1 European Colonial Ambitions and Economic Expansion of the Reich (1884–1914)

1.1 Behind Colonialism and Imperialism

This book investigates a rare topic in German imperial history: German engagement in the Ottoman province of Tripoli. It thus fills the important gap in the extensive literature on German imperialism with a specific focus: relations between Germany and the Ottoman provinces of Tripoli (Wilāyāt Ṭarābulis al-Ghārb) from 1884 to 1918. It also considers the political, economic, and institutional factors that influenced the relationships between Germany and Tripoli. This province was one of the North African provinces under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from 1551 to 1911. This book will also analyze as well the relationship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the light of events of more international significance that were taking place around the same time and influencing this relationship.

The time period focused on in this book is from 1884 to 1918. This period has been selected for its essential relevance to the history of the relationship between the East and the West. The 18th and 19th centuries were characterized by an extension of European control outside the European continent; an enterprise that included what came to be known as the “scramble for Africa”. This period was also marked by the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The mechanization of the industrial sector that it brought about, as well as mass production of different products, led to enormous economic developments. Following these developments European powers began to search for markets for their products and for regions that would supply the raw materials required for the growing industries. In order to secure their access to these markets and raw materials, it was necessary to have the routes and the political control over these areas, either by entering into treaties with the original landowners or by the imposition of direct political and military control. The expansion outside Europe was rooted in these specific needs, which took on both a political and economic char-
acter. Many European countries sought to obtain control over territories outside their borders. Alongside more internationally powerful countries such as Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, Germany also had ambitions of this nature. Britain had succeeded in extending its influence into many areas including India in Asia, Egypt and Sudan in North Africa as well as some other areas in Central and West Africa. France had control of some areas in North Africa like the Ottoman province of Algeria since 1830 and Tunis from 1881, while Spain and Portugal had managed to control some of the areas bordering the Indian Ocean. Germany did not participate in the earlier colonial competition of the European countries in these regions. Only after the political and administrative unification in 1871 did Germany start to develop a policy of expansion toward territories outside Europe, and Africa more specifically. Thus, Germany had acquired some areas in Central and Western Africa, albeit later than other European countries such as Britain and France. The German expansion started in practice with Otto von Bismarck (1815-1895), the German Chancellor of the Reich (1871-1890). He decided to have colonies outside Germany in 1884, a move which he viewed as crucial to protect his country from other powers. The German minister Bernhard von Bülow (1849–1929) who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1897–1900) and later the Chancellor of the German Empire (1900–1909) expressed the necessity for expansion explicitly in his speech before the house of the Imperial Diet of the German Empire (Reichstag) on December 11, 1899:

In our nineteenth century, England has continually expanded its colonial empire – the largest the world has seen since the days of the Romans. The French have gained a firmer and firmer foothold in North Africa and Africa and created for themselves a new empire in the Far East. In Asia, Russia has embarked on a series of victories that has taken it to the Pamir Plateau and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean....

In these words, he stressed the position of England as the first colonial empire in the world, as well as the gains of the other major powers, mainly France and Russia. In a speech comparing these powers, he mentioned the main interest of each and the German interest specifically, as well as the main reasons behind the expansion, in the following words:

---


It is out of the question for the simple reason that we now have interests in all parts of the world. [...] The rapid growth of our population, the Unprecedented expansion of our industry, the industriousness of our merchants, in short, the phenomenal vitality of the German people have integrated us into the world economy and drawn us into international politics. If the British speak of Greater Britain, if the French speak of Nouvelle France, if the Russians move into Asia, we too have the right to a Greater Germany.7

Another important event which took place during the period in question was the Second Berlin Conference, also known as Congo Conference, in 1884. This conference was a very influential political event that shaped the relationship between the major European powers as well as their respective expansions in Africa. The conference was held in response to the emerging conflict among the European powers about their colonies in Africa, especially in the Congo Basin. It discussed questions such as how to colonize, what to colonize and how to implement free trade and freedom of navigation in the Congo Basin, and came out with new regulations with regard to their colonies in the area.8 The main regulations included the supervision of colonies to prevent any single country abusing the rights of another. These were stated in articles 34 and 35 of the conference agreement.9 The countries participating also agreed to prevent the slave trade in article 9. Article 6 specified the regulations to deal with the local populations in the colonies.10 The year 1918 has been selected as the cut-off point of this book because it represents the end of World War I and the decline of German influence over the province of Tripoli, which was named “Libya” in 1911 after the Italian occupation.11 However, this period will also be examined in this book in order to see if and how German interest in Libya changed during this time and whether or not it was affected by Italian occupation of this region. In 1918, the Tripolitanian Republic was established under Italian rule (al-Jumhūriyya al-Ṭarābulisiyya – Republic of Tripolitania).12

The political and economic conditions in which the declaration took place were

7 Bernhard von Bülow, speech given: “Dynamic Foreign Policy” (December 11, 1899).
9 Stoecker, Helmuth, German Imperialism in Africa from the Beginning until the Second World, Translated from German by Bernd Zöllner Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p. 37.
10 Ibid.
difficult, owing to the recent defeat of the Ottoman forces (supported by Germany) and their withdrawal from the region, including Libya. Even at the beginning of 1919 the Ottoman forces were asked to leave the country, the representative of the Ottoman Empire and the German commander Paul Freiherr Wolff von Todenwarth stayed to help build the new republic that expected to rule the country.\textsuperscript{13}

The geographical scope of this book is limited to the area belonging to the last North African Ottoman province of Tripoli at the end of the 19th century and within its boundaries defined in that period by Britain and France. The province of Tripoli shared its eastern borders with the former Ottoman province of Egypt. The British army had occupied Egypt since 1882 but it was not declared a British colony, making its status unclear. The western border of the province was shared with the former Ottoman province of Tunisia and the former Ottoman province of Algeria that had been colonized by France since 1830. The northern borders of Tripoli were constituted by the Mediterranean Sea, and to the south lay the middle, eastern and western regions of Sudan, which are now divided into Chad (colonized by France 1900-1960),\textsuperscript{14} Niger (colonized by France 1922–1960) and Sudan (colonized by Britain 1899–1956). These geographical borders had been defined differently under the administration of the Ottoman Empire, and they were changed when the European countries colonized the area and redefined the borders according to their interests and influence. The province of Tripoli was considered important for different European powers. Historical literature showed that in 1899 the province of Tripoli was an issue of dispute between England and France, since it was viewed as the easiest intermediary passage between the basin of Chad, English Nigeria and French Senegal and the Mediterranean. In Giordani’s words “Tripoli, for evident geographical reasons has always been the shortest way to the sea”.\textsuperscript{15} The importance of the province of Tripoli also resulted from the coastline stretching north to the Mediterranean with a distance exceeding 1,900 km. Tripoli was an important commercial center with many ‘Libyan’ cities established since the period of the Phoenicians, and then under Carthage and the Roman Empire. It was also the meeting point of the African trade routes that gathered both Eastern and European trade.\textsuperscript{16} With regard to Germany, this importance was stressed in the German media at the time supported by businessmen,

13 al-Zāwī, Jihād al-abṭāl, pp. 310–311
travelers and investors to prompt the German politicians and decision makers to seek a space in North Africa building on the good relations they had with the Ottoman Empire. In addition to that, they tried to find an entrance to reach their colonies in East and West Africa easily.17 This province was the best place to realize this objective and it is argued clearly in different documents from the The Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts) that the German presence in this Tripolitanian region was subjected to the international policies, but the intention was different from the colonial intentions of Italy.18 Germany’s interests in the province were more specifically economic and strategic in contrast to Italy, which wanted to fully occupy the province. The Italian interest was based on the concern to have a colony in the province of Tripoli, the coast of which it regarded as its fourth border (Quarta sponda).19 The province of Tripoli also attracted many travelers who played a major role in highlighting its strategic importance. A large number of travelers of differing European nationalities visited this place. They came also with different intentions. Most of them came under the aegis of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of Interior Parts of Africa, also known as the African Association, which was established in London in 1788.20 This association was used by Britain to collect as much information as possible on the areas that were not yet under the control of any European countries. The association financed scouting trips and other activities that helped in collecting the needed information. Many European travelers were financed through this association, such as the German traveler Heinrich Barth (born 1821) who wrote extensively on Tripolitania and on Africa more generally.21 However, other travelers who visited the province of Tripoli came individually, driven by their desire to explore the area. They subsequently developed their interests and were supported by some associations that had specific missions. In addition to Heinrich Barth, Gerhard Rohlfs (born 1831),22 Gustav Nachtigal (born

---

21 Barth’s journey to the province of Tripoli will be presented in chapter 3, Barth, Heinrich, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, London, 1857.
22 Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs (1831–1896), a former consul in Zanzibar appointed by Otto von Bīs-
European Colonial Ambitions and Economic Expansions (1884–1918)

Gottlob Adolf Krause (born 1834), and Ewald Banse (born 1883) amongst others. Obviously, they all benefited from the experience of the Libyans in understanding the desert as well as their knowledge about the routes and pathways leading to the interior of Africa. The European travelers who visited the province of Tripoli could be divided into two categories: The first, like Baron von Maltzan and Gottlob Adolf Krause, came to the province to explore and research historical and geographical aspects, in addition to the monuments. The second group tried to study the province focusing on the political, economic and social aspects, and they intended to collect as much information as possible. Members of this group, such as Gerhard Rohlfs and Gustav Nachtigal, were serving the colonial objectives first. Those travelers, especially the Germans, realized economic goals. Tripoli offered them a good entry into West and East Africa. This is why the German consular agency (al-Wikāla al-Qunṣuliyya) opened in Tripoli in 1884 and was later upgraded in 1909 to a consulate (Qunṣuliyya). The opening of the consulate is generally viewed by Libyan historians as representing the highpoint of German interest in the province of Tripoli. But it should be stressed that this revealed the interests of Germany, despite the reserve with which German diplomacy worked with the province through other channels, such as those of Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire. In shaping German policies in the North Africa region, the German consul does not represent as such the German approach to the whole region. German decision makers acting through this consular agency is sometimes different from those pertaining to the consulate. The

marck, who was before a doctor in the French colonial Legion in the Ottoman province of Algiers where he took part in the violent colonization of the Kabylia region. In 1878 he was commissioned by the German African Society to travel to the region of Wadai in the south of the Province of Tripoli. As a geographer, as well, he explored Africa and dedicated very interesting pages to the province of Ottoman Tripoli, See Rohlfs, Gerhard, Reise durch Marokko, Uebersteigung des grossen Atlas, Exploration der Oasen von Tafilet, Tuat, Tidikelt und Reise durch die grosse Wüste über Rhadames nach Tripoli, Kühtman’s Buchhandlung, Bremen, 1868.


consulate served the Germans who resided in the province, including the travelers and investors.\textsuperscript{27} The international context in the 19th century was just about control over the territories of the Ottoman by the European countries. In 1882 an agreement between France and Britain and then in 1899 made possible the sharing of Sudan between them. An 1887 German-Italian agreement was secretly signed by the Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. By signing this agreement Germany stated the eligibility of Italy to occupy the province of Tripoli.\textsuperscript{28} There was also an Entente cordiale signed between France and Britain in 1904.\textsuperscript{29} It is to be noted here that the signing of this agreement resulted in the first Morocco crisis, which was solved via the Algeciras conference.\textsuperscript{30} This highlights the argument that Italy had entered into many agreements and used other agreements to pave its way to occupy the province of Tripoli. An analysis of Germany’s relationship with the Ottoman Empire is needed, particularly a study of German influence and support provided to the leadership of the Libyan mujāhidīn\textsuperscript{31} (those who fought against the invasion in 1914 in moving their troops to fight in a war outside their province, specifically against the British in Egypt instead of supporting them in the internal war against the Italians).

This book argues that Germany was trying to emulate the major European countries, particularly Britain and France, in the process of extending its control beyond Europe. Germany had political, strategic and economic interests in North Africa, particularly the province of Tripoli, but never had colonial intentions like the other European countries although the terms and concepts “colonialism” and “imperialism” are differentiated by historians in other contexts. To realize these goals, Germany started to strengthen its relations with the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. They also developed the military forces of the Otto-

\textsuperscript{27} Bundesarchiv, Die Handels- und Schiffahrtsverhältnisse mit Tripolis, Bd. 1, vom Juni 1884 bis Oktober 1904, R901/11936, Nr. 16857, 19. Juni 1899.
\textsuperscript{31} People who are involved in jihād (Islamic war against the enemies of Islam).
mans and established economic projects like building the Baghdad railway. This book also argues that Germany already had a political and military presence in other parts of central Africa; the province of Tripoli was thus viewed by Germany as the gate to the German colonies in Africa. This study considers an episode of what has been called the “scramble for Africa”. The events are analyzed as part of the wider context of colonialism and imperialism. It is relatively common that the terms “colonialism” and “imperialism” are used interchangeably in literature discussing the subject, although they refer to different phenomena. Colonization as a phenomenon had spread drastically in the period following the geographical discoveries at the beginning of the 15th and 16th centuries, and became stronger in the 18th and 19th centuries. Jürgen Osterhammel’s definition of colonialism explains the process. Osterhammel defines colonialism as a relationship of domination between two culturally different powers, in the context of which one party controls the decisions of the other, who is forced to deal with these external pressures and serve the interests of the dominant party. The interests of the colonized countries were not considered subordinated to those of the colonizers. Moreover, colonialism is the ideological orientation of the colonizer. Timo Särkkä supported the argument and definition provided by Osterhammel that colonialism is an unequal economic, political and cultural relationship between the colonial powers and the colonized countries. It is noted that imperialism as a concept emerged later than the concept of colonialism. According to the same writer, the term imperialism means the collection of all the actors and all forces that contribute to the establishment and maintenance of colonial empires. Imperialism was not only a colonial policy of one power but it was shaped and reshaped by the influence of the international polices and powers of countries who seek to take part of the process and actions. The main factors behind the development of colonialism tend to be divided into four groups in the literature on the subject. The first of these is the economic factor, including the rise of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution was also taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe and was accompanied by the mechanization of the industrial sector as well as mass production of different products that led to enor-

33 Ibid.
36 Aybar, Juan Carlos Ocaña, *Colonialism and Imperialism, Geography and History*, Bilingual Studies – IES Parque de Lisboa, Alcorcón, Madrid.
mous economic developments.\textsuperscript{37} These developments were the reason behind the attempts of the European powers to search for markets to sell their products, as well as to find new regions to get the required raw materials for the growing industries.\textsuperscript{38} In order to secure their access to these markets and raw materials, it was necessary to have political control over these new regions, either by entering into treaty relations with the original rulers or by imposing direct political and military control. The expansion outside Europe came from these specific needs, which took on both political and economic characters. It is also important to note that imperialism was not limited to the actual establishment of colonies but could also included penetration by economic and financial means. This corresponds to Germany’s relations with the Ottoman Empire. The idea of examining the economic motives of imperialism was originally developed by J.A. Hobson (1858–1940),\textsuperscript{39} who argued that imperialism was driven by economic motives during the Industrial Revolution when the European powers tried to find new markets and sources of raw materials. Hobson’s main argument is that after the industrial and capitalist countries achieved production surplus they began to search for new markets to sell their products, invest their capital and acquire raw material for the growing industries and found their target in the developing countries. As part of this process, the pressure that businessmen and venture capitalists put on their governments to protect their money and projects led to political intervention in the internal affairs of colonized countries.\textsuperscript{40} Jules Ferry (1832–1893) justified the French motivations behind colonial expansion in his speech before the French National Assembly that:

... which justify a policy of colonial expansion from the point of view of that need, felt more and more strongly by the industrial populations of Europe and particularly those of our own rich and hard working country: the need for export markets. Is this some kind of chimera? Is this a view of the future or is it not rather a pressing need and, we could say, the cry of our industrial population? I will formulate only in a general way what each of you, in the different parts of France, is in a position to confirm. Yes, what is lacking for our great industry, drawn irrevocably on to the path of exportation by the (free trade) treaties of 1860, what it lacks more and more is export markets. Why? Because next door to us Germany is surrounded by barriers, because beyond the ocean, the United States of America has become protectionist.

\textsuperscript{37} Giordani, \textit{The German Colonial Empire – Its Beginning and Ending}, https://archive.org/stream/germancolonialelem00gioruoft/germancolonialelem00gioruoft_djvu.txt (05.05.2016), p. vi
\textsuperscript{38} Conrad, \textit{German Colonialism}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{39} Särkkä provided a comprehensive analysis of Hobson’s theory from his own perspective as well as the perspectives of other writers.
The second factor was political, including the expansion of political power and influence that was supported by specific lobby groups and political prestige. The third includes geostrategic factors such as the acquisition of geographically privileged provinces and their transformation into colonies of the European powers. The larger the colonial empire, the more powerful were the colonizers. This can also be seen as linked to the first two factors. The fourth factor can be related to cultural and scientific goals, including the expansion of European cultures and civilizations in the new colonies. This included using colonies to locate the growing European population to ease population pressures in Europe. It is argued also in literature that political rivalries, anticipated economic gains, nationalism, and humanitarianism all contributed to the psychological atmosphere that led to this final chapter of Western expansion.

Consequently, many European countries sought to obtain new territories or intensified their control over territories outside their borders, especially powerful countries like Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, in addition to Germany. Britain had succeeded in extending its influence into many areas including India, Egypt and Sudan as well as some other areas in Central and West Africa. France controlled some areas in North Africa like Algeria and Tunis. Spain and Portugal had also managed to control some of the areas bordering the Indian Ocean. Considering all these issues, it can be argued that both economic and political factors played a significant role in prompting the Europeans to look for new areas outside the European continent. However, since this book focuses on Germany, the question that arises here is whether the German colonial empire was different from the other European colonial empires?

41 Jules Ferry (1832–1893) was a French politician who twice served as premier during the Third Republic from 1871 until 1940.
1.2 German Colonial Ambitions

Germany did not participate in the earlier colonial competition of the European powers outside Europe because the German states were not united at that time. It was only after German unity in 1871 that the policy of expansion toward territories outside Europe and specifically in Africa developed. Germany had succeeded in achieving its political unity – modelled on Italy which had preceded it in 1860 – as a result of the great efforts of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who decided to engage in war with Austria, France and Denmark to prove his country’s military strength and power and for Germany to take a remarkable position among the major powers represented by Britain and France at that time. The German expansion began when the German Chancellor of the Reich Otto von Bismarck decided to have colonies outside Europe in 1884. These were viewed as crucial to protecting his country from other powers. Germany had acquired some areas in Central and Western Africa, albeit later than the European countries like Britain and France. Germany’s unity, which took place during the period of industrial revolution in Europe, reinforced its economic activities and led to significant growth in the chemical industry, heavy industry, construction of the fleet and the army and so on, factors which formed the basis for its expansionary interests in the 1890s and after. Sebastian Conrad argued that there were pressure groups and agents behind the German colonial expansion, referred to by Dirk Göttscbe as the colonialist movement in Germany. These included the geographical societies and projects that helped to provide academic insight into Africa by exploring uncharted territories. Sebastian Conrad mentions Heinrich Barth, Gerhard Rohlfs and Gustave Nachtigal as the main travelers whose trips to different parts of Africa were influential in German colonial expansion. As mentioned before, these three German travelers visited the province of Tripoli, which led to the province becoming part of their ambitions. Sebastian Conrad also refers to a second group, the colonial immigrants and missionaries including the Catholic missionaries sent by the French and Belgian churches. A third group included merchant networks, such as the Hanseatic merchant families, who set up trade linkages throughout the world. They fought for the principles of free trade and played an important role in preparing the ground for colonial activities. A fourth pressure group mentioned by Sebastian Conrad was the educated, liberal and nationalist members of the bourgeoisie who were backed by some

44 Conrad, German Colonialism, p. 23–27.
45 Göttscbe, Dirk, Remembering Africa: The Discovery of Colonialism in Contemporary German Literature, Camden House, USA, 2013, p. 44.
nobility, missionaries and merchants and played a crucial role in setting policy. Sebastian Conrad mentions Friedrich Farbi (1824–1891), an adviser to Bismarck and Adolph Woermann, a merchant and national liberal member of the Reichstag as a pioneer of the German expansion. He wrote a book on colonialism and how Germany should build a colonial empire like the other European countries. In addition to the pressure groups, Sebastian Conrad also discusses the factors and motivations behind German colonial expansion and argues that trade interest was the first motive. As he shows, colonies played an important role in solving the problem of over-production. A second motive was related to migration. This had been ongoing since 1880, when politicians became motivated to find a place for new German settlements abroad, beyond those that had hitherto represented the focus for German migration. There was a fear that Germany would be the “fertilizer of people” and North America was considered as a “melting pot”. Colonies were to play the role of the “New Germany”, meaning that Germans would remain German even when settling overseas. A third motive were the internal conflicts and tension prompting unrest within Germany. In Sebastian Conrad’s words:

> Historians have termed this the strategy of social imperialism: it meant declaring colonial expansion to be a task for the nation as a whole, thus pushing material needs and social tensions into the background.

A fourth motive was the idea of colonizing that was found in German culture and ideology. Sebastian Conrad portrays a German concept of a ‘civilizing mission’ as an idea that brought different people together. Göttzsche supports this with a quotation from Osterhammel. He agrees with Sebastian Conrad to a great extent that these factors and actors influenced German colonial expansion and mentions the main factors as “the interplay of colonial expansion, Eurocentric capitalist trade, industrialization, the development of a world-wide modern infrastructure, and the increasing global movement of individuals, goods and ideas.”

The German Empire also continued after Otto von Bismarck, as Bernhard von Bülow, who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1897–1900) and

---

46 Conrad, *German Colonialism*, p. 25.
47 Ibid., p. 27.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid., p. 29.
52 Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, p. 44.
later the Chancellor of the German Empire (1900–1909), explicitly expressed the necessity of expansion in his speech before the Reichstag on December 11, 1899:

In our nineteenth century, England has continually expanded its colonial empire – the largest the world has seen since the days of the Romans. The French have gained a firmer and firmer foothold in North Africa and Africa and created for themselves a new empire in the Far East. In Asia, Russia has embarked on a series of victories that has taken it to the Pamir Plateau and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean.\textsuperscript{53}

His speech viewed the position of England as the first colonial empire in the world, as well the other gains of the other major powers, particularly France and Russia. In a comparison between these powers, he mentioned the main interest of each and the German interest specifically, as well as the main reasons behind the expansion, in his words:

It is out of the question for the simple reason that we now have interests in all parts of the world. [. . .] The rapid growth of our population, the unprecedented expansion of our industry, the industriousness of our merchants, in short, the phenomenal vitality of the German people have integrated us into the world economy and drawn us into international politics. If the British speak of Greater Britain, if the French speak of Nouvelle France, if the Russians move into Asia, we too have the right to a Greater Germany.\textsuperscript{54}

Coming to the question of the period under research (1884–1918) and the reasons for its importance, it can be argued that many events took place during this period of time that contributed to its significance in the development of colonialism in Africa and in German colonial expansion. The most important event of the period was the Second Berlin Conference in 1884, which has therefore been chosen as a starting year in this book because of the significance of this conference to the relationships between the East and the West. This conference was organized by Germany, which sought to develop a role for itself in mediating between the European powers, which were beginning to have conflicting interests in Africa. The conference was a significant political event that shaped the relationship between the major European powers as well as their expansion in Africa. It was held to deal with the emerging conflict among the European powers about their colonies in Africa, especially in the Congo Basin. It discussed very crucial points including how to colonize, what to colonize and how to implement free trade and freedom of navigation in the Congo Basin. Its results also included new regulations regard-

\textsuperscript{53} Bernhard von Bülow, Dynamic Foreign Policy (speech given December 11, 1899).
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
ing their colonies in the area.\textsuperscript{55} The main regulations included strong supervision of colonies to prevent any abuse by any country against the others. These were stated in Article 34 and 35 of the conference agreements.\textsuperscript{56} The countries participating in the conference also agreed to prevent the slave trade in Article 9. Article 6 specified the regulations to deal with the local populations in the colonies.\textsuperscript{57} World War I was a turning point because the major powers, mainly Russia, Germany, France, and Britain joined the hostilities that transformed it into a world war.\textsuperscript{58} In 1918, the Tripolitanian Republic was established in very difficult political and economic conditions. The Republic was declared after the defeat of the Ottoman forces (which had been supported by Germany) and their withdrawal from the entire region, including Libya. However, even after the official departure of the Ottoman forces, the representative of the Ottoman Empire and the German commander von Todenwarth stayed to help build the new republican government that was expected to rule the country.\textsuperscript{59} A consideration of the factors that distinguished the German colonial expansion would point to the argument, well-known in the relevant literature,\textsuperscript{60} that the German colonial empire was one of the shortest-lived colonial empires in modern history, particularly when compared with the British and French empires. However, it is also argued that even if it was short, it was still a significant and integral part of the period in which it took place and that it played a major role in the political events of that time, such as the First World War. Germany only started acquiring colonies after its unification in 1871 and in 1884–1885 acquired large territories in Africa in what is now Togo, Cameroon, Namibia and Tanzania, in addition to small territories in East Asia and the Pacific.\textsuperscript{61} That made the German empire the fourth largest in the world after Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. The characteristic features of German colonialism included the concept of transporting the German civilization to their colonies. It is argued in the literature that Germany aimed at a more thorough penetration of the colonized territories and population than other colonial powers and that this ambition was linked to the idea of modernism and efficient forms of rule that were developed and invested into infrastructure and human capital. Sebastian Conrad questions whether these ideas were carried out

\textsuperscript{55} On the topic see e.g. Craven, “Between Law and History”, pp. 31–59
\textsuperscript{56} Stoecker, \textit{German Imperialism in Africa}, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} Conrad, \textit{German Colonialism}, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., p. 3.
in reality.\textsuperscript{62} He emphasizes that the German empire tried to apply the same European state system in its colonies but, in reality, this could not take place, thus “the colonial state was not simply an extension of the western European model, but as Jürgen Osterhammel suggests, ‘a political form in itself’”.\textsuperscript{63}

Different writers describe German imperialism in different ways. Pro-German imperialism argued that Germany penetrated the Ottoman Empire specifically inspired by the idea of the “Orient”.\textsuperscript{64} Malte Fuhrmann\textsuperscript{65} argued that this is how the German Orient was constructed. They did not use heavy weapons, or ride high with waving banners, but instead came carrying all kinds of tools and machines. An army of industrious workers followed in their wake, constructing new buildings and transforming caravan trade paths into railways lines. The Germans wanted to liberate the Orient and spread the German version of civilization through railway construction, German schools and trade. The main theoretical argument about German colonial expansion supported by Sebastian Conrad\textsuperscript{66} and Jürgen Osterhammel\textsuperscript{67} is that the dynamic of German colonialism extended not only to its protectorates and overseas possessions, which he called the formally acquired territorial colonial empire, but also included places that were informally penetrated. Sebastian Conrad calls this “informal colonialism”,\textsuperscript{68} and Jürgen Osterhammel called it the “informal empire” or quasi-colonial control (\textit{quasi-koloniale Kontrolle}).\textsuperscript{69} He uses this term to refer to the spheres of influence of German colonialism outside its formal territories, arguing that the German empire, like other colonial empires, built a colonial policy that operated not only in the colonies but also in other parts of the world like in China, Latin America and the Ottoman Empire. For Osterhammel, the role of the informal colonies was to support the center and particularly to enhance the German trade and investments. One example provided by Sebastian Conrad is the German economic

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., p. 37.
\textsuperscript{66} Conrad, \textit{German Colonialism}, pp. 169–170.
\textsuperscript{67} Osterhammel, \textit{Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen}, pp. 23–26
\textsuperscript{68} Conrad, \textit{German Colonialism}, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{69} Osterhammel, \textit{Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen}, p. 25.
projects in the Ottoman Empire such as the Baghdad railway. Others include the German travelers, health missions, the German consulate, the German export to the province and the military help provided from German to the Ottomans in their war against Italy in 1911 and to the Libyan mujāhidīn; all are conducted within the friendship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Quoting from Grüner, Sebastian Conrad refers to the German belief.

We help the Turks to build railways and ports. We seek to awaken their industry. We support them with our credit. We supply ships and cannons....

1.3 *Jihad* in Libya as a Resistance Movement against Colonialism

As mentioned above, during the time in which Germany was searching for economic and political influence outside Europe, its attention was directed toward the Ottoman Empire, which had extended its influence into large areas in the Balkans and the Arab world. The Ottomans also succeeded in obtaining economic concessions, which helped them to establish colonies in the center and east of the region. The African continent attracted the Europeans, particularly during the time of the European colonial competition, to invest and settle in new locations outside Europe. Not surprisingly, imperialism and colonialism faced strong local opposition. In the Muslim world this opposition became known as *jihad*. The Libyan *jihad* and its historical foundations give the term a different meaning to that found in theology. *Jihad* meant anticolonial resistance. But not all anticolonial resistance meant *jihad*, as many journalists wrote. *Jihad* as a general term includes many aspects, including the individual’s struggle to live according to his or her interpretation of the commandments of Islam, to contribute to a society that accords with the requirements of the religion, and to bring others to the religion of Islam. In its political sense the term refers to the armed struggle to defend Islam, whether in a territorial or ideological sense. This last usage

---

72 McAuliffe, Jane D. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Quran*, vol. 3, 2003, pp. 35–42.
tends to be known as defensive jihad. It is probably this term that is the most accurate description of the form of jihad developed in reaction to the Italian occupation and colonization of Libya and other parts of the Muslim world. According to Imam Qurtubi (1214–1273) this type of jihad is obligatory upon all Muslims:

If the situation becomes such that the enemy has occupied the Islamic state [...], it becomes an individual obligation according to all those belonging to that city to go out in the way of Jihad, lightly and heavily, young and old, all upon their individual capability and vigor; those with fathers even without their permission and those without; no one who is able and has the capability to fight, whether they are fighters or non-fighters can remain behind.

Imam al-Qurtubi also explained that the concept of jihad also includes helping neighboring localities or states in their fight against the enemies' invasion:

If despite all this that locality is unable to repel the enemies' invasion, the duty falls upon those closest in geographical locality [...]. They must send whatever is necessary to help the occupied locality so that the enemy can see that the Muslims have sufficient energy and resources to drive them back. Any Muslim who comes to learn that the Muslims in that area are weak and need help against their enemy, and also knows that he has the ability to help and assist them is obliged to go out to them. The Muslims are one hand against their enemy.

When does the duty of jihad end? According to Imam al-Qurtubi, it is only over when the occupying enemies are repelled:

If the Muslims in the area of occupation were successful in repelling their enemy, only then would the obligation of Jihad fall from the necks of the Muslims elsewhere. Even if the enemies of Islam were to come close to the borders of the Islamic state, but not enter, it is still obligatory to come out in Jihad to establish Islam and protect the honour and to humiliate the enemy and there is no disagreement about this.

---

74 Imam Qurtubi was a famous mufassir, muhaddith and faqih scholar from Cordoba of Maliki origin, the Maliki legal school. He is most famous for his commentary of the Quran, Tafsir al-Qurtubi. Bosworth, C.E.; van Donzel, E.; Lewis, B.; Pellat, Ch., Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition), vol. V (Khe-Mahi), Leiden, Brill, 1986, p. 512.
75 Tafsir al-Qurtubi vol. 8/151.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
The Libyan Islamic *jihad* began with the announcement of Italy’s war on the Ottoman Empire in Tripoli in September 1911. Most Libyans registered themselves in groups under the guidance of the Libyan tribal leaders and used whatever weapons available to attack the Italian soldiers and their army centers in the cities and regions. These Libyans were referred to as *mujāhidīn*. Most of them did not have military training and did not participate in the struggle as professionals; rather, they were motivated by the concern to defend their land against Italian colonization. As such, the *mujāhidīn* included all social classes.\footnote{al-Zāwī, *Jihād al-abyāl*, pp. 66–91.}