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Hutu, Tutsi, and the Germans:
Racial Cognition in Rwanda under German Colonial Rule

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1) INTRODUCTION

The thesis at hand approaches the complex of ethnicity in Rwanda[1] under German colonial rule and focuses on how Rwandan social structures were perceived by German colonialists and influenced by their policy. The first written accounts of encounters between colonizer and colonized from the local perspective were taken down by Alexis Kagame (1912-1981), who only started writing during Belgian occupation and who was also very much influenced by European ideology (cf. Kagame: 1951). Therefore, archive documents, on which this thesis is preliminary based, can only give the partial perspective of how German explorers, administrators and missionaries dealt with the social structures within their colony. Oral accounts, obtained during the author's field research in Rwanda, suggest that the Germans were preferred over the Belgians by the Banyarwanda[2]. This however gives little information about what Germans actually did in Rwanda, and this preference might be more of an expression of reluctance towards collective memories of Belgian times, since this period is believed to have had the most detrimental effects on Rwandan society[3], whereas the German colonial rule had, at first site and according to contemporary academic discourse, little impact on local structures. Nevertheless, the Rwandan history during the period from the Berlin Conference in 1885 to Germany's defeat in World War One in 1918 (and its subsequent retreat from the colonies) is severely under-researched, and, considering the ethnic conflict of the post-independence era, it is important to understand the historical roots and to delve into those antecedents to this devastating cleavage.

Based on primary sources (reports, letters, decrees and diary entries) mostly drawn from the national archive in Berlin and the missionary archive in Wuppertal, this thesis aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Hutu-Tutsi-schism, of the origin of ethnicity in Rwanda, and therefore of the root of the conflict. In doing so, it it simultaneously a contribution to the research in how images of Africa were invented and created in Europe and then exported to Africa where they unfolded their own dynamics. What is today's empirical knowledge of ethnic developments in Rwanda and how is this different from conceptions during the shift from the 19th to the 20th century? How did existing theories and beliefs about “race” tie in with what the Germans found, and how did they approach the different social layers? Did the German influence have an impact on ethnic developments in Rwanda after all? These questions culminate into one overarching research

1 The word Rwanda literally means “the surface occupied by a swarm or a scattering” (cf. Vansina: 2004, 35).
2 Banyarwanda refers to the people of Rwanda.
3 The establishment and therefore fixing of racial identities is commonly ascribed to the Belgians, who introduced identity cards in 1935 that stated the holder's belonging to the respective ethnic group.

question: What was the German approach to ethnicity in the former protectorate of Rwanda, what informed it, and how did it impinge on the society? The assumption to start out with is that what Germans “discovered” in Rwanda only reinforced their ideology about “race” informed by biblical lineages, and that, from this basis, their indirect rule did have long-term effects on the Hutu-Tutsi relationship indeed.

This thesis follows a broad approach, using the “ethnographic” work of the first Germans in the region, and incorporating linguistic, anthropological and archaeological findings by other scholars to shape out how Rwandan society might have looked when the Germans arrived. Historical reviews of the racial ideology in Germany and the development of the colony serve to frame the topic. The main focus however is the exploration of archival documents and early publications through the lens of a historian, in order to retrace the German approach to ethnicity by the example of some key figures. Towards the end, impacts and effects from the time period discussed onto further developments will be lined out by interpreting the consequences Germany's rule had, and by re-evaluating works of other historians on this matter. The trajectories displayed here do consider the *Zeitgeist* of the time but proceed from the latest scholarly findings, namely that ethnicities are socially constructed rather then biologically and evolutionary contingent.

It will be argued that Germans not only systematically privileged the Tutsi-elite during their occupation, but also that they systematically discriminated Hutu. This, in combination with their racial ideology, *created* Hutu and Tutsi as naturally unequal. In the manner of common European colonial practice, this invented opposition was made instrumental for the colonizer's own cause. The insights gained and the perspective taken are relevant for the whole discussion on the roots of ethnic conflict because it shows how it developed in Rwanda. The developments disclosed here are typical for colonial encounters in general, the novelty evolving from this investigation however is that in the case of Randa it was the German rule that implemented and introduced “racial hatred” first, and not the Belgian rule that followed. Jean-Pierre Chrétien remarks with respect to the present that “the most formidable obstacle to the progress of knowledge [is] the power of passion and propaganda in the contemporary tragedies and the tendency to replace history with political sociology. […] The depth of what could be called ethnic fundamentalism is all too real” (Chrétien: 2003, 37). As the thesis will reveal, this is especially true for Rwanda. Therefore it is vital to revisit the roots of the conflict and to challenge passion, propaganda and shortened history.

1.1) CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The theoretical framework, with due regard to an interdisciplinary approach, rests upon and draws on several key concepts relevant for framing the topic to be opened up. Ethnicity, tribe, Hamitic theory, and social constructivism as opposed to the primordialist argument are all conceptual terms to be clarified in order to delimit the debate. Many of these concepts are interpreted and defined differently by those who used them over the course of history, and social implications deriving from the usage often have (if not always) been instrumental for political purposes. Different connotations cause confusion and in the case of Rwanda, the outcome was clearly worse than confusion. Supposed ethnic differences were politically charged so dramatically that one "ethnicity" was almost extinguished. Therefore, awareness of implications is the highest precept when dealing with this sensitive matter.

Ethnicity is defined by dictionaries as "the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition".[4] For tribe, dictionaries offer the following definition: "A social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious, or blood ties, with a common culture and dialect, typically having a recognized leader."[5] These characterizations however leave out notions of ethnic or tribal engineering, or the differences between essentialist and constructivist approaches to ethnicity and tribalism. Introducing his book on tribalism in southern Africa, Leroy Vail indicates the complexity inherent in identity concepts:

> "African political leaders, experiencing it as destructive to their ideals of national unity, denounce it passionately. Commentators on the Left, recognizing it as a block to growth of appropriate class awareness, inveigh against it as a case of 'false consciousness'. […] Journalists, judging it an adequate explanation for a myriad of otherwise puzzling events, deploy it mercilessly. Political scientists, intrigued by its continuing power, probe at it endlessly. If one disapproves of the phenomenon, 'it' is 'tribalism'; if one is less judgmental, 'it' is 'ethnicity'" (Vail: 1989, 1).

In the light of so many different associations, it would be somewhat presumptuous to come up with a single valid definition for this type of identity formation. What can be done however is to look at the contexts in which ethnicity was or is perceived. When the Germans colonized Rwanda, the so called Hamitic theory was widely spread and accepted in Europe (cf. Sanders: 1969). Introduced by

4 Oxford Dictionary: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/ethnicity, 2015.
5 Oxford Dictionary: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/tribe, 2015.

the British Africa explorer John Hanning Speke (1827-1864) in 1863, it amounts to the belief that there are peoples who descent from the biblical figure of Noah, more precisely of his son Ham. In his Europe-wide bestseller *Journal of the discovery of the source of the Nile* (1863) he wrote that "it appears impossible to believe, judging from the physical appearance of the Wahuma, that they can be of any other race then the semi-Chem-Hamitic of Ethiopia" (Speke: 1863, 246). With reference to large parts of central and southern Africa (originating from his observations in today's Uganda) he determined that "the government is in the hands of foreigners who had invaded and taken possession of it, leaving the agricultural aborigines to till the ground, whilst the junior members of the usurping clans herded cattle – just as the Abyssinia, or wherever the Abyssinians or Gallas have shown themselves" (Speke: 1863, 247). This theory was clearly a variety of "scientific" racism because Europeans used it to declare the highly civilized and progressive elements of societies in central and southern Africa as achievements that have been brought about by a more Caucasian (Hamitic) race that earlier migrated from northern Africa. Such a racial view of ethnicity was applied by colonialists to identify the more Caucasian population among African societies; in the construction of German colonialists it was the Tutsi who were believed to have descended from Ham and who were meant to dominate the Hutu majority in Rwanda, simply because they were thought to be racially superior and therefore culturally more advanced (cf. Dannebaum: 2009, 79). Constituting the foundation of the German colonial approach towards the Banyarwanda, the Hamitic theory will reappear throughout the thesis as the core of the colonizer's ideology, elucidating German policy in Rwanda.

The Hamitic theory incorporates a premordialist argument, explaining ethnic conflict as "ancient hatreds" between ethnic groups (cf. Weir: 2012). "Frustration comes with differences in 'natural ties' that derive from religious, racial, or regional connections" (ibid., 1). In this premordialist explanation of conflict, ethnicity is something given, essential, fixed and natural. Today there is a wide consensus (as the literature discussion will show) that "the hypothesis is now rightly relegated to European fantasy" (Eltringham: 2006, 426), and that ethnic conflict is rooted elsewhere but not in "ancient hatred". It has been argued that analyses of the 1994 genocide have still widely been made through the lens of this premordialist conception, and that this was the main reason most attempts failed to deliver a sophisticated interpretation of the conflict which would have allowed for an international response aiming at arbitrating intervention (cf. Tendai, 2010).

Social constructivism on the other hand argues that ethnic difference (and hostility) is a product of historical and social processes resulting in ethnic identities drifting apart from each other. This

perception is contemporarily the established and common notion for the interpretation of ethnicity's origin, as opposed to the (premordialist or essentialist) idea of biological difference. However, this new paradigm is already being challenged by researchers such as Carla Schraml: “Qualitative interviews […] show that Rwandans and Burundians do not conceive of ethnic categories as either constructivist or essentialist, but that constructivist and essentialist notions exist next to each other” (Schraml: 2014, 615). In any case, Schraml concludes by saying that her research did not refute Catharine Newbury's statement saying that ‘‘ethnic identities are not rigid, unchanging, or universal categories. But neither are they entirely ephemeral, fluid, and individual’’ (cf. Schraml: 2014, 626). In this respect, ethnic constructivism remains the most instructive theory.

Nevertheless, both approaches to ethnicity seem to still coexist (even though social constructivist approach dominates the discourse), because it is so hard to come up with valid explanations that are recognized by all social and political entities and because these identities run so deep. The complex, even more so since the genocide, is highly sensitive for both Hutu and Tutsi, as well as for international observers. In 1994, the year in which the genocide took place, an issue of the *Historical Dictionary of Rwanda* was published, and under the entry *TUTSI* one could still read: “The Tutsi are an ethnic group related to the Hima, which made up the ruling classes in almost all inter-lacustrine kingdoms in east and northeast Africa. […] The Hima came from the Kitara kingdom, but physical anthropology suggests Ethiopia as a possible origin” (Dorsey: 1994, 386). Mahmood Mamdani ascertained in 2001 that “the 'no difference' (or class difference) point of view has come to be identified with a pro-Tutsi orientation, the 'distinct difference' point of view with partiality to the Hutu” (Mamdani: 2001, 41). Therefore, this dualism continues to shape alliances and political agendas in Rwanda.

Deborah Mayersen correctly says that “it is only through interrogating (mis)representations of Rwanda's history [such as the Hamitic theory] that the political agendas that have and continue to shape them can be exposed and challenged.” (Mayersen: 2014, 23) Deduced from that imperative, it is only the consistent consequence to use a social constructivist approach for this interrogation because this approach denies that our knowledge is a direct perception of reality and stresses that everyone constructs his or her own versions of reality (cf. Burr: 1996, 6); such a sentiment seems to be the most appropriate when dealing with the differently perceived realities of ethnicity. The discipline of history can in this case no longer be aimed at discovering the “true” nature of the past, but an analysis of how realities have been created should be the focus of attention. “The aim of social inquiry moved away from questions about the nature of people or society, and moved towards

a consideration of *how* certain phenomena or forms of knowledge are achieved by people in interaction" (Burr: 1996, 8). Historical and cultural specificity must be accounted for since all ways of understanding (intellectual categories and concepts) are historically and culturally relative.

In this thesis, the terms referring to and labeling these "ethnic" groups will be used because, despite the efforts to proof the "no difference" argument, these categories are in the world and a reality for all Rwandans, no matter how strong the current political discourse tries to deny this. During the author's research in the country, every single conversational partner identified him or herself as either Hutu or Tutsi, even though when they pointed out that they came from a "mixed" background. Today's common spelling will be used, only quotes show the parlance of former times. Tutsi (plural: Batutsi) was spelled differently by Germans as they pronounced it Watussi or Tussi[6], the same applies for Hutu (plural: Bahutu), which was often spelled Wahutu.

In order to anchor the thesis' approach within a wider theoretical streaming, Eric Hobsbawm's and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) serves here to root the treatise in an underlying fundamental assumption, namely that the traditions which give rise to societies, and which hold them together, are artificial. Whereas many European concepts such as "civil" or "class" society cannot simply be applied in the African context because of their specificity that origins in European history, the conceptual idea of societies and their coherence as being the product of imagination and invention seems to have universal significance. Every form of community (tribe, ethnicity, nation, state, kingdom, etc.) must be imagined and invented before it can be created.

The creation of the relationship between colonizer and colonized must be seen in line with social constructivism, meaning that properties of both the colonizer and the colonized were invented in order to strictly delimit these two groups and to control their relationship. Eric Hobsbawn said that "'traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawn: 1983, 1); this is true for both Rwandans and Germans in the context of colonial encounter. The traditions and customs that shaped society in Rwanda during the late 19th century were actually fairly new and had been invented to serve social purposes, as section 2.1 will reveal. These social inventions were then re-invented and re-interpreted by German colonialists to serve their own purposes (see section 2.3); both purposes, however different, served the organization of and power over the community called Banyarwanda.

Similarly, German traits and traditions underwent a re-invention as well in order to suit the role of

6 There is no nexus to be found between the label for the ethnicity and the German invective *Tussi.* The swearword derives from Tusnelda, a Germanic Cherusker princess (living in the first century A.D.), who is said to have embodied all girlish traits that are negatively associated with fussy women today.

being a colonial power. Being able “to define themselves as natural and undisputed masters of vast numbers of Africans” (Ranger: 1983, 211) required whites to draw “on invented tradition in order to derive the authority and confidence that allowed them to act as agents of change” (ibid., 220). Alleged continuities like governance or schooling were imported to the colonies and are therefore “neo-traditions” that *produced* tasks like administration for Europeans. This way the endeavor “to turn the whites into a convincing ruling class, entitled to hold sway over their subjects” (ibid., 215), could be fulfilled. Germans in Rwanda, as all agents of colonizing nations, were the driving force behind imagining and inventing traditions, as they not only assigned certain traditions to themselves but also “set about to codify and promulgate [African's] traditions, thereby transforming flexible custom into hard prescription” (ibid., 212). Terrance Ranger draws attention to the circumstance that “the invented traditions of African societies – whether invented by the Europeans or by Africans themselves in response – distorted the past but became in themselves realities through which a good deal of colonial encounter was expressed” (ibid., 212). Concerning the shaping of racial cognitions and ideologies, which will be dealt with in more detail in section 2.2, Ranger describes the landing of British workers in the Cape Colony in an emblematic way: “White workmen who had been regarded in Europe as the 'lower classes' were delighted on arrival to find themselves in a position of an aristocracy of color” (ibid., 213) – this new aristocratic status was an invention by constructed ideas about the human races.

1.2) METHODOLOGY

The examination and investigation of the introduced topic involved archival research, not least because there are no more eyewitnesses of the time considered who could give a first-hand account of encounters between Germans and Rwandans (they would have to be at least 120 years old). Therefore, in order to detailedly find out about how the colonial ruler viewed social differences in Rwanda, an analysis of administrative and missionary records, as well as accounts from German explorers of that time was required. A field research in Rwanda, anchored primarily in historical methodology, was also inevitable in order to investigate the material situation on site. The necessary contextualization following the acquisition of the sources thereupon draws on findings from other disciplines, using insights from political science, anthropology and archeology, in order to ensure a comprehensive interpretation. In the attempt to create a preferably holistic picture, the research was divided and split up into three units: the first and last site of research was the *Bundesnationalarchiv* in Berlin (German national archive, hereafter BNA), the archive of the *Vereinte Evangelische Mission* in Wuppertal (United Evangelical Mission, hereafter VEM) was visited thereafter, and two archives in Rwanda itself (the national archive in Kigali and the university archive in Butare) were visited as well. Copying (handwritten and mechanical) and digital photography served the purpose of reproduction for further use.

The BNA was the starting point for the investigation. It holds the inventory of the *Reichskolonialamt* (imperial colonial office) and therefore provides the biggest stock of administrative records produced by the foreign ministry and the department of colonial occupation, who were responsible for administering the *Schutzgebiet* (protectorate) of German East Africa (hereafter GEA) from German territory. After the German reunification in 1990, the stock of historical material on the colonial period was brought together in the BNA as we know it today, and was made accessible for the general public. Online access to the catalogues and inventories of the BNA allow one to build up a preliminary idea as to what is available. Research revealed that numerous files from the imperial residence and military bases in Rwanda are being kept there as well. Further, several files from archives in East Africa, notably from the one in Dar es Salaam, have selectively been duplicated and added to the stock of originals by historians of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), since they were politically motivated to account for the "fascist" colonial past. For the purpose of getting an overview of thematic priorities, this first site of research served the researcher as an orientation and starting point.

The material amount on GEA in the BNA is vast and files are obviously not labeled by keywords but by general designations such as *Reichskolonialamt, Deutsch Ostafrika, 1892-1894*. Jean-Pierre Chrétien rightly says that “researchers often have to rummage through archives broadly labeled 'East Africa' or 'Congolese' in which material on Rwanda and Burundi is buried” (Chrétien: 2003, 30). This circumstance implies that microfiches as well as original files contain material on utterly different topics, meaning that research on a specific topic is like searching for the needle in a haystack. Therefore, limitations had to be made. Since *Sütterlin* script[7] takes decidedly longer to read, the decision was made to only consider documents written with the typewriter. Skimming the texts in the search for keywords was thereby made easier. As a result of this limitation, documents from the period before 1906 were only considered as transcriptions, because before that date every document was in handwritten *Sütterlin*, since the typewriter had not been invented and introduced yet. Nevertheless, much had been transcribed, and whenever archival sources from before 1906 are cited in the thesis to follow, they are transcriptions and not the originals.

The second archive that was investigated is the one of VEM in Wuppertal. Reports, diaries, administrative documents and letters are being stored there, starting from the beginning of the mission in Rwanda in 1907. Encounters with and representations of indigenous people are telling of images that Germans had and developed with respect to ethnicity. The Bethel Mission (which later merged with the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* to become part of the VEM) maintained several posts in Rwanda and remained active in the area up until today (with an interruption from 1916 to 1921). A German merchant said in 1913 that “the mission and the colony belong together and work hand in hand on the grand task to develop our colonies and their inhabitants” (Freese: 1913, 63). Therefore, instructive insights to the conceptions and dealings with ethnicities become highly explicit in this material, not least because the missionaries attempted explaining the society they found to the German public and to German colonial officials for practical use. The inventory of the archive contains a noticeable body of sources which are stored very orderly and which are nicely accessible.

Thirdly, the field research in Rwanda was also intended to include archival work. However, the archives of potential interest do either not contain any material on the German period, or they are not accessible. The stock of the national archive, as well as the stock of the national university's archive do not host any primary material of the time before independence. The directors and co-workers explained this lack of sources with the circumstance that the colonial administrations had

7 *Sütterlin* skript was the German handwriting before a reform in 1911.

shipped most of their paperwork to Germany (and later Belgium). Considering the conjuncture of Germany's withdrawal from Rwanda however, this explanation cannot be the whole truth[8]. Another reason mentioned by the archivists was that since the post-independence era much material had been lost or destroyed by either weather conditions or civil war. It is to assume that, since historical knowledge is a strong source of political power, files have been consciously destroyed or shut away by the regimes that followed independence. Both the Hutu regime (1962-1994) and the current regime (since 1994) are known for their manipulative social engineering and their attempts to create histories according to their own volition[9] (cf. Jessee E. and Watkins, E.: 2007, 35, ff). Hence, it can be proceeded from the assumption – since absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence – that many sources are not accessible because historical interpretation has been and is being controlled by Rwandan state authorities.

Focuses on key personalities (German explorers, administrators and missionaries) serve paradigmatic and representatively to carve out the German conceptions of and policy towards Hutu and Tutsi. The interplay between works by other scholars on Rwanda's history and the newly gathered material from the archives appears to be fruitful in terms of gaining new insights to the long neglected topic of the German interaction with ethnicity in Rwanda. The pillars of classic source analysis are being used to contextualize the findings: Who produced what and when, who is the addressee, and what was the intention of writing? The analysis also considers the argumentation, the language and the style, to subsequently bring it in line with the bigger historical context. It is of interest how the sources represent the different realities and what kind of world view they mediate to the recipient, which is why this investigation emphasizes on the decoding of representational systems that have been used in the sources to depict ethnicity. Language plays a crucial role in the construction of ethnicity because it is the means to convey the image and, therefore, it is necessary to scrutinize the form of communication since the sources only re-present. In such analyses, the (non-)cohesion between the linguistic actions of the sources and the actual societal and institutional configurations help to highlight the differences between external perceptions of the colonizer and the latest images of Rwandan society during the referred time that we have today.

Only to point out further restrictions, it is to say that the focus here is exclusively on Rwanda and

8 Germans were involved in heavy fighting with British and Belgian forces since World War One had reached the colonies. The retreat of Germany and Rwanda's status transition from a German colony to a Belgian mandate happened rather chaotically (cf. Strizek: 2006, 146 ff) and hastily (cf. Des Forges: 2011, 134), and therefore it is not to assume that the Germans, despite their reputation of being fastidious with their administration, had the time and resources for an organized pull-out.

9 During the researcher's field work, several discussion partners have mentioned the rumor that President Kagame was currently writing on his own history of Rwanda.

not on the “false twin” Burundi because, even though they share a very similar history, the German's approach to the neighboring residency was different because Burundi featured a less unified rule (cf. Scherrer: 2001, 219, ff). Concerning the passages on Christian missions, only the German Bethel-Mission (and not the Catholic “White Fathers”) is considered here because, as it will become clear in section 3.2, these missionaries worked more closely together with the colonial administration, as they were Germans. Further, the Batwa, the smallest group in Rwanda's social constellations, will not be included in this discussion. They did play an interesting and not influential role in court politics (cf. Lewis and Logo: 2006), but a separate treatise would be needed to account for their parts. Lastly it needs to be noticed that all German sources are directly translated into the text, but the original script can be revisited in the footnotes.

1.3) LITERATURE DISCUSSION

Richard Reid, in his famous call for more pre-colonial research in Africa, states that “signs, symbols, and performances, traceable to the deep (pre-fifteenth century) past, continue to have rich meanings today” (Reid: 2011, 141). This is certainly true for Rwanda as well, but for now there is too little archaeological evidence compiled in order to create a profound history of this ancient past. It has been attempted on the basis of oral history, but these inquiries also do not go further back then roughly 400 years without becoming extremely vague. Therefore, only the time since the sixteenth century can be considered, which proofs to be already sufficient for the purpose of this thesis.

It was the groundbreaking work of the American couple Cathrin and David Newbury in the 1980s that proofed the Hamitic theory in the case of Rwanda wrong. They showed that only during the Rwandan state expansion to the southwest from the 1860s onwards, the formerly autonomous local population *became* Hutu through Tutsi military occupation and that Tutsi only *became* Tutsi because of socioeconomic circumstances (cf. Newbury, C.: 1988). With the help of oral traditions they were able to compose a Rwandan history and, for the first time, came up with alternative empirical explanations on the origin of Hutu and Tutsi, focusing on the nexus between clientship and ethnicity evolving from Rwandan myths.

Their work inspired other researchers to further delve into the rich Rwandan oral history. Another couple, Alison and Roger Des Forges, built up on the Newburys' findings, the book by Alison, *Defeat is the only bad News* (2011), being the most helpful for the investigation at hand since it deals with king Musinga's rule, which fell in the time frame of German occupation. Jan Vansina, who had already mentored David Newbury's doctoral research, is considered an authority on central African history and his *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda* (2004) indeed comprehensively compiles the findings about pre-colonial history up until the post-genocide period. Mahmood Mamdani, who also wrote a general history of Rwanda in the English language, named *When Victims Become Killers* (2001), took the genocide as an inducement to focus on developments of ethnicities, which is why he will also be cited throughout the thesis.

Before the genocide, Rwanda was not of any particular interest to scholars, and only a handful of specialists had written on the country. Most of them published in French, simply because as a francophone country Rwanda was more in the focus of French and Belgian scholarship. Jean-Pierre Chrétien gathered and comprised the most relevant research results published in the French language and presented *L'Afrique des grands lacs - Deux Mille Ans d'histoire* (2000), which was

translated into English in 2003, giving insights to integrative historical processes of the whole Great Lakes region, including the development of ethnicity. The German period however, aside from *Defeat is the only bad News*, falls short in all these major works. Most other treatises on Rwandan history also literally skip the German period or leave it aside, only considering this chapter with a few occasional comments. The only works that exclusively deal with the German colonial period in Rwanda (Reinhard Bindseil wrote two books on that, Helmut Strizek one, and Innocent Kabagema wrote a dissertation) in turn pay little attention to the issue of ethnicity, which only emphasizes the relevance of an investigation focusing on the amalgamation of German rule and ethnicity in Rwanda.

The roots of the 1994 genocide have been studied and written on, but the body of literature generally fails to retrace the very origins to the time of German occupation. Ravinder Joshi, in his insightful article *Genocide in Rwanda: The Root Causes* (1996), is one of the few authors who do start out with the German era and mentions German rule – if only briefly – as critical for further developments: “Two decades of German rule substantially altered the political process and the dynamics of social relations in Rwanda” (Joshi: 1996, 55). He further points out that it was not the Belgian administration that invented Hutu and Tutsi as fixed categories, but that after World War One, the German approach to governance, which relied on this fixation, was adopted, and that Belgian rule only continued to exercise power through the Tutsi monarchy (cf. Ibid., 56). Nevertheless, most publications following Joshi's assessment ignored this and disregarded these deeper roots by only considering how the Belgian administration further exploited Hutu farmers with the help of the Tutsi aristocracy. Jay Carney for instance even claims that “tribalism – the framing of politics in exclusively Hutu-Tutsi terms – did not emerge as a coherent political vision until the final years of the 1950s” (Carney: 2012, 173). The thesis at hand will prove Carney's statement wrong and will substantiate Joshi's argument.

John Iliffe was the first to write a comprehensive history on GEA in 1969 that was not tainted in colonial ideology. He realized that a new approach was needed which considered the colonized people as a part of the story and not merely as receiving objects. To him, developments in the colonies were to be seen as interactions rather then the simple imposition of the colonial power's will. Iliffe stated for instance that many policies by the Germans were also driven by a reaction to how the subjected behaved, and that the crises in 1907 (Herero “uprising” in German South-West Africa and the Maji-Maji-War in GEA) instructed Bernhard Dernburg (state secretary of *Reichskolonialamt* from 1907 to 1910) to restructure the colonial administration; he also suggests

that the implementation of an indirect rule in Rwanda is an outcome of that. Older views saw in such reforms only a rationalization to make things more efficient and marketable under the banner of “enlightened economic imperialism”. Iliffe however saw these changes as an act of response to rebellion (cf. Iliffe: 1969, 3, f). Building on Iliffe's extensive archival research, Horst Gründer integrated GEA's developments into the wider framework of German colonial politics with a publication of 1985, providing an embedded review from a German perspective, but again without further delving into the problematic situation of Hutu and Tutsi. One piece that does consider the German approach to ethnicity is Gerhard Launicke's chapter in a book on GEA published in 1981 – at that time it was still unknown however that the Hamitic theory does not proof to be valid. Further, Launicke's approach bases on a socialist set of theoretical a priori, trying to explain the social configurations solely through the lens of class differences (the edition was published by a GDR organ in east Berlin). Nevertheless, he displays some intrinsic properties of the colonizer's ideology, which will be discussed in section 2.2.

Since the genocide in 1994, Rwanda got massive international attention and the amount of academic literature from many different disciplines is significant. Especially political science, economics and anthropology produced large corpora on causes, reasons and the aftermath of this calamity – in this reactive effort to learn, prevent and reconstruct, it can be argued that a foreshortening of Rwanda's history took place, which might explain why the injection of colonial ideology into the social constellations is almost exclusively assigned to Belgian rule. Even though the post-genocide era is not the chief subject of this thesis, Helmut Strizek called attention to some linkages between the German colonial time and the present, which is why his research in political relations is fruitful for the discussion on German heritage in Rwanda, and therefore it is included in chapter four.

A general literature discussion would not be complete without mentioning the works that are produced within the country itself. As it will become clear in the chapters to follow, the discourse on ethnicity is very much controlled by state authority in contemporary Rwanda. A small book by Bernardin Muzungu, called *Histoire du Rwanda Sous la Colonisation* (2009), can be purchased at museum shops and tourist boutiques throughout the country. It reads a bit like the works by socialist authors, emphasizing the historical class difference between Hutu and Tutsi (springing from the distribution of means of production), and attributing the racial hatred solely to the colonizer's (that is Belgium's) interference. Similarly, the publications commissioned by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission all insist that between Hutu and Tutsi there is actually no difference at

all. Anastase Shyaka, as a case example, writes that “it should be admitted that there exists one unique ethnic group in Rwanda: the ethnic group of *Banyarwanda*” (Shyaka: 2009, 7). The recollection of an alleged peaceful pre-colonial national unity, which is now known to have never existed, is frequently being propagated. “The re-foundation of the inclusive and reconciling national identity, the 'rwandanness'” (Shyaka: 2009, 41), is being promoted. Most of these works however do not base on actual research and are therefore widely disregarded in the international scholarly discourse as state propaganda. Researchers on Rwanda, like Filip Reyntjens (cf. 2011) or Yakaré-Oulé Jansen (cf. 2014), attest that independent research and media, and free speech are denied and can be severely punished if it does not support the regime's ideology: “In Rwanda […], history is a highly political stake of the present and the future rather than a way of analyzing and understanding the past, [and] its manipulation contributes to the structural violence so prevalent” (Reyntjens: 2011, 33).

2) HISTORICAL PROLOGUE

2.1) RWANDA BEFORE BECOMING A PROTECTORATE

What is contemporarily known about Rwanda before 1900 and how was society organized when the Germans arrived? Outlining an answer to this question is vital for situating the forthcoming colonization onto an evolutionary timeline. Therefore, this chapter has the aim to display what has recently been found out about the Hutu-Tutsi relationship and the organization of the kingdom before and during the dawn of colonization. Against this background, the current state of research can later be compared with the "research results" the Germans based their understanding on in the early 20th century.

As already indicated in the literature discussion, the European idea of immigrations forming the political and social system has slowly been depreciated, even though "factual precision [of the Rwandan history] is not archived before the eighteenth century [but rather] based on mythic composition" (Chrétien: 2003, 13). Three recent major works, namely by Mahmood Mamdani (2001), Jean-Pierre Chrétien (2003) and Jan Vansina (2004), have nevertheless compiled the still sparse inquiry results by history's ancillary disciplines on the Rwandan ancient past in order to carve out an integrated impression of how social configurations in Rwanda came about before the Europeans intervened. As Vansina points out, "it is essential to know the early history of Rwanda [...], if one is to understand the history of the twentieth century, for modern Rwanda was built on the economic, social, and political foundations encountered by the first colonials" (Vansina: 2004, 3).

For every historian who is to write a history of Rwanda that is freed from racial prejudice, it is of high importance for each one of them to first debunk the Hamitic theory of migration, both intellectually and morally, which, in turn, demonstrates the apparently still ongoing persistence of the notion that Hutu and Tutsi have separate biological backgrounds, that they are different "races". Chrétien says that "the ethno-history that gave such credence to the Bantu expansion and the Hamitic invasion had less to do with African history and more to do with European Anthropology tainted by racial prejudice" (2003, 59). Today it is known that "one is Tutsi because one is born to a Tutsi father, a Hutu because he is born to a Hutu father" (Chrétien: 2003, 74) – this understanding about cohabitation and "interbreeding"[10] of Hutu and Tutsi, that had been going on for millennia, is emphasized by all scholars. Human settlements, so the purport, are rather made of micro-migrations

10 The term "interbreeding" is to be treated with caution in this context since it suggests an ethnically "pure" past or an ancient ideal type, which, of course, reproduces the Hamitic myth.

spread over time, resulting in highly dynamic cultural and biological constellations.

With the help of Archeology, Linguistics, and studies in genetic proximities, we now know that these ethnic categories are the outcome of other dynamics than migration, indeed. Concerning the question about Hutu, all authors agree on the validity of undeniable evidences from which follow that Bantu cultures had reshaped older populations in waves. Therefore, “the predecessors of the Hutu were simply those from different ethnicities who were subjugated to the power of the state of Rwanda” (Mamdani: 2001, 74). The label of Hutu for various peoples only came about relatively recently, as a political identity, with the expansion of the Rwandan state since the eighteenth century. “Farmers of the country absolutely did not think of themselves as members of a single ethnic group, and they all rejected the insulting epithet that was bestowed on them. They distinguished themselves as the people of Bugoyi, Kinyaga, Nduga, Rukiga, or even Rundi, but not as Hutu” (Vansina: 2004, 197). According to these new assessments, it is wrong to speak of Hutu as one ethnicity, since neither biologically nor politically had they formed a community. Culturally speaking, the “ethnic” community of Kinyarwanda speakers long predated the political community framed by the state called Rwanda (cf. Mamdani: 2001, 52). Hutu and Tutsi did share the same culture, and one could argue that thus they constituted an ethnicity: the one of a language family, including everyone who speaks Kinyarwanda, embracing Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. The genetic diversity of Rwandans is today being ascribed to an extensive endogamy, which has obtained for a long time within the social groups of Twa and elite Tutsi rather then to distinct backgrounds (cf. Vansina: 2004, 37).

There are many different scholarly approaches that attempt to explain the “average of 12 centimeter hight difference”, the Tutsi's slenderness, the Hutu's brawniness and wider nose, and so on. Differences were assigned to selective feeding and breeding, to different preferences in sexual selection (different groups have different beauty ideals), to blood factors (such as the ability to digest lactose), and climate adaptations. All these attempts had the effect of enforcing or substantiating the migration thesis, which equals the thesis of separate origins. Mamdani notes that the “original and persistent sin of Western history writing [was to] search for origins. Why presume that the cultural development was the result of migration, rather then the exchange of ideas?” (Mamdani: 2001, 50).

This new approach of rejecting the focus on migration not only changed the idea of what a Hutu is, but also the concept of Tutsi. Chrétien, reflecting on research in oral culture, says that socioeconomic vocations were the foundation for the supposedly ethnic difference instead: “the

Batutsi and the Bahima are associated with the cow, the Bahutu and the Bairu with the hoe, the Batwa with hunting an pottery. […] This myth lays the groundwork for castes" (Chrétien: 2003, 77). The political importance of these "casts" within one population became more and more important in the organization of the emerging and expanding kingdom, so that the culturally unifying aspects gave way to political identities. "Today's Tutsi need to be understood as children of mixed marriages who have been constructed as Tutsi through the lens of a patriarchal ideology and the institutional medium of a patriarchal family. […] All 18 major clans in Rwanda include Hutu and Tutsi (and Twa)" (Mamdani: 2001, 54). "'Tutsi' referred mostly to a social class among herders, a political elite. […] The growth in prestige of the term 'Tutsi' went hand in hand with the growth of the Nyiginya kingdom[11]. Gradually all nontranshumant herders in the kingdom claimed this designation" (Vansina: 2004, 37).

Patriarchy was closely tied to the political "cast" system, which created and reproduced these identities that drove society apart into a ruling and a serving population. Mamdani explains that one cultural identity of the Banyarwanda was driven apart by political identities (Hutu, Tutsi): "Politics has come to shape culture since the sixteenth century" (Mamdani: 2001, 53). A major factor thereby was the cultural role of bovines: "Cattle, as mobile capital, provided the capability for exchange and influence" (Chrétien: 2003, 77 ff). Based on and proceeding from oral mythology, herders, called Tutsi, had this mobile capital and had therefore the ability to grow this capital, let others work for them and use their spare time that resulted from this lifestyle for a political exercise of power. Such power was possessed by anyone who had cattle, not only the taller or lighter skinned inhabitants of the region. "The presence of bovines is traceable in East Africa to at least the first millennium BC" (Chrétien: 2003, 67) and "Many 'Hutu' had cattle and many 'Tutsi' farmed the land. [...] The division of labor observed between the two at the onset of the colonial period is better thought of a division enforced through the medium of political power rather than as a timeless preoccupation of two separate groups" (Mamdani: 2001, 51).

All agree on these constellations and argue that it was the emergence and expansion of the state that came to actually manifest these identities, only really accelerating during the rule of king Kigeri IV Rwabugiri (1860-1895). While Rwabugiri's reform centralized power, Mamdani evokes that "we need to bear in mind that power was nowhere near as absolute as it would come to be in the colonial period" (Mamdani: 2001, 68) because the Germans chose to support the powerholders. However,

11 A dynastic poem with the tile *Ubucurabwenge* (The Source of Wisdom) encloses the succession of Rwandan sovereigns (back to the seventeenth century), who all spring from the dynastic family of Nyiginya (cf. Chrétien: 2003, 31).

the centralized sphere of control was already considerable, and two major practices that essentially shaped the social system of Rwanda during the late nineteenth century shall be mentioned here: *Uburetwa* (closest in translation to “feudalism”) and *Kwihutura* (“shed Hutuness”). The former is well condensed by Vansina, saying:

> “Around 1870 or shortly thereafter, […] a new system of exploitation called *uburetwa* [was introduced]. […] The chief of the land […] began to impose obligations on all the farming families established in his jurisdiction by the pretense that they were all his tenants. In addition to the dues, which included a significant portion of the family's crops, these obligations mainly consisted in the delivery of services. […] The imposition of *uburetwa* on farmers and not on herders was the straw that broke the camel's back. Very soon it provoked a rift that was to divide society from top to bottom into two hierarchized and opposed social categories, henceforth labeled 'Tutsi' and 'Hutu'” (Vansina: 2004, 134).

Mamdani adds that “as a result [of *ubuhake*] more than at any other time in its history the state of Rwanda appeared as a Tutsi power under Rwabugiri” (Mamdani: 2001, 66), because he further polarized the social opposition between Hutu and Tutsi. *Kwihutura*, on the other hand, had the effect of preventing the formation of a Hutu counter-elite: “The rare Hutu who was able to accumulate cattle and rise through the socioeconomic hierarchy could *kwihutura* – shed Hutuness – and achieve the political status of a Tutsi. Conversely, the loss of property could also lead to the loss of status, summed up the in Kinyarwanda word *gucupira*” (Mamdani: 2001, 70). These practices demonstrate that Hutus and Tutsi are definitely not a mere invention of Europeans, but that their origin lies in oral traditions about socioeconomic distributions, developing into political identities through centralized reform, already institutionalizing social inequalities. Therefore it is not surprising that “['Hima' and 'Tutsi'] both are ethnonyms accepted by the populations they designate” (Vansina: 2004, 36), whereas the term Hutu was rejected by the ones being labeled so. Therefore it is to say that both groups were invented community entities within the state of Rwanda.

When the first Germans came to Rwanda, the state of the Tutsi kingdom had reached a high degree of societal organization and “a whole array of institutions – from the army to clientship – enforced and undergirded the reproduction of Hutu and Tutsi as binary political identities” (Mamdani: 2001, 56). After 1885, “several spontaneous revolts broke out let by farmers driven to distraction by too much oppression. They were crushed. Tensions between Tutsi and Hutu also appeared […] before 1890 and again in 1897-99. […] In both cases the aristocrats sought revenge for what they chose to interpret as an insult to 'Tutsi'” (Vansina: 2004, 136). The succession from Rwabugiri to eighteen

years-old Yuhi V Musinga (reign from 1896–1931) and the surrounding violence[12] already fell into the timespan of German presence, and the colonizers knew how to use these commotions for their own purposes (more on that in the chapters to follow). What the first German in Rwanda, Count Götzen (see section 3.1.1), came to describe as a state “highly organized through hierarchy”, is today depicted as a state close to anarchy:

> The combination of the humiliation suffered and the heavier and heavier exploitation finally provoked a rift that tore the whole society apart, so that, by 1890, it teetered on the brink of total anomy. Far from constituting an apotheosis of a great united nation encompassing almost two million people, the kingdom of Rwabugiri and his successors offered the spectacle of nearly two million people standing on the verge of an abyss (Vansina: 2004, 197).

Secluding, it remains to say that despite the crisis of that time, a highly developed state was encountered by Europeans, and therefore Götzen's assessment was not completely wrong. These social accomplishments however did not come about from an outside invasion but rather evolved from within the Banyarwanda culture. Further, and especially in the 1890s, the social and political framework was highly unstable.

12 A succession crisis resulted from an internal coup within the royal family at Rucunshu in December 1896, and during the temporary power vacuum “the exploited populations exploded with resentment” (Vansina: 2004, 138).

2.2) GERMAN RACIAL IDEOLOGY AT THE TIME OF COLONIZATION

After having gained the most recent impression of how Rwandan society was organized at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is now possible to contrast this with German perspectives and expectations concerning the encounters between them and the Banyarwanda. The German spirit of that age conceptualized Africa and Africans obviously absolutely contradictory and opposed to the self-awareness of Africans themselves. How far away from local realities European beliefs really were was pervasive. The euro-centristic ideology of those Germans who came to GEA was profound, and therefore encounters must be seen as worldviews clashing. Dogmatic images of Africa, resulting in prepossessions on the side of the conqueror, have deep historico-cultural roots. These will be outline in this section in order to understand the "lens" through which the *Zeitgeist* was perceived.

In 1886, before Germany actively engaged in colonial projects, the highly influential philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche wrote in his book *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*[13] that "the noble way [is] value-defining, […] it is value-creating"[14] (Nietzsche: 2012, 290). In other words, those who are noble naturally define the values for the rest that is not noble. Nietzsche coined terms like *Herrenrasse* (master race) and *Herrenmoral* (master morality), which refer to the superiority of the European (and especially German) *Übermensch* (ubermensch). He demanded societal values that orient themselves towards the human will for power, which is essentially a form of social Darwinism. Such a discourse can be seen as the foundation and moral justification for the colonial enterprises to come, because without legitimate cause and reason, it would have been difficult to classify other people as inferior to the "noble" European from the beginning. Further, this philosophy not only justified European take-over, but also justified the rule of the "noble" Tutsi within the African context because they were seen as the the master race and rightful dominator over the "Negros".

Benedikt Stuchtey, in a reflection on Hannah Ahrendt's critique of imperialism, points out the peculiarity of the German colonial ideology: "Even if imperialism around 1900 was unprecedented and unique in form and extent, it still profited from a tradition of political thinking which Arendt, in the English and French case identified as racist intuitions, and in the German case with additional *völkisch* conceptions"[15] (Stuchtey: 2003, 301). The term *völkisch* is essentially associated with

13 English title: *Beyond Good and Evil*.

14 Translated by the author. Original: "Die vornehme Art Mensch [ist] werthbestimmend, […] sie ist wertheschaffend (Nietzsche: 2012, 290).

15 Translated by the author. Original: "Obwohl der Imperialismus um 1900 in Form und Ausmaß neuartig und einzigartig war, profitierte er doch von einer Tradition politischen Denkens, die Arendt im englischen und französischen Fall mit rassistischen, im deutschen zusätzlich mit völkischen Anschauungen identifizierte"

national socialist ideology of the 1930s and 1940s but, as Hannah Arendt demonstrated, it can also be applied to the colonial ideology (as precursor to the Nazi concept) because it expresses the idea of peoples being races. The *völkisch* element underscores the German self-conception of being the *Herrenrasse* and therefore explains the invention of racial hierarchies trenchantly.

Even before Nietzsche shaped the German consciousness of German racial supremacy, the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel declared in a lecture in 1837 that

> "[Africa] is not a historical section of the world, it features no movements and developments, and what happened in it, meaning in its north, must be assigned to the Asian and European world. Egypt […] is not associated with the African spirit. What we intrinsically conceive as Africa is the ahistorical and the unreceptive, which is still entirely captured in the natural spirit" (Hegel: 1837, 234)[16].

From such a quote it can already be foreseen that German models explaining progress in Africa will in the future aim at allocating "movements" and "developments" within African societies to inputs from outside. According to this logic, Hamites from Egypt, as whom the Rwandan elite were identified by Germans, are not only racially closer to the European type, but they are also informed by a Middle Eastern or even European intellectual world. This, in combination with Nietzsche's cogitations, preprogrammed the relationship between the colonizer and its subjects: the truly African "Bantu" masses take the lowest ranks in human kind, the foreign Hamitic rulers, inspired by an almost European tradition, make up the middle ranks, and, finally, the *Herrenrasse* is predestined to rule them all with their master morality, as they represent the coronation of racial and mental evolution. Such premises were the prelude to the racial ideology that came to determine the German's treatment of their colonial subjects in Rwanda. The historian Kurth Loth says that because "the European conquerers were even whiter than the Hamites, even manlier, thus even more born to rule, the exploitation of Africa [appeared as] a very natural, racially justified mechanism"[17] (Büttner: 1981, 10) to the Germans. Further he observes that "*Occident* and *race* [were] often stretched termini for the justification of aggressive politics predominantly by German imperialism, [which] were thought to justify colonialism in general as an imperial civilizing consignment with a

(Stuchtey: 2003, 301).

16 Translated by the author. Original: "[Afrika] ist keine geschichtlicher Weltteil, der hat keine Bewegung und Entwicklung aufzuweisen, und was etwa in ihm, das heißt, in seinem Norden geschehen ist, gehört der asiatischen und europäischen Welt zu. Ägypten […] ist nicht dem afrikanischen Geiste zugehörig. Was wir eigentlich unter Afrika verstehen, das ist das Geschichtslose und Unaufgeschlossene, das noch ganz im natürlichen Geiste befangen ist" (234).

17 Translated by the author. Original: "Da die europäishen Eroberer noch weißer sind als die Hamiten, noch männlicher, also noch mehr zum Herrschen geboren, ist die Ausbeutung Afrikas ein ganz nätürlicher, von der Hautfarbe her gerechtfertigter Vorgang" (Büttner: 1981, 10).

mystic provenance”[18] (Büttner: 1981,3). Jean-Pierre Chrétien calls this need for the distinctions between humans “classificatory mania” (Chrétien: 2003, 74) and notes that “the colonizer, of course, was more interested in division and moralizing than in trying to understand. […] The colonizers exercised their power through their superior science and technology and through claiming they have the true God” (Chrétien: 2003, 201).

As always, the attitude of the “motherland” toward the colonies is to be located in an interdependency with the situation “at home”. In this case, the colonial ideology appeared to function as a “win-win-situation”, because it also served as a tool to keep the workers in Germany calm. At the end of the nineteenth century, the distress of urban workers grew synchronous to the emergence of the industrial state.[19] In this context, Büttner makes the following conjunction:

> “Besides the various varieties of open racism, more or less veiled methods for political deception were applied in order to hinder national liberation movements in Africa on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in order to outplay social antagonisms within the so called mother country, by forcing a consciousness of racial superiority [*Herrenmenschenbewusstsein*] upon the less privileged. The people of the so called colonial powers were discouraged to stand up against their exploiters in their own country in exchange for the promise of improvement for their own situation through the exploitation of other peoples”[20] (Büttner: 1981, 6).

This propagated racialized setup was surely helpful to fulfill the domestic political goal of keeping the social peace in Germany and simultaneously reaching the goal of foreign policy to play off one political current in the colony against the other, based on the saying “when two people quarrel, a third rejoices”. On top of that, this racial concept became even more sophisticated though the suggestion of “good” colonialism. The inside was gained in Germany that “the growing economic independence and the mental raising of the aboriginal will connect his interests with ours more steadily. If we have the welfare of the aboriginal in mind, we simultaneously foster our own

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18 Translated by the author. Original: “'Abendland' und 'Rasse', häufig strapazierte Termini zur Rechtfertigung der aggressiven Politik vorwiegend des deutschen Imperialismus, sollen den Kolonialismus im allgemeinen als 'imperiale zivilisatorische Sendung' mystischen Ursprungs rechtfertigen” (Büttner: 1981,3).

19 Gerhart Hauptmann's play *Die Ratten* (The Rats), published in 1911, prominently illustrates the exploited form of life led by urban industrial workers in Berlin during the 1880s.

20 Translated by the author. Original: “Neben vielen Spielarten des offenen Rassismus wurden mehr oder weniger verschleierte Methoden zur politischen Irreführung der Völker angewandt, um einerseits die Entwicklung nationaler Befreiungsbewegungen in Afrika aufzuhalten und um andererseits in den sogenannten Mutterländern die sozialen Gegensätze durch Forcierung eines 'Herrenmenschenbewusstseins' hinwegzutheoretisieren. Die Völker der sogenannten Kolonialmächte sollten abgehalten werden, gegen ihre Ausbeuter im eigenen Lande zu kämpfen, wofür ihnen eine Verbesserung ihrer Lebenslage durch Ausbeutung anderer Völker versprochen wurde” (Büttner: 1981, 6).

benefit”[21] (Trittelwitz: 1909, 35). By depicting the African as low forms of being, they are not to be hated but rather to be pitied and helped. Colonial representatives had to be sensitive in bringing “civilization”, for example by learning the language; successful acquisition was even rewarded with bonuses. Büttner says that “this basically comprises nothing but the better care for the indispensable black slaves”[22] (Büttner: 1981, 13) under the cover of humanism. That combating slavery and “bringing light into the darkness” was only a pretext for European powers to engage in the scramble for Africa was clear to imperial chancellor Otto von Bismarck (in office from 1871 - 1890) as well. A side note that he took down during the Congo Conference in Berlin (1984/85) declared these kind of excuses as *Schwindel* (fraud) (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 22).

The reasons for Germany to acquire colonies after all were of political and economic nature, and the local population was only seen as a labor resource, apart from the missionaries who also saw in them potential converts (see subsequent chapters). The sheer fact that Africans themselves were not even present for the negotiations about the distribution of their own territories already demonstrates that African people were not even considered by Europeans.

Concluding the discourse on German racial ideology at the time of colonization, it can be summarized that Africans were seen as absolutely inferior. They needed to be pitied and “helped”, but they could also be exploited (educating them how to work). The *völkisch Herrenmoral* justified a German dominance, and even if some leaders figured out that this whole construction was a hoax, it was representative for the national ideology nonetheless. Concerning the alleged racial difference within African societies, the ruling Hamites were the ones who brought progress to these countries, but they were still inferior to Europeans and therefore also to be rightfully subjected. This German “will for power” in Africa was, of course, not in the sense of the ruling Tutsi (although later they welcomed German support), and even though it may have been a relief from terror for the suppressed Hutu at the time of emerging feudalism in Rwanda, they would also face the replacement of one oppressor with an other.

21 Translated by the author. Original: “Die wachsende wirtschaftliche Selbstständigkeit und geistige Hebung des Eingeborenen wird seine Interessen mit den unseren um so steter verbinden. Wenn wir so das Wohl der Eingeborenen im Auge haben, fördern wir sogleich unseren Nutzen” (Trittelwitz: 1909, 35).

22 Translated by the author. Original: “Der sogenannte 'gute' Kolonialismus beinhaltet im wesentlichen nichts anderes als die bessere Pflege der unentbehrlichen schwarzen Sklaven” (Büttner: 1981, 13).

2.3) THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLONIAL RULE IN GEA AND RWANDA

Imperial chancellor Bismarck (as opposed to the Kaiser) was not interested in colonial acquisition for long, as he was more concerned with securing German interests of external trade. This changed in July of 1884, when the chancellor granted a *Schutzbrief* (writ of protection) to Adolf Lüderitz (1834-1886), who had "purchased" territories in what came to be German South-West Africa, today's Namibia. Helmut Strizek, among others, interprets this as the first step to Germany's formal endeavor for colonies, which evolved from within German society rather than being a political goal of the leadership (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 22). The *Kolonialverein* (colonial society), founded in 1882, became a powerful political voice for this sentiment in Germany to raise national pride by becoming a colonial power.

Peaking at Lüderitz' success in gaining official support, Dr. Carl Peters (1856-1918) traveled through East Africa in 1884 and 1885 to lock 12 "contracts" with village elders, approving the appropriation of territories; without the population's knowledge or approval. This practice was rather dubious, but the British had used the same method to acquire land in Africa and it also had worked for Lüderitz. Therefore, in February 1885, Peters received a *Schutzbrief* as well and could from then on dictate these territories as head of his German East Africa Company (GEAC) as he pleased. In 1988 however, local revolts broke out against GEAC and its exploitative customs, whereupon Bismarck sent the *Schutztruppe* under the command of captain Herrmann von Wissmann (1853-1905) to restore peace[23]. The German Reich deprived Peters of his rights, became the legal successor of GEAC, and took over from then on. On January 1, 1891, the German administration officially seized power in GEA and established its capital in Dar es Salaam. Since the formal ascription during the Berlin Conference in 1884 and 1885, there had only been a small German maintenance post in Bagamoyo[24]. In February, Julius Freiherr von Soden (1846-1921) took office as the first civil governor of the colony and succeeded Hermann von Wissmann, who had been installed as interim commissioner after having deposed Peters and his GEAC[25].

Tanganyika, which refers to the territory of GEA without Rwanda and Burundi, was born. The western districts of Ruanda, Urundi (German spellings of Rwanda and Burundi) and Bukoba later

23 Restoring peace implied testing the fully automatic Maxim machine gun on Africans as human guinea pigs (cf. Gewald: 2005, 9).

24 One of the oldest settlements in Tanzania, the first "capital" of GEA, 100 Km north of Dar es Salam on the coast of the mainland.

25 Governors of GEA: Hermann von Wissmann (commissioner), Julius Freiherr von Soden (1891-1893), Friedrich von Schele (1893-1895), Hermann von Wissmann (1895-1896), Eduard von Liebert (1896-1901), Gustav Adolf von Götzen (1901-1905), Albrecht von Rechenberg (1905-1912), Heinrich Schnee (1912-1919).

became separate residencies that were subordinate districts to the governorate in Dar es Salaam. GEA was double the size of the German Reich and constituted its largest colony with about 7.8 million inhabitants. Nevertheless, the trade volume in the 1890s was vanishingly small and therefore the enthusiasm for this colony (and others alike) already started to decrease in Germany (cf. Gründer: 1985, 25). The western territories of Rwanda and Burundi received little attention and most Germans had not even heard of their names (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 27), no one had ever traveled to these parts of the colony. In 1990, the German doctor Eduard Schnitzer ("Emin Pascha") was sent westward to collect information, but he lost his life and only his companion Franz Stuhlmann returned with a very rough map, without even having touched Rwanda.

The period from the beginnings up until the Maji-Maji-War in 1905 is considered to be a calm and insignificant one, where there was little interest in the colony and therefore also little movement. Horst Gründer however pointed out that during these "calm" years, 61 *Strafexpeditionen* (punitive expeditions) and submission campaigns were carried out against disobedient local leaders (cf. Gründer: 1985, 154). The cultivation of the colony included deceptive wage practices and severe punishments of the colonized[26] (cf. Gründer: 1985, 155). A document by the foreign ministry (department of colonial affairs), which was sent to every district official in the colonies, gives some indication of German ideas on the judicial system:

> "The district official is criminal judge of first instance towards the natives under his charge and towards comparable natives of other black tribes as well. […] The means of punishment are to be estimated in terms of the educative purpose of jurisdiction. Those are: corporal punishment, financial penalties, prison with forced labor, and chain imprisonment with forced labor. […] The district officer is at the same time organ of police, prosecutor and judge against the natives"[27] (BNA: 10.03 FC, 1137).

The contemptuousness towards Africans and the little resources Germans had on the ground prompted the colonial power to implement this style of governing. When the sphere of influence was to be extended to the western boundaries of GEA, the same methods were applied, only the Tutsi-elite was exempted from prison and forced labor. Usumbura (today Burundi's capital Bujumbura) was founded in 1887, and it was from there that Burundi and Rwanda were governed

26 Spanking punishments in the year 1905 reached the number of 6.322 and steadily increased to 8.057 in 1912 (cf. Gründer: 1985, 164).

27 Translated by the author. Original: "Der Bezirksamtmann ist Strafrichter erster Instanz über die ihm unterstellten Eingeborenen und die ihnen gleichgestellten Angehörigen fremder farbiger Stämme. […] Dem erzieherischen Zwecke der Strafgerichtsbarkeit sind auch die Strafmittel anzupassen. Solche sind: körperliche Züchtigung, Geldstrafen, Gefängnis mit Zwangsarbeit, Kettenhaft mit Zwangsarbeit. […] Ser Bezirksmann ist zugleich Organ der Polizei, Staatsanwalt und Richter gegen die Eingeborenen" (BNA: 10.03 FC, 1137).

for about 10 years, before Rwanda got its own military posts at Shangani and Kissenji (today's Gisenyi) in 1898. At first, these two kingdoms were occupied by a military administration, ruling over what was called the military districts of Ujiji and Usumbura. Again, *Strafexpeditionen* were sent out for the "pacification" of the districts. Civil residents were only deployed in 1907 but did not end this practice. When the British officially acknowledged the area southwest between the lakes Victoria and Tanganyika to be an integral part of GEA in 1890, the Germans felt that it was a matter of national pride to start developing this remote part of the colony (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 21). In consequence, *Schutzbrief* and flag were handed over to king Rwabugiri in 1897 by officer Hans Gustav Ferdinand von Ramsay (1862-1938) of the *Schutztruppe*[28]. In that year, the king of Rwanda had called upon the Germans in Usumbura for military support against the Belgians who had repeatedly committed border violations in the west of the kingdom – this was granted and in turn Rwabugiri agreed to remain under the protection of the Germans. It is doubtful that he really knew what he had committed to.

The Germans took advantage of such territorial violations as well as of internal political struggles by helping to restore the stability of the central power; this way they were able to occupy Rwanda with comparatively poor means (cf. Launicke: 1981, 354). Although the physical presence of the Germans was almost nonexistent until 1907, when they did interfer it was done emphatically. Officer lieutenant von Grawert (1870-1918) and his troops, for instance, came to Gisaka (eastern province) in 1904, an area rebellious to central power, "ordering the people of the region to obey the Rwandan court. […] He confiscated more than a thousand cattle" (Des Forges: 2011, 36) from those who had been disobedient. An other time during 1904, the Catholic mission at Rwaza had been attacked because they had felled sacred trees, and von Grawert subsequently threatened the people of that area, who were not fully under central control of the king yet, that "if the mission were ever attacked again, he would return to inflict devastating damage every six month, just before each harvest, until the people of the area perished" (Des Forges: 2011, 53).

Following the British model of "indirect rule", the powerholders were to be supported and influenced so that they would become dependent and the Germans could rule through them. Since the *Schutzbrief* had been consigned, Germans had played a passive role in Rwandan domestic politics within the Tutsi-elite and had only supported the king. In 1902 however, the German claim to power became real for the first time. Captain Friedrich Robert von Beringe (1865-1940)[29],

28 Accounts of this occurrence vary significantly, where Ramsay talks about a "blood brotherhood" being made, Rwandan oral history suggests a more minuscule event (cf. Newbury, D.: 2009, 138).

29 Today, Friedrich Robert von Beringe is better known as the "discoverer" of the Mountain Gorillas living in the Virunga volcanoes in Rwanda's northwest.

commander of the military district of Usumbura at that time, imposed a penalty on king Musinga because he had executed a prisoner against an agreement to give him amnesty. After some delaying tactics, Musinga did pay the fine of 40 cattle and "this way Musing and his court had to ultimately acknowledge that by then there was a higher and established state authority above them" (Bindseil: 1992, 159). Des Forges says that up until 1902, "the court had never before been obliged to recognize the full implications of the submission that it had made to the Germans in accepting the protectorate" (Des Forges: 2011, 42).

Richard Kandt, with whom a later chapter deals in more depth, became the first German resident in Rwanda[30]. Kandt did overrule Musinga several times. For instance when Musinga asked Kandt not to construct his capital at Kigali, but Kandt refused (vgl. Des Forges: 2011, 86). Even though Kandt is known as a "sensitive" type (he chose to live in Rwanda even without an official mandate and he learned the language), he "authorized attacks that destroyed the homes and crops of entire regions" (Des Forges: 2011, 87). In 1911, Kandt wrote to the Catholic mission in Kabgayi: "The policy of the imperial government and therefore of its residency is based upon upholding and strengthening the authority of the princes and the sultan under all circumstances, even when in the process the Wahutu must suffer injustice" (quotation from Des Forges: 2011, 87). The racially contingent style of German rule in Rwanda became apparent soon and whenever Hutus rejected Tutsi authority, the court called upon the Germans for help, whereupon a *Strafexpedition* was conducted, usually ending in the execution of the respective Hutu (cf. Des Forges: 2011, 87). Hutu hardly ever brought forth their concerns to the resident because they knew that Germans were on the Tutsi-side anyway, and also because they relied on interpreters who often were bribed by the Tutsi (who had the resources to do so) to make the Hutu look bad (cf. Ibid.).

The tax system[31], introduced in June 1914, was an expression of Hutu-discrimination as well. At first, it was against Musinga's will because if there were taxes at all, it should be him whom the people should have to pay. But when he learned that he and his Tutsi nobles would receive a profitable share, he gave in (cf. Gründer: 1985, 160). In a decree from the foreign ministry in 1906 it is to read: "For the performance of designated public works like the construction of routes, primarily those native tribes who have not paid their tax are to be used for this"[32] (BNA: Nr. 1137,

30 Kandt remained in office until 1914, interrupted by a long visit home during which he was replaced by interim resident Eberhard Gudowius (in office from 1911 to 1913). Kandt's successor since 1914 was captain Max Wintgens, who was also the last up until 1916.

31 150.000 Rwandans paid one rupee tax each in 1914. Rupees were the currency of GEA. 15 rupees were equal to 20 German *Reichsmark*, which roughly corresponded to one English pound.

32 Translated by the author. Original: "Zur Leistung vorgesehener öffntlicher Arbeiten an Wegen o.ä. sind in erster Linie diejenigen Eingeborenenstämme heranzuziehen, welche Steuern nicht entrichtet haben" (BNA: Nr. 1137, 10.03 FC).

10.03 FC). Clearly, this tax coercion was designed to function as a legitimization for Hutu-enslavement.

During Word War One, the Germans relied on strategic support from Rwandan notables and happily condoned that, in order to provide food and labor, their subordinate Hutus were forced to pay even more dues and provide labor against their will (cf. Des Forges: 2011, 131). This was essential for the war effort and, therefore, "as the pressure of the war grew, the German administration warned the missionaries to avoid […] conflict with the court or notables. As a result, those missionaries who in the past had protected some of the Hutu against court incursions were now forced to refuse them further help" (Des Forges: 2011, 132). In April 1916, the Belgian and British allied invasion overran the Germans in Rwanda and captain Wintgens (1881-1917), the commanding German officer, retreated southward to join forces with the rest of the GEA *Schutztruppe* under commander Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck (1870-1964)[33]. After several rearguard battles, German troops surrendered in northern Rhodesia on November 25, 1918, and the colonies were lost, never to be regained again (cf. Gründer: 1985, 167, ff).

33 Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck was celebrated in Germany after the "shameful" peace of Versailles and during Weimar Republic as the only German commander who had never been defeated in the field.

3) ENCOUNTERS: HUTU, TUTSI, AND THE GERMANS

3.1) EXPLORERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Explorers and colonial administrators are instructive for today's research in the development of ethnicity because through their descriptions of the social and political organization of an "undiscovered" people, they must be regarded as the earliest European ethnographers of the Rwandan society. Therefore, their views were pivotal for the image of the society, since they would become the viewpoint of all of Germany, if not all of Europe. Consequently, these views, the only ones a European analysis could have been based on (besides those by the missionaries), would determine the policies implemented by the prospective colonial power. The ethnographer Clifford Geertz noted in his book *Works And Lives* (1988) that there is nothing like objective ethnography and that ethnography by force produces a fiction through the depiction of an alien world[34] (cf. pg. 129, ff.). This is why their impressions and representations offer great insights into the invention and production of ethnic cognition (or "fiction"). Biased perceptions and the thereof evolving images of others only enforce the notion of social constructivism's idea that the histories of cultures and the representation of peoples are being products of the interplay between the presumed and the experienced. This whole chapter demonstrates how a Rwanda was invented by the Germans who went there.

European explorations in central Africa already had a heroic tradition before the first Germans penetrated Rwanda in 1894. The most prominent among these Europeans to dare the risk of entering the "dark heart" of Africa were Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), David Livingstone (1813-1873), Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904) and John Hanning Speke (1827-1864). They all were British and peculiar to the Victorian era of "refined sensibility". All were agents for the British or Belgian crown to some degree. In the "scramble for Africa", there were currents within German society who, for various reasons, also wanted a piece of the pie, or who simply wanted to take part in the great venture of "discovery" despite the government's dismissal to engage. Bismarck famously said that his map of Africa was in Europe, meaning that colonies would only threaten and distract from core geostrategic interests. However, in the early 1880s, the public enthusiasm for colonialism grew so strong in Germany that Bismarck, with an eye to upcoming elections, gave in and changed his policy (cf. Gründer: 1985, 51, ff). From then on, the way for independent German

34 Tellingly, the German tile of this book reads *Die Künstlichen Wilden*, which translates to *The Artificial Wild*.

expeditions was smoothed and exploring journeys to Rwanda followed: Oscar Baumann (1992), Count Götzen and Wilhelm Langheld (1894), Lothar von Trotha (1896), Hans Ramsay and Richardt Kandt (1897), Heinrich Bethe (1898), and the Duke of Mecklenburg (1907) all came to Rwanda, whereby some only briefly touched the territory and others remained for years.[35]

Before 1907, these expeditions were rather small and focused on geographic occurrences (like the volcanoes or the origin of the Nile) for the most part. With the Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg (1837-1969), who lead the undertaking, this changed, and for the first time a large-scale expedition, consisting of around 700 persons, brought an ample team of professional scientists (geologists, topographers, botanists, zoologists, and others) from Europe to Rwanda in 1907 (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 91, f). This trip deserves special mention because it was in the course of this travel that the professional anthropologist Jan Czekanowski (1882-1965) confirmed the Hamitic theory, which before then had only been assumed to also pertain to Rwanda. In his book about his findings, published in 1917, Czekanowski wrote that “one of the oldest immigrations brought the Bahima-Batutsi to the Great Lakes region and they can, indeed rightly so, be associated with the Hamitic Galla”[36] (Czekanowski: 1917, 49). Not that the Germans did not do that before Czekanowski's “proof” anyway, but now there was scholarly backing for this type of scientific racism.

Jean-Pierre Chrétien asks: “is the truth of historical narration that different from novelistic fiction?” (Chrétien: 2003, 15). Apparently, in some cases it is not, and default ideas about a scientific object influence the argumentation for evidence so that theses default ideas can only be corroborated. Therefore, it is vital to internalize the inevitable circumstance that histories are only processes of interpretation in order to avoid the production of fixed and judgmental properties of groups (“tribes”, “nations”, etc.). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this had not yet been acknowledged. Even though it is necessary for such groups to have a history for the development of a dignified identity, the dangers in its writing were embodied in the catastrophes of the late 20th century in Rwanda, because a major problem was that the African histories written came from the feathers of those Europeans who first encountered countries like Rwanda. These histories were racialized and, of course, not the property of the people they were about, but they would still determine their future decidedly.

All reports by the German explorers mentioned read similarly: They all justify and support the

35 Cf. map, appendix, fig. 1.

36 Translated by the author. Original: “Eine der ältesten Einwanderungen brachte dem Zwischenseengebiet die Bahima-Batusi, diese können, wohl mit Recht, mit den hamitischen Galla in Zusammenhang gebracht werden” (Czekanowski: 1917, 49).

transformation of Rwanda into a colony, a form of exploitation and paternalism that rests upon the ideological superiority of the white man towards racially inferior humans. The focus in the next two sections is being put on Gustav Adolf Graf von Götzen and Richardt Kandt, who are representative for all the explorers, and who also became relevant figures for the further political and social developments in Rwanda.

3.1.1) GUSTAV ADOLF GRAF VON GÖTZEN

Gustav Adolf Graf von Götzen (1866-1910) was the first European eyewitness of the previously myth-enshrouded land of Rwanda. His record in the *Bundesnationalarchiv*, prior to his time as Governor of GEA (1901-1906), is scarce because his expeditions were of private nature at first. In 1893 he only wrote to the Federal Foreign Office: ”I am undertaking this expedition entirely at my own expenses, in the interest for the development of German East Africa. Therefore I am asking your benevolence”[37] (BNA 1001, 1893, 260). However, Strizek notes that he “officially unofficially” was to collect information about the land and its people, but certainly not to inform the rulers that it was already decided for them to become subjects of some emperor far away (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 63). The requested benevolence was received, probably also because he had private contacts to Kaiser Wilhelm II. (cf. Bindseil: 1992, 45), and so the organization of his enterprise went quick and he could start the next year. On May 2 of 1894, his caravan, composed of 362 people (carriers and Askaris[38]), entered Rwanda from the southwest. The results of this exploration were made public to a wide audience through his book *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West*[39], published in 1899. Götzen's travel was part of the prehistory to the German-Rwandan colonial relationship, but “his picture of Rwanda, especially about the king's plenitude of power, was to shape the politics of the German colonial power, even after it did not match realities anymore”[40] (Strizek: 2006 (b), 71).

Shortly after his return from his great expedition, Götzen gave a lecture to the geographical society in Berlin in 1895. In it, he described the Hutu and Tutsi, distinctive for racial perceptions of that time:

> “The pastoral people of Wahuma or Watusi, who immigrated long ago from the north, have made the tribe of indigenes entirely dependent on them, but they have accepted their language. Proconsuls are scattered around the country and they are recognizably distinguished from the rest of the population with their long and haggard shape, their light skin and their gallant features”[41] (Götzen: 1995, 113).

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37 Translated by the author. Original: “Ich unternehme diese Expedition ganz auf meine eigenen Kosten, im Interesse der Entwicklung von Deutsch-Ostafrika. Dafür ersuche ich Ihr Wohlwollen” (von Götzen: 1893, BNA 1001, 260).

38 Askari (from Arabic *ʿaskarī*) translates to soldier. The Germans recruited locals (and Sudanese and Somali) to form the *Schutztruppe* in GEA because they could not or did not want to deploy Europeans. The only German soldiers in GEA were the officers leading the troops or captains maintaining outposts.

39 The title translates to *Through Africa from East to West*.

40 Translated by the author. Original: “sein Bild von Ruanda und insbesondere von der Machtfülle des Königs die Politik der deutschen Kolonialmacht stark beeinflussen, auch nachdem es nicht mehr der Wirklichkeit entsprach (Strizek: 2006 (b), 71).

41 Translated by the author. Original: “Die vor langer Zeit von Norden her eingewanderten Hirtenvölker der Wahuma

In his book, published four years later, he becomes even more explicit by stating that "from the Hamitic element, from the Wahuma protolanguage, only very little remained; the immigrating Wahuma have – as in many other similar cases – subordinated themselves linguistically to the locals"[42] (Götzen: 1899, 159). By proceeding from this conjecture unscientifically, he adjusted what he had found to the Hamitic theory without considering to adjust the theory to what he had found. He seems almost desperate to confirm common European beliefs and sees proof of their validity everywhere: "We encountered a proconsul […] who showed strikingly similar traits to our Somali Elmi"[43] (Götzen: 1899, 152), andanother one from "very light skin, [whose] conduct was highly buoyant and elegant. He reminded us of portrayals of old Assyrian king figures"[44] (Ibid., 157).

Götzen opened up a definite dichotomy between the Hutu and Tutsi, and every (good) trait of the Tutsi stands in radical opposition to what the Hutu represent. He writes that "next to the ruling class we find the Wahutu in huge masses. They are established since ancient times, a tilling peasant population of the Bantu Negro tribe"[45] (Götzen: 1899, 187). Implied in his language, Götzen does not consider the Tutsi to be "Negroes", as opposed to the Hutu: "Quite obviously, [in their demeanor and in their physical appearance], the aboriginal Negro population differentiated concisely from the dominating Wahuma"[46] (Götzen: 1899, 155). The Tutsi superiority over the Hutu and the assertiveness with which this small elite ruled the country is described with a tone of appreciation: "At the beginning [we were] celebrated as a kind of liberator from Wahuma dominance, which soon gave way to absolute silence because the tight and consistent regime, characteristic for the country, imposed it from above"[47] (Götzen: 1899, 155). What Götzen believed

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oder Watusi haben diesen Stamm der Eingeborenen ganz in ihre Abhängigkeit gebracht, seine Sprache aber angenommen. Die einzelnen Watusi sitzen als Statthalter im Lande umher, deutlich erkennbar unter dem übrigen Volk an ihren langen, hageren Gestalten, ihrer hellen Hautfarbe und ihren edlen Gesichtszügen" (Götzen: 1995, 113).

42 Translated by the author. Original: "Von hamitischem Element, von einer Ursprache der Wahuma, [ist] nur noch wenig zu finden; die einwandernden Wahuma haben sich – wie in so manchen ähnlichen Fällen – in sprachlicher Hinsicht den Eingesessenen untergeordnet" (Götzen: 1899, 159).

43 Translated by the author. Original: "Uns begegnete ein Stadtthalter des Königs, ein langer, gut gewachsener Mhuma, mit Namen Mdugu, in seinen Gesichtszügen unserem Somali Elmi auffallend ähnlich" (Götzen: 1899, 152).

44 Translated by the author. Original: "Kavahigi ist ein schön gewachsener Mann von edlem, fein geschnittenem Gesichtstypus und ganz heller Hautfarbe. Sein Benehmen war außerordendlich lebhaft; gewandte, ja elegante Manieren zeichneten ihn aus. [Er] erinnerte uns an die Darstellungen alt-assyrischer Königsgestalten" (Götzen: 1899, 157).

45 Translated by the author. Original: "Neben der herrschenden Klasse finden wir als große Masse die seit uralten Zeiten angesessene, ackerbauende Landbevölkerung die Wahutu, einen Bantunegerstamm" (Götzen: 1899, 187)

46 Translated by the author. Original: "Deutlich war überall die ureingesessene Negerbevölkerung von den herrschenden Wahuma zu unterscheiden" (Göten: 1899, 155).

47 Translated by the author. Original: "Anfänglich [wurden wir] als eine Art von Befreiern von der Herrschaft der Wahuma angesehen, dass aber bald, bei dem straffen und einheitlichen Regiment, das dieses Land charakterisiert, von oben herab Ruhe geboten wurde" (Götzen: 1899, 155).

to have found corresponded one to one with Speke's explanatory model, elucidating how there can be forms of social organization in otherwise completely underdeveloped Africa, namely because a more Caucasian “race” had immigrated, bringing with them a culture and social structures, introducing organization in the form of hierarchies with the more advanced on top.

Having recognized that Rwanda must be seen as a unit, he opposed the Belgian “skewed line” as the border between Rwanda and Congo, because it would have divided the kingdom in half.[48] Götzen successfully influenced German colonial politics, and therefore contributed to the outcome of the German-Belgian border negotiations in 1910, resulting in the agreement to draw the line along Lake Kivu instead, delimiting modern day Rwanda (cf. Bindseil: 1992, 109 ff.). During his time as Governor of GEA, he was co-responsible for the cataclysmic Maji-Maji-War[49], which prevented him from getting assigned as head of *Reichskolonialamt* (imperial colonial office) in Berlin. In December 1910, Götzen died in Germany at age 44 of an inditerminite diseases. As a popular figure in the German empire and as one of the most prominent personalities when it comes to German oversee territories, many appreciating obituaries in newspapers can be found, but, as Reinhard Bindseil remarks about his attempt to compose the first biography about Götzen in 1992, it is remarkable how little interest the after-world had in Götzen (cf. Bindseil: 1992, 192).

48 Cf. map, appendix, fig. 1.

49 The Maji-Maji-War (or -Rebellion) from 1905 to 1908 in the South of German-Eastafrica demanded at least 100.000 dead Africans. The tax reform under Governor Götzen forced locals to accept wage labor for European settlers, which caused armed resistance. This uprising was subdued violently by German military rule and caused a bad international reputation for the colonizer (vgl. Strizek: 2006 (b), 91 f).

3.1.2) RICHARD KANDT

This section deals with the probably most prominent German in Rwanda, Richard Kandt (1867-1918). He layed the foundations for today's capital Kigali by establishing the colonial residence there in 1907/8, which is still a popular tourist destination, housing the Natural History Museum[50]. Before he became the first imperial resident for this part of GEA, the Prussian officer and psychiatrist traveled and studied Rwanda as the head of multiple private expeditions from 1897 onwards. His private residence, called "Bergfrieden", was built in Ischangi in 1899 and it was from there that many of his explorations started. His book *Caput Nili* (1905) – in which he described his "discovery" of the source of the White Nile (in August 1898) in the Rwandan Nyungwe Forest and the exploration of Lake Kivu – became highly popular in Europe and comprised many insights to Rwandan society from his point of view. In October 1900, Richard Kandt became the first European who was to be received by King Musinga, all former audiences to Whites were given by a pseudo-king. When he died as a war doctor on the German eastern front in 1918, the missionary pastor Ernst Johanssen (whom a later section is assigned) wrote in an obituary: "The fine psychologist, the erudite explorer, the brilliant and humorous narrator, the caring observer of humans, who saw his high vocation only as a chance to do good to the people whose investigation he dedicated his vigor to, has been taken by the Lord"[51] (Johanssen, 1934: 129).

When Kandt came to Rwanda for the first time, the only information he had about the country were the reports by Götzen from his rather concise visit in 1894 (May and June) and the myth-like stories by Arab traders who did not dare to penetrate Rwandan borders because of fear from a strong and violent ruler. Still, regarding himself as an enlightened explorer who is about to shed scientific light on this blank spot of the map, he claimed to approach Rwanda at most impartial: "[One must] propel honest and, more so, consciously anti-autosuggestive concept-geometry and not bend things naively so they become congruent with the preconceptions"[52] (1905: 168). Such awareness however appears to a certain degree intellectually stilted, which shows when he attempts to explain the Banyaruanda. In a letter to the governorate in Daressalam he reported that the "Wahutu welcome the presence of the missionaries as if it was the salvation from centuries-old servitude to the

50 See photo, appendix, fig. 2.

51 Translated by the author. Original: "Der feine Psychologe, der gelehrte Forscher, der glänzende, humorvolle Erzähler, der warmherzige Menschenbeobachter , der sein hohes Amt nur als Gelegenheit, dem Volk, dessen Erforschung er seine Lebenskraft geweiht hatte, Gutes zu tun [wurde vom Herrn nach Hause gerufen]" (Johanssen, 1934: 129).

52 Translated by the author. Original: "[Man muss] ehrliche und mehr noch bewusst anti-autosuggestive Begriffsgeometrie treiben und nicht naiv an den Dingen so lange zerren, bis sie sich mit dem Vorurteil decken" (Kandt: 1895, 168).

Watussi. […] The Wahutu would certainly like to see no sovereignty over them whatsoever, but then they would not be Wahutu anymore. Apparently, God wants it so, otherwise he would not have sent the Watussi and made them rulers”[53] (Kandt: 1900, BNA: R1001, 262). Such references to the Hamitic theory show through most of his writings, no matter if published or private, official or personal.

Kandt does not grow tired to carve out the peculiarities of the “tribes” that he encountered. The Hutu were, in his eyes, not very smart and highly obsequious to their masters: “I have referred them [the Wahutu] several times to self-help and I ridiculed them slightly that they are numerically hundredfold superior to the Watussi, yet they let themselves be subjugated and all they can do is whine and complain like women”[54] (Kandt: 1905, 258). For Kandt, the Hutu represented the typical “Bantu Negro” stereotype, whose inferiority to a different, more intelligent tribe, comes natural. When talking about the Tutsi, he “must confess that […] they [the Watussi] impress me, although my mind demurs at doing so, and although I have told myself a hundred times that those people stand intellectually very much below me and that they are barbarians”[55] (Kandt: 1905, 270). Symbolically and vividly he paints an image of how he saw the “tribes'” relationship to one another when he displays an early morning scene. He and his caravan were camping near the royal residence when Tutsi were preventing some Hutu of getting into contact with him and his entourage: “One saw the Watussi [through the fog] with fluttering robes preying ghostly on fabric-greedy but trade-willing Wahutu”[56] (Kandt: 1905, 274). Such mystic imagery evokes ideas about ancient tribal hierarchies and age-old customs.

By having gained such insights to the Rwandan society, Kandt established a reputation for himself as a connoisseur of the country and its people. The Maji-Maji-War had taught the German colonial administration the lesson that they should not reign militarily against local power holders, especially not in so densely populated areas such as Rwanda (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 92). Therefore, governor Götzen replaced the military administration with the resident system in Rwanda and deployed

53 Translated by the author. Original: “Die Wahutu begrüßen die Gegenwart der Missionare als wäre sie die Erlösung von Jahrhunderten der Unterwerfung von Seiten der Tussi. […] Die Wahutu sähen wohl gerne gar keine Macht über ihnen, nur wären sie dann keine Wahutu mehr. Offenbar will es Gott so, sonst hätte er die Watussi nicht gesendet um zu herrschen” (Kandt: 1900, BNA: R1001, 262).

54 Translated by the author. Original: “Ich habe sie [die Wahutu] einige Male auf Selbsthilfe verwiesen und leicht gespottet, dass sie, die den Watussi an zahl huntertfach überlegen sind, sich von ihnen unterjochen lassen und nur wie Weiber jammern und klagen können” (Kandt: 1905, 258).

55 Translated by the author. Original: “Ich muss gestehen, dass […] sie [die Watussi] mir imponierten, obwohl mein Verstand sich dagegen sträubt, und obwohl ich mir hundertmal vorgesagt habe, dass diese Menschen doch intellektuell tief unter mir stehende Barbaren seien” (Kandt: 1905, 270).

56 Translated by the author. Original: “Man sah die Watussi mit flatternden Gewändern ihre gespensterhafte Jagd auf die stoffgierigen und handelswilligen Wahutu machen” (Kandt: 1905, 274).

Richard Kandt as the first German resident to Ruanda – the indirect rule through local elites was born. The king, in Kandt's understanding, was to become the highest administrator who was bound by instruction. However, he left him all his prerogatives outwardly to suggest and preserve the population the impression of a powerful king (cf. Strizek: 2006 (b), 93). By taking his understanding of the Banyaruanda for granted, he carved Tutsi-rule in stone and imposed a proxy government upon the population.

In the reprints of his diary, which were published by the newspaper *Vossische Zeitung* in 1902, it is declared that the "Negro" is highly inventive when it comes to creating images of themselves and of their neighboring "tribes": "I have hardly encountered a people during my travels that has not slandered its neighbor and that has not presented itself in the role as victim and innocently haunted to the trespassing European. They are inexhaustible in their inventiveness, and through the gullible carriers of the Whites, whose fantasy is no lesser than the ones of the indigenes, rumors spread and increase to the immeasurable - fama crescit eundo[57]"[58] (Kandt: 1902, BNA: R1001, 262). Kandt's own depiction of the Rwandan people however can be seen as just as inventive. His descriptions of the Banyarwanda are strongly inked with religious and racial prejudice, and therefore reflect a fantastical creation of a people.

Reinhard Bindseil states about Kandt that "during the mutual road of Germany and Rwanda before World War One, Richard Kandt became a historical personality. He not only earns this predicate as Africa researcher and author of a book classic [*Caput Nili*], but also as imperial resident, who, in a sensitive manner, brought the country into contact with the modern age. […] His outstanding life deserves special appreciation"[59] (Bindseil: 1988, 37). A closer look calls for a reconsideration of this alleged sensitivity.

57 Latin proverb: The rumor grows as it goes.

58 Translated by the author. Original: "Ich habe kaum ein Volk auf meinen Reisen berührt, dass seinen Nachbarn nicht verleumdet und sich nicht vor dem durchziehenden Europäer in der Rolle des Geschädigten, Gereizten, unschuldig Verfolgetn gefallen hätte. Sie sind unerschöpflich in ihren Erfindungen und influenzieren dadurch zunächst die leichtgläubigen Leute des Weißen, die Askaris und Träger. Und da deren Phantasie nicht geringer ist als die der Eingeborenen, so steigen sich die Gerüchte bald ins unermessliche – fama crescit eundo" (Kandt: 1902, BNA: R1001, 262).

59 Translated by the author. Original: "Während des gemeinsamen Weges von Ruanda und Deutschland vor dem ersten Weltkrieg wurde Richard Kandt zu einer historischen Persönlichkeit. Er verdient diese Bezeichnung nicht nur als Afrikaforscher und Autor, sondern auch als kaiserlicher Resident, der das Land auf einfühlsame Weise mit der modernen Welt in Kontakt gebracht hat […]. Sein außerordentliches Leben verdient spizielle Würdigung" (Bindseil: 1988, 37).

3.2) MISSIONARIES

Missionaries were those Europeans who actually lived in Rwanda and were in close contact with the locals. Just like the explorers (and later administrators), they can be seen as the first ethnographers to the country. The first long-term and in-depth observations and reports about the Banyarwanda stem from them and they give deep impressions on how they perceived alleged racial differences. Their number, although small, exceeded the number of German government officials living in the country and they worked closely together with the colonial administration: "missionary activity […] became inscribed in a colonial logic" (Chrétien: 2003, 213) and "the colonial state called upon missionary knowledge from early on" (Mamdani: 88). Missions played an essential role in the colonial penetration of the Rwandan society and, as John Abbink states, "a case could be made that the problem of state-religious rule came to the fore only in the colonial period, as colonial states usually imported a package deal whereby (the Christian) religion was allied to their rule" (Abbink: 2014, 96). Even though the "White Fathers" (catholic missionaries, mainly from France) already arrived in 1900 in Rwanda, here the focus will be layed on the Bethel-Mission (present in Rwanda since 1907), because these missionaries were German and they existed in a sphere that could be called a symbiosis with the German residency. Therefore, their narratives of ethnic descriptions had a higher impact on the social policies followed by the administration.

Pastor Ernst Johanssen (see next section) and Brother Gerhard Ruccius (1871-1941), logistically supported from Germany by the mission's leader pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1831-1910), were the first protestant missionaries to set out from their original missionary territory in Tanzania to Rwanda in 1907 in order to bring the light of the gospel[60] and to forestall Muslim advance. On Juli 23, 1907, they reached the royal residence in Nyanza, and together with king Musinga they decided on the site for the first protestant mission on the hill of Dsinga in the Munyaga province. In August, the station was founded, and Pastor Otto Johannes Mörchen (see section 3.2.2) and deacon Heinrich Herbst (1884-1915) joined the two. In August of the same year, the second station was built in Kirinda, and in 1908 pastor Karl Röhl (1879-1951) came to found yet an other station in Rubengera in 1909. The last station to be opened up before the war was in Remera (1912). In between, a station on Idschwi, the big island in Lake Kivu, was also started, but only run for a short period of time because border negotiations awarded the island to Belgium in 1910, whereupon the missionaries retreated. On the eve of World War One, the Bethel-Mission was present in Rwanda

60 Despite the extensive spiritual live of the Banyarwanda, they were considered thoroughly pagan and heathen by the missionaries.

with four Missionaries, five deacons and six local assistants, whose achievements comprised 13 baptized Christians and 38 contenders. In 1916 they got expelled from the country by the Belgians and were only allowed to return in 1921. The importance however that was assigned to the missions was immense. In a talk called *the economic relevance of missions for our colonies* (1913), the merchant Ric Freese talked about the importance of "decent work" for everything a gainful society needs: security, infrastructure, communication channels, social order, etcetera – this was all not given before the missionaries came, because "the concept and the value of regular ethical work was unknown to the Negro. [He] only learns about it through Christian influence and indoctrination"[61] (Freese: 1913, 58). Therefore, the missionary's work was seen as indispensable for raising the "Negro", and, what is emphasized most in Freese's address, for the economic profit that is to be expected from the colonies. It is characteristic that Freese gave this talk at the missionary conference, meaning that the mission knew well what was expected of them.

In the multiple descriptions of Rwanda and its inhabitants by missionaries, it got repeatedly pointed out how hard the job of bringing Christian values like "ethical work" really was. Pastor Johanssen, in a letter to an inspector back in Germany, put on record that "out of fear from the task of bringing us wood, the Watwa have said that the distance to the forest was way longer than the actual distance really was"[62] (VEM: M212, M2 1.5, Bd.1). Tutsi were too noble to do any work anyway – it was not even attempted to recruit them for work. The real problem however was the main population of Hutu: "This people, as a consequence of their role as servants, has integrated servility, falsehood and unreliability in their flesh and blood"[63] (Johanssen in Menzel: 1986, 230) and "if you leave them alone, all they do is rest, smoke and chatter"[64] (Johanssen in Trittelwitz: 1908, 7). Summed up, Rwandans are "a people in which some do not work at all, and others only because they are forced to"[65] (ibid., 6). These descriptions already demonstrate how deadlocked missionaries viewed the stereotypes of the "races" within this society. Pastor Wilhelm Mensching (1887-1964), who was active in Rwanda between 1912 and 1916, wrote:

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61 Translated by the author. Original: "Den Begriff des sittlichen Wertes der Arbeit wird man ihm [dem Neger] auch nicht durch sogenannten Arbeitszwang beibringen, sondern den erhält er nur durch christliche Beeinflussung und Belehrung und durch das gute Beispiel" (Freese: 1913, 58).

62 Translated by the author. Original: "Die Watware haben aus Furcht vor der Aufgabe, Holz für uns heranzutragen, die Entfernung als so weit angegeben, um uns davon abzuhalten den Wald aufzusuchen" (Johanssen: 1909, VEM: M212, M2 1.5, Bd.1)

63 Translated by the author. Original: "Da diesem Volk infolge seiner Knechtstellung Augendienerei, Küge und Unzuverlässigkeit in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen ist" (Johanssen in Menzel: 1986, 230).

64 Translated by the author. Original: "Wenn man sie alleine lässt tun sie nichts als rauchen und Kränzchen halten" (Johanssen in Trittelwitz: 1908, 7).

65 Translated by the author. Original: "Ein Volk in dem manche gar nicht, andere nur arbeiten weil sie gezwungen sind" (ibid., 6).

> "God creates all men, but […] not all are equal. There are the Twa, the Hutu and the Tutsi. […] The Twa beg, do pottery and hunt […], they are villain to the king. A Twa has no community with other men. The Hutu are farmers and they raise goats. They are villain to the Tutsi, and the Tutsi are subject to the king. [Twa and Hutu] berate each other without mutual deference. […] The Tutsi are the nobility. They stand above the other two demographic groups and the king comes from within their ranks. They exclusively stick to their kin. [Their] only duty is the liege service for the king and nothing else"[66] (Mensching: 1987, 11 ff).

The missionaries observed and described these social differences, and because equality is a Christian premise, they tried to wipe away this social disparity; but what they de facto did was to replace it in their ideology with a racial disparity, triggering considerable long-term effects: "To emphasize mankind's unity, the missionaries tied the regions different populations to various Ham lineages discussed in Genesis. Taught until just after independence, the *évolué*[67] narratives were for a long time the sole historical accounts in their respective countries" (Chrétien: 2003, 33). At this juncture it becomes clear that missionaries played a key role in assigning originally social differences to racial configurations.

Lastly, the mission's practice of schooling serves well to highlight the precept with which the missions impacted society. Schools specifically for sons of Tutsi chiefs opened up in Nyanza in 1912, Kabgayi and Rwaza in 1913, Kigali in 1914 and 1916 (cf. Mamdani: 2001, 89). The idea of the indirect rule in Rwanda was to reproduce a local elite who was informed by German conceptions, so they would be collaborative once they were in (feigned) power. As long as the German administration did not have the capacities to establish schools for itself, this task was happily outsourced to the missions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin instructed all district officers in a circular of 1906 to support missionary schools by all means possible: "Teaching material is to be provided gratuitous from the governorate's stock. […] For the successful education of black students in the German language, bonuses are to be paid in cash"[68] (BNA: 10.03 FC, Nr.

66 Translated by the author. Original: "Gott schafft alle Menschen. Aber […] nicht alle sind gleich. Da sind die Twa, die Hutu und die Tutsi. […] Die Twa betteln, töpfern und jagen […], sie sind Hörige des Königs. Ein Twa hat keine Gemeinschaft mit anderen Menschen. Die Hutu sind Bauern und züchten Ziegen. Sie sind Hörige der Tutsi, und die Tutsi unterstehen dem König. [Twa und Hutu] beschimpfen sich gegenseitig ohne Ehrerbietung voreinander. […] Die Tutsi sind der Adel. Sie stehen über den anderen beiden Bevölkerungsgruppen und aus ihren Reihen geht der König hervor. Ihr einziger Dienst ist der Lehnsdienst für den König und nichts anderes" (Mensching: 1987, 11 ff).

67 *Évolué* translates to evolved or developed. It is a term for Africans who became educated by Europeans and were therefore assimilated to western values and thought patterns. Abbot Alexis Kagame, for example, published Rwanda's first dynastic history in 1943, which explained Rwanda's ancient history through the Hamitic theory. This narrative became the ideological foundation for the Tutsi monarchy in the 1950's (cf. Chrétien: 2006, 34).

68 Translated by the author. Original: "Missionsschulen sollen nach Möglichkeit gefördert werden. So sollen ihnen aus den Beständen des Gouvernements Lehrmittel unentgeldlich zur Verfügung gestellt werden. […] Für die

1137). This strategy not only had the mentioned political aim, but also an economic aspect: “Through repeated selection and concentration of the best students, a number of especially proficient students shall be picked out, who will thereupon receive an education in a selecta so they can be used as local tax collectors”[69] (ibid.). In this respect, the mission was highly instrumental for the administration's goal of splitting society even further for their own exercise of power and their own thriftily benefit. Jean-Pierre Chrétien summarizes that “colonial's cultural dimension, evangelization and missionary ideology, [was] a form of paternalism whose moral influences deeply rooted the racial reading of society in thought and practice” (Chrétien: 2003, 16). When German missionaries had to leave the country in the course of World War One, local Hutu destroyed their buildings out of anger and resentment (cf. Des Forges: 2011, 133).

erfolgreiche Ausbildung der farbigen Schüler in der deutschen Sprache sind Prämien in Geld zu zahlen” (BNA: 10.03 FC, Nr. 1137).

69 Translated by the author. Original: “Durch wiederholte Auswahl und Konzentrierung der besten Schüler soll so eine Anzahl besonders befähigter Schüler ausgelesen werden, die in einer Selekta eine Ausbildung erhalten, die sie zur Verwendung als farbige Steuererheber befähigt” (ibid.).

3.2.1) PASTOR ERNST JOHANSSEN

In 1907, Pastor Ernst Johanssen (1864-1934) founded the first protestant mission on Rwandan soil in Dsinga. Only a few miles away from the king's residence in Nyanza, Johanssen was in close contact with the Tutsi elite and king Musinga himself, hence he had the perfect prerequisite to influence the powerful. He said that "we try hard to avoid conflict with the ruling class as far as possible"[70] (VEM: M572, M3 2.33), so this influence could be of continuity. He was well informed about Rwanda before leaving Tanzania, because he had asked Richard Kandt for advice, who had given him information on the best routes, on how to behave and on where to go first. Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, director of the Bethel-Mission, had connections to Count Götzen, who also eagerly contributed his knowledge for the success of Johanssen's undertaking (cf. Menzel: 1984, 204). As a Christian, Johanssen was a downright philanthropist who soon felt comfortable in his new adoptive home, in spite of all the otherness. He said "one soon grows fond of the people despite their astounding mendacity and several other repulsive oddities"[71] (VEM: M572, M3 2.33, 1907), following the policy that "ethic and religious renewal can awaken strength in even the most primitive person"[72] (Johanssen in Trittelwitz: 1909, 36).

The first official German resident to represent the colonial power in Rwanda, Richardt Kandt, established his office in the same year that Johanssen arrived, which the missionary was highly appreciative of:

> "One does not want to disempower the sultan yet, because for now one is not able to replace him with a more satisfying administration. The sultan is supposed to feel his obligations towards the resident more and more, and to fear his indignation. In order to always be able to lend weight to his words, the resident requires a sufficient police troop. [This is an] outstanding pedagogical wisdom. […] This way a new time for Rwanda is dawning, a strong stop is being put to the haughtiness of the black ruler"[73] (VEM: M572, M3 2.33, 1907).

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70 Translated by the author. Original: "Wir versuchen, wo möglich, den Konflikt mit der herrschenden Klasse zu meiden" (VEM: M572, M3 2.33, 1907).

71 Translated by the author. Original: "Man gewinnt die Leute schnell lieb trotz ihrer erstaunlichen Verlogenheit und einiger anderen abstoßenden Eigentümlichkeiten" (VEM: M572, M3 2.33, 1907).

72 Translated by the author. Original: "Ethische und religiöse Erneuerung können auch in primitiven Menschen Stärke wecken" (36).

73 Translated by the author. Original: "Man will diese Sultane noch nicht ihrer Macht entkleiden, weil man zunächst noch keine befriedigerende Verwaltung an ihren Platz setzen kann. Der Sultan soll immer mehr seine Verantwortlichkeit dem Residenten gegenüber fühlen und vor seinem Unwillen sich fürchten lernen. Um seinen Worten stets Nachdruck geben zu können, bedarf der Resident einer ausreichenden Polizeitruppe. [Dies ist eine] hervorragend pedagogische Weisheit. […] So bricht eine neue Zeit für Ruanda an, dem Übermut der schwarzen Herrscher wird ein starker Riegel vorgeschoben.

Johanssen knew that the resident could not directly impose yet, and that pressure was needed to be built up onto the representative powerholders. “Regretfully […], a governing of the country is only possible with the collaboration of the sultan and his tware[74]”[75] (Johanssen in Trittelwitz: 1908, 8). He was torn between the condemnation of the Tutsi's exploitative rule and the pursuit to keep in with the Tutsi in order to influence them. Apparently he did not even consider to do his work independently from the political framework, disregarding who was Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. Therefore, it was clear that from the very beginning, the mission's work tied in with the colonial aim of winning the elite over. In his memoirs he wrote that “if this tribe [the Tutsi] could be won for Christianity, the whole country would open up for the gospel”[76] (Johanssen: 1934, 29). He saw potential for a transformation of the spiritual life (“ghost cults”) in Rwanda towards a Christian belief system, but simultaneously pointed out the difficulty he faced with this: “It is important to us that the royal authority appears divine to the natives of Rwanda […], while we self-evidently denounce that the king lets himself be called Imana[77] in a Cesar-like manner”[78] (Johanssen: 1934,55). In short, he wished for a relationship between religion and the state based on the model he knew from home under the Kaiser, and a transformation of the spiritual life.

Assuming the established knowledge about Rwanda's racial configurations right, he disseminated the reading of the society publicly without giving any evidence, and vindicated Tutsi rule through their genetically contingent superiority:

> “The Tutsi are a Hamitic pastoralist tribe that differs through physique, coloring and mental ability from the other two tribes. Tutsi have subdued the others, albeit they only represent the tenth fraction of the total population. […] Hamite pastoralist tribes have not only brought the cow from Asia to Africa, but also intellectual property of various type. Where they succeeded in capturing sovereignty, they also have […] wielded influence onto the entire mental life of the population”[79] (Johanssen: 1934, 52).

74 Tware are deputies of the King.

75 Translated by the author. Original: “Nun sind leider die Verhältnisse des Landes noch so, dass auch der Resident nicht direkt anordnen kann, was er möchte, sondern dass er nur einen gewissen Druck auf die maßgebenden Tussi ausüben kann. […] Eine Regierung des Landes [ist] nur unter Mitwirkung des Sultans und seiner Tware möglich” (Johanssen in Trittelwitz: 1908, 8).

76 Translated by the author. Original: “Wenn dieser Stamm dem Christentum gewonnen ist, das ganze Land dem Evangelium erschlossen sein” (Johanssen: 1934, 29).

77 *Imana* is the Kinyarwandan word for God.

78 Translated by the author. Original: “Es ist uns wichtig, dass dem Eingeborenen Ruandas die königliche Autorität als göttlic, d.h. als erste und unbedingt verpflichtende erscheint, während wir es selbstverständlich verurteilen, dass der König sich in einer Art Cäsarendünkel als Imana bezeichnen lässt” (Johanssen: 1934,55).

79 Translated by the author. Original: “Die Tutsi sind ein hamitischer Hirtenstamm, der sich durch Körperbau, Färbung und geistige Befähigung von den beiden anderen Stämmen unterscheidet und sie sich unterworfen hat, obgleich er wohl nur den zehnten Teil der Einwohnerschaft ausmacht. […] Hamitische Hirtenstämme haben, wie es scheint, nicht nur das Buckelvieh aus Asien nach Afrika gebracht, sondern auch geistigen Besitz mancherlei Art. Wo es ihnen gelungen ist, die Herrschaft an sich zu reißen, haben sie auch […] das ganze geistige Leben der Bevölkerung

Considering the importance of infiltrating the Tutsi, he had to admit in a report that after six years of work, their main obstacle to success still was “the impossibility of close contact with the Tutsi, of feeding the gospel into them”[80] (VEM: M235, M2 1.34, 1913). Nevertheless, the attempts surely left a mark, and it was through him that Musinga learned about the colonialist's culture, because Johanssen repeatedly was given the chance to speak at the royal court and even present diapositives of Christian figures, not only aiming at showing the magnitude of Jesus, but also demonstrating technical advancements like the slide projector.

Even though Johanssen was impressed with the intelligence and the appearance of the king, he gave a gloomy image of the elite and where the country of “heathens” is going: “When I heard the noise of the drunk from inside the royal court at night, I had to think of the youth of this land, who day after day participate in this life, and it came right to my mind how immense the task is that needs to be done here”[81] (Johanssen: 1934, 39). This work he was referring to looked different in approach depending on the recipient's “race”. The sophisticated and noble Tutsi were to be influenced intellectually and emotionally, whereas Hutu, to him, understood only one language: “Only the fear of punishment seems to keep them [Hutu] in discipline. They are used to be kicked at. That is why tender stirrings of their souls are alien to them”[82] (Johanssen: 1934, 56). Johanssen even feared that, because for Hutu he was seen as an alternative suzerain to the Tutsi, “there is the danger of them [Hutu] affiliating with our station and constituting the foundation of our congregation”[83] (VEM: M235, M2 1.34, 1913).

For Johanssen, the social system was not hard to understand. He opened up parallels to the European history of feudalism and said that “so far everything is comprehensible, like in the middle ages”[84] (Johanssen in Trittelwitz: 1908, 5). In order to gain further understandings he attempted to

durch ihre Sagen und Überlieferungen einen Einfluss ausgeübt. […] Die Hutu unterscheiden sich von den Tussi durch ihren gedrungenen Körperbau dunkler Färbung und durch den Negertyp der Gesichtsbildung. Die Urbevölkerung bestand, wie es scheint, aus dem Jäger- und Fallensteller-Stamm der Twa, der Urwaldbewohner. […] Der Twa ist noch dunkler und kleiner als der Hutu” (Johanssen: 1934, 52).

80 Translated by the author. Original: “Wir können nicht anders als in der Unmöglichkeit mit den Tutsi Fühlung zu gewinnen und sie dem Evangelium zuzuführen, ein Haupthindernis der bisherigen geringen Erfolge sehen” (VEM: M235, M2 1.34, 1913).

81 Translated by the author. Original: “Aber als ich nachts den Lärm der Betrunkenen aus dem Königshof hörte und an die Jugend des Landes dachte, die dort als Pagen Tag für Tag dieses Leben mitmachen, da kam mir recht zum Bewusstsein, wie groß die Aufgabe ist, die hier zu tun ist” (Johanssen: 1934, 39).

82 Translated by the author. Original: “Nur die Furcht vor Strafe scheint die meisten [Hutu] in Zucht zu halten. Sie sind gewohnt getreten zu werden. Darum sind zarte Regungen des Gemüts ihnen offenbar fremd” (Johanssen: 1934, 56).

83 Translated by the author. Original: “Es besteht die Gefahr, dass sich an unsere Station [Hutu] anschliessen und den Grundstock der Gemeinde bilden werden” (VEM: M235, M2 1.34, 1913).

84 Translated by the author. Original: “Soweit ist alles verständlich wie im Mittelalter” (Johanssen in Trittelwitz: 1908, 5).

learn the language, first with the help of a Tutsi, then he switched to a Hutu teacher because even though they were “terrificly filthy”[85] (VEM: M212, M2 1.5, Bd.1, 1907), they worked for payment and so he would not have to be dependent on the whims of a nobleman. In the course of this language training he came into contact with local sagas and myths. In his book *Führung und Erfahrung in 40jährigem Missionsdienst*[86], Johanssen retells oral traditions but does not recite the exact wording, nor does he cite the sources, and therefore it can be presumed that his versions of the oral traditions are a mix from what he had heard and from what he interpreted himself. Therefore, even though he was open for input and first-hand experiences, in the end he also only reproduced conventional and deficient European “knowledge” about the Banyarwanda. The mission did not really contribute to alternative perspectives on Rwandan society, on the contrary, they fully supported colonialism's view of the necessity to use the “race” of Tutsi and their power in order to eventually penetrate the whole country.

85 Translated by the author. Original: “Unglaublich schmutzig” (VEM: M212, M2 1.5, Bd.1, 1907).

86 The title translates to *Leading and Experience in Forty Yeas of Missionary Service*. It first got published only in 1934.

3.2.2) PASTOR OTTO JOHANNES MÖRCHEN

A second man who has worked for the spread of the gospel in Rwanda, and of whom a lot of material has been delivered to posterity, is pastor Otto Johannes Mörchen (1882-1916). He assumed management of the first station in Dsinga from Johanssen and directed this post from 1907 to 1915. Mörchen is the only German of the four portrayed in this thesis who did not publish his own book, but in place of that he produced a large amount of diary entries, letters and reports, some of which got published by the mission in Germany. Like Johanssen, he was torn in his approach of how to confront the society he chose to proselytize. Almost disgusted he described Rwanda's power structure and its causes as follows: “Here, the need of naïve men for a master comes to light; he feels dependent and so he subdues himself to the king, whose lineage now erects an absolute rule of the kind only an immature people can tolerate above it. We have real African despotism in front of us”[87] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8). Accordingly, for Mörchen the general Hutu population was naïve and immature, and the Tutsi aristocracy was cruel and in absolute power. This general analysis is the undertone of all his writings. It reflects both the German racial philosophy of that time and the analysis from which the colonial power developed the logic of indirect rule. Therefore, as a superior European faultfinder, Mörchen was absolutely in line with Götzen, Kandt and Johanssen.

To give an image to the “friends of the mission” back in Germany of how underdeveloped the area where he was stationed at really was, he wrote that the condition of the Banyawanda was the same as it had been for the past hundreds of years and that “the Tutsi-invasion was the last stage of the people's development so far”[88] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8), although he did not state when this might have happened. With the arrival of the Europeans however, this stagnation would end and these “backward” people would be changed: “With the penetration of global commerce and the white rule, a new time dawns over Rwanda now with a lot of force”[89] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8). Mörchen did certainly not see this expected process from any skeptical angle, on the contrary he welcomed this “eruption” because he saw a window of opportunity opening up not only for the benefit of colonial profit but also for him and his mission, and therefore for the people of Rwanda themselves:

87 Translated by the author. Original: “Es tritt hier einfach das Bedürfnis des naiven Menschen nach einem Herrn zu Tage; er fühlt sich abhängig, so unterwirft er sich dem König, dessen Geschlecht nun eine absolute Herrschaft errichtet, wie sie nur ein unmündiges Volk über sich dulden kann. Wir haben eine echte afrikanische Despotie vor uns” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

88 Translated by the author. Original: “Der Zustand des Ruandavolkes ist heute kaum anders als er es vor Jahrhunderten gewesen sein mag. Die Tutsi-Einwanderung ist die letzte Stufe in der bisherigen Volksentwicklung gewesen” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

89 Translated by the author. Original: “Aber nun bricht mit dem Eindringen des Welthandels und der weissen Herrschaft eine neue Zeit mit Macht über Ruanda herein” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

“The eruption of a new time in a worldly sense is to be viewed as a kind of ally to our cause. In as much as it is appropriate to show the people instinctively that it cannot go on like this”[90] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8). A conversion to Christianity would therefore liberate the “culturally untouched” and lead them to freedom, progress and prosperity.

One significant piece that Mörchen wrote in 1910 and which was made available to affiliates of the mission, called *Kleidersitten* (dress customs), should not be withheld here because it again depicts Mörchen's portrayal of the Banyarwanda tellingly blunt. In it, he consistently puts the word “dress” in inverted commas, implying that to him, they only wore rags. “We still encounter the old fur 'dresses' which, of course, will soon be a part of history”[91] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8). Further, in his description of the hair dress it is to read that “[the hair] of the Hutu is the habitat of dirt and vermin”[92] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8), while the Tutsi's hair was well trimmed. Still, the Tutsi might be more clean than the Hutu but they remained savages. Sneering at Tutsi festive clothes he stated that “the apron became their 'tailcoat', which gets worn at 'court' only to very solemn occasions, like visits from foreign nobles – meaning the resident or officers of the Schutztruppe”[93] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8). Statements of this sort must be interpreted as derogative and presumptuous from a contemporary perspective, but they seemed to be widely accepted in cosmopolitan circles during that time. It can be speculated, or at least the suspicion arises, that such condescending assertions are a form of self-affirmation, confirming that the right thing is being done. This again would mean that the ideological framework built up to justify the whole undertaking of colonizing an African people did show cracks.

However, may it have been to patch these cracks or out of utter conviction, Mörchen followed suit and propagated the Hamitic theory just like every European before him. Also by hinting to the “dark ages” in Europe, he detected that “Africa has seen a Völkerwanderung as well, which can be said with high certainty. […] The first immigration was the one of Bantu tribes [who] drove back the natives, so called Pygmies or dwarf-people. […] The Hamitic people then subdued all others”[94]

90 Translated by the author. Original: “Das Hereinbrechen einer neuen Zeit im weltlichen Sinn ist als eine Art Bundesgenosse unserer Sache zu sehen. Denn es ist geeignet dem Volke ganz instinktiv zu zeigen, dass es so nicht weitergehen kann” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

91 Translated by the author. Original: “Noch immer begegnen wir der alten Fellkleidung, die freilich bald nur noch der Geschichte angehören wird” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

92 Translated by the author. Original: “[Die Haare sind] bei den Hutu meist die Heimat von Schmutz und Ungeziefer. Bei den Tutsi hingegen wohlgepflegt” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

93 Translated by the author. Original: “Bei den Tutsi ist jetzt der Schurz zum “Frack” geworden, er wird am “Hofe” bei ganz feierlichen Gelegenheiten, wie beim Besuch fremder Füstlichkeiten – d.h. des Herrn Residenten oder Offizieren der Schutztruppe – getragen” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

94 Translated by the author. Original: “Auch Afrika hat seine Völkerwanderung erlebt, das lässt sich mit großer Sicherheit konstatieren. […] Die erste Einwanderung war die der Bantustämme […] Die eingewanderten Stämme haben die Urbewohner, sog. Pygmänen oder Zwerg-Völker, überall zurückgedrängt […] Die hamitischen Völker

(VEM: M549, M3 2.8). To Mörchen, these Hamites were the rightful rulers racially and culturally, but considering their cruelty and inability to foster progress, it had to be the Europeans who took over now. His suggestion was: “We must propound our new to the Rwandans so that they internally become forced to fall into line with us”[95] (VEM: M549, M3 2.8). First successes with this could be recorded in 1909 (resident Kandt already asserted his power by then), when Mörchen wrote a letter to a circle of supporters in the homeland, proudly saying that king Musinga had called for help from the whites in order to “chasten” the “looting dwarfs” (cf. VEM: M549, M3 2.8), and that it had been achieved to “convince Msinga [Musinga] that it was wise for him to be a friend of the Germans”[96] (ibid.). Musinga was convinced indeed, but only in the special case when the Germans helped him to defeat his enemies militarily.

To conclude, pastor Otto Johannes Mörchen was completely captured in the ideology of that time, which he reproduced in his own approach to missionary work in Rwanda. In 1916 he fell as a member of the *Schutztruppe* in World War One.

haben alle anderen unterworfen” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

95 Translated by the author. Original: “Wir müssen unser Neues dem Ruandavolke so vortragen, dass sie innerlich dazu genötigt werden sich anzuschließen” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

96 Translated by the author. Original: “[Es wurde geschafft] Msinga davon zu überzeugen, dass er gut daran tat, ein Freund der Deutschen zu sein” (VEM: M549, M3 2.8).

4) EFFECTS AND HERITAGE OF GERMAN RULE

It is certainly true that, especially for non-urban regions like Rwanda, “people's lives did not suddenly change because diplomats met in a German capital or because new flags were hoisted in African public places” (Chrétien: 2003, 15). It is more a matter of time and structural pervasion that lead to an impact and brought about social changes. Although the German period in Rwanda only lasted for roughly 30 years, of which only 10 years a permanent resident was delegated, the German approach to power was aimed precisely at influencing these structures in order to control. As shown throughout the thesis so far, they had considerable success in influencing the king, and their top-down policies did trickle down to the wider population in the form of identity politics. The realm of the monarchy, and therefore the power of the colonial influence, grew increasingly stronger with the help of the German military and administration. By preferring the group of Tutsi over the group of Hutu, German colonialists contributed to a fixation of ethnic identity under the premise of premordialism. Every German protagonist cited above heavily criticized the Rwandan “despotism”, and still they all used this system for their own purpose of making the power-holders instrumental and of executing their own power through them; upheavals were strategically used to secure the loyalties of the elites by supporting the Tutsi aristocracy. Even if the Germans did not create the categories of Hutu and Tutsi as such, their colonial rule “reinforced and rigidified ethnic categories” (Reyntjes: 1999, 120) substantially. As Chrétien says, “from the start, their impressions […] mixed up physical cliché, political reference, and a theory of migrations” (Chrétien: 2003, 70), which came to be the foundation and starting point for their intrusion of the political and therefore social system. The error of attributing the Hutu/Tutsi opposition to feelings of racial hatred (cf. Vansina: 2004, 138) and their abuse of this opposition surely left marks on Rwandan social configurations.

The long-term goal of the Germans was, of course, to make the colony profitable. This capitalist discourse naturally entails a pivotal attitude of ownership. Birgit Meyer and Peter Geschiere point out the conjunction between capitalist western imperialism and ethnicity very trenchantly: “One has to 'own' an identity just as the capitalist owns his capital. [This can be seen] in the efforts of colonial regimes to fix the identity of their new subjects, hardening the boundaries of communities that used to be much more diffuse and permeable” (Meyer, Geschiere: 1999, 8). Therefore, the premordialist notion of Hutu vs. Tutsi is also a result of the attempt to impose European worldviews and thought patterns of ownership, classification and demarcation – culminating in “classificatory mania” – onto the Rwandan society. It would be somewhat pretentious to assert that Africans would not notice

with which attitudes Europeans were confronting them. Already in this psychological dimension it becomes clear that Hutus, who at first saw the liberators from Tutsi-rule in the Germans, only saw them reproduce and reinforce their oppression as something God-given, which endorsed their inferiority. Such a disappointment must have been bitter, especially because Europeans were seen as powerful people with their superior weaponry who could have done something against this injustice. It was probably not least because of that why Hutus called Germans "*ibisimba*, "literally 'wild beast', an expression that incorporated ideas of contempt, as well as fear" (Des Forges: 2011, 25).

Vansina is right when he says that "one can […] reject the views of those who attribute the distinction between Hutu and Tutsi as well as the engendering of their mutual hostility to each other to the first Europeans" (Vansina: 2004, 138), but it is also true that building on the observation of physical differences, "colonial scholarship *constructed* Hutu and Tutsi as different" (Mamdani: 2002, 42), and therefore created these two groups as frozen racial units. Up until today, academics, and especially German scholars, neglect this dimension of German history. Horst Gründer, for example, states in his standard work about German colonialism that because the Germans "only" stabilized the Tutsi-regime, "the German colonial authority barely had any implications for Rwanda's social structures"[97] (Gründer: 1985, 157). Similarly, Helmut Strizek claims that "overall, the changes of the pre-colonial Rwandan society brought about by the colonial administration and the mission were limited because with the military victory of the Belgians in 1916, the short time of German missions and rule was terminated"[98] (Strizek: 1996 (b), 104). This simplification plainly ignores what Germans were doing during their time there. Why, if not for the German crude impact, would Hutu lynch lingering *Askaris* after German troops were forced out in 1916 (cf. Launicke: 1981, 36)? And why, if not for their discrimination, did Hutu destroy missionary buildings after they were deserted (cf. Ibid.)? It was precisely because of the German's "alchemy of races" (Chrétien: 2003, 51) and them taking side with the Tutsi "race" why Hutu had an aversion against German rule. Hutu's resistance against their domestic oppressors had almost been broken with the help of the Germans, but, as Gerhard Launicke says, it was not fully broken yet and "this opposition simultaneously became an anti-colonial struggle because the Germans were in coalition with the local aristocracy and supported them" (cf. Launicke, 362 f). Tutsi did not show this repulsion

97 Translated by the author. Original: "Weil die Deutschen das Tutsi-Regiment nur stabilisierten, hatte die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft kaum Auswirkungen auf die sozialen Strukturen Ruandas" (Gründer: 1985, 157).

98 Translated by the author. Original: "Insgesamt waren die Veränderungen der vorkolonialen ruandischen Gesellschaft durch die deutsche Kolonialadministration und die christliche Mission begrenzt, da mit dem militärischen Sieg der Belgier 1916 die kurze deutsche Kolonial- und Missionszeit beendet war" (Strizek: 1996 (b), 104).

because the Germans massively contributed to the manifestation of Tutsi-rule, which is an expression of the case that Germans very well had an impact on the society.

One question, especially with reference to the 1994 genocide, comes natural: How did the German impact on Rwanda's social braiding play out after 1916? Vansina says that “the present does not flow from the past as if it was the only possible future that could have emerged from that past” (Vansina: 2004, 199), and Chrétien notes that “just as the present does not simply follow from the past, the past should not be reread in terms of the present” (Chrétien: 2003, 17). One does not know how history would have developed if things would have been different, but German support of Tutsi-rule certainly did exert an influence on the continuation and hardening of Tutsi-rule over the Hutu. Shortly before the German's arrival, this continuity was everything but certain. German military, administration, as well as missions, discriminated and handicapped Hutus politically and socially by exploiting their labor force, by unfair jurisdiction, by taxation, by exclusion from higher education, and by prosecution – simply because it matched their political and economic aims and because, in their eyes, they were inferior humans.

Referring to and approving Hannah Arendt's notion about the interplay of racial ideology and genocide, Mamdani states that “Nazi ideology having cast the Jewish people as a race apart from Europeans, Nazi power set out to eliminate them as a people. These imperial chickens, as it were, had come home to roost” (Mamdani: 78). Can this trajectory from the German colonial period to the Holocaust also be applied to the developments from that time up until 1994? Way more research would need to be carried out in order to answer this, but the seeds of politically charged premordialist racism were surely sown during German occupation. The legitimation of Hutu extremists, for instance, to kill all the Tutsi in Rwanda based on the idea that Tutsi were foreign invaders who had subjugated the Hutu (cf. Akpome: 2014, 201), and this is exactly what Germans had planted into the imaginations of Rwandans. The result was violence as a means of self-determination in dissociation of the alleged “Other”.

The power of discursive strategies should not be underestimated in their range; the colonialist's project of inventing and constructing Rwandan identities in its own terms, building on what was observed, continued to exist and even intensified under the Belgian mandate and beyond. The Hamitic theory was “exploited by propagandists on all sides” (Vansina: 2004, 200) and even though it officially got abolished by the current regime, it's radiance continues to generate political power by being declared unconstitutional, meaning that everyone who opposes the official no-difference-discourse can be charged as public enemy and be detained (cf. Berry and Mann: 2014). Interestingly

enough, Rwanda's “strongman”[99] since the post-genocide era, Paul Kagame (born 1957), is a direct descendant of the aristocratic family of Ega, who benefited most from German support during colonial rule (cf. Strizek: 20066 (a), 104) – this might also explain the lack of archival sources within Rwanda itself because he surely does not want to see his roots be regarded as treacherous, collaborative or repressive. When the monarchy was abolished in 1961, the aristocrats fled the country without acknowledging the referendum. After re-conquering “their” land in the course of the genocide, Germans once again were happy to step in for their former allies:

> “The Kohl-Kinkel government immediately recognized the rebel-government dominated by Paul Kagame. […Germany] vehemently propagated the thesis, spread by the US, that the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, who were killed April 6, 1994, when their plane was shot down, were assassinated by extremist Hutu-rebels to carry out their planned genocide on the Tutsi population. Today we know, among other things through a Rwandan dissident's sworn affidavit to the Rwandan-Court in Arusha on March 9, 2006, that Paul Kagame was responsible for this assassination. His military victory was made possible through the power vacuum thus created. But in this chaos the genocide of the Tutsis could also take place. So as not to jeopardize Kagame, no German government has insisted on a neutral investigation of the terrorist downing of the plane” (Strizek: 2006 (a), 104).

The former German ambassador to Kigali, Reinhard Bindseil (in office from 1984 to 1988), says that the “common road before 1916 became a particular incentive for the development of modern relations”[100] (Bindseil: 1988, 11) between Germany and Rwanda. He did not clarify what “modern” meant, but it apparently does not incorporate a break with ethnic solidarities or even a critique of the former ally: “At the end of 1996, the German government did not protest against the internationally illegal attack on refugee camps of Hutus, who had fled to East Congo following Kagame's victory” (Strizek: 2006 (a), 104).

Even though it cannot be substantiated that the German impact directly led to the genocide, it can be concluded that the Germans were the first to implement the ideology by which the genocide was driven, and so it can be argued that the Germans made the groundwork for ethnic hatred, that the Belgians intensified it, and that Rwandans themselves used and propagated derivations of colonial racial ideology, culminating in the catastrophe of 1994. After this, and 80 years after the termination of the colonial relationship, German policy towards Rwanda recollects the “common road” before

99 The term 'strongman' can be seen as a diplomatic description by western politics of a dictator. Only those 'strongmen' with whom western countries do not maintain political or trade relations are being called dictators.

100 Translated by the author. Original: “Der gemeinsame Weg vor 1916 wurde zum besonderen Ansporn für die Entwicklung moderner Beziehungen” (Bindseil: 1988, 11).

1916 and, may it be out of loyalty or out of caution not to oppose the victims of a genocide, again takes up the Tutsi-side.

5) CONCLUSIONS

The colonial attitudes, ideologies and proceedings that got displayed above were certainly not unique to German rule but were rather common practice among all European colonial powers and only varied in details (cf. Schwarz: 2011). The crux of the matter however is that Germans did exercise their share of colonial cruelty in Rwanda along the lines of “races” after all. The thesis did follow a rather descriptive approach, but was forced to do so since this detail of history had not been thoroughly accounted for yet. Other major caesura had occurred in the German history of the 20th century, at least this is how other scholars try to explain such lack of historical research and such blank spots on the German colonial past (cf. Gründer: 1985, 19). Other peculiarities of colonial history, like the German warfare in Namibia, are only starting to regain interest today – in 2015 a public debate arose within Germany on the topic whether or not the killing of Herero and Nama (1904-1908) by the *Schutztruppe* should be termed genocide or not. The thesis at hand might help to trigger similar interest for debate on the case of Rwanda.

So what was the German approach to ethnicity in the former protectorate of Rwanda, what informed it, and how did it impinge on the society? First of all, it needs to be acknowledged that the emergence of Hutu and Tutsi was a process from within the Banyarwanda culture, only picking up significant momentum since the 1880s, rigidifying political identities in line with an expanding state, prior to the German's arrival. Formerly, these categories, stemming from ancient myths, were only names for those who fulfilled different tasks in the kingdom. Shortly before the first Germans arrived however, practices like *Uburetwa* and *Kwihutura* already had drifted the society apart into a ruling (Tutsi) and a serving (Hutu) population. These categories still continued to be permeable and they were not assigned to immigration. In the course of a succession crisis throughout the 1890s, this whole power structure stood on clay feet, not least because the Tutsi exploitation of the Hutu masses had become so excessive that Hutus became rebellious in large parts of the kingdom. Therefore, the invention of Hutu and Tutsi as such cannot be assigned to the first colonial interference.

The first conclusion to be drawn however is that the Germans not only supported the unsteady Tutsi rule, but that they contributed to its continued existence and even expansion. Through cruel *Strafexpeditionen*, the nascent colonizer prosecuted Hutu who were disobedient to the court and thus bought the cooperation of the Tutsi elite. This was done with the aim to erect an indirect rule through the king who was to have the function of a proxy for the German resident. This political

strategy was pursuit for pragmatic reasons, but also because of the racial perception that Tutsi were superior to the Hutu, and that therefore they were dominating the Hutu rightfully. Within this racial hierarchy it was still the German *Herrenmensch* who was destined to rule them all. In order to get there, they logistically, materially and politically supported the Tutsi “despotism” and succeeded in doing so. German ideology about the human “races” got confirmed rather than scrutinized by the observations of explorers, administrators and missionaries. The centrality of the Hamitic theory in this setup needs to be acknowledged, even if certain scholars tend to reject this for other regions in Africa (cf. Carney: 2012).

The second conclusion is that within this racially charged constellation, the *völkisch* notion of “race” was translated directly into policy. By suggesting that Hutu and Tutsi were different peoples, of whom the former was inferior, they invented and thereupon created these two groups as premordial entities that have little in common – Hobsbawm's and Ranger's theory of “invented traditions” finds its approval here. Hence, the Germans were the first to introduce this social difference as a racial difference. This concept was applied in the colonial politics when German military, administration, as well as missions, discriminated and handicapped Hutus politically and socially by exploiting their labor force, by unfair jurisdiction, by taxation, by exclusion from higher education and by prosecution. The effect was that “with the establishment of European colonial rule in the country, ethnic categories came to be rigidly defined, while the disadvantages of being Hutu and the advantages of being Tutsi increased significantly” (Newbury, C.:1988, 52) – and this applies for the German period first and foremost; assigning these developments solely to the Belgian rule falls historically too short. The process of social categories transforming into racial units that were tied to political power (or powerlessness) started out thirty years before it is commonly assumed to have emerged. Therefore it is to state that the roots of ethnic conflict in Rwanda run deeper than commonly argued.

The confirmation bias that had informed the Germans – whereby they looked for information that confirmed their bias and not for information that might contradict it – was later taken over by the Belgian administration. Belgian rule, and that is the third conclusion, only hardened and further exploited the colonial system that had been introduced by German administration before; after World War One, administration continued to rule through the Tutsi monarchy and further contributed to the rift between Tutsi (who remained part of the administration) and Hutu (who had to deliver goods and work): “The Belgian rulers began to organize the colonial administration of the kingdom and an increasing number of demands were made on the rural population” (Joshi: 1996,

56). The introduction of identity cards which stated the owner's ethnicity in 1935 was of course a sweeping mistake by the Belgian administration, but this cannot be seen as a real caesura since it only gave expression to the rigidifying process that had started out over thirty years before, when Rwanda first became a German protectorate.

The argument of the thesis is not aiming at distributing any guilt for the genocide. As Helene Hintjens states: “An emphasis on external factors places responsibility for genocide elsewhere, and tends to suggest that the Rwandan state and Rwandan people were merely responding to the divisive logic of imperialist interventions” (Hintjens: 1999, 243). This needs to be taken into account, and therefore no claim is being made that the German rule was directly responsible for the 1994 genocide, nor that Rwandans merely reacted to what the colonialists brought to them; what is being argued however is that it was the German rule that introduced the ideological framework and that petrified the social preconditions which later were exploited by propaganda, which in turn triggered the catastrophe.

APPENDIX

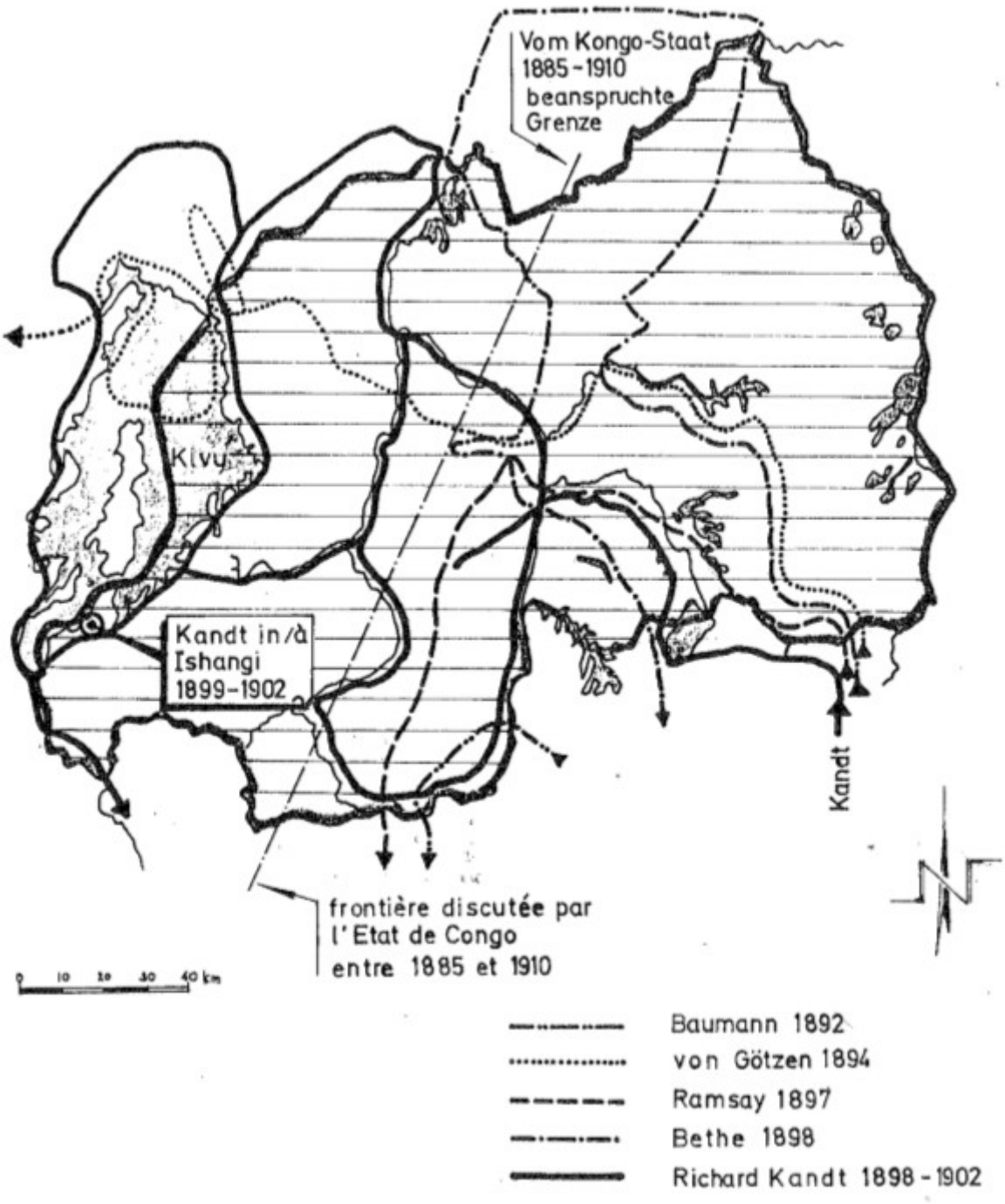

Fig. 1: Exploring missions and “skewed line”

Taken from Bindsel: 1988, 18

Fig. 2: Richard Kandt's residential building in Kigali

Private photograph

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