen, Inspektionen und Reisen. Mflm 79392 /279. Militärische Expeditionen der Schutztruppe. Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 12 December 1891.

[64] R1001 11 Kamerun und Togo. 11.19 Reichstagssachen. Mflm 80239 /4069h. Bundesrats- und Reichstagsverhandlungen über Kamerun – Material. Memorandum from Staatssekretär RKA to German Governor (Cameroon) 31 May 1912.

[65] This definition of reification is based in Jameson's description of the "effacement of the traces of production on the object" from: Jameson, "Marxism and Historicism," 57.

[66] Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt. Heyden and Zeller. Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop.

[67] The museum contained more than three thousand African cultural artifacts, many of them robbed from their owners. For example, the looting of King Yu's capital in 1905 Cameroon was to provide many treasures for the Kolonialmuseum.

[68] R 8023 23 Museen und Archiv. Deutsches Kolonialmuseum zu Berlin. Kolonial Zeitung 3 October 1896.

[69] Heyden and Zeller, 142.

[70] Ulrich van der Heyden, "Afrikaner in der Reichs(colonial)haupstadt. Die Kolonialausstellung im Treptower Park 1896 sowie die Transvaal-Ausstellung auf dem Kurfürstendamm 1897," Die (koloniale) Begegnung: AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918 eds. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 147-156.

[71] R 8023 18 Kolonialpropaganda und Ehrungen. 18.3 Werbung und Propaganda. 1084 Kolonial-Denkmaler. Other permanent fixtures of the colonial expansion were the creations of "African Quarters" in German cities where clusters of Petersallees, Togo-Straßes and Swakopmunder-Straßes sprung up. Alexander Honold, "Afrikanisches Viertel: Straßennamen als kolonialer Gedächtnisraum," in Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturegeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus ed. Birthe Kundrus, (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2003), 317-320.

[72] R 8023 18 Kolonialpropaganda und Ehrungen. 18.3 Werbung und Propaganda. 1084 Kolonial-Denkmaler. Kolonie und Heimat, no. 18, 16 May 1913.

[73] Stones were often brought back from Africa and commemorated as markers for absent bodies resting in African soil such as the Herero Stone of the Garnisonsfriedhof in Neukölln.

[74] Heyden and Zeller, 78-79.

[75] David M. Ciarlo, "Rasse konsumieren: Von der exotischen zur kolonialen Imagination in der Bildreklame des Wilhelminischen Kaiserreichs," in Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturegeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus ed. Birthe Kundrus, (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2003), 140-142.

[76] Andreas Michel, "Formalism to Psychoanalysis: On the Politics of Primitivism in Carl Einstein," in The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy, eds. Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop, 142.

[77] Heyden and Zeller, 184-187.

[78] W. Mommsen, Max Weber and German Politics: 1890-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 68-72, 167. Wehler, Bismarck und Imperialismus, 142-154.

[79] Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, *Deutsche Kolonisation*, 1881. Pakendorf. Peters, New Light on Darkest Africa. Fabri reached an especially large audience with his 1879 jeremiad *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* Wildenthal, "'When Men are Weak,'" 53-57. Heyden and Zeller, 37. Short, 455.

[80] John Phillip Short, "Everyman's Colonial Library: Imperialism and Working-Class Readers in Leipzig, 1890-1914," German History 21, no. 4 (2003): 448, 455, 473.

[81] Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop, 28. Zantop, Colonial Fantasies.

[82] Examples of such art are: Carl Arriens, "Groß-Windhoek im Jahre 1896." Rudolf Hellgrew, "Eine Karawane der Deutsch-Ostafrickanischen Gesellschaft auf dem Marsch nach dem Kagnagebirge in Nguru, Deutsch-Ostafrika." Wilhelm Kuhnert, "Überfall auf dem Marsch." Themistokles von Eckenbrecher, "Deutsch-Südwestafrika Spitzkopje."

[83] This led to the uniquely German stress upon difference in colonial literature identified by Berman in: Berman, Enlightenment or Empire, 18. Deleuze and Guattari particularly see the exchange of ideas as a form of deterritorialization in: Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus, 126.

[84] Heyden and Zeller, 89-91.

[85] Especially works like Austen's in: Bechhaus-Gerst and Klein-Arendt, 23-39. Heyden and Zeller.

[86] Prein. Pike.

[87] Bhabha, 85-91.

[88] Conte argues how German colonialism and science were linked to the profit motive in the colonial research stations in: Christopher A. Conte, "Imperial Science, Tropical Ecology, and Indigenous History: Tropical Research Stations in Northeastern German East Africa, 1896 to the Present," In Colonialism and the Modern World: Selected Studies eds. Gregory Blue, Martin Bunton and Ralph Crozier, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 246-261. Grosse, 35-41.

[89] Wolfgang U. Eckart, Medizin und Kolonialimperialismus: Deutschland 1884-1945 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1997), 162, 164, 203-207. The next sentence is from: Ibid., 10, 450-452, 541.

[90] Amenumey, 635.

[91] The Nama chief Hendrik Witbooi set his faith in the two technologies when he rose against the German oppressor. Jon Bridgman, The Revolt of the Hereros (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 133-136. Prein, 99-118.

[92] Bhabha, 121-131.

[93] Costs of such expeditions were very significant. For example, the Weymann expedition of 1884-1885 cost the AA 165,720 marks.

[94] R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.9 Expeditionen, Inspektionen und Reisen. Mflm 79237 /249. Expeditionen von Henry Stanley zur Befreiung von Emin Pascha und ihre Auswirkungen.

[95] R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.9 Expeditionen, Inspektionen und Reisen. Mflm 79237 /249. Expeditionen von Henry Stanley zur Befreiung von Emin Pascha und ihre Auswirkungen. 4 December 1889.

[96] The absolute resolution of the Herero rebellion is one such example of this developing trend towards colonial "final solutions." Hull.

[97] Arne Perras, Carl Peters and German Imperialism: 1856-1918 – A Political Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 11.

[98] Carl Peters, New light of dark Africa: being the narrative of the German Emin Pasha expedition, its journeyings and adventures among the native tribes of eastern equatorial Africa, the Gallas, Massais, Wasukuma, etc., etc., of the lake Baringo and the Victoria Nyanza (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1891), 139-141. Müller, 97.

[99] R 8023 24 Personalia und Korrespondenz. 854 Dr. Carl Peters – Disziplinarverfahren gegen den Reichskommisar beim Displinarhof für die deutschen Schutzgebiete. Kolonial Zeitung, 28 March 1896. Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags IX/ IV 59, 13 March 1896, 1431. Perras, 216, 228.

[100] Bade, Imperialismus und Kolonialmission. Bley. Esterhuyse. Gründer, Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien. Prein. Voeltz.

[101] Conte examines the growth of German scientific colonialism in: Conte, 246-261.

[102] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.9 Expeditionen und Reisende.

[103] R 8023 4 Behörden und Ämter. Reichskanzler – Korrespondenz. 140. Letter from DKG to Reichskanzler. Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich. No date.

[104] R 1001 3 Etats- und Rechnungswesen – 3.1 Allgemeines. Kolonialetats. Mflm 83270 /9550. RKA directive to Imperial Governor (DSWA), 16 January 1913. An example of this was the *Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*. Michel Foucault, Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 68, 74.

[105] R1001 Einziehung von Vermögen von Eingeborenen in Deutsche Südwestafrika. 79419 /1220 Ansiedelungs und Auswanderungswesen 5b 21212, Report from Governor to RKA, 17 July 1905.

[106] Heyden and Zeller, 117. Gujarati was necessary as it was the language of the Indian traders of East Africa. Wright, 624. Pike, 217.

[107] Books and pamphlets were published in Germany on a range of topics around the African colonies such as Carl Gotthilf Büttner's seminal work on *The Songs and History of the Swaheli*.

[108] Eckart, 270-271.

[109] Zimmermann, Volume 5, 14. Runderlatz des Governeurs von Deutsch-Ostafrika, betreffend sammlungen furs Kolonialmuseum, 9 January 1900.

[110] Various road and railway survey expeditions trekked across Africa from 1885 to 1916. R1001 6 Eisenbahnsachen und technische Angelegenheiten. Mflm: Various/9649. Bau und Betrieb von Eisenbahnen in den Kolonien. Materialsammlung.

[111] R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 1994 76/ 2. Original Map of Greater Namaqualand and Damaraland. October 1879. Thomas Hahn.

[112] Thomas, 4. Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 33.

[113] Bayart, 269.

Chapter Three

[1] Examples of Marxist-informed arguments are the works of Schröder, Stoecker, Kuczynski, Fricke, Hallgarten and Nussbaum.

[2] Smith, "The Ideology of German Colonialism," 1.

[3] Baumgart, Deutschland im Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 36.

[4] Gründer, Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien, 238. Even in relative terms, colonial trade grew lethargically, from 0.2% of total international trade in the 1890s to 0.5% in 1914.

[5] Pierard, 371. Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung, August 28 1897, 347.

[6] In fact, the Southwest African colony had such woeful early economic prospects that Wilhelm II seriously considered giving up the colony in favour of concentration upon the more economically-viable East Africa. Drechsler, "Let Us Die Fighting," 52.

[7] Brode, 2. Drechsler identifies a transitional period in the nineteenth century before capital was available for colonial investment in: Drechsler, Let Us Die Fighting, 4-5.

[8] Wehler uses: "*kommerzielen Laissez-faire-Expansionismus*" and "*Handelskolonien*" to explain Bismarck's vision in: Wehler, Bismarck und Imperialismus, 197.

[9] David K. Fieldhouse, "Imperialism: An Historiographical Revision," Economic History Review 14, no. 2, (1961): 197, 199. Böhme.

[10] Colonial Governor Heinrich Goering plaintively called for the DKGfürSWA to enhance its commercial presence in the colony. R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Gesellschaft und Vereine 10b #1. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika. Mflm 79452/1522. Letter from Landeshauptmann Heinrich Goering (Walfisch Bai) to Bismarck. 18 August 1887. The volume of correspondence between the RKA and various commercial interests testifies to this. R1001 433 Gesellschaften und Vereine 10a #3d Mflm 79343. Letter from Bismarck to Deutsch Ostafrikanische Plantagen Gesellschaft, 7 March 1889. R1001 Expeditionen und Reisende 4b Mflm 79450 /1522 Gesellschaft und Vereine 10b #1 (Specialia) Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft für Südwestafrika. R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Gesellschaft und Vereine 10b #1. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika. Mflm 79452/1522. Letter from Auswärtiges Amt to DKGfürSWA. 28 Mai 1886. For instance, a Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Bank was established to ease trade and establish the imperial mark in East Africa. R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.6 Bankwesen. Mflm 6411 Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Bank. Konzession der Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Bank, 3 June 1904. Vertrag zwischen dem Kaiserlichen Gouvernement und der Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Bank.

[11] Meritt, 104.

[12] For instance, government supported organizations like the Deutsche Ostafrikanische Plantagengesellschaft or German East Africa Plantation Company which promised a doubling of invested capital, and thus the enrichment of all Germany. R1001 8 Deutsche-Ostafrika. 8.12 Gesellschaften. 8.12.3 Deutsche Witu-Gesellschaft. 10a #3d Mflm 79343 /433. 104.3 Satzungs-Entwurf der Deutsche Ostafrikanische Plantagen Gesellschaft, October 1885.

[13] R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika Expeditionen und Reisende 4b Mflm 79450 /1518 Gesellschaft und Vereine 10b (Specialia) 72.6 Deutsche-südwestafrikaische Straußenzucht und Federeinführ Gmbh. Prospectus. 13 May 1911.

[14] Amenumey, 623-639. Nussbaum.

[15] The railways, as movers of goods and soldiers, served both the commercial and governmental dimensions of colonialism. R 1001 6 Eisenbahnsachen und technische Anlegenheiten. Bau der Kamerun-Eisenbahn. Mflm 83281 /9641. Circular from Chancellor von Bülow to Reichstag, 10 April 1907. One German newspaper argued that businesses benefiting from the line should pay it, rather than the taxpayer. R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 25 Presseausschnitte. 1113. Verpachtung der Otavibahn an die Otavi-Minen-und Eisenbahngesellschaft. New Preussiche Christliche Zeitung, 7 August 1913.

[16] Eckart Kehr, Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-politik 1894-1901: Versuch eines querschnitts durch die innenpolitischen, sozialen und ideologischen voraussetzungen des deutschen imperialismus (Vaduz: Klaus, 1965). Wilhelm Deist, Flottenpolitik und Flottenpropaganda: das Nachrichtenbureau des Reichsmarineamtes 1897-1914 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag-Anhalts, 1976). Ekkehard Böhm, Überseehandel und Flottenbau: hanseatische Kaufmann-schaft und deutsche Seerüstung 1879-1902 (Düsseldorf: Bertelmanns, 1972), 31-37, 128-146.

[17] Müller, 511.

[18] R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika. 9.10 Gesellschaften und Vereine. 9.10.2 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika. Mflm 79450 /1524 10b #1 (Specialia) Annual Report of the DKGfürSWA 1 April 1900-1901. The next sentence is from: R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika. 9.10 Gesellschaften und Vereine. 9.10.2 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika. 10b #2 Mflm 79453 /1532. 1885 Budget of the DKGfürSWA.

[19] R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika. 9.10 Gesellschaften und Vereine. 9.10.2 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika. Mflm 79450 /1525 (Specialia) Annual Budget of the DKGfürSWA 30 May 1904.

[20] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.6 Bankwesen. Mflm 6410 Banken und Geldinstitute in Deutsche-Ostafrika. Deutsche-Ostafrika Zeitung no. 31, 10 July 1907. Directive from Staatssekretär Dernburg to DOAG, 30 December 1909.

[21] R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika 9.1 Allgemeine Politische Angelegenheiten. 79500 /2009 Cape Argus 24 September 1885. The newspaper reports that a recent experts' commission had found little resources in the territory.

[22] R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika. 9.10 Gesellschaften und Vereine. 9.10.2 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika. 10b #2 Mflm 79453 /1533 442.7. Das Schiedsgerichtsverfahren in Sachen der DKGfürSWA c/a den Landesfiskus von SWA. "Die Land- und Berg-Gerechtsame der DKGfürSWA: Zwei Gutachten." Berlin 1906.

[23] R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.12 Gesellschaften. 8.12.2 Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft. 433/8 Letter from Deutsche Ostafrika Plantagen Gesellschaft to RKA. 6 November, 1909.

[24] Klaus Epstein, "Erzberger and the German Colonial Scandals, 1905-1910," English Historical Review 74, (1959): 643. Drechsler, Aufstände in Südwestafrika, 144.

[25] R1001 Einziehung von Vermögen von Eingeborenen in Deutsche Südwestafrika. 79419 /1220 Ansiedelungs und Auswanderungswesen 5b 21212, Governor to Auswärtiges Amt Kolonialabteilung, 2 February 1906. R1001 Einziehung von Vermögen von Eingeborenen in Deutsche Südwestafrika. 79419 /1220 Ansiedelungs und Auswanderungswesen 5b 21212, Der Tag. 6 January 1906. Also in Kolnische Volkszeitung 4 January 1906 and Der Tag 14 January 1906.

[26] Sunseri, "Baumwollfrage," 32.

[27] Ibid., 47. Cotton was seen as a vital tool for domestic quiet and worker pacification as cheap cotton meant clothed and happy workers.

[28] R1001 8 Deutsche-Ostafrika. 8.12 Gesellschaften. 8.12.2 Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft. 10a #3d Mflm 79343 /433. Deutsche Witu-Gesellschaft.

[29] R 1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.14 Handel. Handel mit und in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mflm 79362 /639. Magdeburgische Zeitung 17 December 1892.

[30] Townsend, "The Economic Impact of Imperial German Commercial and Colonial Policies," 127.

[31] Iliffe, Tanganyika under German Rule. Drechsler, Aufstände in Südwestafrika.

[32] Arnold Valentin Wallenkampf, "The Herero Rebellion in South West Africa, 1904-1906. A Study in German Colonialism" (University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D. diss., 1969), 172-173.

[33] Ibid., 158-159.

[34] The first targets of the revolt were a tax collector and itinerant traders. Redmond, 423. The telegraph, railways and German farms were subsequent targets.

[35] Wallenkampf, 196. Hallgarten, Volume 2, 31.

[36] Labour forms a vital component of Deleuze and Guattari's work, as well as Hardt and Negri's.

[37] The *halbfreie Arbeitsmarkt* is from: Zimmerer, 183, 282.

[38] It is important to note that this economic dependence meant that slavery was rife in all of Zanzibar for many years, even in British Zanzibar. R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.26 Sklavensache 4a. Sklavenfrage in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mflm. 79397/ 1002. Governor East Africa 26 January 1890. "Grundsätze welche bei Entschiedung von Sklavensachen zu befolgen sind."

[39] Wallenkampf, 165, 169.

[40] Ranger, 295.

[41] R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.27 Stationen. Mflm 79393 /1026. Militärstationen in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung no. 40, 1903. The newspaper specifically condemned the proposals advanced by the Flugblätter des Deutschen Kolonial-Bundes above. The journal considered the development of civil projects to be a much more effective allocation of funds.

[42] In this case, Röhl's argument for the inability of Wilhelm II alone to determine policy seems highly questionable. Röhl.

[43] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 26 Rechts- und Verwaltungsangelegenheiten. 886 Einführung der Selbstverwaltung in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft, February 1905. Tagliche Rundschau, 16 October 1901.

[44] Ralph Albert Austen, Northwest Tanzania Under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889-1939 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 254-257. In fact, just before the start of the war, the northern part of Cameroon became an Islamic emirate in a quantitative step towards British "indirect rule." Germans also desired "Ruhe und Sicherheit" in Africa during this period.

[45] Wehler, "Bismarck's Imperialism," 129.

[46] Heyden and Zeller, 32.

[47] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.12 Geschäftigang und Organisation der Kolonialverwaltung. Mflm 79339 /6677. Errichtung und Entwicklung der Kolonialverwaltung. Bd. 1. The appointment of a soldier to head the department was particularly controversial.

[48] B.J. Moore-Gilbert, Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics (London: Verso, 1997), 36.

[49] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.26 Marinesachen. Mflm 79339 /7163. Differenzen der Admiralität mit dem Auswärtigen Amt. Letter from Staatssekretär of the Admiralität to the Staatssekretär of the K-A dated 11 October 1899.

[50] It is likely for this reason that German colonial governance was dominated by concerns over legal relationships. A typical example was when after Lüderitz had made his de facto territorial acquisition, the de jure reality was assured through the placing of a post bearing the inscription: "Latitude under the protection of the German Empire." R1001 9 Deutsche-Südwestafrika. Mflm 79500 /2011 Allgemeine Politische Angelegenheiten. One of the major ways to downplay aggressive expansionism for the somewhat reluctant German public was to be continually reflective on legal relationships with the colonies. Reichstag delegates were also concerned that retrogressive legal interactions with the colonies would make Germany into a colonial pariah. R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30970 /1029. Rechtsverhältnise der deutschen Schutzgebiete. Bd. 1. 20 January 1886.

[51] Heinrich Schnee, German Colonization Past and Future: The Truth about the German Colonies (New York: Knopf, 1926), 17.

[52] John Iliffe, "The Effects of the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905-1906 on German Occupation Policy in East Africa," in Britain and Germany in Africa, eds. Gifford and Louis 557. Iliffe, Tanganyika under German Rule.

[53] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 17 Kolonialpolitik. Deutsche-Witu Gesellschaft, Berlin. 486. Helmut Bley, "Der Traum vom Reich? Rechtsradikalismus als Antwort auf gescheiterte Illusionen im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1900-1918," in Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturegeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus ed. Birthe Kundrus, (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2003), 68.

[54] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 25 Presseausschnitte. 1112. Kongofrage. Leipziger Tageblatt, 7 November 1909.

[55] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 26 Rechts- und Verwaltungsangelegenheiten. 886 Einführung der Selbstverwaltung in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. Kolonial Zeitung, 24 October 1901.

[56] R1001 8 Deutsche-Ostafrika. 8.12 Gesellschaften. 8.12.2 Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft. Mflm 79339 /388. Differenzen zwischen Beamten der Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft und dem Sultan von Sansibar. Bd. 1. Letter from the Sultan to the German Consul for Zanzibar dated 31 May 1887. Letter from the German Consul to Reichskanzler Bismarck dated 29 August 1887.

[57] Tilman Dedering, "'A Certain Rigorous Treatment of all Parts of the Nation:' The

Annihilation of the Herero in German South West Africa, 1904." in The Massacre in History eds. Mark Levene and Penny Roberts, (New York: Berghahn, 1999), 213. Jeremy Silvester, and Jan-Bart Gewald. Words Cannot Be Found: German Colonial Rule in Namibia: An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book (Leiden: Brill, 2003), xxi. R1001 Einziehung von Vermögen von Eingeborenen in Deutsche Südwestafrika. 79419 /1220 Ansiedelungs und Auswanderungswesen 5b 21212, Der Tag. 6 January 1906. Also in Kolnische Volkszeitung 4 January 1906 and Der Tag 14 January 1906.)

[58] Deutsche Kolonialblatt, no. 14, 1894, 324.

[59] *Schutztruppe* officers Hans Paasche and Berthold von Deimling converted to pacifism afterwards to fight the excesses of the colonial system. Heyden and Zeller, 40-41.

[60] Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung 43, 27 October 1904.

[61] R1001 11 Kamerun und Togo. 11.19 Reichstagssachen. Mflm 80239 /4069k. Ermittlungen aus Anlaß von Angriffen gegen die Behörden von Kamerun im Reichstag. Epstein, 641. While former Governor Schnee admitted the excesses of some colonial administrators, he states that they were only the barbaric actions of individuals, not the whole system in: Schnee, 105.

[62] The trials of the officials resulted in such punishments as minimized pensions and similar blandishments. Agitation was further stoked by the minimal punishment meted out to Peters after his dismissal.

[63] R1001 11 Kamerun und Togo. 11.10 Gesellschaft und Vereine. Batanga-Firmen. Mflm 79619 /3416. Hamburger Nachrichten #50. 21 January 1900.

[64] John S. Galbraith, "The 'Turbulent Frontier' as a Factor in British Expansionism." Comparative Studies in Society and History 2, no. 2 (January 1960): 150-168.

[65] Iliffe, Tanganyika under German Rule, 27-48. However, this is not to state that the settlers were always in agreement with the government policy, for example, during the Herero war a settlers' journal was disgusted by the "bestiality by which German soldiers act in the attack." RKA R1001 Expeditionen und Reisende 4b, Militärisches Einschreiten des Schutztruppekampfe gegen Hendrik Witbooi. Mflm 79449 /1483. Sudafrikanische Zeitung 24 Mai 1893.

[66] The Anleitung zum Felddienst in Deutsch-Ostafrika (Dar es Salaam, 1911) is quoted in: Iliffe, Tanganyika under German Rule, 28-29.

[67] R 1001 3 Etats- und Rechnungswesen. 3.1 Allgemeines. Kolonialetats. Mflm 83270 /9550. RKA directive to Imperial Governor (DSWA), 19 July 1912. Fears of miscegenation prompted the deportation to Africa of an African lecturer in Swahili at the Seminar for Oriental Languages who married a German woman in 1905.

[68] Heyden and Zeller, 74.

[69] Grosse's work particularly ignores the influence of settler opinion upon racial concerns. Grosse.

[70] The earlier "negerfreundliche" (pro-native) policy is from: Gründer, 164. Leutwein is quoted from July 1896 and November 1898 in: Bley, 68-69.

[71] Native groups were often bribed to join German military expeditions. Zimmermann, Volume 2, 166. Vertrag zwischen dem Handeshauptmann von Südwestafrika und dem Kapitän der Bastards, betreffend die Wehrpflicht der Rehobother Bastards.

[72] Though this policy was later curtailed over concerns that liquor stunted the labour pool and weapons facilitated unrest.

[73] Eckart. Zimmerer, 176-177, 182.

[74] Prein, 102, 107. Hull, 144.

[75] R1001 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.21 Kolonialpolitik. Mflm 6938 Kolonialpolitik des Staatssekretärs Bernhard Dernburg – Veröffentlich und Vorträge Dernburgs. Specifically Dernburg's speech on: 8 January 1907. Marcia Wright identifies the beginning of the reforms or the "Africanization" of local government before Dernburg's tenure in: Marcia Wright, "Local Roots of Policy in German East Africa," Journal of African History 9, no. 4 (1968): 622, 628.

[76] Grosse connects the reforms to middle class concerns over the extinction of native races in: Grosse, 113-124. For example, in its yearly reports, the RKA noted the high numbers of native children in the German schools and the training of formerly nomadic peoples in sedentary and European commercial trades. R 1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.8 Jahresberichten und Denkschriften. Mflm 83270 /9548. Entwicklung der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee – Denkschrift über das Berichtsjahr 1 April 1904 – 31 March 1905.

[77] From the beginning, African tribal leaders were always encouraged to "place themselves under the protection of the German Kaiser." R 1001 15 Sammlung Georg Thiemann-Groeg. Deutsch-Südwestafrika – Abschriften von Dokumenten aus den Jahren 1885-1893. Mflm. 80680 /9327. Bd. 1.

[78] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe II Einzelne Kolonien. Mflm 30997 /1096. Speech by Erzberger, 6 March 1913. Epstein also evidences the colonial propagandists reciprocal attack upon Erzberger, especially the Flottenverein's pamphlet Lies of Mr. Erzberger in: Epstein, 661.

[79] The Reichstag blamed "native spiritualism," a Rinderpest epidemic and native resistance to European regulations and confiscations for the war. R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe II Einzelne Kolonien. Mflm 30997 /1096. Bd. 5. Denkschrift über Eingeborenen-Politik und Hereroaufstand in Deutsch-Südwestafrika.

[80] R 1001 3 Etats- und Rechnungswesen – 3.1 Allgemeines. Kolonialetats. Mflm 83270 /9550. RKA directive to Imperial Governor (DSWA), 19 July 1912.

[81] Klaus Epstein, "Erzberger and the German Colonial Scandals, 1905-1910." English Historical Review 74, (1959): 637-663. While Epstein overvalues Erzberger's impact upon colonial policy, the administration did bow to Erzberger's pressure and allow limited municipal self-government in the colonies in 1905-1907. R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.23 Reichstagssachen. Mflm 79393 /955. Parlamentsverhandlung in Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Angelegenheiten - Materialsammlung. Reichstagsverhandlungen 1911.

[82] Austen, Northwest Tanzania Under German and British Rule, 96, 127-129. Ranger, 294-296.

[84] Charles Pike, "History and Imagination: Swahili Literature and Resistance to German Language Imperialism in Tanzania, 1885-1910," The International Journal of African Historical Studies 19, no. 2 (1986): 215, 223, 230. The term "Einheitssprache" is used in relation to Swahili.

[85] Ibid., 231.

[86] Prein, 100. Redmond also questions images of homogenized resistance in: Redmond, 408. Allen Issacman and Barbara Issacman, "Resistance and Collaboration in Southern and Central Africa, c. 1850-1920," The International Journal of African Historical Studies 10, no. 1 (1977): 33-34. As Sunseri opines, African resistance was not solely against German colonialism but sometimes premised upon more pragmatic goals like land, labour and resources. Sunseri, "Statist Narratives and Maji Maji Ellipses," 583-584.

[87] Wallenkampf, 4.

[88] Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 48, 67.

[89] R1001 9 Südwestafrika. 9.24 Verwaltungssachen. 9.24.2 Angelegenheiten und Aufstände der einheimischen Stämme. Mflm 79347 /2089. Aufstände in Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1904. Differenzen zwischen Generalleutenant Lothar v. Trotha und Gouverneur Theodor Gotthilf Leutwein über das Verhältness von militärischen und politischen Maßnahmen. Bd. 1, 7af. November 5, 1904. The *Vernichtungsbefehl*

promised death for all Herero found within the colony: "either by the bullet or via (the) mission through brandy." Drechsler, Let us Die Fighting, 148. Trotha also promised to accomplish the: "*vernichte die aufständischen Stämme mit Strömen von Blut und Strömen von Geld*." Behnen, 294. Horst Drechsler, Aufstände in Südwestafrika: der Kampfe der Herero und Nama, 1904-1907, gegen die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft (Berlin: Dietz, 1984), 180, 185. Nor was this the first time extermination had been advocated. Woodruff D. Smith, The German Colonial Empire (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 80.

[90] Hull identifies the steady development of a "final solution" to the revolt in: Hull, 147-149. Bley, 163-164. The 1905-1907 Maji Maji revolt in East Africa had a similarly catastrophic effect upon the population where a conservatively-estimated 75,000 Africans where murdered during the suppression. Iliffe, Tanganyika under German Rule, 20-21. Sunseri, "Baumwollfrage," 32. Hassing, 381.

[91] Prein, 102, 107. The war ended with an estimated 75-80 percent mortality of the Herero peoples from an original population between 60,000 and 80,000. Hull, 144. Tilman Dedering, "The German-Herero War of 1904: Revisionism of Genocide or Imaginary Historiography?" Journal of Southern African Studies 19, 1 (1993): 81-82.

[92] The *Kontrollverordnung* and *Paßverordnung* are from: Zimmerer, 68-69.

[93] There were even plans to relocate particularly restive tribes such as the Namaqua to other German colonies, but economic reasons rendered this impossible. R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 9.24 Verwaltungssachen. 9.24.2 Angelegenheiten und Aufstände der einheimischen Stämme. Mflm 2141. Aufstand im Namaqualand und seine Bekämpfung. B. 9. Pläne zur Umseidlung von Hottentotten in andere deutsche Kolonien.

[94] Zimmerer, 282.

[95] Thaddeus Sunseri, "Slave Ransoming in German East Africa: 1885-1922," The International Journal of African Historical Studies 26, no. 3, (1993): 486.

[96] Richard A. Voeltz, "The European Economic and Political Penetration of South West Africa: 1884-1892," The International Journal of African Historical Studies 17, no. 4 (1984): 633-636.

[97] Dedering finds evidence of this in the Ferreira Raid of 1906: Tilman Dedering, "The Ferreira Raid of 1906: Boers, Britons and Germans in Southern Africa in the Aftermath of the South African War," Journal of Southern African Studies 26, no. 1 (March 2000): 52.

[98] R 1001 3 Etats- und Rechnungswesen – 3.1 Allgemeines. Kolonialetats. Mflm 83270 /9550. Letter from Imperial Chancellor Bülow to DKG, 30 October 1902. R 8023

Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 19 Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee. 593. Komitee zur Einführung der Erzeugnisse aus den deutschen Kolonien, Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee.

[99] Müller.

[100] Kuczynski, Volume I, 44, 210, 285, 318.

[101] Heinrich Brode, British and German East Africa: Their Economic and Commercial Relations (New York: Arno, 1977), 8-10.

[102] Bebel's attack in the Reichstag dates from 26 January 1889. Müller, 392.

[103] R1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.23 Reichstagssachen. Mflm 79393 /956. Weißbuch über den Aufstand in Ostafrika. Bd. 1.

[104] Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis. eds. Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 726.

[105] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30973 /1034. Verwaltung der Schutzgebiete. Bd. 1 Errichtung des Kolonialrats. Reichstag speeches dated 18 March 1895.

[106] R 1001 8 Deutsch-Ostafrika. 8.14 Handel. Handel mit und in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Mflm 79362 /639. AA (K-A) "Denkschrift" 1 September 1896.

[107] R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Gesellschaft und Vereine 10b #3. Mflm 79453 /1533 442.7. Das Schiedsgerichtsverfahren in Sachen der DKGfürSWA c/a den Landesfiskus von SWA. "Die Land- und Berg-Gerechtsame der DKGfürSWA: Zwei Gutachten." Berlin 1906.

[108] R 1001 11 Kamerun und Togo. 11.10 Gesellschaft und Vereine. Handels- und Erwerbgesellschaften in Kamerun. Gründungsprojekte und Allgemeines. Mflm 79619 /3421. Circular from Staatssekretär Dernburg to colonial trading companies. 21 December 1906.

[109] "*Eine genaure Abgrenzung auch nach dem Innern zu, behält die Regierung seiner Majestät späten Festsetzungen nach Maszgabe der Entwicklung der Ansiedlungen und ihres Verkehrs vor*." Esterhuyse, 67, 88.

[110] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.18 Innere Angelegenheiten 2a. Mflm 79369 /730 Auswärtiges Amt 6598, undecipherable date December 1888. Many of these coastal treaties only served to grant German commerce initial access to the lucrative African hinterland.

[111] R1001 1 Allgemeine Angelegenheiten. 1.21 Kolonialpolitik. Mflm 6937. Internationale Übereinkünfte über die deutschen Kolonien – Metallographische Vervielfältigungen. Agreement between Britain and Germany, 26 February 1894. R1001 15 Sammlung Georg Thiemann-Groeg. Erwerb von Kolonialgebieten – Photokopien von Dokumenten aus den Jahren 1883-1899. Mflm 80680 /9325. Treaty between Germany and King Mosasso of Cameroon. 7 January 1885.

[112] R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 9.23 Vermischtes - Südwestafrika I. Mflm. 79499 /1995.

[113] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 26 Rechts- und Verwaltungsangelegenheiten. 885 Besteuerung der Eingeborenen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. Kolonial Zeitung 13 March 1897. The paper uses the phrase "*Geborener Faulenzer*."

[114] R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 26 Rechts- und Verwaltungsangelegenheiten. 885 Besteuerung der Eingeborenen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. This policy was advanced by the Kolonial Zeitung, 9 January 1897. The next sentence is also from the: Kolonial Zeitung, 13 March 1897.

[115] As well, colonists questioned tax policy and worried that natives would be unable to work, and consequently pay taxes. R1001 8 Deutsche-Ostafrika. 8.28 Steuersachen. Mflm 79401 /1047 Direkte Steuern in Deutsche-Ostafrika. Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Zeitung, 17 February 1906.

[116] The colonies were fractured into legal districts and integrated into a colonial legal hierarchy based in territory in order to facilitate the extension of law.

[117] R1001 2 Recht und Verwaltung. 2.7 Verwaltung. Mflm 80346 /5631. Sammlung von Gesetzen und Verordnungen. Bd. 1 Colonial Statues: 15 March, 18 March, 21 March and 25 March 1888; 21 April, 5 June, 19 July, 15 October, and 13 December 1886.

[118] Walter Nuhn, Sturm über Südwest: Der Hereroaufstand von 1904 – Ein dusters Kapitel der deutschen kolonialen Vergangenheit Namibias (Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1989), 37.

[119] Silvester and Gewald, 249.

[120] Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972-1977 ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 87-90, 110.

[121] One of the first revolts was the 1888-1890 "Arab Revolt" against German authority in East Africa. The suppression of the uprising was instrumental in establishing German control over the colony.

[122] R 1001 7 Kommando der Schutztruppe. 7.1 Schutztruppe – Allgemein. Mflm. 83270 /9551 Anrechnung von Kriegsjahren für die Angehörigen der Schutztruppen in Deutsch-Ost- und Südwestafrika, Kamerun, Togo. East Africa alone saw a total of 76 minor battles between the years 1889 to 1905. Heyden and Zeller, 38.

[123] The military consumed a significant amount of the colonial budget. In 1900, the budget for the colonies was 6,830,900 marks, of which 1,656,780 was directed towards the colonial military. R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30975 /1040. Missionstätigkeit in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. Bd. 1. 1900 Reichstag Mündlicher Bericht. R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe III Haushalts-Etat für die Schutzgebiete. Mflm 30975 /1138 Etat für 1905/06. Bd. 7.

[124] Weikart, 275-276, 282. Grosse.

[125] Rede Kaiser Wilhelm II in Bremerhaven am 27 Juli 1900. Weser-Zeitung, Bremen, 28 July 1900. Behnen, 246-247. Though this speech referred to the Chinese Boxer Rebellion, the Kaiser's proclamation against the Herero was similarly worded. RKA R1001 Einziehung von Vermögen von Eingeborenen in Deutsche Südwestafrika. 79419 /1220 Ansiedelungs und Auswanderungswesen 5b 21212, Decree from Wilhelm II to RKA, 26 December 1905.

[126] Drechsler, Aufstände in Südwestafrika. Klotz, 38-62. Berman, "German Colonialism," 25-34.

[127] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30976 /1044. Kaiserliche Schutztruppe. Bd. 1. Reichstag speeches, 4 February 1891. 5 February 1891. R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30976 /1044. Kaiserliche Schutztruppe. Bd. 1. Reichstag speeches dated 3 May 1902.

[128] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30976 /1044. Kaiserliche Schutztruppe. Bd. 1. Petition from the DKG to the government requesting protection dated 3 April 1891. In fact, in many of the settlers' requests for *Schutztruppe* assistance, the issue of trade protection was frequently voiced. R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 22 Militärwesen. 637-638. Schutztruppen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten.

[129] Drechsler, Let Us Die Fighting, 106-111. The first major war was the 1903 revolt of the Bondelswart Nama against the deprecations of the Kharaskhoma Syndicate. The

Herero and Nama wars were similarly influenced by economic mistreatment. Wallenkampf, iv.

[130] R1001 Expeditionen und Reisende 4b, Militärisches Einschreiten des Schutztruppekampfe gegen Hendrik Witbooi. Mflm 79449 /1483. Letter from Kharaskhoma Syndicate managing director to German Consul General 18 July 1893. RKA R1001 Expeditionen und Reisende 4b, Militärisches Einschreiten des Schutztruppekampfe gegen Hendrik Witbooi. Mflm 79449 /1483. Letter from Kharaskhoma Syndicate managing director to German Consul General 7 October 1893.

[131] R1001 9 Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 9.1 Allgemeine politische Angelegenheiten. Mflm 79500 /2025. Verträge mit Häuptlingen aus dem Gebiet von Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Sammlung von Abschriften.

[132] The Nama chief Hendrik Witbooi rose with his traditional Herero enemies against the Germans. Bridgman, 133-136. In addition, the Bondelswart rebellion on the heels of Herero unrest was premised upon cooperation between the tribes.

[133] Weinberger, 423. This statement can be translated as "for this system, not another man or another penny." The statement has been attributed to August Bebel in 1894 and Rosa Luxemburg in 1898. Bebel also declared that Germany's colonial policy was an "embarrassment." R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe IV Finanzen. Mflm 30975 /1160. Speech 5 December 1904.

[134] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30975 /1040. Missionstätigkeit in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. Bd. 1. Debate 19 March 1895.

[135] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe IV Finanzen. Mflm 30975 /1160. Aufnahme von Anleihen für Zwecke der Schutzgebiete. 1 December 1891.

[136] Even Chancellor Bülow questioned the policy before Wilhelm II. Nuhn quotes Bülow as listing four major grievances about Trotha's tactics: "*Eine Politik der totalen Vernichtung sei unchristlich. Die Trothasachen Maßnahmen seien undurchführbar. Die Vernichtungspolitik sei wirtschaftlich sinnlos. Die Proklamation würder dem deutschen Ansehen unter den zivilisierten Nationen Abbruch tun.*" Nuhn, 303. R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 17 Kolonialpolitik. Agitationen nach Reichstagsauflösung. Mflm. 509. Matthias Erzberger, Warum ist der Reichstag aufgelöst worden (Berlin: Verlag der Germania, 1906). Epstein, 638-639.

[137] This worked out to about sixty-seven pfennigs for every German. R 8023 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft. 17 Kolonialpolitik. Agitationen nach Reichstagsauflösung. Mflm. 509. Berliner Tagesblatt, 1 March 1907. Anzeiger vom Oberland, 19 February, 1907.

[138] R101 Reichstag des Deutschen Reiches. Abteilung I Reichsgesetzgebung und-Verwaltung. XV Kolonialangelegenheiten. Gruppe I Allgemeines. Mflm 30975 /1040. Missionstätigkeit in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. Bd. 1. Debate 9 July 1890.

[139] Abraham Ascher, "Imperialists within German Social Democracy prior to 1914," Journal of Central European Affairs 20, no. 4, (1961): 397, 408, 422. Abraham Ascher, "'Radical' Imperialists within German Social Democracy, 1912-1918," Political Science Quarterly 76, no. 4, (December 1961): 556, 574. Fletcher. Weinberger.

[140] Mommsen, Max Weber and German Politics, 167.

[141] Smith, in: Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop, 107-123. Bley, "Der Traum vom Reich?" in Kundrus, 56-68.

[142] Penner, Merrit, Taylor, Sanderson are particularly guilty of this.

Conclusion

[1] Noyes, "Nomadism, Nomadology, Postcolonialism," 91.

[2] Guha particularly condemns this false dialectic throughout: Guha.

[3] Wm. Roger Louis, ed. Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy. (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976), 2-3. Robinson and Gallagher. Africa and the Victorians.

[4] Baumgart, Deutschland im Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 13, 15-16, 45. Prein. Pike.

[5] Smith, "The Ideology of German Colonialism," 11-12.

[6] Joseph Schumpeter, Imperialism and Social Classes (New York: Meridian Books, 1951), 6. Gründer also proposes an irrational explanation for German colonialism in: Gründer, Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien, 25.

[7] Klotz, 47.

[8] Spivak, 279.

[9] Jameson, "Marxism and Dualism in Deleuze," 400.

Appendix

Guide to Abbreviations

AA	Auswärtiges Amt
DKG	Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft
DKGfürSWA	Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika
DOAG	Deutsche-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft
K-A	Kolonial-Abteilung (Auswärtiges Amt)
RKA	Reichskolonialamt
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

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Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (DOAG) - R 8124

Kaiserliches Gouvernment in Deutsch-Südwestafrika - R 151 F

Nachlässe Carl Peters - N 2223

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Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft (Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft)

Die Deutsche Kolonial-gesetzgebung Sammlung auf die Deutschen Schutzgebieten

Deutsche Monatschrift für Kolonialpolitik und Kolonisation

Kolonialblatt (or Deutsche Kolonialblatt)

Kolonial Jahrbuch

Kolonial-politische Korrespondenz Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation: Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft

Kolonial Rundschau

Kolonial Zeitung (or Deutsche Kolonialzeitung)

Koloniale Monatsblätter; Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft

Kolonie und Heimat

Die Landesgesetzgebung des deutschostafrikanischen Schutzgebietes

Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten

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