

THE GERMAN COLONIES ON SCREEN

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The world around 1900 was almost entirely divided between colonial powers including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and Germany. Between 1884 and 1914 the percentage of colonial territories increased from two-thirds of the earth's surface to more than 80 percent.¹ German colonialism was an "integral part of late nineteenth-century high imperialism," linked to global economic competition, between the industrializing nations and their search for resources and new markets, political conflicts between the European powers, and "to the ideologies of evolutionism and Social Darwinism, which were increasingly linked to discourses of racial differences."²

Numerous reports in early film journals and film books commented on film's triumphal advances in this drive to conquer the world. Early films invited audiences to travel virtually anywhere and offered an encyclopedic visual knowledge in which not the event itself but its representation became the main attraction.³ It is also likely that film itself would have had a quite different trajectory as a successful mass medium, had it not relied on a colonial infrastructure that allowed the first film operators to travel quickly and easily to the remotest places and regions, and to return with living pictures to local screens.

The significance of film as the most popular medium in the first half of the last century is, however, largely ignored in discourses on colonialism and colonial ideology, even though German colonial rule (1885–1914) shares two-thirds of its history with early cinema (1896–1914).

Compared to the French or British global empires, Germany was a latecomer that acquired most of its colonial territories between 1884 and 1885; these measured more than four times the area of the German

Reich in Europe. The German colonies encompassed four territories in Africa: Deutsch-Südwestafrika (German South-West Africa) in present-day Namibia and Botswana; Kamerun (Cameroon) and Togoland (Togo and parts of Ghana) in West Africa; and Deutsch-Ostafrika (German East Africa), comprising parts of present-day Tanzania, Mozambique, Kenya, Rwanda, and Burundi. In the Pacific the main German colony was Deutsch-Neuguinea (German New Guinea), part of present-day Papua Guinea, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Between 1897 and 1899 the empire acquired the islands of Micronesia and Polynesian Deutsch-Samoa (German Samoa), in present-day Samoa. Additionally, German concessions in China were focused on treaty ports on the Shandong Peninsula such as Kiautschou (Kiaochow), today the Jiaozhou Bay area with its administrative center Tsingtau (Qingdao), and Chefoo (Yantai).

Films from the colonies stabilized hegemonic thinking and discourses. Building on a visual repertoire that had been established through illustrations and photographs, film aimed to demonstrate European superiority over the uneducated, untrained, and technically inferior colonial subject. Colonization was considered a benevolent cultural mission (*Kulturmission*), and film became the most effective modern medium to demonstrate this benevolence to the viewing public. For the first time, the colonial public could see "real" colonial life, study the results of colonialism's assumed civilizing mission, and define themselves as the benevolent colonizer in contrast to the primitive colonized Other. However, watching colonial films was more than national navel-gazing. Going to the cinema and watching films from colonial territories was part of the public's daily entertainment

and underlines cinema's embedding in modern culture as a new visual experience of mobility. Early film audiences were armchair travelers; they virtually traveled the world, joined intrepid hunters as well ethnographers on their expeditions, examined the modern infrastructure of the colonial cities, took train rides through deserts, jungle, and savannah, and contemplated the natural wonders of colonial landscapes.

This chapter focuses first on two German colonial travelogues and shows how the films combined different motifs to create a colonial worldview that included colonial rule, conquest, racism, and ethnography as well as virtual traveling, urbanism, moral uplift, and visual spectacle.⁴ The chapter's second part gives a brief overview of the representation of German colonial rule in German film and television since the end of the First World War.

THE GERMAN COLONIES AND EARLY CINEMA

Exact figures for German productions about German colonies do not exist.⁵ There was no colonial cinematographic classic equivalent to Gustav Frenssen's 1907 novel *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest* (Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa).⁶ But records do suggest that the first films from the colonies reached German screens around 1904 to 1905.⁷ The Herero Uprising in German Southwest Africa in January 1904 had hit the German Empire quite unexpectedly and put German domestic politics under considerable pressure.⁸ Just a few weeks later German film companies reacted to the new political situation by selling films of the colony at war.⁹ In the following years, colonial films, the majority of which were nonfiction films, often shot by amateur filmmakers such as the Altenburg merchant Julius Friedrich Carl Müller (1868–1935) or the forestry assistant Robert Schumann (1878–1914), were shown mainly in two different venues: at the branches of the German Colonial Society (Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft) and in public cinemas.¹⁰

The outbreak of the First World War made any supply of films from the colonies impossible and marked the end of film production in the colonies.

However, between 1917 and 1918 the Deutsche Kolonial-Filmgesellschaft (German Colonial Film Society, DEUKO), based in Berlin, shot at least three fiction films, *Der Verräter* (The Traitor, Georg Alexander, 1917), *Farmer Borchardt* (Carl Boese, 1917), and *Der Gefangene von Dahomey* (The Prisoner from Dahomey, Hubert Moest, 1918), as well as one animated short film in their Berlin studios. In contrast to the nonfiction films of the previous years that focused mainly on the modern and urban aspects of colonial life, the DEUKO films presented the agrarian side of colonial life by telling dramatic stories of farmers and planters.¹¹ Through their nationwide distribution the films joined the official discourse of war propaganda by creating an ideological bond between the colonies and the German Heimat.

THE COLONIAL TRAVELOGUE¹²

Extant colonial films, reviews, and advertisements of films from the colonies, reveal that the travelogue was the form that came to be considered most suitable for a nationwide audience. According to Jennifer Peterson, travelogues explored a "central obsession of Western visual culture from the nineteenth century through the First World War: images of the other and of other places and images of the changing modern world."¹³ Travelogues were composed of different emblematic shots and belonged to one of the most popular genres in early cinema for depicting foreign places and peoples. One of the first travelogues from the German colonies to reach German screens in 1907 was *Südwest-Afrika* (South-West Africa), shot in the summer of 1907 in the concentration camp in Lüderitzbucht established in 1904 in response to the Herero and Nama Uprising in 1904 in the colony.¹⁴ Just three months before the film's release, the authorities had declared the war officially over. The film has not survived but its sequential logic can be reconstructed through the detailed advertisement of the production company. *Südwest-Afrika* integrates these recent events into a series of different views of the process of colonialization and progress. A detailed study of the shot order shows how the film's sequential logic softened and toned down the violent past. The film

starts with shots of railway construction workers, the railway construction company's properties, and a panorama of Lüderitzbucht.¹⁵ The following shots are dedicated to the Herero and Nama prisoners, the "Hottentotten."¹⁶ The sequence culminates in images of the leading chiefs of the Nama warriors. After this visual climax, subsequent shots show Nama children playing in the concentration camp; a panorama of the nearest town, Swakopmund; life on the jetty, roads, and shore; and finally passengers boarding a steamer.¹⁷

The three different clusters of shots—Lüderitzbucht, prison camp, Swakopmund—establish different spaces within the same locality and integrate all three spaces into a shared narrative of colonial progress. Shots of missionary work in the prison show dancing women and playing children, tempering the violent connotations of a concentration camp in which people were starving and dying from horrible living conditions and forced labor. While the depiction of playing children smooths the transition from the prison camp to more picturesque views, we can also read the playing children in juxtaposition with the shots of the prisoners as equating men and children. The film here repeats a common rhetorical strategy of colonial ideology, which often compared Africans with children in order to sell its aggressive and brutal action against the native population as benevolent. The film's ideological work is completed when panorama shots in the beginning and in the end bracket the memory of the colonial war, integrating the most violent period in German colonial history into a discourse of unstoppable progress and peaceful colonial everyday life.

Südwest-Afrika is also informed by the travelogue's characteristic aesthetic of the view. According to film historian Tom Gunning, the travelogue is the *Urform* of early nonfiction film.¹⁸ Gunning highlights "the way early actuality films were structured around presenting something visually, capturing and preserving a look or a vantage point."¹⁹ The view was both a represented place and an experience that fueled the popularity of the travelogue genre in early cinema. Peterson notes the ambivalence of the pleasures of the travelogue, whose moving images were both "fascinating yet potentially threatening":

It is this tension between the "different" and the "normal" that fuels the travelogue. It is a delicately balanced polarity: crudely put, the place presented must merit the curious filmgoers' gaze, therefore the place must be (constructed as) exotic, yet in this presentation there is at the same time a certain disavowal of that exoticism, a desire to mark what is Other and then contain it, to keep it at arm's length.²⁰

Travelogues have also been seen as presenting an entirely new "idealized geography" that functioned as a parallel universe on the cinema screen.²¹ This notion is productive for the analysis of a second example of a colonial travelogue, *Leben und Treiben in Tanga* (Hustle and Bustle in Tanga, 1909).²² While *Südwest-Afrika* focuses on a clear segregation of colonizer and colonized, visualized through the film's inside/outside-the-camp shot structure, this second example works in a very different way. This film retains the trope of segregation, but it combines it with sights that highlight the harmonious co-existence of colonizer and colonized. The trade journal *Der Kinematograph* described the film as follows:

In perfectly crafted photography, effectively supported by tinting and toning in various shades, this interesting recording shows among other things the natives' quarters with their strange, picturesque mud huts, a street in the native quarter with the vivid hustle and bustle of blacks, Mohammedans, Indians, and so on ... We also see a children's party at Bismarck Square with its attractive Bismarck monument, Europeans sitting around a coffee table, amused by an extremely funny chimpanzee, a gym lesson at the German school with round dances, vaulting, and so on.²³

Leben und Treiben in Tanga is an example par excellence of Peterson's notion of an idealized cinematographic geography of colonial life. The film contains the experience of the exotic Other by emphasizing aspects and events in the colonies that were not exotic but quite familiar for Western audiences. According to a short report in the East African colonial newspaper *The Usambara-Post*, filmmakers carefully staged the film; the "authentic" joyful afternoon was in

fact the result of three days of shooting.²⁴ The title of the travelogue also suggests that viewers are not watching a particular day or event in Tanga. The film presents the “hustle and bustle in Tanga” in the timeless present; and as the *Kinematograph* summary shows, the film depicted colonial life as rather joyful, creating colonial territory as a new space with which the German public might identify.

This exploration of space was, indeed, a significant feature of almost all films from the colonies.²⁵ Film reviews in the trade press show that colonial films were rarely concerned with the dangers of the African jungle or the risks of living in the tropics. Instead, film reviews mention the depiction of “beautiful European buildings,” a German hotel, or the existence of a modern advertisement pillar in the streets of Swakopmund.²⁶ Remarks like these show that film travels to the colonies were no nostalgic or idyllic “view” of a preindustrial time. Although farming and settling were important aspects of German colonial ideology, there is no indication that colonial films were particularly interested in this topic. Cinema’s cultural-epistemological emergence in the context of modernity aimed at representing the colonies as progressive, modern, urban, and therefore familiar spaces. The first tourist guide for the East African colony, for example, works hard at conjuring up the similarities between different topographies: the Pugu Mountains recall Thuringia,²⁷ the Amani region is a tropical picture of the Vosges²⁸ and Dar-es-Salaam is seen as the African Potsdam.²⁹

Very similar is the visual function of social events on Tanga’s Bismarck Square in *Leben und Treiben in Tanga*. The party on the square “with the attractive Bismarck monument” leaves no doubt that even if the location is Africa, the setting is German. The different views expressed in the film create an idealized colonial life that stands in sharp contrast to complaints and frustration that were in fact regularly expressed by colonial settlers about the monotony of colonial existence. The film suggests that life in Tanga was anything but a “palm desert tropical treadmill” as a German East African colonial journalist described it.³⁰ Instead, the representation of the colony as an extension of Germany highlights a second characteristic of

colonial rhetoric, the active colony and the colony in motion.

Shots of trains, ships, local traffic, the loading and unloading of goods, and the presentation of colonial production processes are legion in films and reviews. Shots like these signified technical progress by demonstrating to the viewer at home the continuous progress and productivity of German colonization. Colonial films also mainly focused on the colonizer’s life and his achievements and only occasionally, if at all, on the life of the colonized population. *Leben und Treiben in Tanga* is no exception. The film starts in Tanga’s African quarter but moves quickly to the city and focuses on European colonial life for the rest of the film. The structure of the film also corresponds to what were by now the emerging confines of the travelogue genre. It was quite common for the travelogue to be structured around an “entertaining” narrative of evolution” that juxtaposed the white tourist with native people, as Fatima Tobing Rony has pointed out.³¹ In a “shielding gesture” of the picturesque, filmmakers juxtaposed Europeans with native Africans to establish a safe subject positioning for the viewer so he or she could identify with the modern Western traveler.³² Films from the colonies also gave colonized people little chance to establish an individual identity, so that the colonial audience usually conceived the Other’s identity as a stereotype: the native as the uneducated child or savage warrior, whom the European must control and convert to Christianity.

Homi K. Bhabha has referred in this context to the stereotype’s production of “‘fixity’ in the ideological construction of otherness.”³³ For Bhabha, fixity is “a paradoxical form of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition.”³⁴ The stereotype’s ambivalence is managed by what Bhabha calls colonial mimicry, a strategy that turns the colonial Other into a reformed figure that is almost, but not completely, the same as its European counterpart.³⁵

Precisely this process of production of an Other is evident in the last shot of *Leben und Treiben in Tanga*. The film ends with a depiction of military exercises by African mercenary soldiers. The perfection of their drills, as it is mentioned in the review, demonstrates

the success of the colonial cultural mission. Yet the colonial mimicry that aims at turning the Other into someone similar also contains an element of resistance and uproar that threatens colonial power. The soldiers' imitation of the colonizer's "physical exhibitionism" captures and contains the viewers' fascination with an authoritative colonial discourse, but the film's foregrounding of the soldiers' performance expresses at the same time the impossibility of this containment. The desired similarity between Askari and their German comrades speaks for Germany's success in colonization, but the soldiers' evident imitation of the colonizer's "physical exhibitionism" disrupts colonial authority and undermines and threatens colonial power. The image of a colony in which colonizer and colonized lived joyfully together thus exists here only at the expense of colonialism's possible demise.

A further example of an unintentional revelation of colonialism's real character is *Die Fortschritte der Zivilisation in Deutsch-Ost-Afrika* (The Progress of Civilization in German East Africa, 1911) one of the very few colonial films that have survived. The film about a state vocational school is striking for the strongly performative character of all of its scenes. Since lighting conditions made it impossible to shoot inside buildings, almost every demonstration is carefully staged for the camera outside the school. One scene in *Die Fortschritte* shows African students laying bricks, turning wood, printing and producing books, using typewriters, and being instructed in medical research and medical care under the supervision of white instructors. A scene introduced by the intertitle "Carpenter and Wood Turner" (*Tischler und Holzdrechsler*) is one of the film's most revealing moments. The majority of people in the scene are Africans involved in sawing and planing wood. A white person supervises the work and its products, which appear to be window shutters. In the center of the image, however, an African sits on the ground handling the antlers of African animals. Thus, while most of the image follows the intertitle's logic of presenting students working with wood, the African in the center contradicts the written text, working instead on the transformation of African resources into a European decorative object and revealing the

processes whereby "imperial kitsch" is produced "as consumer spectacle."³⁶

COLONIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE MEDIA AFTER COLONIALISM

These examples from early films from the colonies illustrate how moments of oppression, segregation, and extreme colonial violence, such as the Herero and Nama genocide, went hand in hand with the depiction of picturesque tourist sights and entertainment. Colonial films did not require an elaborate cinematographic rhetoric but operated within the confines of the early film aesthetics that turned any place and its people into a visual joyride.

There are moments in the films in which colonial rhetoric is undermined and its constructed nature revealed. Yet the films neither demonstrate successful resistance to colonial rule nor have they yet been fully explored as the potential source for a revised public memory of colonialism in Germany and its former colonies. German colonialism left permanent scars in the public memory of formerly colonized African nations. The genocide of the Herero and the Nama in German Southwest Africa, the Maji-Maji War in German East Africa, and African casualties from the consequences of the First World War in German East Africa, amounted to a million deaths in total. Yet despite this legacy, a notable reluctance remains in the German media to deal with the history of German colonial rule in Africa and the Pacific.

One major reason for this memory gap is that German colonial history has been overshadowed by two world wars, the Holocaust, and German reunification. It is nonetheless instructive to examine how the representation of colonial history has adapted to changing genres, demands, and discourses in German culture.³⁷ After the end of the First World War and the Versailles Treaty in 1919 Germany lost all its colonies. The Allies' accusation that Germany had committed atrocities in the colonies and was therefore unfit to be a colonial power soon became known as the colonial guilt lie (*Kolonialschuldlüge*) and was quickly seized upon by colonial revisionists. The sentiment of being unfairly accused for its colonial

policies that many Germans considered exemplary has characterized a number of films, and later television productions, since the 1920s.

In his study of racial and colonial discourses in Weimar Cinema, Tobias Nagl has demonstrated that a number of films in the 1920s supported a colonial revisionist discourse that mourned the loss of the colonies and lobbied for their return.³⁸ However, only one fiction film, *Ich hatt' einen Kameraden* (I Once had a Comrade-in-Arms, 1926) directed by Conrad Wiene, used German East Africa as its setting. The situation changed after the Nazis' rise to power in 1933. The colonies now reappeared in such films as Herbert Selpin's adventure dramas *Die Reiter von Deutsch-Ostafrika* (The Horsemen of German East Africa, 1934) and *Carl Peters* (1941), and in Max W. Kimmich's 1942/1943 film *Germanin: Die Geschichte einer kolonialen Tat* (Germanin: The Story of a Colonial Deed). Comparing Wiene's and Selpin's films reveals continuities between Weimar Cinema and Third Reich film. Both focus on the heroic fighting of German colonial troops during the First World War and contribute to the glorification of the German commander of the colonial troops, Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck (1870–1964), who managed to resist British, Belgian, and Portuguese forces for a total of four years and with only a small number of colonial troops. Moreover, both Selpin and Wiene support revisionist colonial discourse by emphasizing German colonizers' benevolent role in the territory and by depicting African colonized people as ardent admirers of German colonial rule.

Meanwhile, *Carl Peters* and Kimmich's *Germanin* only superficially sustain revisionist accounts of colonial history. Their principal focus is instead on a more direct transmission of Nazi ideology.³⁹ Sabine Hake's lucid analysis of the two films shows how "in the realm of fiction, the German colonies in Africa assumed new significance as a substitute for the struggle for *Lebensraum* in Eastern Europe and, via this kind of displacement, also provided an outlet for antisemitic attitudes."⁴⁰ According to this logic, Nazi racism did not turn against Africans but within the films' racial triangulation of Africans, British, and Germans, the "British assume the narrative position of the Jews,"⁴¹ as they either sabotage German actions,

as in *Germanin*, or prevent Germany from becoming a colonial empire, as in *Carl Peters*.

A further characteristic of all films from the 1920s and 1930s is their casting of African actors from the former colonies, such as the Cameroon-born Louis Brody (1892–1951) in Selpin's films and *Germanin*, or East Africa-born Mahjub bin Adam Mohamed, aka Bayume Mohamed Husen (1904–1944), who also played in Selpin's films *Die Reiter von Deutsch-Ostafrika* and *Carl Peters*.⁴² In 2013 German filmmaker Eva Knopf dedicated a film to Husen, *Majubs Reise* (Majub's Journey).⁴³ Until this point, like many other black actors who contributed to the exotic and colonial imagination in German film productions in Weimar and Nazi cinema, Husen had remained largely unnoticed by the German audience. "Partly human, partly scenery," as Knopf poignantly remarks in her film, Husen died in the Nazi concentration camp of Sachsenhausen.⁴⁴

Unser Haus in Kamerun (Our House in Cameroon, Alfred Vohrer, 1961) was the first West German film production after the Second World War that was shot in one of the former colonies. Contrary to the film's title it was not shot in Cameroon but in the British colony Tanganyika, formerly German East Africa. Probably for marketing reasons, the production company decided to keep to the Cameroon title, as it triggered a more favorable colonial association than Tanganyika.⁴⁵ *Unser Haus in Kamerun* is an extraterritorialized *Heimattfilm*⁴⁶ in which the genre's characteristic tension between tradition and modernity is situated in an exotic setting. The film, about the Ambrock family's generational conflict between senior Willem Ambrock, who has been running a plantation in the region, and his son Georg, avoids any direct reference to Germany's colonial past. However, the official promotion program notes that the family has been living in Africa for two generations, which identifies father Willem as a German colonial settler. His reputation as a good employer, who has even donated a hospital to the locals, simply updates the colonial revisionist approach from the 1920s to the 1960s.

It was to take more than twenty years for a German fiction film for the first time to challenge Germany's image as a respectful, benevolent colonial power.⁴⁷



Figure 35.1 *Morenga* (dir. Egon Günther, Germany: Provobis & Tele Norm, 1985). © Provobis Gesellschaft für Film und Fernsehen, Tele Norm Film (TNF), Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR) & Mutoskop-Film. All rights reserved.

Morenga (Egon Günther, 1985; Figure 35.1), a literary adaptation of Uwe Timm's novel of the same title, takes place during the Herero and Nama War. Told from the perspective of young head veterinary surgeon (*Oberveterinär*) Gottschalk, the film deconstructs German colonial megalomania. Gottschalk perceives the war as a sequence of death, murder, alcoholism, prostitution, betrayal of the Africans, and complete intercultural incompetence. Günther's film, a privately funded production shot on location in Namibia, is exceptional for its time in terms of setting and aesthetic. The film's slow-motion shots of dying or collapsing soldiers and horses, its preference for backlighting and un-subtitled conversations among the Nama contribute to its realist aesthetic. Although *Morenga* adopts the perspective of a German colonial war participant, it is anything but a glorification of German colonialism and heroism. Yet despite its considerable achievements, Günther's film had little to no influence on further historicocritical productions as the recent Africa boom in German television illustrates.

Though Caroline Link's Academy Award-winning feature film from 2001, *Nirgendwo in Afrika* (Nowhere in Africa), which does not deal with Germany's colonial past, might have been an example of unknown stories that reflect European and African relations, it, unfortunately, just established Africa as a voyeuristic

historical setting for disputable television dramas and documentaries about Germany's coming to terms with its colonial past.

In his analysis of the popular three-part television colonial melodrama *Afrika, mon amour* (Africa My Love, Carlo Rola, 2007), Wolfgang Struck, for example, has argued that the film "takes extensive advantage of the power of representation" and suggests that "representation itself can be a colonizing power."⁴⁸ In the film's narrative, Katharina von Strahlberg tries to escape her marriage in Germany. She soon realizes that only the colonies can give her the chance of a new life. Having arrived in Tanga, Katharina stumbles from one adventure into another, including a brief episode in a mysterious Muslim's harem. Struck shows how the film tries to tell a German story by accurately reconstructing Germany's colonial past but fails to understand that representations of the past create a "past not as it was but as culture wanted it to be seen."⁴⁹ *Afrika, mon amour* produces history to be looked at and consumed, it reproduces colonial fantasies and "models the world to highlight a dream of Africa that follows the representational system of German popular culture that has not changed very much since the time of colonialism."⁵⁰

Television documentaries such as *Deutsche Kolonien* (German Colonies, Gisela Graichen and Peter Prestel, 2005) and *Das Weltreich der Deutschen* (The Empire of the Germans, Sebastian Dehnhardt, Ricarda Schlosshan, Manfred Oldenburg, and Guido Knopp, 2010) have, on the other hand, not excluded atrocities in their coverage. But German colonial history is still largely presented as a remote historical period that has little to do with contemporary Germany. Both *Deutsche Kolonien* and *Das Weltreich der Deutschen* were heavily criticized for their aestheticization of German colonial rule as a form of light television infotainment that seemed to be more interested in picturesque images than in a critical engagement with the colonial past.⁵¹ *Das Weltreich der Deutschen*, in particular, is discursively framed by notions of adventure, research, and discovery. The opening sequence conveys a Eurocentric, landscape perspective in which specific gender roles and cultural mindsets are inscribed into a historical narrative: the absorbed gaze into the African landscape by a German woman who is carried by African bearers across a river



Figure 35.2 *Befreien Sie Afrika!* (Free Africa!, dir. Martin Baer, Germany: Baerfilm, 1999) (dir. Martin Baer, 1999). BFI Stills.

ford is commented on by the voice-over as “the empire of the German, a history of dreams, desires.” Power relations or the colonized people’s resistance to adapt to the colonizer’s culture are not mentioned.

In contrast, filmmakers such as Martin Baer (*Befreien Sie Afrika* [Free Africa], 1999; Figure 35.2; *Eine Kopffjagd—Auf der Suche nach dem Schädel des Sultans Mkwawa* [A Headhunt—In Search of Sultan Mkwawa’s Skull], 2001; and *Weisse Geister* [White Ghosts], 2004) and Jean-Marie Teno (*Das koloniale Missverständnis* [The Colonial Misunderstanding], 2004) work against the pervasive amnesia about and compartmentalization of German colonial history. In their films Baer and Teno travel back and forth between Germany and Africa, linking current events to the colonial past. With their inquisitive but respectful method of interviewing people for whom the consequences of German colonial rule are still alive, they provide important audio-visual reminders that German and African colonial history remain entangled in the present.

NOTES

1. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism. Multiculturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 1994), 15.
2. Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, trans. Sorch O’ Hagan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 17.
3. Cf. Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz (eds.), *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
4. For a detailed discussion of German colonial cinematography see Wolfgang Fuhrmann, *Imperial Projections: Screening the German Colonies* (New York: Berghahn 2015).
5. See Herbert Birett, *Das Filmangebot in Deutschland 1895–1911* (Munich: Filmbuchverlag Winterberg, 1991). Early German film journals were: *Erste Internationale Film-Zeitung* (1907–1918), *Der Kinematograph* (1907–1918), *Lichtbild-Bühne* (1908–1918), and *Der Film* (1916–1918).

6. Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa: A Narrative of the German Campaign*, trans. Margarete May Ward (London: Archibald Constable; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).
7. Early plans for producing films in the colonies can be dated to 1898, when a certain Dr. Stuhlmann asked the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (DGK; German Colonial Society), the biggest colonial pressure group in Wilhelmine Germany, for financial support for the production of films in the colonies. Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, *Berichte über die Sitzungen des Ausschusses der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft* (Berlin: Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, 1893–1914, May 10, 1898), 6.
8. Cf. Horst Gründer, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004).
9. In April 1904, the Internationale Kinematographen-Gesellschaft GmbH from Berlin offered two “interesting” scenic films (*Naturaufnahmen*) from German South-West Africa of 20 meters length. *Der Artist*, no. 1002, April 24, 1904; 20 meters corresponds to one minute of projection time.
10. See also Wolfgang Fuhrmann, “Locating Early Film Audiences: Voluntary Associations and Colonial Film,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 22, no. 3 (2002): 291–304.
11. On the notion of *Heimat* in the DEUKO's colonial films, see Wolfgang Fuhrmann, “Kolonie und/oder Heimat? Ein Stück ungeschriebener Filmgeschichte,” in *Literatur-Kunst-Medien: Festschrift für Peter Seibert zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Achim Barsch, Helmut Scheuer, and Georg-Michael Schulz (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer Verlag, 2008), 321–334.
12. For a more detailed analysis of these travelogues, see Wolfgang Fuhrmann, “Patriotism, Spectacle and Reverie: Colonialism in Early Cinema,” in *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory*, ed. Volker Langbehn (New York: Routledge, 2010), 148–161.
13. Jennifer Peterson, “‘Truth is stranger than fiction’: Travelogues from the 1910s in the Nederlands Filmmuseum,” in *Uncharted Territory: Essays in Nonfiction Film*, eds. Daan Hertogs and Nico de Klerk (Amsterdam: Nederlands Museum, 1997), 76.
14. Colonial authorities first used the term “concentration camp”; it was not an invention of Nazi terror. For an excellent introduction and analysis of the Herero and Nama genocide and the camps, see Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and Its Aftermath* (London: Merlin Press, 2008).
15. (1) Workers constructing the railway shafts at Aus; (2) administration buildings of Lenz & Co. in Lüderitzbucht; (3) panorama of Lüderitzbucht, taken from Diamond Mountain.
16. (4) Samuel Isaak, sub-captain of Hendrik Witboi; (5) dance of the Hottentot women; (6) service of the missionary in Lüderitzbucht; (7) camp of the Hottentots and captured Hereros; (8) continuation, camp of prisoners in Burenkamp, Lüderitzbucht; (9) overall view of the camp; (10) captured Hottentot and Herero women returning from collecting water; (11) the main leaders of the Hottentots: David, son of I,aak [sic]—Lazarus of Britain—The small Jakob—Eduard; (12) group of the main leaders and the head people; (13) Hottentot children playing in the prison camp.
17. (14) panorama of Swakopmund; (15) hustle and bustle on the jetty; (16) jetty, taken from the boat; (17) Roadstead and surf in Swakopmund; (18) passengers boarding the “A. Wörmann,” Swakopmund.
18. Tom Gunning, “Before Documentary: Early Nonfiction Films and the ‘View’ Aesthetic,” in *Uncharted Territory: Essay on early Non-Fiction Film*, eds. Daan Hertogs and Nico de Klerk (Amsterdam: Nederlands Filmmuseum, 1997), 14.
19. Ibid.
20. Peterson, “Truth,” 81.
21. Jennifer Lynn Peterson, *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 3.
22. No copies of either *Südwest-Afrika*, or *Leben und Treiben* have survived and their content is only known due to the very detailed description in adverts.
23. *Der Kinematograph*, no. 150, November 10, 1909.
24. *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, July 8, 1905.
25. Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 2.

26. *Duisburger Generalanzeiger*, December 18, 1905.
27. Oskar Karstedt, *Deutsch-Ostafrika und seine Nachbargebiete* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1914), 227.
28. *Ibid.*, 172.
29. *Ibid.*, 217.
30. The article describes the journalist's visit to a variety theater in Dar-es-Salaam in July 1905. *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, July 8, 1905.
31. Fatima Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 83. In this respect, the "entertaining narrative of evolution" has not vanished from today's tourist snapshots or television travel documentaries.
32. *Ibid.*, 80.
33. Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination, and Discourse of Colonialism," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004), 94.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 121–131.
36. Anne McClintock, "Soft –Soaping Empire. Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, 2nd edn., ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London: Routledge, 2002), 508.
37. For a detailed discussion of film and television productions on German colonial rule see Wolfgang Fuhrmann, "Zwischen kolonialer Wirklichkeit und kolonialer Legende: Die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Film- und Fernsehproduktionen," in *Deutschland Postkolonial*, eds. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Metropolis Verlag, 2018).
38. Tobias Nagl, *Die unheimliche Maschine: Rasse und Repräsentation im Weimarer Kino* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2009).
39. Sabine Hake, "Mapping the Native Body: On Africa and the Colonial Film in the Third Reich," in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy*, eds. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 163–187.
40. *Ibid.*, 175–176.
41. *Ibid.*, 174.
42. On Brody see Tobias Nagl, "Von Kamerun nach Babelsberg. Louis Brody und die schwarze Präsenz im deutschsprachigen Kino vor 1945," in *Kolonialmetropole Berlin. Eine Spurensuche*, eds. Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Berlin-Edition, 2002), 220–225. On Husen see Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst, *Treu bis in den Tod. Von Deutsch-Ostafrika nach Sachsenhausen. Eine Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin: Links Verlag, 2007).
43. A short passage on Husen can also be found in Hito Steyerl's 1998 video essay *Die leere Mitte* (The Empty Middle).
44. For further discussion of postcolonial theory and migration discourse see also: Hito Steyerl and Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez (eds.), *Spricht die Subalterne deutsch? Migration und postkoloniale Kritik* (Münster: Unrast Verlag, 2012) and Deniz Göktürk, "Postcolonial Amnesia? Taboo Memories and Kanaks with Cameras," in *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory*, ed. Volker Langbehn (London: Routledge, 2010), 278–301.
45. N. N., "Fahr'n Sie nicht nach Kamerun ..." *Film Revue*, no. 26, 1961: 9–11.
46. Johannes von Moltke, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 235.
47. In 1966 the television documentary *Heia Safari—die Legende von der deutschen Kolonial-Idylle in Afrika* (Heia Safari—The Legend of the German Colonial Idyl) by German Journalist Ralph Giordano was the first attempt to confront the German public with Germany's colonial atrocities. A detailed analysis of this TV event is given by Eckard Michels, "Geschichtspolitik im Fernsehen, Die WDR-Dokumentation 'Heia Safari' von 1966/67 über Deutschlands Kolonialvergangenheit," *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 56, no. 3 (2008): 467–492.
48. Wolfgang Struck, "Reenacting Colonialism: Germany and Its Former Colonies in Recent TV Productions," in Langbehn, *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory*, 274.
49. *Ibid.*, 264.
50. *Ibid.*, 274.

51. On *Deutsche Kolonien* see Jürgen Zimmerer, "Warum nicht mal 'nen Neger? Menschenfresser und barbusige Mädchen: Ein ZDF-Film und ein Buch verkitschen und verharmlosen den deutschen Kolonialismus in skandalöser Weise," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, November 23, 2005. Available online: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/buch-kritik-warum-nicht-mal-nen-neger-1.221754> (accessed May 20, 2017). On *Das Weltreich der Deutschen* see: Joachim Zeller, "Spurensuche light. ZDF-Historiker Guido Knopp scheitert an der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte," *iz3w. informationszentrum 3. welt*, no. 319 (July/August 2010): 41.