

# Introduction

European rule over Africans is a key topic in the history of European colonial rule, since colonialism, according to the definition laid down by Wolfgang Reinhard, is 'control exercised by one nation over another, foreign, one, involving the economic, political and ideological exploitation of the differential between the two in their degrees of development'.<sup>1</sup> In the modern colonial state, the need to regulate this relationship led to the development of a separate field of policy within the Colonial Administration, concerned exclusively with relations between the colonizers and the colonized population: the field of Native Policy. The aim of this study is to investigate this area, taking as an example German colonial rule in South West Africa, today's Namibia.

Native Policy is to be understood to include all measures taken by the colonial state to determine its relationship with the colonized population, including regulations governing how the White population was to deal with the latter. This includes the behaviour of private individuals towards 'natives' only to the extent that certain administrative measures gave rise to visible manifestations in this area, or allow conclusions to be drawn as to the way the colonial officers involved carried out their duty of supervision. Despite this, the term Native Policy covers a wider field than merely the day-to-day dealings of the administration with the local population; it also covers the concept, fundamental to German policy, of a *Herrschaftsutopie*, a 'governmental and administrative utopia'<sup>2</sup> that extended beyond the conceptions of colonial rule prevailing at any given moment, i.e. of how to deal with the day-to-day business of Native Policy. In the field of Native Policy, the concept of 'governmental and administrative utopia' relates to a system of relationships with the local population that the colonial officials sought to achieve as the ideal permanent situation.

Much space in this work is devoted to the issue of the role played by the modern state and its representatives, the colonial officers, in Native Policy. This arises out of the fact that the period of German

colonial rule, albeit relatively short (1884–1915), was long enough for colonial rule to become firmly established, the foundations of a settler society to be laid, the greater part of the African-owned land to be transferred into the possession of the colonial state, and the traditional economic and social structures of the African communities to be largely destroyed. Within a few years, the African population had ceased to be free inhabitants of their own country, able to engage in independent economic activity, and were transformed into subjects of the German Reich who lacked all possessions and were obliged to rely on dependent employment in order to survive. This process of oppression and of depriving the population of the colony of its rights took place in South West Africa at a speed that can only be explained by the extent to which the long arm of the State's bureaucratic administration attempted to reach down into all areas of the lives of ordinary people. In this study, the focus is on the years 1905 to 1915, when the German administration, subsequent to the genocidal war against the Herero and Nama (1904–08) with its thousands of victims among the African population and the resulting shifts in power relationships, was able to throw overboard all the restraints practised before the war and to implement direct rule over the Africans.

At the centre of these considerations stand above all the colonial 'practitioners' on the spot; that is to say, the Colonial Government in Windhoek and the local administrations of the Districts, since they were not only the ones essentially responsible for shaping and implementing Native Policy but were also in a position to observe directly the consequences arising out of it. This does not, however, exclude investigation of the part played by the *Reichskolonialamt*, the Imperial Colonial Office in Berlin, in developing the concepts behind this Native Policy.

This nuanced examination in itself implies the abandonment, which is fundamental to this study, of a view that regards the colonial bureaucracy as a homogeneous structure in which all officials shared the same values and pursued the same intentions. On the contrary, it emphasizes the fact that such a complex organization as the Colonial Administration was inevitably composed of individuals who entertained divergent opinions with regard to their objectives and the ways in which these were to be achieved. The assumption underlying this study, as a prerequisite for any investigation of the multifaceted processes out of which the formulation and implementation of Native Policy evolved, is that 'all those involved acted as subjects of history'; in other words – again borrowing from Trutz von Trotha – the admission that those players acted with self-awareness, and the assumption that

each individual colonial officer performed his tasks in a competent and rational way: he 'set himself objectives and weighed up the means he needed to employ to realize those objectives', and he was able 'to put forward understandable reasons for acting as he did',<sup>3</sup> even if those reasons appear to us today to be false or irrational.

For the field of Native Policy, this means posing the question as to how the bureaucrats perceived themselves, and how they perceived others. How did the individual colonial officer regard the duties attached to his office, how did he see himself in the colonial environment, and what factors contributed to the perceptions he had of both the Africans and the White population? Not only are the answers to these questions important in respect of the development and implementation of Native Policy; they are also able to contribute to an analysis of the significance of racism and of the self-image of Wilhelminian officialdom. In this way, the insights obtained hold a significance going beyond the specific context of South West Africa. This offers a good example of the extent to which the history of German colonial rule is also a part of German history in general, though admittedly a part that took place above all in Africa.

Alongside the general attitude of the people concerned, however, their specific personal interests in matters both internal and external to their bureaucratic activities are of essential importance in the design of Native Policy. Pierre Bourdieu has pointed out in a carefully nuanced manner that players forming part of an organization always, consciously or unconsciously, pursue not only unselfish but also egotistical goals.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, these may run thoroughly counter to those of the collective player that the individual is part of – in this case, the Administration – and hinder the effective implementation of the policy concerned. The pursuit of one's own personal career is an obvious example of this, but so is the adoption of positions held by specific groups in society, such as, for example, the mining companies or the farmers' associations. Colonial officials lived in a social environment that bore the clear imprint of particular interests in the field of Native Policy, and the social pressures exerted by these could well lead to officials adopting positions that displayed a conflict of interest with the general policy of the Administration.

But the work of the lobbyists also impacted directly on the Government itself. In German South West Africa this is apparent above all in the competition for influence between the mining industry and the farmers. This in itself gave rise to a situation in which the bureaucracy was forced to take sides, or at the very least to weigh up and consider whether it should take sides, and it points to the fact

that it is not as easy to determine the actual degree of influence of particular lobby groups as the Marxist theory of history in particular would have us believe. This work therefore takes as its starting point the assumption that, as Trutz von Trotha has formulated it in respect of Togo, the actions of the colonial bureaucracy were not driven merely by 'structural constraints' determined 'by social and economic forces'.<sup>5</sup> This should not, however, be taken to mean that there was no overlap between the interests of specific colonialist groups and the objectives of the German Administration; because if German South West Africa was to be turned into a settler colony it was essential, for example, to pay due regard to the farming community. The economic development of the colony too could only be achieved by providing support to both agriculture and the mining companies. There is nevertheless no question of the bureaucracy having responded in a reflex-like manner to whatever demands were made on them by these interest groups.

This leads on directly to a further problem: that of the relationship between the legal provisions as promulgated and the legal reality. From the fact that regulations existed in the field of Native Policy, it cannot be concluded that these were comprehensively implemented. There were numerous hindrances to this. Among them were a shortage of staff, inadequacies in the infrastructure and the unrealizable nature of certain measures, as well as active and/or passive resistance on the part of the African population. Of equal importance is the issue of the degree of cooperation that was forthcoming from the White population. Native Policy was formulated in such detail and in such convoluted regulations that it was simply impossible for the administration and its executive organs alone to make the resources available that would have been required for their implementation. Cooperation from the White population was essential. The extent to which this was forthcoming, the areas in which it was not (because the objectives of the settlers diverged from those of the Administration), and the impact that these factors had on Native Policy are questions that need to be investigated.

But even the assumption that the officials basically all pulled together, and that when implementing a policy they set aside any differences of opinion that might have come to light during its formulation, is, as I have already mentioned, questionable. Particularly the District Officers, who were scarcely or not at all involved in creating the regulations and ordinances, found that they had substantial leeway to bring their own views into play, as it were retrospectively, when interpreting the provisions that had been promulgated. Any historical analysis must therefore pay careful attention to colonial practice,

and take due account of how individual officers behaved. This study attempts to deal with this problem, which has been neglected up until now, by not only describing how the Native Policy ordinances and regulations came into being, but also concerning itself with how they were then applied in practice.

Native Policy, as an expression of the State's administrative activity, is codified in the form of laws, ordinances and decrees that originated in the form of individual drafts, memoranda and statements of position in the course of a bureaucratic process. Over and above this, it is expressed in the decisions taken in individual cases by the Colonial Government and the local authorities. Due consideration needs to be given to all of these.

The situation with regard to the sources from which answers to the questions raised may be extracted is extraordinarily favourable, since the entire archives of the Central Office of the Imperial Governor in Windhoek have not only been preserved, but have also, since Namibia's independence, been made freely accessible for academic research. This makes it possible for the first time to examine Native Policy from the point of view of those people who were themselves active in the colony. Since, in addition, the Central Office acted as an intermediate level of administration between the Imperial Colonial Office in Berlin and the District Offices distributed throughout the colony, the relevant correspondence is to be found in its entirety in these files, in the form either of originals or of copies of the outgoing documents. These sources embrace all fields of Native Policy, from education, taxation policy and employment matters to classified military documents, and all the way to files relating to civil legal cases and the records of the criminal courts. To supplement this body of evidence, I have also drawn upon the archives of the Imperial Colonial Office – deposited previously in the Central State Archives of the GDR in Potsdam, but now to be found in the Federal Archives in Lichterfelde, Berlin – and the records of individual District Offices and of the Native Commissioners' Offices, which today are preserved in the Namibian National Archives in Windhoek. Only in respect of the *Schutztruppe*, the military force stationed in the colony, are there significant gaps, as the relevant archives have been destroyed. According to information given by Archive staff, the *Schutztruppe* documents located in the colony were burnt by the Germans themselves when South African forces marched into the territory in 1915, while the corresponding archives in Germany were destroyed in a Red Army air raid shortly before the end of the Second World War. The German Federal Archives – Military Archives in Freiburg hold some individual source documents relating to the war against the Herero and Nama.

I have investigated and analysed these. To supplement the source documents originating from state institutions, I have in individual cases also made use of documents from the Rhenish Missionary Society, which are preserved in the archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia.

The user of these sources is, however, confronted with a certain degree of difficulty as a result of the way the records were kept during the German colonial period. Although vast quantities of source documents were archived, they were often filed in a completely haphazard manner, and so the researcher cannot always rely on the classification of files by subject matter. Often, a volume of documents will be found to contain only some of the documentation relating to a particular event or administrative procedure, in which case it may be necessary to work through many such volumes in order to be able to reconstruct the topic completely. For this reason, a much smaller number of files may have been referred to and quoted in the text than I actually worked through.

Thus the sources that this work is based on are, in the overwhelming majority of cases, administrative files containing documents written personally by the people concerned. The advantage that they thereby afford direct access to the actions of those people must be weighed against the disadvantage that they were themselves parties to any dispute that may have arisen with regard to what policy would be correct. As is ultimately always the case with historical sources, these administrative documents must be examined individually for clues that indicate the intentions of the specific writer concerned. But precisely as a result of this, it is possible to obtain insights into how the administration functioned and into the objectives being pursued in the field of Native Policy; these go far beyond anything that was set out in generalized policy documents or in published articles seeking to give overviews of contemporary events. Even less reliable than the latter as indicators of the intentions that were actually being pursued are the memoirs written by some of those involved, or the programmatic articles by colonial propaganda-mongers that are to be found in the numerous colonialist periodicals. For this reason, these have been drawn upon only in exceptional cases. The most outstanding example of the dangers inherent in taking the programmatic writings of colonialist theoreticians to represent the historical reality is to be found in the case of Paul Rohrbach. As he occupied the position of Settlement Commissioner in South West Africa from 1903 to 1906, he was considered to be a major authority on the aims of the German Colonial Administration. What was overlooked, however, was the

fact that he was ultimately obliged to give up his office in South West Africa precisely because the settlement policy he stood for conflicted with the view prevailing in the Colonial Government.<sup>6</sup>

Considering the importance of German Native Policy in the history of Namibia after 1905, it is surprising that no soundly based analysis of it has yet appeared. The two works that continue to be of fundamental importance in respect of German rule in South West Africa, namely the monographs by Horst Drechsler<sup>7</sup> and Helmut Bley,<sup>8</sup> dating from 1966 and 1968 respectively, devote little space to any portrayal of Native Policy after 1905. In particular, Drechsler's statement that the period after 1905 was characterized by 'the peace of the graveyard' was largely adopted uncritically by other commentators, apparently blocking any more precise study of the last ten years of German colonial rule. This is in spite of the fact that Drechsler does draw attention to continuities between the prewar and postwar periods; but his Marxist approach, which only admitted economic interests as motivations for German policy, obscured his view of other motivations arising out of the ideologies or mentalities of the people involved. As he regards German Native Policy as a uniform phenomenon supported by all Germans both in South West Africa itself and at home in the Reich, he is unable to do justice to the dynamics and internal contradictions of a settler colony within which there emerged several disparate elements with divergent interests.

Fritz Wege's<sup>9</sup> study, despite its wealth of content, is also subject to similar theoretical and ideological limitations. His work focuses on the economic and social situation of the Africans, and he describes in detail the importance of the shortage of labour in the formulation of German policy. But he scarcely concerns himself with the process of opinion-forming within the German Administration – a result, among other things, of the sources he draws upon. The crucial documents of the authorities on the spot in South West Africa, which are so important to any analysis of policy as it was practised on the level of the local administration, were available to him only to the extent that they were to be found in the then Central Archives in Potsdam. This led to a one-sided emphasis on the way the German Administration was instrumentalized by German business circles.

Helmut Bley's approach is fundamentally more complex. He analyses in detail developments within the White population, and points out the plurality of interests and the tensions, in particular precisely in the 'native question', on the one hand between the Colonial Administration in South West Africa and the Imperial Colonial Office, and on the other hand between the Governor and the

White population. Yet he scarcely goes into the various positions held by different members of the German Administration in the colony; and, furthermore, he overlooks the fundamental continuity in Native Policy from the early years of German colonial rule under Governor Leutwein up to the period after the war against the Herero und Nama. As a result, his (brief) analysis of Native Policy after 1905 is lacking in historical depth. Despite this, Bley's work essentially represents the state of research that has remained current up to the present day. Gert Sudholt's<sup>10</sup> study of German Native Policy down to 1904 does not manage to add to what Bley had already presented, and in addition displays some apologetic tendencies.

Some valuable insights into the discrepancy between the legal provisions defining German Native Policy after 1905 and the day-to-day reality of their implementation are provided by Johannes Müller<sup>11</sup> in his 1984 MA thesis. On the basis of a careful analysis of the published texts of laws and ordinances, of contemporary monographs and of newspapers and periodicals, he succeeds in shaking to the foundations the view of the last ten years of German colonial rule that had prevailed until then. For he points out that the various Native Ordinances were often not, and indeed could not be, rigorously implemented. With the sources available to him, however, which do not include any official archives, Müller was able neither to draw any well-founded conclusions with regard to the motivations and background factors underlying Native Policy, nor to gain any in-depth insights into colonial practice. His work reveals clearly how essential it is for German Native Policy in the period concerned to be examined in the light of the files archived in Windhoek. Müller's research and the questions he raises form the starting point for my own study, even if our interpretations diverge widely in some areas. As his study was never published, its reception in the academic world remained very limited. Wolfgang Reinhard<sup>12</sup> further developed Müller's ideas, and called into question the picture that had prevailed up until then of an African population subjected to total control. This work takes up on his theme of the discrepancies between the Native Policy regulations valid in law and the day-to-day reality of their implementation.

Since 1995, two smaller-scale studies devoted to individual issues have appeared. Peter Scheulen<sup>13</sup> has examined the image of the 'native' in South West Africa. He is able to show how the view of the African population disseminated by publications was very much determined by stereotypes that were often racist by nature. However, in view of his concentration on colonial periodicals he was not able to answer the more intriguing question as to whether these stereotypes were also to

be found among the colonial officials on the spot, and whether they changed over the course of time. Jürgen Zimmerling<sup>14</sup> has devoted himself to the complex of problems surrounding the administration of criminal justice in relation to Africans, examining above all the legal provisions governing this field; his very brief survey of how criminal justice was in fact administered is unfortunately limited to a listing of the sentences of corporal punishment imposed, as found in the official statistics. From this, it is not possible to gain any deeper insights into the day-to-day reality of Native Policy in the field of criminal justice.

One reason for the lack of any new examination of German Native Policy after the war of 1904–08 is the shift in perspective that has occurred in the field of non-European history, with colonial history giving way to African history. In bringing about this shift, the historical sciences have made an important contribution to mental decolonization, with Africans no longer being perceived as ‘peoples without writing and without history’.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Namibia too, some authors have addressed themselves to the history of the African population. This shift in perspective was initiated by two editions of the diaries of the Nama *Kaptein* (Chief) Hendrik Witbooi, produced by Wolfgang Reinhard<sup>16</sup> and Brigitte Lau<sup>17</sup> respectively, these diaries being the only large-scale source originating from an African during the period of German rule. With her work on southern and central Namibia in the mid-nineteenth century, which appeared in 1987 but was written in 1982, Brigitte Lau<sup>18</sup> has also provided a first contribution to the history of the Nama in precolonial times. Gerhard Pool<sup>19</sup> approached the history of the Herero under German rule with his biography of Samuel Maharero, who after initially collaborating with the Germans finally led his people into the 1904–08 war against them. This book offers valuable source documents, particularly ones relating to the German conduct of the war, as Pool had access to the private archives of the von Trotha family. The study by Jan Bart Gewald<sup>20</sup> provides a comprehensive portrayal of the history of the Herero between 1890 and 1923; it turns the focus onto the social dynamics within Herero society and the interplay between these and the process of establishing of German colonial rule.

The Ovambo, who lived in the north of the colony, have also been the subject of attention. The work of Regina Strassegger<sup>21</sup> has proved to be of particular relevance to this study. She has provided an extensive description of the system of migrant labour, but does not manage to go beyond clichés in respect of the attitude of the German Administration. Without any in-depth analysis of the constraints that the Administration was subject to in its actions, she displays a curious belief in its omnipotence. She does not show any awareness

of the fact that the Administration, even in its dealings with other European protagonists such as the mining companies, was bound by law. The very choice of subject makes it impossible for the book to provide a comprehensive analysis of German Native Policy that takes into account the whole complex of motives that governed the modus operandi of the German Administration. Despite this, a merit of her work is doubtless the fact that she does not portray the Ovambo merely as passive victims of German policy, but shows them to be autonomous players who skilfully exploited the options for action that were open to them. Martti Eirola's<sup>22</sup> examination of the archives of the Finnish Mission, which are available only in Finnish, represents a significant contribution to our understanding of the relationship between the Ovambo and the Germans. Above all, he too is able to show that the Ovambo were not only an object of German policy, but were an independently active force that the Germans were not able to control. However, as German administration did not extend to Ovamboland, this present work deals with the Ovambo only to the extent that they migrated to the centre or south of the colony to work.

Against the background of the shift in perspective mentioned above, the question naturally arises as to why my work, contrary to the current trend in the academic world, focuses on the colonial bureaucracy. This comes from my conviction, which to me goes without saying, that the impact of colonial rule and the interactions between the colonial 'masters' and the colonized can only be comprehended on the basis of a precise knowledge of colonial policy, and above all of Native Policy. But there are considerable gaps in our knowledge of this field, which this work attempts to close. Furthermore, it seems to me that the shift of perspective in respect of African history has brought with it a negative side-effect: German colonial rule has been detached from German history, and responsibility for it transferred to a small circle of specialists in African history. The history of colonial rule, however, lies at the interface between European and non-European history. It is always the history of two countries: on the one hand of the colony itself and the people living there, and on the other hand of its colonial mother country. I therefore regard this work as being first and foremost a contribution to German history, even though the subject matter is a chapter of German history that took place in Africa. This does not mean that the fate of the colonized is to be completely left on one side; again and again, I point out the consequences of German actions for the African population, and the Africans' reactions to them. In view of my primary research interest, however, these matters are not at the centre of my study.

In the first chapter I deal with the formal establishment of the *Schutzgebiet* (as the German colonies were officially known), the first twenty years of German colonial rule and the genocidal war against the Herero and Nama. Although several academic studies exist in this field, a revised treatment of it has become necessary: in particular, a fundamental reassessment of the intentions and policies of Governor Leutwein and his staff with regard to Native Policy is called for, since a degree of continuity, previously overlooked but now apparent, links the periods before and after the war. The Native Policy pursued after the war represents not a fundamentally new beginning but the realization of objectives that had already existed in the prewar period. In a following section, the war against the Herero and Nama, the genocidal quality of which is indisputable and is not confined purely to combat situations or to the person of General von Trotha, is dealt with in respect of both the conduct of hostilities and the treatment of prisoners of war. Already in this context it becomes clear that the German side by no means acted monolithically. In respect of German Native Policy, however, the war represented an exceptional phase, a state of emergency, as the murder and expulsion of the African population was in fact contrary to that policy's true objectives.

In the second chapter, the focus turns to the legal consolidation of German Native Policy. This includes the expropriation of land and measures aimed at achieving racial segregation, as well as the codification of various measures of Native Law dating from the prewar period, which were now for the first time to apply throughout the colony (with the exception of its most northerly and south-easterly regions). The focus, in addition to the issues of the nature of the decision-making process, precursor measures from the prewar period and the specific people responsible in each individual case, also extends to the question of the intentions behind the measures. Particularly in the case of the Native Ordinances, which were central to the structure of the system of control, the analysis extends to the reactions and statements of opinion that were forthcoming from the District Officers – that is to say, from those people who, although they were not involved in the decision-making process that had led to the formulation of the ordinances, were responsible for implementing them in their everyday contacts with Africans. This gives rise to a more complex picture of the *Herrschaftsutopie* (governmental and administrative utopia) that the German colonial regime sought to create: the society of racial privilege and the 'semifree labour market'. It also makes clear that the establishment of a cohesive Native Policy was to no small extent the outcome of the efforts of only four persons, namely von Lindequist,

Golinelli, Tecklenburg and Hintrager, some of whom had worked in the colony's administration as early as under Leutwein, and from 1905 onwards occupied a variety of key positions in the colony or in the Imperial Colonial Office.

The third chapter contains a brief sketch of the essential demographic, economic and institutional developments and changes in the period after the war. These include, in addition to the changes in the population figures brought about by the war and by White immigration, the discovery of diamonds and the resulting tensions between agriculture and the mining industry, the massive reduction in the size of the colonial armed forces and the build-up of a territorial police force under the sole command of the civilian authorities, and the first steps towards creating an autonomous Native Administration, with the setting up of a Department of Native Affairs in the Governor's Office and the appointment of 'Native Commissioners' in selected districts.

As the adoption of Native Policy laws and ordinances does not tell us anything about how they were implemented or their effects, the reality of colonial rule is analysed in two separate chapters devoted to specific central themes: the securing of colonial rule and the labour market. In the fourth chapter, the focus is on the practical realization of the all-embracing system of control. The ways in which registration and control were implemented are examined in detail, as are the difficulties arising out of various factors: logistical problems, the reluctance of the White population to cooperate and the inadequate functioning of the bureaucratic apparatus. It was precisely the failure of 'total surveillance' that led the settlers to put forward ever more radical demands – such as for any Africans who attempted to escape from the control system to be tattooed. But it also demonstrates that it did not prove possible at any time for the African population to be reduced to mere objects of the actions of the German Administration, and it helps to create an understanding of the ways in which they succeeded in upholding their own traditions in the face of all the colonial state's efforts and intentions to re-educate them. Although they never fundamentally endangered German colonial rule, the small number of cases in which Africans organized themselves into so-called 'gangs' in order to undertake campaigns against their oppressors triggered growing hysteria among the White population, leading to rapid military reactions, the employment of all available means to expedite the extradition of Africans who had fled to South Africa, and a revival of plans to compulsorily resettle whole ethnic groups. The detailed analysis of individual extradition proceedings in particular demonstrates the need for a reassessment of the view that there was

always smooth cooperation between the British or South African and the German colonial administrations.

The fifth chapter, which is devoted to the labour market, examines a further key element of the ‘governmental and administrative utopia’ that the German authorities aimed to create, namely the attempt to recruit the entire African population into dependent employment and to incorporate it into the ‘semifree’ labour market. This was based upon a compulsion to enter into an employment relationship, but was at the same time intended to promote the stability of such employment relationships and thus of the entire system of colonial rule by securing minimum rights for the Africans. With regard to the origins of the African labourers, three groups can be distinguished: the workers from the Police Zone (i.e. predominantly Herero and Nama), those from Ovamboland and those from South Africa. As there were significant distinctions between these three groups – firstly with regard to the manner of their recruitment, as it was only the workers from the Police Zone who were subject to a direct compulsion to undertake employment, whereas the other two groups had to be recruited outside the area of direct German rule; and secondly with regard to the fields in which they were employed – they are dealt with in separate sections of the chapter. The different ways in which they were recruited led to there being significant distinctions between South Africans, Ovambo and Africans from the Police Zone with regard to the wages they were required to be paid, which in turn led to the worst paid being those who worked on the farms, whilst those entitled to better remuneration could only be employed in the mines and in railway construction. In each case, the study concentrates primarily on the recruitment of workers and the part played in this by the Administration, and on the conditions of the employment relationships. In particular, it asks how far the authorities were able and willing to guarantee minimum rights, and whether they duly fulfilled their duty of supervision. In the case of workers from the Police Zone, the question of how far the District Offices fulfilled their protective functions in respect of the African workers is also investigated, whereas in respect of the Ovambo in the diamond fields it is the Native Commissioner who plays an important role. The section of the chapter dealing with the South African workers contains among other things descriptions of the Wilhelmstal Massacre, in which fourteen workers were shot dead by the colonial armed forces, and of the strategies adopted by the German military and civil administrations to sweep the matter under the carpet; it also deals with the difficulties for the German side occasioned by the fact that the workers concerned were of foreign origin, leading to a foreign power

being able to interfere in South West African affairs. In addition, each of the three sections of the chapter goes into the topic of the constant competition between employers for the available workers, as well as the employers' attempts to persuade the Administration to act in ways that would be of benefit to them.

A solid foundation for the modern colonial state that the German authorities sought to create was to be achieved through a process of social disciplining, through which the Africans were to 'learn' to accept their own position at the bottom end of the social order. Among the factors intended to contribute to this, in addition to the compulsion to enter into dependent employment, were schooling and subjection to taxation. The sixth and final chapter is devoted to these two factors. Schooling is examined not only with regard to its extent and curricula, but also in respect of the Administration's attempts to subject the Missionary Societies, as the providers of education, to state supervision in that area. This furnishes a good example of the sometimes strained relationships between the state Administration and the missions. In addition to 'educating the Africans to work', schooling was seen as a way of fulfilling the 'mission to spread civilization'.

The purpose and usefulness of imposing direct taxation on the Africans, and the form such taxation should take, were topics of heated dispute. In addition to being a way of indirectly intensifying the compulsion to undertake employment, the tax was also intended to promote the development of a cash economy. Apart from the fact that this would increase the degree of control that the Administration would be able to exercise over employment relationships between Whites and Africans, it was also seen, as was taxation in general, as a step towards creating a 'modern' society and economy. Not the least important aspect was that the Africans were to be made to contribute directly to the financing of the colonial project. The intensely controversial manner in which the debate on a Native Tax was conducted, not only within the territorial Administration and the Colonial Government but also in the Imperial Colonial Office, affords profound insights into the manner of thinking of the officials involved, and into the strategies that were used, consciously or unconsciously, to legitimize colonial rule. The fact that it proved impossible, in the face of resistance from the White population, to implement a uniform tax throughout the colony is indicative of the shift in the political framework conditions brought about by the introduction of local self-government for the Whites.

## Notes

1. Reinhard, *Kleine Geschichte des Kolonialismus*, 1.
2. [Translator's note: This phrase is used in this work to translate the term *Herrschaftsutopie*, borrowed from Trutz von Trotha]. Von Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 12.
3. *Ibid.*, 6.
4. For a summary of Bourdieu's theses, see Bourdieu, *Praktische Vernunft*.
5. Von Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft*, 7.
6. Rohrbach, *Aus Südwestafrikas schweren Tagen*, 276–79. His major work on South West Africa is: Rohrbach, *Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft*, Vol. 1, *Südwest-Afrika*.
7. Drechsler, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft*, Vol. I.
8. Bley, *Kolonialherrschaft und Sozialstruktur*.
9. Wege, 'Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse'.
10. Sudholt, *Die deutsche Eingeborenenpolitik in Südwestafrika*.
11. Müller, 'Die deutsche Eingeborenenpolitik'.
12. Reinhard, 'Eingeborenenpolitik in Südwestafrika'.
13. Scheulen, *Die 'Eingeborenen' Deutsch-Südwestafrikas*.
14. Zimmerling, *Die Entwicklung der Strafrechtspflege für Afrikaner*. This can be well supplemented by Schröder's portrayal, as he also goes into the origins and practice of the 'parental power of (corporal) chastisement' over Africans. Schröder, *Priügelstrafe und Züchtigungsrecht*.
15. Such is the title of a study by Christoph Marx that examines the attitudes of numerous ethnologists, 'Völker ohne Schrift und Geschichte'. For too long, historians shared the attitude of the ethnologists.
16. Reinhard, *Hendrik Witbooi*.
17. Lau, *The Hendrik Witbooi Papers*.
18. Lau, *Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time*.
19. Pool, *Samuel Maharero*.
20. Gewalt, *Towards Redemption*.
21. Strassegger, 'Die Wanderarbeit der Ovambo'.
22. Eirola, *The Ovambofahrt*.