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German Postcolonialism in Four Dimensions: A Historical Perspective

BRITTA SCHILLING

German history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has often been considered an exception, at times even a *Sonderweg*, or ‘special path’. Some scholars are tempted to consider German colonialism in the same light. Germany was a colonial ‘latecomer’ and did not begin to acquire colonies until the mid-1880s. Its formal colonial reign lasted a ‘mere’ 30 years and covered such diverse territories as South-west Africa (Namibia), East Africa (Tanzania), Togo and Kamerun (Cameroon), as well as Samoa, German New Guinea and the leased territory of Kiaochow (Jiaozhou Bay). Moreover, Germany was the first modern European imperial nation to become post-colonial,¹ having been forcibly decolonized following the First World War.

In spite of this unique history, an Anglo-Indian-inspired ‘postcolonial’ approach is increasingly used in German studies, particularly in literary and cultural studies.² The application of ‘postcolonial’ theory to Germany has also been discussed by sociologists, political scientists, philosophers and psychologists.³ But how do historians interpret a ‘postcolonial Germany’? Sebastian Conrad suggests a ‘postcolonial’ approach to German history would reflect the ‘entangled’ nature of Europe with the non-European world, the beginnings of a ‘genealogy of globalisation’.⁴ Andreas Eckert and Albert Wirz focus less on entanglement than on a continuation of colonial mentalities after the formal end of colonialism.⁵ Recent ‘postcolonial’ histories deconstruct colonial discourse, explain processes of racial ‘othering’ and investigate cultural hybridities resulting from the colonial encounter.⁶ But above all, ‘postcolonial’ histories have highlighted the pervasiveness of colonial culture in the metropole. Ironically perhaps, this has turned the attention back to the former colonizers, and there is still a strong tendency to approach German colonialism in a way which relates more to Germany than to the colonized territories and peoples.⁷ Notable exceptions are scholars of the individual areas of German empire, particularly Namibia, as well as a recent volume edited by Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn and Patrice Nganang.⁸

Focussing on continued colonial discourse and ‘mentalities’ forces us to consider how thin the thread to the colonial era can be spun whilst still speaking of a *postcolonial* Germany. In this sense in particular, the concept’s application to Germany has been criticized. One of the strongest opponents, Monika Albrecht, claims that:

the specific kinds of *similarities* between migrant groups in Europe [...] which in traditional postcolonial studies largely function as a basis for comparison between minority communities in the present and colonised peoples in the past, are [...] basically insignificant and negligible with regard to a framework for a postcolonial Germany.⁹

There is no doubt that issues of migration and integration are as pertinent in contemporary Germany as elsewhere in Europe. The largest single-nation bloc of non-EU citizens seeking leave to remain in Germany still come from Turkey, from where West Germany started recruiting 'guest workers' between the early 1960s and 1973.¹⁰ There has been a resurgence of racism in Germany from reunification to more recent movements including the protest marches of Pegida (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West) and the foundation of AfD (Alternative for Germany). With around one million asylum-seekers registered in 2015,¹¹ serious conflict has emerged between those embracing an official *Willkommenskultur* ('welcome culture') and those who set asylum centres alight. But are these all markers of a postcolonial nation?¹²

I would hesitate to include these factors in what makes Germany postcolonial. Instead, a useful heuristic tool might be to think about postcolonialism as a collective psychological process of 'working through'. As with the earliest uses of the term postcolonialism, this approach is firmly anchored in a temporal framework, but, like more recent interpretations, it also reflects subjective cultural experiences. It considers postcolonialism as a process of coming to terms with the colonial past—a process which puts the primary responsibility on Europe but is shared by both former colonizer and colonized. In 1959, Theodor Adorno famously admonished Germans for not 'coming to terms' with their National Socialist past.¹³ The development of a postcolonial Germany may be seen as an analogous but also distinct process of 'coming to terms' with colonialism.

German postcolonialism has evolved into a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon, one that envelops memories of colonialism in white German and diasporic communities, but also the all-pervasive paradigm of the Holocaust, as well as the experiences of Afro-Germans, and, only to a small and very specific extent, the experiences of migrant communities into the present day. This article will explore how these four dimensions relate to each other, as well as how they function within a larger concept of European postcolonialism.¹⁴

The first dimension of German postcolonialism may be seen as the cultural memory of the colonial period itself. During the 1920s this memory was initially dominated by the campaign for restitution of colonial possessions and refutation of what was known as the 'colonial guilt lie', Germans' alleged inability to rule colonial subjects based on past evidence of abuse of power. Although the interwar period witnessed the continuation of anti-colonial activism, it was also a time when the German metropole experienced a surge of nationalist and pro-colonial sentiment. Colonial nostalgia dominated as youths read colonial adventure stories, colonial products were advertised by smiling caricatures of colonial subjects, and the former colonial elite dreamt of bygone days whilst dancing the night away at colonial balls. Indeed, many of colonialism's critics, such as the Social Democratic Party, now joined the ranks arguing for the reinstatement of the colonies to Germany. Thus, although Germany had been a colonial 'latecomer' and only a formal colonial power for about 30 years, many Germans, including those who had traditionally shown little enthusiasm for colonialism, felt an affinity towards the nation's former overseas territories following the Treaty of Versailles.¹⁵

Yet it was not until the complete takeover of all colonial organizations by the National Socialists that a positive and heroic memory of colonialism was circulated amongst the majority of the national population. The treatment of German colonialism in contemporary schoolbooks, for example, shows how the Nazis sought to engrave the memory of this period in young minds and to have it serve their own aims for empire. The former colonies were reinterpreted as a site for building a pioneer spirit, engaging in legitimated violence and ingraining a sense of heroism and racial superiority.¹⁶

Germany's early post-colonial years thus display many of the same characteristics of colonial memory in other major European powers: it was a time replete with colonial nostalgia. For Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, as in Britain in the 1950s (during its 'first wave' of decolonization) and France in the 1960s, the loss of overseas colonies meant first of all a desire to preserve or return to the practice of informal influence driven by economic measures. This was accompanied in the German case not by a large-scale migration of former colonial subjects to the metropole, but instead by a re-migration of German settlers and sojourners to the former colonies—now League of Nations mandates—in the mid-1920s, as well as the perpetuation of colonial fantasies by white post-colonial returnees from Africa. It was a firm denial of the end of empire.

After the Second World War, various former colonial interest associations re-emerged in the form of *Afrika-Vereine*, or Africa-associations, whilst the West German Foreign Office was in part populated by former colonialists. Their influence ensured that a positive memory of colonialism was upheld, a memory which, as Dirk van Laak has remarked, established a near seamless link from colonial paternalism to postwar 'development'.¹⁷ In the German press from 1947 onwards, the fact that Germany was a former colonial power was also far from forgotten;¹⁸ however, Germany's colonial past was rarely engaged with critically.

By the time most former German colonies in Africa gained independence in the early 1960s, both East and West Germany's role in an increasingly decolonizing world became a contentious issue.¹⁹ Under the weight of Cold War politics, a key point informing this rivalry was the dilemma of how to remember Germany's colonial past. Invoking the memory of a 'special relationship' with Germany through colonialism, leaders such as Charles Assalé, Paulin Freitas and Julius Nyerere sought to pressure both East and West Germans into increasing aid contributions. West Germany, although aware of the negative connotations of colonialism in an age of mass decolonization, could not help but try to assume the legacy of a 'good colonialist' in Africa. East Germany, however, claimed to have broken with the colonial past completely, asserting its solidarity with the peoples repressed by western 'neo-colonialism'. As West Germans started to embark on a process of 'working through', however problematic, East German denial or repression of the colonial past was only rarely punctuated by a very limited recognition of the responsibilities resulting from its colonial legacies.²⁰

The interpretation of Germany's colonial past by the 1968 student movement was, by contrast, much less varied. Protesting against remnants of colonialism, imperialism and fascism in contemporary society, West German students tore down many physical traces of German colonialism in the public arena. Several historians have remarked on the potent symbolism of students bringing down the

statue of one of Germany's revered colonial heroes, Hermann von Wissmann.²¹ As the world became increasingly decolonized, however, activists in the two Germanies became less concerned with Germany's own colonial past in favour of events in Vietnam, Angola, Algeria, Iran and the Congo. Postcolonial activism which actually referenced German colonialism after 1968 took the form of disconnected local grassroots initiatives by special interest groups.²²

In 2004, the German Minister for Development travelled to Namibia to issue a statement acknowledging Germany's responsibility for crimes committed by the colonial army against the Herero, Nama and other indigenous peoples of Namibia.²³ The speech was part of a new wave of national public engagement with the memory of Germany's colonial past. This includes a series of legal cases presented since 1999 in front of US courts by a group of Herero claiming reparations for the 1904–1908 conflict, as well as the restitution of human remains still housed in Berlin's museums to formerly colonized communities.²⁴ As the capital plans to rebuild a Prussian palace on the 'Humboldtforum', it is becoming clear that this national museum, which will also house ethnological objects currently in Dahlem, will need to include some sort of critical recognition of Germany's colonial past. The politics of memory and culture thus have a crucial role to play in the development of a postcolonial Germany.²⁵

Another dimension of German postcolonialism is the resonances between overseas colonialism, continental colonialism, National Socialism and the Holocaust in both academic and popular discourse. Like Italian colonialism, German colonialism became bound to fascism and indeed both countries were forcibly decolonized after a World War. If we take postcolonialism to mean not just the temporal state of being after colonialism, but as a process entailing a conscious collective 'working through' of the legacies of the past in the present, then Germans, one may argue, already have a model to draw on. The paradigms of 'genocide' and a racial 'Holocaust' bear heavily upon current discussions of the German colonialism, both in Germany and in Africa.

W.E.B. DuBois, Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon and Hannah Arendt were some of the first intellectuals to suggest that parallels, or indeed the origins, of German totalitarianism should be sought in colonialism.²⁶ This line of argumentation was taken up by historians such as Horst Drechsler and Helmut Bley, and, most recently, revived by Jürgen Zimmerer and others.²⁷ Zimmerer, above all, suggests that there are structural parallels between colonial wars in German Southwest Africa and the Holocaust and has campaigned to have the German-Herero war recognized as 'the first genocide of the twentieth century'. The main arguments implied by Zimmerer and further emphasized by other scholars such as Benjamin Madley, David Furber and Wendy Lower is first, that colonialism in Africa prepared Germans for their tactics of ethnic cleansing and colonial rule in the 'German East', that is Poland, Ukraine and Russia, and, secondly, that therefore German colonialism, like National Socialism, is another chapter in the narrative of the German *Sonderweg*.²⁸

At the heart of this debate is the German-Herero war of 1904–1907.²⁹ It is here, continuationists argue, that we already see the marks of a genocidal mentality in the military and particularly in the orders of General Lothar von Trotha. Von Trotha issued the infamous 'extermination order', which urged colonial soldiers to take

no prisoners and drive the Herero into the Omaheke desert, effectively leaving them to die.³⁰ Following the end of hostilities, Herero and their Nama allies were interned in camps under dire conditions and used as forced labour.³¹ Continuationists also see the colonial sphere as a testing ground for ideas of race and space, including the concept of *Lebensraum* ('living space'), racial 'science' and anti-miscegenation legislation.³²

The 'continuity thesis' has come up against a number of well-founded counter-arguments.³³ Nevertheless, the term 'genocide' with particular reference to Germany's National Socialist heritage is frequently employed by historians and activists, and in contemporary commemorations in Namibia.³⁴ The use of the term 'genocide' has inserted a particularly laden language into postcolonial politics, including reparations claims.³⁵

A further dimension of postcolonial Germany is the recovery of histories of Afro-Germans, from colonial subjects travelling to the metropole at the turn of the twentieth century to the present day. Most scholars date the public emergence of an Afro-German identity with the publication in Germany of *Showing Our Colours: Afro-German Women Speak Out* in 1986. The term 'Afro-German' was chosen by the authors not only to delineate their mixed-race parentage, but also as a more inclusive term to denote all people of African heritage living in Germany.³⁶ Their project was underpinned by a connection between their personal stories, the histories of German colonialism and National Socialism and the rise in racist action against blacks and other so-called 'foreigners' in Germany following reunification.³⁷

Africans from Germany's former colonies were not the first Africans in the region. Historians have found evidence of Africans travelling to what was to become Germany as early as the seventeenth century, with some young Africans working as servants and slaves at court as far back as the sixteenth century.³⁸ A greater influx of Africans did occur during the colonial period itself, however. Between 150 and 200 Africans were registered in major cities such as Berlin and Hamburg at the turn of the century, and thousands passed through its ports.³⁹ A number of prominent leaders, such as the Bell family from Cameroon, sent their children to Germany for a European education. Others often ended up employed as living exhibits in ethnographic shows or as performers, musicians, bartenders, doormen, language instructors, seamen and porters.⁴⁰

After the First World War, French colonial troops from North Africa, Madagascar and Senegal were amongst those stationed in the Rhineland.⁴¹ The German media capitalized on a latent horror of 'blacks', claiming that the troops brutalized and raped German women. These fears continued under the Nazis, and in 1937 the Gestapo took hundreds of 'Rhineland bastards', children of occupation troops and German women, into custody;⁴² 385 of approximately 600–800 children were forcibly sterilized.⁴³ The fates of other Afro-Germans varied: the Nazis tolerated some as performers in variety shows or circuses, whilst others were forced to do slave labour in concentration camps.⁴⁴ After the Second World War, the German public was once again preoccupied with the nearly 5000 mixed-race 'occupation children', children born of German mothers and African-American fathers in the US army.⁴⁵ Like the sons and daughters of black Rhineland occupation troops,

these children were the object of anthropological and sociological study, political wrangling and socio-cultural anxieties.

Due in part to a shift in scholarly focus but also to the publication of new memoirs written by Afro-Germans,⁴⁶ historians are increasingly successful at recovering the voices of black Germans.⁴⁷ These efforts have been accompanied by initiatives both across and outside of academe including the Black Diaspora and Germany Network, Black History Month Hamburg, Afrika-Rat e.V. and Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland. According to Molefi Kete Asante,

African-Germans are victimized by the historically-constructed concept of race in German society and yet cannot escape the complete immersion in German culture [...] creating in the African Germans who seek to know their African side a psychological and cultural dissonance that can be described as dislocation.⁴⁸

Thus the idea of a black German identity, though rooted in a colonial past, has also grown beyond it.

A final dimension to German postcolonialism to be considered is perhaps the most contested: discussions of race, migration and integration which bear more relation to socio-cultural continuities of imperial mentalities in a multicultural present than actual historical continuities with a German colonial past. An increasing number of volumes on German colonialism include a discussion of the histories of economic migrants and asylum-seekers and the 'integration' of second- and third-generation Turkish 'guest-workers' into social, economic and cultural life.⁴⁹ Scholars across various disciplines have argued that current stereotypes against non-Europeans in Germany draw upon paradigms 'rooted in colonial racism and Orientalism';⁵⁰ non-European migrants are continually treated as subaltern subjects and confronted with paternalistic power structures favouring above all white males who continue to promulgate a 'civilising' paradigm.⁵¹ Thus, racist attitudes against blacks, Muslims and 'others' in Germany today, some have argued, are part and parcel of German postcolonialism. According to Geoff Eley, for example, 'If British and French reactions to immigrants signalled a post-colonial return of the repressed, then so too did West German reactions to *Gastarbeiter*, especially once earlier German imperialisms are brought to mind.'⁵²

Here I agree largely with Monika Albrecht that a line needs to be drawn between a historically specific German postcolonialism and the racisms, xenophobia and issues of a modern multicultural society *tout court*. Most migrant and minority communities in Germany are not from the former colonies. And indeed, for Afro-Germans, part of their growing identity is the lack of commonalities with these migrant groups from Turkey and southern and eastern Europe.⁵³ Because of this relative lack of colonial re-migration, the postcolonial situation in Germany is considerably different from that of Britain and France and more like that of Italy, for example. It is true that Germans were involved not just in national, but in pan-European colonial endeavours, particularly in the fields of exploration and the colonial sciences.⁵⁴ A wider pan-European mentality thus certainly also affected the German metropole. But the wider one casts the net, the more problematic it is to prove any direct continuity in mentalities stretching from the German colonial past to the present using historical sources. Without in any way negating

the tremendous importance migration studies and the histories of People of Colour have to an understanding of German history, I believe that the idea of a postcolonial Germany needs to demonstrate a more concrete link to past colonial practice, a practice which was localized above all in Africa and the Pacific, and to some extent the Chinese protectorate, and whose history is far more complex than the establishment of a racialized rule of 'difference'.⁵⁵ However, historians should not dismiss possible connections between German colonialism and the socio-cultural effects of postwar migrations altogether. For if we return to the idea of European postcolonialism as a process of 'working through' the colonial past, we find that two issues at the heart of contemporary multicultural Germany are indeed linked back directly and concretely to the legacies of German overseas colonialism: questions of migrants' citizenship and anti-racist activism.⁵⁶

The definition of who ought to be a German national was long a contested issue, with a major division between those who wanted to define citizenship by residence (*jus soli*) and those who believed in a wider, and indeed less easily determined, sense of belonging based on 'blood' (*jus sanguinis*). The debate climaxed at the turn of the twentieth century, concomitant with a series of discussions about miscegenation in the colonies and the citizenship of mixed-race children. In German Southwest Africa in 1905, German East Africa in 1906 and German Samoa in 1912, marriage between German colonialists and colonial subjects was banned by administrative decree in an effort to limit German citizenship rights to whites.⁵⁷ The decrees were a response to local pressure groups and not supported by the Reichstag, whose approval was required to actually declare miscegenation illegal. In 1912 the Reichstag in turn passed a law guaranteeing recognition of mixed-race marriages across the colonies. Nevertheless, any decision of what to do with mixed-race children was left largely up to the individual colonial administrators.⁵⁸

The issue of racial mixing and citizenship raised in the colonies informed new questions in the metropole, for the first time validating 'race' as a possible category for citizenship.⁵⁹ The following year, the citizenship law of 1913 adopted the Prussian *jus sanguinis*, whereby 'others' within its borders, including Poles and Jews, were denied automatic citizenship (though they could apply for naturalization), and a German *Volk* outside its borders gained new rights.⁶⁰ Africans in Germany, like other migrants, had to apply for citizenship and were more often than not refused.⁶¹ One might argue that it was the incommensurability of this concept of citizenship with the actual situation in Germany, a multicultural state since its inception, which marked the highly problematic notion of German-ness in decades to come.⁶² It was not until 1999 that the German government amended its citizenship law in order to facilitate naturalization.

Historically speaking, then, the colonial past and Germany's multicultural present are linked by an extremely fine thread. Nevertheless, activist groups aiming to 'decolonize' German cities and create a postcolonial Germany do use an exploration of the nation's often violent colonial past in order to facilitate present-day interracial communication and combat racism on a grassroots level. Such groups include Kopfwelten e.V. (Köln Postkolonial), Berlin Postkolonial, Hamburg Postkolonial and even the humble Bielefeld Postkolonial.⁶³ These 'glocal' initiatives are based on the idea of following colonial 'traces' in one's

home town, either virtually or through actual tours—an aim similar to that of a number of publications published for the wider German public for the last 15 years or so.⁶⁴ The postcolonial activists often campaign for the renaming of streets named after colonial ‘heroes’ or for a critical re-interpretation of colonial monuments and invite participation particularly from the black German community and People of Colour.⁶⁵ Perhaps unbeknownst to many of the participants, these activists are taking up a sporadic tradition of grassroots anti-colonial protest which inspired initiatives in the 1980s and 1990s,⁶⁶ but their potential to reach a larger audience in a digitally interconnected world is much greater.

So to what extent does the German case conform to a larger pattern of European postcolonialism?

In order to begin to answer this question, it may be useful to see the process of a postcolonial ‘working through’ as occurring in three stages after the ‘postcolonial moment’. The first stage is a period of reliving and re-enacting what was lost, the second a period of trying to forget what have become at times painful memories, and the final stage is societies taking responsibility and engaging critically with the past—in effect, coming to terms with it. This mirrors to some extent psychiatrists’ interpretation of individual grief or coming to terms with loss, as a patient moves through denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance.⁶⁷

Overall, Germans have experienced a dynamic, scattered and varied postcolonialism, perhaps more so than other former colonial powers in Europe. For Germany, trying to forget a colonial past was all the easier after 1968 because the visible and tangible residue of empire had disappeared through both deliberate and inadvertent erasure.⁶⁸ Moreover, Germany’s former colonized never prompted confrontations in the metropole such as Algerians in Paris in 1961, or Ugandan Asians in Britain in the 1970s.

Repression of colonial memory may therefore have been easier for Germans than for other Europeans, but still this never resulted in a colonial ‘amnesia’.⁶⁹ The thread may be fine at times, but there are significant strands of continuity between Germany’s colonial past and a postcolonial present. A colonial memory can be traced back to the colonial period itself, not only in the public, but also in the private sphere of former colonial families.⁷⁰ If, as Albrecht and others have pointed out, the actual number of postcolonial returnees and migrants from the former colonies in Germany are few, their impact reaches far beyond their actual group size. And Germany’s citizenship laws still bear echoes of a colonial past. Germany’s postcolonial condition since 1919 has gone through several ‘waves’ in which various groups have appropriated and redefined German colonialism and its significance for contemporaries, and this will certainly continue. Postcolonial Germany, like Postcolonial Europe, is in a state of becoming.

Notes on contributor

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Notes

- ¹ This article uses various forms of the term ‘postcolonial’ in order to emphasize its multivalent aspects: postcolonial (hyphenated) refers to its temporal aspect, that is, the time after colonialism; *postcolonial* (part italicized) stresses the relationship to a specifically German colonial past; ‘postcolonial’ (in quotation marks) refers to its theoretical and methodological use in the interdisciplinary field of postcolonial studies, whilst postcolonial (without quotation marks) denotes both academic and popular critical engagement with the colonial past in an increasingly multicultural present.
- ² Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantop (eds), *The Imperialist Imagination*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998; Dirk Göttsche and Axel Dunker (eds), *(Post-) Colonialism across Europe*, Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2014; Monika Albrecht, *Europa ist nicht die Welt*, Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2008; Nina Berman, *Impossible Missions? German Economic, Military, and Humanitarian Efforts in Africa*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004; Dirk Göttsche, *Remembering Africa*, Rochester: Camden House, 2013; Sara Lennox, ‘Postcolonial Writing in Germany’, in Ato Quayson (ed.), *Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp 620–648.
- ³ Hito Steyerl and Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez (eds), *Spricht die Subalterne deutsch?*, 2nd edition, Münster: Unrast, 2012; María do Mar Castro Varela and Nikita Dhawan, ‘Mission Impossible’, in Julia Reuter and Paula-Irene Villa (eds), *Postkoloniale Soziologie*, Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2010; Cyber-Nomads/Öffentlichkeit gegen Gewalt (ed.), *The Black Book*, Frankfurt am Main/London: IKO, 2004; Maureen Maisha Eggers, Grada Kilomba, Peggy Piesche and Susan Arndt (eds), *Mythen, Masken und Subjekte*, Münster: Unrast, 2006. I am grateful to my first anonymous reviewer for making me aware of the first two publications.
- ⁴ Sebastian Conrad, ‘Schlägt das Empire zurück?’, *Werkstatt Geschichte* 30, 2001, pp 73–83.
- ⁵ Andreas Eckert and Albert Wirz, ‘Wir nicht, die Anderen auch’, in Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2002, pp 372–392, p 374.
- ⁶ For example, Eva Bischoff, *Kannibale werden*, Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2011; Birthe Kundrus (ed.), *Phantasiereiche*, Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2003; Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds), *Das Kaiserreich transnational*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004; Susann Lewerenz, *Die deutsche Afrika-Schau (1935–1940)*, Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2006. A good summary is Sara Lennox, ‘From postcolonial to transnational’, in Ulrike Lindner et al. (eds), *Hybrid Cultures – Nervous States*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010, pp xlvii–lxxiii.
- ⁷ For example, Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley, *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2014; Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014; John Philip Short, *Magic Lantern Empire*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012; David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- ⁸ For example, Larissa Förster, *Postkoloniale Erinnerungslandschaften*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2010; Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn and Patrice Nganang (eds), *German Colonialism Revisited*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014; Gesine Krüger, *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewußtsein*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999; Henning Melber (ed.), *Genozid und Gedenken*, Frankfurt a.M.: Brandes & Apffel, 2005; Reinhart Kössler, ‘Entangled History and Politics’, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 26(3), 2008, pp 313–339; Kössler, *Namibia and Germany*, Windhoek: UNAM Press, 2005; Memory Biwa, ‘Stories of the Patchwork Quilt: An Oral History Project of the Nama-German War in Southern Namibia’, in André du Pisani, Reinhart Kössler and William A. Lindeke (eds) *The Long Aftermath of War—Reconciliation and Transition in Namibia*, Freiburg: Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut, 2010; Dennis Laumann, ‘Narratives of a “Model Colony”’, in Michael Perraudin and Jürgen Zimmerer (eds), *German Colonialism and National Identity*, New York/London: Routledge, 2011, pp 278–291; Larissa Förster, Dag Henriksen and M. Bollig (eds), *Namibia-Deutschland*, Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2004; Adjai Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon, ‘Unbewältigte koloniale Vergangenheit’, in Wilfried Wagner (ed.), *Rassendiskriminierung, Kolonialpolitik und ethnisch-nationale Identität*, Münster/Hamburg: Lit, 1992, pp 430–438; Wazi Apoh and Bea Lundt (eds), *Germany and its West African Colonies*, Vienna/Berlin: Lit, 2013; Jean-Pierre Félix-Eyoum, Stefanie Michels and Joachim Zeller (eds), *Duala und Deutschland*, Cologne: Schmidt von Schwind, 2011.
- ⁹ Monika Albrecht, ‘German Multiculturalism and Postcolonialism in Comparative Perspective’, in Göttsche/Dunker, *(Post-)Colonialism*, Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2014, pp 33–56, p 35.
- ¹⁰ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, ‘Wanderungsmonitoring’, p 12. Available at: <http://www.bamf.de/DE/Infothek/Publicationen/publikationen-node.html> (accessed 13 June 2016). West German recruitment began in 1955. See Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press, 2007; Ulrich Herbert and Karin Hunn, 'Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers in the Federal Republic', in Hannah Schissler (ed.), *The Miracle Years*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000; Karen Schönwälder, 'The Difficult Task of Managing Migration', in Neil Gregor et al. (eds), *German History from the Margins*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006, pp 252–267; Alexander Clarkson, *Fragmented Fatherland*, New York: Berghahn, 2013.
- ¹¹ 'Asylsuchende', *Der Spiegel*, 8 December 2015. Available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-bayern-registriert-millionsten-asylsuchenden-in-deutschland-a-1066748.html> (accessed 8 December 2015).
- ¹² Arguments for a broad definition of a German postcolonialism to include continuities of racism from colonial times to the present are proposed, for example, in Helma Lutz and Kathrin Gawarecki, 'Kolonialismus und Erinnerungskultur', in Lutz/Gawarecki (eds), *Kolonialismus und Erinnerungskultur*, Münster: Waxmann, 2005, pp 9–21, pp 13–14; Deniz Göktürk, 'Postcolonial Amnesia?', in Volker Langbehn (ed.), *German Colonialism, Visual Culture and Modern Memory*, New York/London: Routledge, 2010; Ulrike Lindner, Maren Möhring, Mark Stein and Silke Stroh, 'Introduction', in Lindner et al., pp xlvii–lxxiii, pp xi–xlvi; Manuela Bojadžijev, 'Connecting Some Dots', in Eva Bischoff and Elisabeth Engel (eds), *Colonialism and Beyond*, Münster: Lit, 2013, pp 85–103.
- ¹³ Theodor Adorno, 'What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?', in Geoffrey Hartman (ed.), *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp 114–129.
- ¹⁴ The format for this discussion was inspired by Miguel Mellino's article, 'De-Provincializing Italy', in Cristina Lombardi-Diop and Caterina Romeo (eds), *Postcolonial Italy: Challenging National Homogeneity*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp 83–99, which identifies four strands of Italian postcolonialism.
- ¹⁵ See, for example, Marcia Klotz, 'The Weimar Republic', in Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal (eds), *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005, pp 135–147; Britta Schilling, *Postcolonial Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, chs. 1–2; Jared Poley, *Decolonization in Germany*, Oxford/New York: Peter Lang, 2005; Susann Lewerenz, *Die Deutsche Afrika-Schau*, Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2006; Karsten Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators*, Berlin: Links, 2008; Dirk van Laak, *Imperiale Infrastruktur*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004; Joachim Zeller, *Kolonialdenkmäler und Geschichtsbewußtsein*, Frankfurt a.M.: IKO, 1999; Sandra Maß, *Weißer Helden, schwarze Krieger*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2006.
- ¹⁶ Schilling, *Postcolonial*, ch. 3.
- ¹⁷ Van Laak, pp 367–374.
- ¹⁸ Albrecht, *Europa*, pp 54–138.
- ¹⁹ Ulf Engel, *Die Afrikapolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Hamburg: Lit, 2000; Rainer Falk, *Die heimliche Kolonialmacht*, Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1985; Bastian Hein, *Die Westdeutschen und die Dritte Welt*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006; Helmut Bley and Rainer Tetzlaff (eds), *Afrika und Bonn*, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1978; Ulf Engel and Hans-Georg Schleicher, *Die beiden deutschen Staaten in Afrika*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1998; Ulrich van der Heyden, Hans-Georg Schleicher and Ilona Schleicher (eds), *Die DDR und Afrika*, 2 vols., Münster: Lit, 1994; Ernst Hillebrand, *Das Afrika-Engagement der DDR*, Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1987; Ulrich Post and Frank Sandvoss, *Die Afrikapolitik der DDR*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1982; Ilona and Hans-Georg Schleicher, *Die DDR im südlichen Afrika*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1997; Alexandre Kum'a Ndumbe, *Was will Bonn in Africa?*, Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1992; Brigitte Schulz, *Development Policy in the Cold War Era*, Münster: Lit, 1995; Jason Verber, 'The Conundrum of Colonialism in Postwar Germany', PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 2010; Bernhard Blumenuau, 'The Map of Africa Lies in Germany', *Working Papers in International History* 10, 2011, pp 1–43; Luís Madureira, 'Kalashnikovs, not Coca-Cola', in Langbehn/Salama, pp 275–293. See also Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012; Young-Sun Hong, *Cold-War Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- ²⁰ Schilling, *Postcolonial*, ch. 4.
- ²¹ For example, Zeller, *Kolonialdenkmäler*; Ingo Cornils, 'Denkmalsturz', in Zimmerer/Perraudin, *German*, pp 197–212; Slobodian, *Foreign*, pp 1–3; Eckert/Wirz, 'Wir nicht', pp 372–373; Jason Verber, 'Building up and Tearing Down', in Bill Niven and Chloe Paver (eds), *Memorialization in Germany since 1945*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp 351–359.
- ²² Schilling, *Postcolonial*, ch. 5.
- ²³ Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, 'Rede von Bundesministerin Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul anlässlich des 100. Jahrestages der Herero-Aufstände in Namibia' 14 August 2004. Available at: <http://archiv.bundesregierung.de/bpaexport/rede/70/699570/multi.htm> (accessed 9 April 2010). The minister's statement is, as of July 2015, still the 'political guideline' for current government relations with Namibia, but the official government

- line remains ambiguous, see 'Regierungspressekonferenz vom 10. Juli [2015]'. Available at: <http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2015/07/2015-07-10-regpk.html> (accessed 20 December 2015).
- ²⁴ Holger Stoecker, Thomas Schnalke and Andreas Winkelmann (eds), *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben?*, Berlin: Christoph Links, 2013; Stoecker, 'Knochen im Depot', in Jürgen Zimmerer (ed.), *Kein Platz an der Sonne*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2013, pp 442–457; see also current research by Memory Biwa on the restitution of human remains to Namibia between 2011 and 2014. The issue has also been covered extensively in the German media.
- ²⁵ For a more thorough analysis of German colonial memory and further relevant literature related to the previous discussion, see Schilling, *Postcolonial*.
- ²⁶ W.E.B. DuBois, *The World and Africa*, New York: Viking, 1947; Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1952; Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme*, Paris: Éditions Présence Africaine, 1955; Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1958. For entanglements between National Socialist and colonial memory in Germany, see Schilling, *Postcolonial*, ch. 6.
- ²⁷ For example, Jürgen Zimmerer, 'Krieg, KZ und Völkermord in Südwestafrika', in Zimmerer and Zeller, *Völkermord in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, Berlin: Links, 2003, pp 45–63; Zimmerer, 'The Birth of the *Ostland* out of the spirit of colonialism', in A Dirk Moses and Dan Stone (eds), *Colonialism and Genocide*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp 101–123; George Steinmetz, 'The First Genocide of the Twentieth Century and its Postcolonial Afterlives', *Journal of the International Institute*, 12(2), 2005, pp 1–2; Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent*, New York: Allen Lane, 1998, pp 71–72; Marcia Klotz, 'Global Visions', *European Studies Journal*, 16(2), 1999, pp 37–68; David Furber and Wendy Lower, 'Colonialism and Genocide', in A Dirk Moses (ed.), *Empire, Colony, Genocide*, New York/Oxford, 2008, pp 372–400; 'Introduction', in Volker Langbehn and M Salama (eds), *German Colonialism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, pp ix–xxxi.
- ²⁸ Benjamin Madley, 'From Africa to Auschwitz', *European History Quarterly*, 35(3), 2005, pp 429–464; David Furber, 'Near as Far as the Colonies', *International History Review*, 26(3), 2004, pp 541–579; Wendy Lower, 'A New Ordering of Space and Race', *German Studies Review*, 25(2), 2002, pp 227–254. Zimmerer is often misrepresented as he does not in fact argue for a straightforward teleological continuity from Windhuk to Auschwitz; he instead argues for structural similarities.
- ²⁹ A related issue is consideration of the German East, especially Poland, as a site for colonial expansion from the late eighteenth century onwards. Kristin Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012; Robert Nelson (ed.), *Germans, Poland and Colonial Expansion to the East*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; Wolfgang Wippermann, *Die Deutschen und der Osten*, Darmstadt: Primus, 2007; Philipp Ther, 'Deutsche Geschichte als imperiale Geschichte', in Conrad/Osterhammel, pp. 129–148; Gregor Thum (ed.), *Traumland Osten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006. The writing of a postcolonial German history from this perspective, however, goes beyond the scope of this article.
- ³⁰ Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichtertfelde, R1001/2089, Bl. 7a f, 'Proklamation Trothas, Osombo-Windhuk [copy], 2.10.1904', quoted in Zimmerer, 'Holocaust und Kolonialismus', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 51 (12), 2003, pp 1098–1119, pp 1116–1117.
- ³¹ Zimmerer/Zeller, *Völkermord*.
- ³² Paul Weindling, 'The "Sonderweg" of German Eugenics', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 22(3), 1989, pp 321–333.
- ³³ Isabel Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 2005, p 31, 51; Birthe Kundrus, 'Kontinuitäten, Parallelen, Rezeptionen', *Werkstatt Geschichte*, 43, 2006, pp 45–62; Pascal Grosse, 'What does German Colonialism Have to Do with National Socialism?', in Ames/Klotz/Wildenthal, pp 115–134; Sebastian Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte*, Munich: Beck, 2008, pp 96–106; Stephan Malinowski and Robert Gerwarth, 'Hannah Arendt's Ghosts', *Central European History*, 42, 2009, pp 279–300; Winson Chu, Jesse Kauffman and Michael Meng, 'A Sonderweg through Eastern Europe?', *German History*, 31(3), pp 318–344. Uta Poiger makes a valid plea for viewing German history as 'imperial' history, but this is not contingent upon classifying the German–Herero war as 'genocide'. Poiger, 'Imperialism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Germany', *History and Memory*, 17(1/2), 2005, pp 117–143; echoed by Pascal Grosse, 'From Colonialism to National Socialism to Postcolonialism', *Postcolonial Studies*, 9(1), 2006, pp 35–52, p 48 and Shelley Baranowski, *Nazi Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, p 3. See also Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen*, Frankfurt a.M./New York, 2011; Jens-Uwe Guettel, 'The US Frontier as Rationale for the Nazi East?', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 15(4), 2013, pp 401–419; Patrick Bernhard, 'Borrowing from Mussolini', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41(4), 2013, pp 617–643.

- ³⁴ Allan Cooper, 'Reparations for the Herero Genocide', *African Affairs*, 106(422), 2006, pp 113–126; David Bargaño, 'Cash for Genocide?', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26(3), 2012, pp 394–424; Larissa Förster, 'From "General Field Marshal" to "Miss Genocide"', *Journal of Material Culture* 13(2), 2008, pp 175–194.
- ³⁵ Cf. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009; Dominik Schaller, 'The Struggle for Genocidal Exclusivity', in Zimmerer/Perraudin, pp 265–277.
- ³⁶ Katharina Oguntoye, May Ayim/Opitz, 'Vorwort der Herausgeberin', in Oguntoye, Ayim/Opitz and Dagmar Schultz (eds), *Farbe bekennen*, Berlin: Orlanda, 2006, p 10.
- ³⁷ Oguntoye/Ayim/Opitz, p 11.
- ³⁸ Monika Firla, 'AfrikanerInnen und ihre Nachkommen', in Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt, *AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland und schwarze Deutsche*, Münster: Lit, 2004, p 13, 17; Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke and Anne Kuhlmann (eds), *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.
- ³⁹ Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft, *Black Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p 2.
- ⁴⁰ E.g. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (eds), *Die (koloniale)Begegnung*, Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2003; Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst, *Treu bis in den Tod*, Berlin: Links, 2007; Bechhaus-Gerst and Sunna Gieseke (eds), *Koloniale und postkoloniale Konstruktionen*, Frankfurt a.M./New York: Lang, 2006; Sibylle Küttner, *Farbige Seeleute im Kaiserreich*, Erfurt: Sutton, 2000; Aitken, 'From Cameroon to Germany and Back', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43(4), 2008, pp 597–616.
- ⁴¹ See Ayim/Opitz, 'Rassismus', pp 45–58; Bischoff, *Kannibale Werden*, pp 221–231; Keith Nelson, 'The "Black Horror on the Rhine"', *Journal of Modern History*, 42(4), 1970, pp 606–627; Reiner Pommerin, *Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde*, Düsseldorf: Droste, 1979; Sally Marks, 'Black Watch on the Rhine', *European Studies Review* 13, 1983, pp 297–334; Gisela Lebzelter, 'Die "Schwarze Schmach"', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 11, 1985, pp 37–58; Tina Campt, *Other Germans*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004; Campt, 'Converging Spectres of an Other within', *Callaloo* 26(2), 2003, pp 322–341; Marc Weiner, 'Urwaldmusik and the Borders of German Identity', *German Quarterly*, 64(4), 1991, pp 475–487; Pacal Grosse Campt, and Yara-Colette Lemke-Muniz de Faria, 'Blacks, Germans and the Politics of Imperial Imagination', in Friedrichsmeyer/Zantop/Lennox, pp 205–229.
- ⁴² Robert Kesting, 'Blacks under the Swastika', *Journal of Negro History*, 83(1), 1998, pp 84–99; Clarence Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*, New York/London: Routledge, 2002.
- ⁴³ Campt, *Other*, pp 63–64, p 73.
- ⁴⁴ Lusane, p 97.
- ⁴⁵ Heide Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler*, Princeton, NJ/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005; Ayim/Opitz, 'Afro-Deutsche nach 1945', in Oguntoye/Ayim/Schultz, pp 85–102; Patricia Mazón and Reinhild Steingröver (eds), *Not so Plain as Black and White*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005; Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock and Rebels*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins*, Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2002; Maria Höhn, 'Heimat in turmoil' in Schissler, *Miracle Years*, pp 145–163; Heide Fehrenbach, 'Of German Mothers and "Negermischlingskinder"', in Schissler, pp 164–186.
- ⁴⁶ Notable examples include Hans Massaquoi, who grew up as a mixed-race boy in the Third Reich, and Lucia Engombe, who was one of the hundreds of children taken out of the Namibia and trained for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) leadership in East Germany in the 1980s. See also works by Ika Hügel-Marshall, Marie Nejar, Gert Schramm and Theodor Wonja Michel.
- ⁴⁷ In addition to those previously mentioned, see Fatima El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2001; Pascal Grosse, 'Zwischen Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit', in Birthe Kundrus (ed.), *Phantasiereiche*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2003, pp 91–109; Robert Kesting, 'Forgotten Victims', *Journal of Negro History*, 77(1), 1992, pp 30–36; Yara-Colette Lemke Muniz de Faria, *Zwischen Fürsorge und Ausgrenzung*, Berlin: Metropol, 2002; Kathrin Oguntoye, *Eine Afro-deutsche Geschichte*, Berlin: HoHo, 1997; Alain Patrice Nganang, 'Approaches from the Outside', in Ames/Klotz/Wildenthal, pp 227–241; Oumar Diallo and Joachim Zeller (eds), *Black Berlin*, Berlin: Metropol, 2013; *Journal of Black Studies* 23(2), 1992; *Callaloo* 26(2), 2003.
- ⁴⁸ Asante, 'African', p 10.
- ⁴⁹ See for example Volker Langbehn (ed.), *German Colonialism, Visual Culture and Modern Memory*, New York/London: Routledge, 2010.
- ⁵⁰ Kien Nghi Ha, Nicola Lauré al-Samarai and Sheila Mysorekar, 'Einleitung', in Ha, al-Samarai and Mysorekar (eds), *re/visionen. Postkoloniale Perspektiven von People of Color auf Rassismus, Kulturpolitik und*

- Widerstand in Deutschland*, Münster, 2007, pp 9–21, p 11. I am very grateful to an anonymous reviewer for bringing this to my attention.
- ⁵¹ Kien Nghi Ha, 'Deutsche Integrationspolitik als koloniale Praxis', in Ha/al-Samarai/Mysorekar, pp 113–128, p 115.
- ⁵² Geoff Eley, 'Empire by Land or Sea?', in Eley/Naranch, p 20.
- ⁵³ Asante, 'African', p 2.
- ⁵⁴ See, for example, German Orientalists in Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010; German anthropologists in H. Glenn Penny and Matty Bunzl (eds), *Worldly Provincialism*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003; German sociologists in George Steinmetz (ed.), *Sociology and Empire*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.
- ⁵⁵ Cf. Ha, 'Deutsche Integrationspolitik', p 122–123.
- ⁵⁶ Eckert and Wirz also suggest that the issue of German citizenship and its relationship to race could be included in a discussion of German postcolonialism. Eckert/Wirz, 'Wir nicht'.
- ⁵⁷ Illegitimate children took on their mother's citizenship. Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2001, p 89.
- ⁵⁸ Krista O'Donnell, 'Home, Nation, Empire', in O'Donnell, Nancy Reagin and Renate Bridenthal (eds) *Heimat Abroad*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005, pp 40–57; Birthe Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2003, pp 219–280; Helmut Walser Smith, 'The Talk of Genocide, the Rhetoric of Miscegenation', in Friedrichsmeyer/Lennox/Zantop, pp 125–140; Cornelia Essner, 'Zwischen Vernunft und Gefühl', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 45(6), 1997, pp 503–519; Franz-Josef Schulte-Althoff, 'Rassenmischung im kolonialen System', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 105(1), 1985, pp 77–87; Pascal Grosse, *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2000.
- ⁵⁹ Wildenthal, *German*, ch. 3; Fatima El-Tayeb, 'Blood is a Very Special Juice', in Eileen Boris and Angelique Janssens (eds), *Complicating Categories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp 149–169; El-Tayeb, 'Blut, Nation und Multikulturelle Gesellschaft', in Bechhaus-Gerst/Klein-Arendt, pp 125–138. Race however did not become a legal discriminatory determinant of citizenship in Germany until under the National Socialists.
- ⁶⁰ Howard Sargent, 'Diasporic Citizens' in O'Donnell/Bridenthal/Reagin, pp 17–39.
- ⁶¹ For a more detailed discussion of the citizenship law and applications to Africans in Germany see Aitken/Rosenhaft, pp 72–75.
- ⁶² See, for example, Pascal Grosse, 'Conceptualizing Citizenship as a Biopolitical Category from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries', in Jan Palmowski (ed.), *Citizenship and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Germany*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008, pp 181–197; Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- ⁶³ <http://www.kopfwelten.org/kp/>; <http://www.berlin-postkolonial.de/cms/>; <http://www.hamburg-postkolonial.de/>; <http://www.stadterkundungen-bielefeld.de/erkundungen/kolonialgeschichtlicher-stadtrundgang/>; see also <http://www.inst.uni-giessen.de/hessen-postkolonial/>; <http://www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/>; <http://muc.postkolonial.net/>; <http://frankfurt.postkolonial.net/>; <https://hhpostkolonial.wordpress.com/>; <http://dresden-postkolonial.de/>; <http://www.en.leipzig-postkolonial.de/>; <http://www.dortmund-postkolonial.de/> (all accessed 13 June 2016).
- ⁶⁴ For example, Heiko Möhle, *Branntwein, Bibeln und Bananen*, Hamburg: Verlag libertäre Assoziation, 1999; Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller (eds), *Kolonialmetropole Berlin*, Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002; Zimmerer (ed.), *Kein Platz*; Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Anne-Kathrin Horstmann (eds), *Köln und der Deutsche Kolonialismus*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2013.
- ⁶⁵ Zeller, *Kolonialdenkmäler*.
- ⁶⁶ Schilling, *Postcolonial*, pp 135–141.
- ⁶⁷ Elisabeth Kübler-Ross and David Kessler, *On Grief and Grieving*, New York: Scribner, 2005.
- ⁶⁸ Schilling, *Postcolonial*, ch. 5.
- ⁶⁹ Schilling, *Postcolonial*; Albrecht, *Europa*.
- ⁷⁰ Schilling, 'Imperial Heirlooms', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41(4), 2013, pp 663–682.