



PROJECT MUSE®

---

## The Genocidal Gaze

Elizabeth R. Baer

Published by Wayne State University Press

Baer, R..

The Genocidal Gaze: From German Southwest Africa to the Third Reich.

Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2017.

Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/56612>

---

---

# Index

---

---

*Page references in italics refer to illustrations*

- Achebe, Chinua: on *Heart of Darkness*, 115, 117, 151n1; *Things Fall Apart*, 121
- Adorno, Theodor: on post-Holocaust poetry, 84
- Advocate of Peace* (1908), on *Peter Moor's Journey*, 48–49
- Africa, natural resources of, 122, 125.  
*See also* German Southwest Africa (GSWA); names of individual countries
- Africa, West: corruption in, 123–34; fiction from, 128. *See also* Aidoo, Ama Ata
- Afrikaner, Jan Jonker, 24; correspondence with Witbooi, 23
- Aidoo, Ama Ata, 8; accusations of racism against, 119; feminism of, 118; feminist approaches to, 117–18, 152n12; nationalist approaches to, 118, 152n12; postcolonialist approaches to, 119, 152n12; on racial hierarchies, 119; use of intertextuality, 119; women characters of, 118
- “The African Woman Today,” 117–18
- Our Sister Killjoy*: African women in, 118–19; Bluebeard in, 124; British Empire in, 127–28; colonial aphasia in, 128; colonialism in, 126–27, 128; critical readings of, 117–20; European academic system in, 127–28; fairy tale tropes of, 119, 126; format of, 116, 117, 124; genocidal gaze in, 16, 115, 123, 125; genocide in, 120–30; German gaze in, 122; Germany in, 121–23, 126–27; and *Heart of Darkness*, 116–17, 119, 124, 129; heart transplant in, 128; Holocaust in, 122, 126, 151n5; intertextuality of, 116; *Jane Eyre* and, 116, 124; Jewish mother in, 127; lesbian encounter in, 124; loneliness in, 125; missionaries in, 126; narrative voice of, 120, 123; Nazi war widows in, 122–23; optimism of, 129; other in, 117, 123; pastiche in, 116; plum symbolism of, 123; postcolonial themes of, 123, 127–28; sexual objectification in, 124; systems of oppression in, 125
- Alberts, Wilhelm, 46
- amnesia: concerning genocide, 128, 133; concerning German colonialism, 64–65. *See also* aphasia, colonial; *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*
- Andersch, Alfred: *Weltreise auf deutsche Art*, 145n10
- animation: in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 103–8, 110–12, 114; gesture toward death, 113, 150n32; as transformation, 110–12, 113

- Apartheid: in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 100, 103; Göring's influence on, 149n11; Herero genocide and, 109, 113; Holocaust and, 149n13; influence of European nationalism on, 148n10; Nazism and, 15, 103, 148n11; pass laws of, 148n7; transition to democracy, 103
- aphasia, colonial, 128; German, 41, 64–65, 69, 76, 85, 142n24. *See also* amnesia; *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*
- archives: of *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 100–102; Nazi, 65; Witbooi's, 13, 19, 20–32, 140nn9–10. *See also* German Colonial Archive
- Arendt, Hannah: continuity thesis of, 4
- Art and Press* exhibit (Martin-Gropius Bau, 2012), *Black Box/Chambre Noire* in, 99, 100, 101, 108
- Aryanism, 103; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 104; in *In My Brother's Shadow*, 96, 97
- Asante, Yaw, 124
- Attie, Shimon: *The Writing on the Wall*, 111–12
- Aus den Geheimakten des Welt-Detektiv* (magazine), 106
- authoritarianism, Nazi: transfer to postwar family, 91, 92
- Babson, Herman: contact with Frenssen, 143n7; edition of *Peter Moor's Journey*, 19, 47, 61; on Nama, 52
- bambuses, 72; as Schutztruppe servants, 146n12
- Barnard, Christiaan: heart transplant by, 128–29
- Bartels, Adolf, 58
- Battle of Waterberg (1904), 10, 11, 30; atrocities at, 32–33; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 106; genocide at, 64; memorial to, 109; in *Morenga*, 68; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 55; site of, 109; skirmishes preceding, 54. *See also* rebellion, GSWA
- Bechuanaland Protectorate (British territory), 34
- Berlin Conference (1884–85), 117, 147n1
- Bhabha, Homi, 59
- Bismarck, Otto von, 134; and colonization, 9, 10
- Bittel, Kurt, 62
- “Bluebeard” (fairy tale): in *In My Brother's Shadow*, 94; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 124
- Blue Book, British, 2, 133; German objections to, 141n17; Shark Island in, 34; suppression of, 33; witnesses to genocide in, 17
- Blue-Book on Native Affairs* (Cape Colony), Witbooi in, 18–19
- Boa, Elizabeth, 58
- Boers: antipathy toward Germans, 36, 51; in *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa*, 36–37, 50, 51; racial attitudes of, 40
- Bondels, 89, 90
- Bondelswart rebellion, 69, 87
- Bower, Alan: on *Peter Moor's Journey*, 59
- Bowman, Peter, 78
- Braun, Frank: on *Peter Moor's Journey*, 58–59
- Brehl, Medardus, 142n
- Broederband (Apartheid organization), Nazism of, 103
- Brontë, Charlotte: *Jane Eyre*, 116, 124
- Brückenhaus, Daniel, 59; “Ralph's Compassions,” 144n21
- Bundestag, German: rejection of genocide apology, 134
- camels, 73, 75, 87; on patrol, *fig. 14*
- camera: in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 103, 104, 105; in surveillance, 103. *See also*

- German Southwest Africa (GSWA),  
 photographs of  
 Cape Colony, 34  
 childhood, traumatic photographs in,  
 102–3, 148n8  
 children, German: beating of, 98  
 children, Herero: German indoctrination  
 of, 43–44  
 Cholodenko, Alan, 113  
 Cleverly, John: correspondence with  
 Witbooi, 25–26  
 Coetzee, J. M., 133  
 colonialism: diaspora of, 127, 128;  
 loneliness in, 153n23  
 colonialism, British, 12, 34, 127–28; racial/  
 racist hierarchies of, 129  
 colonialism, German: African perspective  
 on, 21; amnesia concerning, 64–65;  
 as civilizing, 70–71, 107–8, 117; in  
 cultural memory, 68; ethics of, 51;  
 exterminationist, 27; film clips  
 of, 99, 107; financial gain in, 90;  
 Holocaust and, 3–4, 14–15, 124, 126;  
 interdisciplinary studies of, 12;  
 justifications for, 49, 50; legacy of,  
 68; literature of, 11, 13, 44, 45; and  
 Nazism, 3, 59, 85; racial hierarchies  
 in, 3, 5, 10, 36, 57; romanticism  
 concerning, 81; of Third Reich, 5;  
*Vergangenheitsbewältigung* concerning,  
 135. *See also* imperialism, German  
 colonials, German: antipathy toward  
 Boers, 36, 51; antipathy toward British,  
 141n18  
 Colonial School for Women (Germany),  
 135  
 colonization, German: Bismarck and, 9,  
 10; motives for, 82, 83  
 concentration camps: British, 12; Nazi, 34,  
 53–54, 96, 117  
 concentration camps, GSWA, 12, 69,  
 139n28; destruction of evidence for,  
 40–41; disease in, 42; eyewitness  
 accounts of, 38–43; forced labor in, 106;  
 in *Morenga*, 71; mortality rates at, 41,  
 43, 133, 146n11; Witbooi at, 27, 31. *See  
 also* Shark Island  
 Congo Free State, genocide in, 9  
 Conrad, Joseph: as racist, 151n1  
 —*Heart of Darkness*, 16; Achebe on, 115,  
 117, 151n1; intertexts of, 116; and *Our  
 Sister Killjoy*, 116–17, 119, 124, 129; in  
 postcolonial literature, 115  
 continuity thesis (Holocaust), 3–5, 14, 18,  
 132, 133; advocates of, 134; Arendt's, 4  
 Cornell, Fred C.: antipathy toward  
 Germans, 35  
 —*The Glamour of Prospecting*, 44;  
 genocidal gaze in, 36; indigenous  
 peoples in, 35, 38; on Nama rebellion,  
 37; photographs in, 141n20; purpose  
 of, 141n20; Shark Island in, 35, 38–40,  
 142n22; World War I in, 35  
 Cramer, Hildegard, 2  
 Cramer, Ludwig, 137n3; floggings by, 2  
 Crimea, massacres in, 97  
 Dachau concentration camp: creation of,  
 53; photographs of, 96  
 Deimling, Colonel, 83, 88  
*Deutscher Kolonialismus: Fragmente seiner  
 Geschichte und Gegenwart* exhibit  
 (Deutsches Historisches Museum,  
 Berlin), 134–35  
 Drechsler, Horst, 4, 79; on land treaties,  
 145n6; *Südwestafrika unter deutscher  
 Kolonialherrschaft*, 65  
 Dürer, Albrecht: bestiary of, 150n22  
 Eaglestone, Robert: “Reading *Heart of  
 Darkness* after the Holocaust,” 120  
 Einsatzgruppen D (Nazi killing squad), 97

- Erichsen, Casper, 44, 88, 132, 139n28; *The Angel of Death Has Descended Violently among Them*, 40, 42, 43, 146n11
- essentialism, Sartre's, 137n
- ethnic cleansing, Nazi, 58. *See also* genocide, Nazi
- ethnographic discourse, precolonial/postcolonial, 100
- eugenics: in *Black Box/Chambre Noir*, 104; genocide and, 126; in GSWA, 12
- Fanon, Franz, 59; *Black Skin, White Masks*, 121
- Fischer, Eugen, 131
- Flaig, Paul, 150n31
- flogging: of Herero, 1–2, 105, 137n2; of Herero women, 2, 132; toys depicting, 134
- Fontane, Theodor: *Die Stechlin*, 78
- Foucault, Michel: on gaze, 6; Western institutionalism of, 138n13
- Fredericks, Edward, 34
- Fredericks, Joseph, 34
- Frenssen, Anna Walter, 47
- Frenssen, Gustav, *fig.* 6; early life of, 46–47; education of, 47; ethics of, 50; history of Hitler, 59; marriage of, 47; Nazi cult of, 61; Nazism of, 14, 59; Nobel Prize nomination, 48
- Jörn Uhl*, 47
- Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa*, 11, 19; African landscape in, 52–53; Battle of Waterberg in, 55; bestial imagery of, 52, 54; Boers in, 36–37, 50, 51; brotherhood in, 51, 57; colonial attitudes in, 45; cover design (1943 ed.), *fig.* 7; critical reception of, 48–50, 57–60; editions of, 60–61, *fig.* 7–8; English translations of, 45, 49; exterminationist racism in, 60; genocidal gaze in, 13–14, 52, 57, 61, 63, 138n17; German imperialism in, 60; German soldiers in, 48, 50, 53; as *Heimatkunst*, 58; Herero genocide in, 54–57; impact on children, 62; imperial gaze in, 51; indigenous stereotypes in, 51; influence of, 48; missionaries in, 51, 57; *Morenga* and, 76–77; motive for writing, 47–48; narrator of, 58, 60; nomadism in, 58; paratextual material of, 49–50; peace motif of, 48–49, 50; racial hierarchies in, 51, 52; rebellion in, 50–51; Schutztruppe images in, 61; semiotics of clothing in, 59; sexual abuse in, 55; sources for, 45, 48; success of, 47; use in classrooms, 60, 61; von Trotha in, 56; Wehrmacht edition of, 60–61, *fig.* 8; as Young Adult literature, 59–60, 144n21
- Freud, Sigmund: on *Trauerarbeit*, 99
- Gâbemab, !Nanseb. *See* Witbooi, Hendrik
- gaze: in postcolonialist theory, 6; power dynamics of, 8; upon *genocidaires*, 16; on Western imperialists, 115
- gaze, colonized peoples', 7–8; on colonizers, 12–13, 17; on white subjectivities, 22. *See also* resistance, gaze of
- gaze, colonizers', 6; appropriating, 8; on colonized peoples, 12–13; the subhuman in, 11
- gaze, genocidal, 6–8; among Western observers, 19; animal imagery in, 85–87; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 99, 102–3, 104, 106–7, 110–12; children's toys reflecting, 62; in colonial memorabilia, 15; enabling, 7; evidence for, 41; as final solution, 14; in German colonial texts, 89; German discussion of, 98; German guilt and, 15; in German

mores, 98; in *In My Brother's Shadow*, 91–98; intergenerational transmission of, 92, 112; Kubas's witness to, 32–34; in medical experiments, 43; in *Morenga*, 64, 72, 79, 80, 81; Nama resistance to, 20; nationalist aspects of, 58; normalized, 8, 21; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 16, 115, 123, 125; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 13–14, 52, 57, 61, 63, 138n17; racial/racist hierarchies of, 3, 7, 83, 92, 120, 131–32; of Schutztruppe, 84, 86; Timm's critique of, 66–69; transition from imperial gaze, 4–5, 27, 37, 52, 55, 71, 132; von Trotha's, 29–30

gaze, imperial: degrading, 135; effect on identity, 6; ethnographic discourse of, 100; gaze of resistance to, 128; on GSWA people, 5; in *Morenga*, 70, 87; Nama resistance to, 20; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 51; racist hierarchy of, 51; transition to genocidal gaze, 4–5, 27, 37, 52, 55, 71, 132; Witbooi on, 26, 28

gaze, male: on women actors, 138n11

gaze, resisting, 8, 24, 46, 138n11; to imperial gaze, 128; in *Morenga*, 74; Nama's, 20

gender difference, in Holocaust studies, 3

*genocidaires*, 34; accountability for, 8; gaze upon, 16

genocide: American Indian, 129; amnesia concerning, 128, 133; at Babi Yar, 94, 96; in Congo Free State, 9; “other” in, 5; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 120–30

genocide, African: in Congo Free State, 9; imperialism and, 117

genocide, German: African perspectives on, 34; eugenics and, 126; forgotten victims of, 107; German imperialism and, 13–14, 43, 64, 131; silence about, 100; of twentieth century, 3–6. *See also* Holocaust

genocide, GSWA, 1, 3; cleansing of land, 7, 14, 46; failure to mourn, 113; Holocaust and, 3–5, 7, 46, 67–69, 102, 113; justification for, 57; in *Morenga*, 64, 69–76; rationale for, 6; scholarship on, 101–2; silence over, 101–2; witnesses to, 17

genocide, Herero, 1, 5; amnesia concerning, 133; Apartheid and, 109, 113; at Battle of Waterberg, 64; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 15, 104; centenary of, 33, 67–68, 101; erasure from memory, 111; exhibits concerning, 132; following rebellion, 11, 55–56; Holocaust and, 5, 102, 103, 109, 131, 133; Nazism and, 12; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 54–57; as racial war, 74; suppression of memory, 33; under von Trotha, 30. *See also* Herero

genocide, Nama, 1, 5, 31–32; amnesia concerning, 133; Apartheid and, 113; erasure from memory, 111; exhibits concerning, 132; Holocaust and, 5, 102, 131; oral histories of, 18; as racial war, 74. *See also* Nama

genocide, Nazi, 97, 117; colonialism and, 129; Einsatzgruppen in, 124; means of, 5. *See also* Holocaust

Genocide Studies, 3; Postcolonial Studies and, 116, 117, 132; transnational approach to, 6

German Colonial Archive, 92, 145n5; closure of, 64–65; *Morenga* in, 88; re-opening of, 65; Timm's use of, 83, 84. *See also* archives

Germans: othering of, 26; as victims, 119, 128, 152n15. *See also* colonials, German

German Southwest Africa (GSWA): administrators of, 20; anti-Semitism in, 38; colonial grotesque of, 9–11; eugenics in, 12; forced labor in, 1, 2, 13, 42–43, 46, 68; genocidal rhetoric of, 11; German loss of control over,

- German Southwest Africa (*continued*)  
 33, 46, 149n19; German victories in, 147n28; history of, 8–11; influence on Third Reich, 4, 11–12; judicial system of, 2; land grab in, 10, 19–20, 35, 51, 71, 147n1; leadership of, 26, 29; map, *fig. 1*; military presence in, 27, 29; pass laws of, 148n7; photographs of, 14, 39, 88, 132, 135, 147n28, *fig. 11–13*; railway of, 144n15; state institutions of, 9. *See also* concentration camps, GSWA; genocide, GSWA; indigenous peoples, GSWA; Protection Treaties
- Germany: Africans in, 135; Colonial School for Women, 135; as Heart of Darkness, 117; Namibian negotiations with, 134; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 121–22, 126–27. *See also* colonialism, German; genocide, German; imperialism, German; Third Reich
- Gewald, Jan-Bart, 132; *Words Cannot Be Found*, 33–34, 141n17
- Ghana: British colonization of, 127; literature of, 116, 151n4
- “Gibeon Pass” (metal tag), for indigenous people, 133
- Gilbert, Helen, 151n4
- Gilbert, Sandra: *Madwoman in the Attic*, 118
- Gilman, Sander, 45, 143n13
- Gordimer, Nadine: *July’s People*, 116, 149n12
- Gordon, Robert, 40
- Göring, Heinrich: GSWA administration of, 10, 12, 20; in *Morenga*, 90; Witbooi’s correspondence with, 22–23, 24
- Göring, Hermann, 10, 12; influence on Apartheid, 149n11
- Goyal, Yogita, 152n8
- Great Britain: concentration camps of, 12; control of Southwest Africa, 33, 149n19; Mandate in South Africa, 149n18; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 127–28. *See also* colonialism, British
- Grimm, Hans, 59
- Grimm Brothers, “Bluebeard,” 94
- Griqua people, 32
- GSWA. *See* German Southwest Africa
- Gubar, Susan: *Madwoman in the Attic*, 118
- guilt, German, 15; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 99; in *Deutscher Kolonialismus* exhibit, 134. *See also* *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with past)
- Hamburg, contact with GSWA, 65
- Heart of Darkness* (video game), 116
- heart transplants, black/white, 128–29
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich: master/slave dialectic of, 59
- Heimatkunst* (regional literature), 47, 143n6; nationalism in, 62; and Nazi literature, 58–59; *Peter Moor’s Journey* as, 58. *See also* literature, German
- Herero: animal imagery for, 85–86; cattle economy of, 10, 20, 73; confiscation of guns from, 44; as expendable, 56; expulsion to Omaheke Desert, 30, 32, 55–56, 68, 109, 135, *fig. 3*; eyewitness narratives of, 148n5; flogging of, 1–2, 105, 137n2; German perceptions of, 46; humanity of, 17; loss of land, 10; medical experimentation on, 131; military prowess of, 29; in *Peter Moor’s Journey*, 46, 54–57; Schutztruppe gaze on, 84; warfare with Witbooi, 20, 23–25, 30. *See also* genocide, Herero; indigenous peoples, GSWA
- Heroes Acre (memorial, Namibia), 145n4, 150n32
- Hilberg, Raul: *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3

- Hillebrecht, Werner, 140n7
- Himmler, Heinrich: on racial hierarchy, 97
- history, as progress, 116. See also  
*Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with past)
- Hitler, Adolf, 5; Final Solution of, 54
- Hochschild, Adam: *King Leopold's Ghost*, 139n19
- Hoeller, Hildegard: "Ama Ata Aidoo's *Heart of Darkness*," 119
- Holocaust: Apartheid and, 149n13; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 99, 105; causes of, 138n10; continuity thesis of, 3–5, 14, 18, 132, 133, 134; denial of, 96; fiction of, 76; German colonialism and, 3–4, 14–15, 124, 126; German imperialism and, 62; and GSWA genocide, 3–5, 7, 46, 67–69, 102, 113; Herero genocide and, 5, 102, 103, 109, 131, 133; measurement of skulls in, 109; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 122, 126, 151n5; photographs of, 39, 96, 142n25; physical traces of, 117; poetry following, 84, 112; smoke from, 124; visualization of, 112; witnesses to, 112. See also genocide, Nazi
- Holocaust art: *Black Box/Chambre Noire* in, 100; ethics of, 112; memorialization in, 111–12
- Holocaust literature, 112; fiction, 76; hybridity in, 84; intertextuality in, 146n17
- Holocaust Studies, 16; gender difference in, 3; interdisciplinary, 5–6; and Postcolonial Studies, 132; transnational approach to, 6
- homosexuality, African perceptions of, 124
- Hoornkrans, German raid on, 26–27
- Hottentots: connotations of, 140n3; etymology of, 144n16. See also Nama
- Huizinga, J.: *Homo Ludens*, 75
- imperialism, German: beginnings of, 9; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 99; genocide following, 13–14, 43, 64, 131; and Holocaust, 62; in *In My Brother's Shadow*, 91; in *Morenga*, 69, 82; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 60; Third Reich and, 4, 11–12; violence in, 4; Witbooi on, 26. See also colonialism, German
- Indians, American: genocide of, 129
- indigenous peoples: emotional connections with, 60; European representations of, 45; mutual aid among, 78; nomadism of, 58
- indigenous peoples, GSWA, 9–10; animal imagery for, 52, 54, 143n13; destabilized identities of, 18; ethnographic discourse concerning, 143n14; flogging of, 1–2, 26, 137n2, 140n11; forced labor by, 1, 2, 13, 42–43, 46, 68, 79; imperial gaze on, 5; intertribal warfare among, 20, 23–25, 140n7; Jews and, 18, 38; land treaties with, 145n6; as *Lebensunwerten Lebens*, 7; loss of land, 10, 19–20, 35, 51, 71, 147n1; precolonial conceptions of, 140n4; sexual violence against, 1, 34, 41–42, 54; stereotypes of, 51; as subhuman, 46, 109; unity among, 25, 26; unrevisable subalternity of, 19–20; voices of, 8, 13. See also Herero; Nama; Witbooi
- intertextuality: as critique, 76, 77; disruptive, 116; of *Heart of Darkness*, 116; in Holocaust literature, 76, 146n17; Kristeva on, 76; in *Morenga*, 69, 76–83; of *Our Sister Killjoy*, 116; in postcolonial fiction, 116; and textual stability, 116
- Isaac, Fritz, 34
- Isaac, Samuel, 34
- Jews: and GSWA indigenous peoples, 18, 38; in Night of Broken Glass, 112;



- Jews (*continued*) of South Africa, 148n6;  
 as subhuman, 109
- Johnston, Ollie, 110
- Kafka, Franz: "The Penal Colony," 105
- Kamaherero: death of, 24; under  
 Protection Treaty, 23, 24; Witbooi's  
 correspondence with, 22
- Kaplan, Cheryl, 109
- Kaplan, E. Ann, 6
- Kenosian, David, 59
- Kentridge, Sydney, 102
- Kentridge, William: animation process  
 of, 110–11; creative process of,  
 110; early life of, 102; on German  
 colonial violence, 101; interest in  
 Enlightenment, 111, 150n29; Lithuanian  
 Jewish descent of, 102; postcolonial art  
 of, 113; as stage designer, 101; visit to  
 Namibia, 105, 109
- Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 99, *fig.*  
 17–19; animation in, 103–8, 110–12, 114;  
 Apartheid in, 100, 102, 104; archive  
 of, 100–102; in *Art and Press* exhibit  
 (2012), 99, 100, 101, 108; Aryanism  
 in, 104; Battle of Waterberg in, 106;  
 black box camera in, 103; calipers  
 man in, 104, 107; camera in, 103, 104,  
 105; catalog of, 100; colonial film clips  
 in, 107; description of, 100–102; in  
 Deutsche Bank exhibit (2005), 100–  
 101; eugenics in, 104; filmic versions of,  
 147n2; genocidal gaze in, 99, 102–3, 104,  
 106–7, 110–12; German imperialism  
 in, 99; Herero women of, 105, 107, 108;  
 Holocaust in, 104, 105; indigenous  
 genocide in, 15, 104, 105; Kentridge's  
 essay in, 108–10; Megaphone man  
 in, 105, 107, 108, 113; memento mori  
 in, 103–8; mourning in, 113; music in,  
 105, 108; as palimpsest, 100, 104, 111,  
 113, 114; performative nature of, 99;  
 postcolonial ethnographic discourse  
 of, 100; puppets in, 103, 104–7, 113;  
 research for, 105; rhinos in, 103, 104,  
 107, 150n22; running man of, 105, 106,  
 107; skulls in, 103, 106–7, 108; subject  
 matter of, 99; surveillance in, 104;  
 swastika in, 106; texts of, 106, 108; and  
 Timm's works, 112; on totalitarianism,  
 103; *Trauerarbeit* in, 107, 108; typewriter  
 in, 104; use of charcoal, 111, 112–13; von  
 Trotha in, 134
- Kiefer, Anselm: *Breaking of the Vessels*, 112
- Kincaid, Jamaica, 153n23
- Kolbe, Paul: *Unsere Helden in  
 Sudwestafrika*, 147n28
- Kristeva, Julia: on intertextuality, 76
- Kropotkin, Peter: *Mutual Aid*, 75, 78–81
- Kubas, Jan: Griqua ethnicity of, 32;  
 service with German troops, 32;  
 testimony to British, 13; witness to  
 genocidal gaze, 32–34; witness to  
 German genocide, 17
- Kundrus, Birthe, 4
- Lacan, Jacques, 59
- Langer, Lawrence: "Art from the Ashes,"  
 150n28
- Lanzmann, Claude: *Shoah*, 142n26
- Lau, Brigitte, 33
- Lebensraum, Heimat* ideology and, 59
- Leopold II (king of Belgium), Congo  
 colony of, 9, 139n19
- Leutwein, Theodor, 2, *fig.* 9;  
 communication with Herero, 29;  
 correspondence with Witbooi, 28;  
*Elfjahre Gouverneur in DSWA*, 44;  
 military force under, 20; on Protection  
 Treaty, 28; treaties of, 20, 32, 68;  
 Witbooi and, 32, 140n13
- literature, colonial Namibian: racist, 11

- literature, German: GSWA victories in, 147n28; racial discourse in, 59. See also *Heimatkunst*
- literature, Ghanian: narrative techniques of, 116, 151n4
- literature, postcolonial: intertextuality in, 116. See also Holocaust literature
- Longhi, Pietro: bestiary of, 150n22
- Lüderitz, Adolf, 9; deception of indigenous people, 145n6
- Lüderitzbucht, detention-camp at, 39, 142n22
- “Die Macht der Gewohnheit” (German cartoon), 132
- Maherero, Samuel, 10, 65, 109, *fig. 5*; communication with Leutwein, 29; correspondence with Witbooi, 24, 140n12
- Mamdani, Mahmood: *When Victims Become Killers*, 131, 135
- Mandela, Nelson, 103
- medical experimentation: on Herero, 131; at Shark Island, 43
- Memory of the World objects (UNESCO), Witbooi’s archive in, 20
- Mengele, Josef, 131
- Miller, Lee: Dachau photographs of, 96
- Millet, Kitty, 4–5
- missionaries, German, 9, 35; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 126; in *Peter Moor’s Journey*, 51, 57; racism of, 18; von Trotha on, 131
- Mitchell, Breon, 67, 85, 89, 146n23
- Mohrenköpfe (candy), *fig. 20*
- Moodie, T. Dunbar, 148n10
- Morenga of the Nama, *fig. 16*; death of, 74; diary of, 14, 67, 69, 85, 88–89; in German Colonial Archive, 84, 88; in *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 37; leadership of, 10; name of, 141n21, 146n26; as soldier, 88; in Timm’s *Morenga*, 69, 73–74, 87–90; wounding of, 88
- Mulvey, Laura: “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” 138n11
- Munich Agreement (September, 1938), 127
- museums, relationship to colonial power, 135
- mutual aid, human, 78–79
- Muuondjo, Kasisanda, 43
- Nama: animal imagery for, 85–86; cattle economy of, 73; German cannon use against, 28; German perceptions of, 46; as Hottentots, 18; humanity of, 17; language of, 73, 74; peace treaty with Germans, 32; in *Peter Moor’s Journey*, 46; resistance to imperial gaze, 20; Schutztruppe gaze on, 84; at Shark Island, 31; as subalterns, 55. See also genocide, Nama; indigenous peoples, GSWA; Witbooi (Nama people)
- Namibia: editions of *Peter Moor’s Journey* in, 61; Heroes Acre (memorial), 145n4, 150n32; independence of, 14, 135, 145n7; negotiations with Germany, 134; repatriation of skulls to, 150n24; South Africans’ relocation into, 140n7. See also German Southwest Africa
- Namibia-Deutschland: Eine geteilte Geschichte* exhibition (German Historical Museum, 2004–2005), 101
- natural resources, African, 125; exploitation of, 122
- Nazis, in Southwest Africa, 133, 149n18
- Nazism: Apartheid and, 15, 103, 148n11; *Blut und Boden* in, 58, 62; and German colonialism, 3, 59, 85; Munich and, 126–27; racist hierarchies of, 7; on the subhuman, 54. See also genocide, Nazi; Holocaust; Third Reich

- Negritude, Sartre on, 137n
- Nels, Louis, 23
- neo-Fichtean philosophy, 148n10
- Night of Broken Glass (attack on Jews), 112
- Njanekua, Willy, 43
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 118
- Noyes, John, 8; on *Peter Moor's Journey*, 58
- Numsen, Numme, 46
- Nuremberg laws (Germany, 1935), 54
- Nussbaum, Felix, 111
- Ohlendorf, Otto, 97
- Olpp, Johannes, 20
- Omaheke Desert, Herero expulsion to, 30, 32, 55–56, 68, 109, 135, *fig. 3*
- Other: gaze of, 22; gaze upon, 6; in genocide, 5; in *Morenga*, 90; Nazi attitudes toward, 53; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 117
- Ovaherero/OvaMbandero, German massacre of, 11, 133
- Owusu, Kofi: “Canons under Siege,” 118
- Ozick, Cynthia: on post-Holocaust literature, 84–85, 146n25
- Patchett, Anne: *State of Wonder*, 116
- Pathfinder groups (German boy scouts), 60
- poetry, post-Holocaust, 84, 112
- postcards, GSWA: semi-pornographic, 42
- postcolonialism: governmental corruption of, 123–24; in *Our Sister Killjoy*, 123–24, 127–28
- Postcolonial Studies, 3, 16; Genocide Studies and, 116, 117, 132; Holocaust Studies and, 132; white, 121
- Postcolonial Theory, universality in, 120
- Pratt, Effie Louise, 47
- Pratt, Mary Louise: *Imperial Eyes*, 5
- Le Premier Génocide du XXe Siècle* exhibit (Mémorial de la Shoah, Paris, 2017), 132
- Protection Treaties (GSWA), 10, 139n23; Göring and, 22–23; Kamaherero under, 23, 24; under Leutwein, 20; Witbooi and, 25, 28, 54–55, 141n16; Witbooi people under, 29
- Pyncheon, Thomas: *Gravity's Rainbow*, 146n18
- race branding, 131, 135
- racial/racist hierarchies: Aidoo on, 119; of colonization, 129; of genocidal gaze, 3, 7, 83, 92, 120, 131–32; in German colonialism, 3, 5, 10, 36, 57; of imperial gaze, 51; Nazi, 7, 97; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 51, 52
- Rassenschande* (racial shame), in interracial marriage, 11
- readers, resisting, 138n11
- rebellion, GSWA (1904–7), 37; end of, 32; enslaved Herero in, *fig. 4*; forced labor following, 79; genocide following, 11, 41, 55–56; guerilla warfare in, 57; killing of noncombatants in, 41; leaders of, 10; in literature, 13–15; in *Morenga*, 68, 72–76; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 50–51; Schutztruppe in, 29; soldiers' life during, *fig. 15*; white fear of, 2; Witbooi in, 30. *See also* Battle of Waterberg
- resistance: African voices of, 15–16; gaze of, 8, 24, 30, 74, 128, 138n11; Jewish, 74; readers', 138n11
- resistance, Nama: leaders of, 17–18
- Rhenish Missionary Society, 35
- rhinos: in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 103, 104, 107, 150n22; endangerment of, 149n22
- Said, Edward, 6
- Salomon, Charlotte, 111
- Samantrai, Ranu, 118
- Sartre, Jean-Paul: *Black Orpheus*, 137n

- Schlink, Bernhard: *The Reader*, 85, 92
- Schnee, Heinrich, 135
- Schulte, Rainer, 67
- Schutztruppe, German, 29; genocidal gaze of, 19, 84, 86; land grab of, 19–20; in *Morenga*, 79; photographs of women's breasts, 42, 132, *fig. 12*; sexual abuse by, 42; tin soldier toys of, 62, 134. *See also* soldiers, German
- Schwabe, R.: *Der Krieg*, 147n28
- Sebald, W. G., 39
- Seitz, Theodor, 2–3
- self, as geological formation, 75
- Serfontein, J. H. P., 149n11
- Shark Island (concentration camp), 12, 13, 139n28; as Auschwitz prototype, 34; closure of, 142n22; in exhibitions, 133; eyewitnesses to, 18, 34, 35, 38–40, 142n22; forced labor at, 42–43; German photographs of, 39, *fig. 11–13*; medical experiments at, 43; in *Morenga*, 69, 75; Nama at, 31; scholarly accounts of, 40–43; Witbooi people at, 27. *See also* concentration camps
- Sharpeville Massacre (1960), 102, 148n7
- Silvester, Jeremy, 40; *Words Cannot Be Found*, 33–34, 141n17
- sjambok* (whip), flogging with, 1
- Social Darwinism, 79, 131
- soldiers, German: atrocities by, 32–33, 39; *Heimat* of, 53; in *Peter Moor's Journey*, 48, 50, 53; sexual abuse by, 41–42, 54, 86. *See also* Schutztruppe, German
- Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 100
- South Africa, British Mandate in, 149n18
- Spiegelman, Art: *Maus* books, 112, 147n32
- Steinmetz, George: *The Devil's Handwriting*, 9, 18, 19, 140n4; on ethnographic discourse, 100, 143n14; on Nama genocide, 31–32; on Shark Island, 43
- Sterling, Cheryl, 124
- Stoler, Ann Laura, 64, 142n24
- Stülpnagel, Conrad: *Heisse Tage*, 147n28
- Styron, William: *Sophie's Choice*, 85
- Swakopmund, detention-camp at, 39
- swastikas, in *Premier Génocide* exhibition, 133
- Third Reich: attitudes toward other, 53; colonialism of, 5; and German imperialism, 11–12; GSWA imperialism and, 4, 11–12
- Thomas, Frank, 110
- Timm, Karl-Heinz: Aryanism of, 97; death of, 66, 91, 95, 97; diary of, 91, 92–93, 97, 98; father's pride in, 95; photographs of, 96; in SS Death's Head Division, 92, 95. *See also* Timm, Uwe: *In My Brother's Shadow*
- Timm, Uwe: Allied bombing of home, 97; death of brother, 66, 91, 95, 97; early life of, 65–66; father of, 66, 93, 95, 96, 147n32; father's beating of, 98; perceptions of German colonialism, 146n26; travel to Namibia, 92
- *Deutsche Kolonien*, 88
- *In My Brother's Shadow*, 63, 66; Aryanism in, 96, 97; “Bluebeard” in, 94; critical reception of, 93; diary in, 94; dreams in, 92, 95–96; encryption in, 94; genocidal gaze in, 91–98; German imperialism in, 91; the hidden in, 94, 96; hybridity in, 93; indictment of German beliefs, 96–97, 98; kinds of texts in, 93–94; Nazi ideology in, 96; relationship to *Morenga*, 77, 92, 94; research for, 92, 97; socio-political history in, 91; as *Väterliteratur*, 15, 92, 93, 96, 98

- Morenga*, 8, 141n21; alienation in, 79–80; animal imagery in, 69, 85–87, 122; anti-colonialism of, 69; Battle of Waterberg in, 68; coexistence of discourses in, 78; colonialism in, 64, 70–71; concentration camps in, 71; diary device of, 70, 73, 74–75, 76, 80–82, 86; discourses of, 93; dreams in, 80–82, 86, 95; English translation of, 89; Eurocentrism in, 71; fantastic elements of, 84; forced labor in, 79; format of, 82, 146n23; genocidal gaze in, 64, 66–69, 71, 72, 79, 80, 81; genocide in, 64, 69–76; German Colonial Archives in, 83; German imperialism in, 69, 82; German past in, 90; German purity in, 90; German violence in, 63; and *Gravity's Rainbow*, 146n18; Heinrich Göring in, 90; hero/antihero of, 14; historical accuracy of, 85; historical characters in, 68; hybridity of, 82, 83–85; imperial gaze in, 70, 87; intertextuality in, 69, 76–83; *Morenga* in, 69, 73–74, 87–90; *Mutual Aid* in, 75, 78–81; Nama in, 72, 73; narrator of, 75; Nazi foreshadowing in, 90; Other in, 90; pacifism in, 80; *Peter Moor* references in, 76–77; post-Holocaust hybridity in, 84; as postmodern novel, 84; preparation for, 65–66, 67; purpose of, 67, 79; rebellion of 1904–7 in, 14, 68, 72–76; rediscovery of, 90; relationship to *In My Brother's Shadow*, 77, 92, 94; research for, 77, 85, 88, 89; Schutztruppe in, 79; Shark Island in, 69, 75; sources for, 67, 68; Vietnam in, 90; von Trotha in, 83; Witbooi in, 70
- “The Problem of Absurdity in Albert Camus,” 66
- Toll, Nelly, 111
- toys, German: dissemination of stereo-types, 134–35; of Schutztruppe, 62, 134
- Trauerarbeit* (working through grief), 99, 102; in *Black Box/Chambre Noire*, 107, 108
- Treaty of Berlin (1885), 9, 35, 134; Witbooi on, 26
- Treaty of Versailles, sense of victimization following, 152n15
- Ukraine, massacres in, 97
- United Nations Convention on Genocide, 3, 43
- van Wyk, Hermanus: correspondence with Witbooi, 30–31
- Väterliche Züchtigung* (“paternal chastisement”), 2, 11, 132
- Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with past), 66, 113; concerning colonialism, 135; failure of, 110. *See also* guilt, German
- Vernichtungskrieg* (war of annihilation), 11–12
- Vervoerd, Hendrik, 103, 149n11
- Vice, Sue, 76
- victims: forced complicity of, 1, 137n2, 142n26; Germans as, 119, 128, 152n15
- victims, genocide: as aspect of environment, 4–5; forgotten, 107; as subhuman, 5, 6–7, 44, 131
- Visser, Paul: Witbooi's correspondence with, 23–24
- Volkstum* (national heritage), in *Heimatkunst* movement, 62
- von Caprivi, Leo, 26
- von Dincklage-Camp, Friederich: *Deutsche Reiter im Südwest*, 89
- von Eckenbrecher, Margarethe: *Africa: What It Gave Me, What It Took from Me*, 77–78, 141n18
- von François, Curt: attack on Witbooi people, 26–27; Witbooi and, 20, 25

- von Heydebreck, Tennen: *Black Box/Chambre Noire* description, 100–101
- von Salzmann (Oberleutnant), *Im Kampf*, 147n28
- von Trotha, Lothar, 3, 5, 109, *fig. 10*;  
colonial warfare under, 29; genocidal gaze of, 29–30; on missionaries, 131; strategy at Waterberg, 55, 56; triumph over Leutwein, 83; *Vernichtungsbefehl* (annihilation order) of, 11, 30, 33, 41, 64, 105, 132, 134; *Worte an das Volk der Herero*, 104, 149n15
- Wainaina, Binyavanga: “How to Write about Africa,” 121
- Ward, Andrew Henshaw, 49, 143n12
- Ward, Margaret May, 49
- Warmbad, siege of, 88
- Warmbold, Joachim, 62
- Warriors, Leaders, Sages, and Outcasts in the Namibian Past* (1992), 43
- West: Africans residing in, 128; African women in, 118
- White Book, German, 141n18
- Willey, Elizabeth, 118
- Williams, William Carlos, 76
- Windhoek (Namibia), *Reiterdenkmal* bronze at, 113–14, 151n32
- Witbooi (Nama people): annihilation of, 31–32; in German military, 29, 55; in *Morenga*, 70; Namaland Commando Group of, 23; in Naukluft Mountains, 28; under Protection Treaty, 29; at Shark Island, 27; von François’s attack on, 26–27; warfare with Herero, 20, 23–25, 30. *See also* Nama
- Witbooi, Hendrik, 8, 10, 19–26, 72, *fig. 2*;  
appeals for ammunition, 23; archive of, 13, 19, 20–32, 140nn9–10; chiefdom of, 19; Christianity of, 21, 23, 24, 30–31; correspondence of, 20, 22–26, 27–28, 30, 133, 140nn10, 12; death of, 13, 17, 31, 74, 140n15, 146n13; diaries of, 22; early life of, 20; European view of, 18–19; family of, 20, 27; followers of, 23; gaze on Germans, 13, 24, 25, 46, 115; on genocidal gaze, 19; on German genocide, 31; on German imperialism, 26, 27; marriage of, 20; Nama name of, 20; othering of Germans, 26; Pan-Africanism of, 20, 25; poetic language of, 22; in *Premier Génocide* exhibition, 132–33; and Protection Treaties, 25, 28, 54–55, 141n16; resisting gaze of, 24, 46; stature of, 141n16; use of guerilla warfare, 57; use of scribes, 21, 22; and von François, 20
- Witbooi, !Nanses, 20; capture by Germans, 27
- women, African: in colonial fiction, 124; oppression of, 118; as site of cultural authenticity, 118; travel in West, 118
- women, Herero: flogging of, 2, 132; murder of, 44; preparation of skulls, 150n24; sexual abuse of, 1, 41–42, 54, 86, 132
- women, indigenous: colonial attitudes toward, 144n17
- women, Nama: animal stereotypes for, 85; sexual abuse of, 86, 132
- Zantop, Susanne: *Colonial Fantasies*, 139n22
- Zeller, Joachim, 132; *Genocide in German South-West Africa*, 3
- Zeraua, Zacharias: correspondence with Witbooi, 27
- Zimmerer, Jürgen, 132, 134; *Genocide in German South-West Africa*, 3