

Table of Contents

Table of Illustrations	11
Abbreviations	13
Introduction	15
PART ONE. The First World War in Angola in its Historical Context	31
1. Luso-German Colonial Relations before the First World War	31
1.1 Slicing the “African Cake” – the Borders of Angola and GSWA	32
1.1.1 Devising International Law – the Congo-Conference 1884/5	32
1.1.2 German Colonialism in Southern Africa and the Luso-German Border	34
1.1.3 Competing Neighbors – Luso-British Border Disputes 1886–1905	42
1.2 “Medical Adviser” or “Heir”? – the Agreements of 1898 and 1913	46
1.3 The Portuguese in Southern Angola	57
1.3.1 Contact, Commerce, and Colonialism in Angola, ca. 1840–1900	57
1.3.2 Moçâmedes, the <i>Planalto</i> , and Portuguese Settlement Policies	60
1.3.3 <i>Além-Cunene</i> – Military and Missionary Perspectives, 1900–1914	66
1.3.4 Famine, Labor, and Taxation in Southern Angola	80
1.4 New Friends? – Luso-German Trade and the Study Commission	84
2. The First World War in Angola and GSWA	96
2.1 The Outbreak of the War and its Impact on GSWA and Angola	96
2.2 Beyond German Reach – Smuggling Food across Angola	101

2.3	Misunderstandings – the Naulila Incident, October 1914	117
2.4	Revenge? – Devastating the Kavango Forts, Oct.– Nov. 1914	132
2.5	The Build-up of the Army in Angola, August–December 1914	144
2.6	Colonial Armies on the Southern African Battlefield, 1914–1915	149
2.6.1	An Ancient Institution – the Portuguese Colonial Army in Angola	149
2.6.2	A New Breed – the Colonial Army of GSWA	156
2.6.3	The South African Conquest of GSWA (I), September–December 1914	161
2.6.4	An Unlikely Victory – the Battle of Naulila, December 18, 1914	163
2.6.5	The Power of Rumor – the Portuguese Retreat, December 1914	176
2.6.6	The South African Conquest of GSWA (II), January–July 1915	180
2.7	Greater than a “Small War” – the “Rebellion” in Angola, 1914–15	183
2.7.1	The “Expedition” under General Pereira de Eça, 1915	184
2.7.2	Reforms and the Coming of War – King Mandume, 1911–15	196
2.7.3	Battle Between Equals? – Mongua, August 18–20, 1915	209
2.7.4	Famine in Ovamboland and the Death of King Mandume, 1915–1917	225
2.7.5	Inverted Chronology – POWs, Seizures, and the Declaration of War	236
PART TWO. The Arbitration Procedure and Awards		241
3.	The Luso-German Arbitration Procedure 1919–1928	241
3.1	The Treaty of Versailles and Arbitration	242
3.1.1	Interstate Arbitration – a Historical Overview	244
3.1.2	The Cost of War – Portuguese Finances and Claims for Reparations	246

3.1.3	Whose Slice? – the Fate of Germany’s and Portugal’s Colonies, 1919	250
3.1.4	Arbitration before Reparations – § 4 of the Annex to Art. 297–298 TV	255
3.2	Personnel Involved	261
3.2.1	Who is to Decide? – Appointing an Arbitrator, 1920	263
3.2.2	How to Decide? – the Competences of Arbitrator de Meuron	266
3.2.3	Instead of Prosecution and Defense – the National Representatives	271
3.3	Portuguese Claims and German Responses. Four Memoranda	279
3.3.1	Claims for Damages, Amounts, and Applicable Law	280
3.3.2	“History” as a Legal Argument – a Portuguese Claim	288
3.3.3	Just War, Right of Self-Defense, Reprisals, and Anticipatory Attack	294
3.3.4	Proportionality and Necessity of Military Reprisals	301
3.3.5	Violence, Non-Combatant Immunity, and War Crimes	305
3.3.6	Portugal’s Neutrality – a German Claim	310
3.3.7	Discourses of Honor and Dishonor	315
3.3.8	Foreign Influence and Missionaries	320
3.3.9	Names, Citizenship, and “Races”	323
3.3.10	Proof beyond texts. Maps, Photographs, and Witnesses, 1924–1926	334
3.4	Colonial Border Agreements, Pleadings, New Arbitrators, 1926	346
4.	The Award of 1928 (Merits)	355
4.1	<i>Disproportion évidente</i> – Content of the Award	356
4.2	Responses to the Award. The Amount of Portugal’s Damages	362
4.2.1	German Hopes – A Possibility of Non-Payment?	362
4.2.2	The Portuguese Memorandum, October 1928	364
4.2.3	The German Counter-Memorandum, March 1929	365
4.2.4	The Portuguese Replique and the German Duplique, April/June 1929	368

4.2.5 The Pleadings and the Dispute about the Young-Plan, 1929/30	370
5. The Award of 1930 (Amounts)	374
5.1. Direct and Indirect Damages – Content of the Award	374
5.2 The Negotiations over the Young-Plan	377
6. Can the Germans Pay? The Award of 1933 (Execution)	383
 PART THREE. Legal and Historiographic Perspectives on the World War in Angola, 1918–2014	 387
7. Portuguese and German Reactions to the Awards	387
8. The afterlife of Naulilaa in International Law	389
9. Naulila and King Mandume in the Memorial Cultures of Portugal, Germany, Angola and Namibia	403
9.1 Writing about “Heroes”: Portugal	404
9.2 Writing about “Heroes”: Germany	410
9.3 History as a Source of (National) Pride: Angola	419
9.4 History as a Source of (National) Pride: Namibia	430
 Conclusion	 439
 Archival Sources	 446
 Sources of Illustrations	 453
 Literature	 457
 Index of Persons	 507
 Index of Places	 512
 Subject Index	 515