

## **Literature and Colonialism: Tracing the Haitian Theme in the Literary Works of Kleist, Seghers and Mueller**

**Mercy Vungthianmuang**

Centre of German Studies

School of Language, Literature and Cultural Studies

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

mercymuang@gmail.com

**Abstract:** The entire history of the "Entdeckungsreisen" in the 15th and the 16th Century is a history of the conquered and the conquerer. With historical evidences of the various European nations ruling over the 'other' nations, comes a corpus of texts which legitimates and hence establishes an outline of colonization in literary texts.

This discourse on colonialism in the various disciplines of the social sciences especially in the literary texts helps us to analyze the links between power and authority and apparently which also manifests itself in the language of the text.

The Haitian Revolution i.e. the Slave Revolt against the French Rule is a theme which has been discussed in various historical time -periods over the centuries. In German literature, this historical event has also been established in a series of works of Heinrich von Kleist: *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, Anna Seghers: *Die karibische Geschichten* and Heiner Mueller's *Play: Der Auftrag*.

It is interesting to know how the three texts establishes an intertextuality not only in its form and structure, but also how in different dimensions of literary representations it attributes the various trends of colonial discourse. Orientalising the other, representing the 'other' and the emergence of 'stabilization through Power' can be observed in these literary works.

### **Introduction:**

Colonialism and Literature have had a close relationship since the discovery of the Americas by Vasco Da Gama. Colonialism has its origins in the whole history of expeditions starting from the 15<sup>th</sup> Century till the recent decades and literature, on the other hand, being a mediator between the 'real' and the 'imaginary' becomes a written and representational tool in which a cluster of complex language and symbols are considered to be exemplifying this 'Difference'<sup>282</sup> between the 'discoverer' and the 'discovered' or the 'conqueror' and the 'conquered', the 'oppressor' and the 'oppressed'.

The literature of colonialism constitutes a corpus of texts, in which, the dominance of different European nations over the various 'other' parts of the world is legitimised and perceived as 'acceptable' and hence, creates a problematic debate on the quintessential issue of representation by the colonising power. This outlining of various colonial representations in literature then forms a prerequisite not only for the 'colonial discourse' but also for the postcolonial discourse since it involves imperialising or 'subordinating' of the colonised.<sup>283</sup>

European representation of colonial contentions and themes forms the basis of the postcolonial argument. It becomes crucial for a globalised world, to reflect and to observe how various literary texts on colonialism are representational texts and how they metamorphose into an export of European ideas and Europe's search for its own identity.

### **Scope and Objective of the research:**

The research aimed to study German literary texts representing the Haitian- Theme and attempt to trace various colonial connotations by challenging them and problematising them with a postcolonial perspective. The Slave revolt in Haiti in the year 1803 against the French regime has been, to a large extent, discussed and written extensively by many writers. Parallel to this, the aim of the research was to study the literary works of three German authors who have written broadly about the Haitian-theme in different time periods. The tradition of the Haitian-theme in German literature saw its onset with the work of Heinrich von Kleist's novella 'Die Verlobung von St. Domingo' published in the year 1811, followed by Theodor Koerner's novel titled "Toni" published in the year 1812 and several decades later, in the year 1840, Theodor Muegge's novel 'Toussaint'. A century later the Haitian – theme is taken up again by Anna Seghers in the 'Karibische Geschichten' published in the year 1962. The third story in her 'Karibische Geschichten' 'Das Licht auf dem Galgen' finds its affiliation in Heiner Mueller's play 'Der

---

<sup>282</sup> Osterhammel, Juergen: *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaates. Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich*. Göttingen 2003.

<sup>283</sup> Loomba, Ania: *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Routledge 1988. p. 12

Auftrag' which was published a decade later in the year 1979 contemplating not only the colonial contentions of the Haitian-theme but also discussing the idea of revolution.

Heiner Mueller wrote: "I wanted to do 'Auftrag' after I had read Anna Seghers work 'Das Licht auf dem Galgen'. Das Licht auf dem Galgen is her contention with Stalinism: Napoleon / Stalin, the liquidators of revolution."<sup>284</sup>

The three German literary texts by Heinrich von Kleist, Anna Seghers and Heiner Mueller will form the basis for this research by displaying various dimensions of literary representations in the colonial and postcolonial context.

In this research, the main aim was in studying and analysing the historical backgrounds during the time when the three authors Heinrich von Kleist, Anna Seghers and Heiner Mueller wrote their respective texts and also comparing and contrasting the various factors which influenced each individual author's usage of different motifs in their texts.

The different genres of the three authors, was also one of the main focus of this research. Heinrich von Kleist and Anna Seghers novels share a similar genre but differ in their focus thematically. Heinrich von Kleist discusses extensively the relationship between the 'coloniser' and the 'colonised' and the contingencies of "Blackness" and "Whiteness" outlining his text into an issue of 'race' and 'class' and Seghers 'stories' establish a different perspective of the Haitian-theme into a theme on revolution while acknowledging the factors of 'race' and 'class'. Heiner Mueller's play being a 'didactic play' with its subtitle "Memories of a revolution"<sup>285</sup> attempts to take the focus of his predecessor's texts onto a higher analysis of the various political, social and cultural issues, which were prevalent during the time the play was written and also now, in the postcolonial age, and hence, it becomes important for one to understand the intertextuality within the three literary texts sharing the Haitian-theme and analyse all the interwoven factors of literary and cultural importance.

Another major objective of the research was to analyse how such literary texts on the Haitian-Theme, become representational texts of colonialism and to what extent does it mirror Germany's stand on colonialism. It becomes substantial for one, as a student of German Studies in India, to be able to examine and deal with the inter-cultural aspects in the three German literary texts. The different approaches of the individual authors in discussing the concept of 'Blackness' or 'Otherness' becomes crucial for this research and it becomes important also to understand how this discussion leads one to problematise the issue of 'representation of the colonised'.

*"The social gulf built into the depersonalised official relationship between White ruler and non-White ruled is one which peculiarly facilitates thinking of the Other as incentive 'sub men' by the rulers, and as heartless gods by the ruled. Fanon has remarked that the colon is right in his familiar claim to 'know' the colonised people better than others, precisely because he has created his personality."*<sup>286</sup>

In studying such literary texts and the categories of colonialism, it becomes all the more necessary to determine how this question of 'Blackness' gets incorporated in the recent discourse of Postcolonialism and makes it essential to research and know how one deals with this idea of 'Eurocentrism' in the post-colonial world. Fanon argues that Europe deployed an imperialist semiotics that made whiteness the signifier of reason, virtue, and beauty and blackness the signifier of irrational intuition and raw sensuality in order to legitimate its domination of the 'third world'. According to Fanon, racial value coding imposes a sense of inferiority on colonial subjects, alienating them from themselves and sometimes making them want to become white. But since the codes of blackness and whiteness are arbitrary fictions imposed by imperialism, it remains possible to claim a subject position outside them.<sup>287</sup> For example: the concept of 'Morality' 'Good' and 'Civilised' as oppose to 'Immorality' 'Evil' and 'Uncivilised'.

The representation of 'Verlobung' or 'Betrothal' of the main characters Gustav –a Swiss soldier and Toni- a black woman in Kleist's novel corresponds into a representation of an interlocking of two different cultures. The 'love' between Gustav and Toni is depicted as an antithesis to a political engagement between the two cultures and love as a symbol which defines allegiances as in the case of revolutions'.<sup>288</sup>

In many aspects, we can also observe that the texts by Heinrich von Kleist 'Die Verlobung von St. Domingo' and Anna Seghers' 'Die Hochzeit von Haiti', are a reflection on the coming together of two different cultures, as in the case of the 'first world' and the so called 'third world' civilizations. This engagement and marriage of two opposing civilizations, consequently, becomes an important theme for the research, since it involves the objectifications of the 'colonized' "...objectification is not best understood as denying the freedom of the objectified, but as denying and concealing the joint projects that underlie human relationships. [...] The

---

<sup>284</sup> Cf. Heiner Mueller: *Krieg ohne Schlacht-Leben in zwei Diktaturen*. Koeln 1992. p. 297

<sup>285</sup> Heiner, Mueller: *Der Auftrag: Erinnerung an eine Revolution*. Frankfurt a. M. 1988

<sup>286</sup> Worsley, Peter: *Colonialism and Categories In Race and Social Difference* (Ed.) Paul Baxter & Basel Sansom 1972. p. 98.

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Fanon, Frantz: *Black Skin, White Masks*. Pluto Press. UK 1986.

objectification of racism, by contrast are more severe—such as a large pseudo-scientific literature claiming to prove the genetic inferiority of blacks to whites.”<sup>289</sup>

The unsuccessful outcome of the relationship, projected as one’s ‘moral’ decision or that of total commitment to a ‘revolutionary’ cause and the depiction of Toni’s betrayal as a betrayal of the ‘Black’ cause in Kleist’s text and Heiner Mueller’s emphasis on the revolution of the ‘whites’ coming to an end, is thereby, another level of representation of the colonised section of the world.

The research on such literary texts in a postcolonial context helps us to ponder upon several issues of representations which are more often or not, consciously and unconsciously, projected by the European writers as trivial. In the three primary literary works, the portrayal of the main characters, the need of ‘European’ revolutionaries to oversee the revolution in the ‘non-western’ part of the world and attributing the failure of the main characters and also the unsuccessful human relationships to cultural aberrations is, in many ways, a contention of ‘representation’ which culminates into a ‘representation/substitution’ for the oppressed.

“Two senses of representation are being run together: representation as ‘speaking for’ as in politics and representation as ‘re-presentation’ as in art or philosophy.”<sup>290</sup>

The research also looks into various other factors such as; the issue of ‘power’ and ‘knowledge’ of the colonial discourse and attempt to problematise it through the literary texts. The stereotyping of the characters and events in the literary texts illustrates an uneasy representation of the non-western world and the research finds such illustrations as an association between ‘power’ and ‘knowledge’ as opposed to ‘weakness’ and ‘ignorance’.

*“Stereotyping involves reduction of images and ideas to simple and manageable forms; rather than simple ignorance or lack of ‘real’ knowledge, it is a method of processing information. The function of stereotypes is to perpetuate an artificial sense of difference between ‘self’ and ‘other’.”*<sup>291</sup>

The research also makes an attempt to look into the depiction of women in the literary texts and also finds a concrete argument for such portrayals which in turn lead us again to the discussion of the ‘representation’ of the oppressed society. The representation of ‘Toni’ as the victim in Kleist’s ‘Die Verlobung von St. Domingo’ whose misunderstood allegiances leads to the death of Gustav and herself, ‘Die erste Liebe’ in Mueller’s play ‘Der Auftrag’, who succeeds in seducing Debuison to give into the moment of betrayal represented as love for his ‘Heimat’ which is Jamaica—a ‘third world’ country, are traces of representations of women which construct cultural differences. This objectivising of ‘black’ or ‘non-European women’ as ‘evil’, ‘desirable’ and ‘passive’ needs to be carefully analyzed and problematised.

Another very important factor to take into account in this research is whether or not, these literary texts are a ‘cultural memory’ for the three authors and to try to determine the various aspects of cultural differences produced by the ‘cultural memory’ in their writings, since memory involves recollecting of an event and the process of recollection involves reconstruction of the past and association with the past. With this reconstruction of the past, it then becomes crucial for one to examine the various cultural differences taken as an accepted fact, as in the case of ‘Die Verlobung von St. Domingo’ in Kleist’s text when he produces a European cultural memory at the very beginning of his novella “[...] when the blacks killed the whites...”<sup>292</sup> which then reduces the characters of literary texts into objects i.e. the ‘non-european’ subject as an object, an object which is ‘evil’ for the ‘west’ which consecutively leads to the conception of ‘Difference’. This ‘Difference’ is created, not on the basis of geographical boundaries, but on metaphorical differences into the ‘slave’ and the ‘non-slave’ worlds and forms a very essential and crucial point of discussion.

Jan Assman in his book- *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* mentions that ‘The cultural memory is aimed at fixed points in the past. [...] Past refers here to many symbolic figures, which the memory is attached to.’<sup>293</sup>

The research also looks at the literary texts as productions of ‘enlightened’ texts according to Kantian theories of ‘Enlightenment’, which establishes reason being the pre-requisite of differences between two cultures. Hence, it enables one to evaluate the basic ‘European’ theories of culture which more often than not, postulate the cultural differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’, also observed in the three literary texts, and it shall further enable us to examine whether such literary texts on the ‘colonized’ and the ‘oppressed’, becomes examples of the European author’s or Europe’s own search for identity in the postcolonial world.

“Attempts to interpret the role of race in Kleist’s novella often founder on the attempt to establish the author’s views concerning colonialism and Enlightenment thought. This is obvious reaction to the concerns of the text and the important, real-world context of race with our contemporary global culture.”<sup>294</sup>

---

<sup>289</sup> Schmitt, Richard: *Racism and Objectification –Reflections on Themes from Fanon*. In Lewis R. Gordon, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting and Renee T. White (Ed.), *Fanon: A critical Reader*, Oxford 1996. p. 46.

<sup>290</sup> Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty: *Can the subaltern speak?* 1988 p. 70

<sup>291</sup> Loomba, Ania: *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Routledge 1988. p. 60

<sup>292</sup> Cf. Kleist, Heinrich von : *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*. Hamburger Lesehefte 1977

<sup>293</sup> Cf. Assman, Jan: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identitate in fruehen Hochkulturen, Muenchen 2007. p. 52

<sup>294</sup> Martin, James P: *Reading Race in Kleist’s “Die Verlobung von St. Domingo”*. Monatshefte , Volume 100, number 1, Spring 2008 p. 63.

**Methodology:**

**1. Orientalism:**

I would like to propose the critical discourse on 'Orientalism' which was articulated by Edward Said in his 1971 published book titled 'Orientalism' and which originated as a point of reference for all postcolonial writers in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in order to examine the colonial and the postcolonial criticisms in European literatures.

In his introduction, Said proposes to analyse Orientalism with the Foucauldian notion of 'discourse'. In writing on Orientalism, Said emphasises that the construction of the East was always possible for the west since the relationship shared between the 'Occident' and the 'orient' corresponded to a relationship of power and knowledge and "...of varying degrees of a complex hegemony".<sup>295</sup>

"My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage –and even produce–the orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the Post-Enlightenment period."<sup>296</sup>

From the above statement one can come to several conclusions that:

a) The Orient would have to be created as an opposite of the west and which in turn means that the entire conception of the 'Orient' or the 'East' becomes a repository or projection of those aspects of themselves which Westerners do not choose to acknowledge and

b) That the relationship between the 'west' and the 'Orient' has always been that of power structures wherein the superiority of the European identity has consistently been a dominating factor.

Hence, it becomes important for this research, in analysing the concept of representation which has been postulated by the discourse on 'Orientalism' in which the main focus remains, problematising the European representations of 'other' cultures. In doing so, the central objective is not only to analyse or ascertain the passive participation of German authors in the 'representation' of other cultures in their literary texts but also to study how these representations in literary texts have been a validation for representing the 'orient' as an object throughout centuries. Representations wherein the east or the 'orient' has been taken as an 'object' and features in the 'western' mind "...as sort of surrogate and even underground self."<sup>297</sup>

"Thus all of Orientalism stands forth and away from the Orient: that Orientalism makes sense at all depends on the west than on the Orient, and this sense directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, 'there' in discourse about it"<sup>298</sup>

Said's theories of colonialism have been strongly contested and it would therefore also be important to look at the critical discourse on these positions. Especially in the German context it has been posited that since Germany was not a colonial power till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Said's theories are untenable in this framework<sup>299</sup>. The work examines this aspect of the theoretical framework.

**2. Colonialism/Postcolonialism**

As mentioned earlier, after European expeditions of the early 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, history saw the commencement of the various European colonisations; hence, it becomes inevitable for this research to understand the colonial and postcolonial discourse in literature.

In the German context, although colonisation was never felt in the 'real' sense of colonising a territory other than that of Europe, it however, was a silent partner in the colonial representations of the 'colonised' through literary texts. If we take for example, the various travelogues of the German authors, or the reports and the letters written by German missionaries, it becomes evident that literary representations of a culture other than that of one's own becomes a crucial concept in the colonial discourse. If we take for instance, Alexander von Humboldt's expeditions, where he travels to 'observe' and 'study' the Native Americans, he gives a detailed scientific analysis of slavery and colonialism and writes his observations on the flora and fauna of the other parts of the continent, is nothing but a representation of a culture unknown to the European world. Hence, it becomes interesting for this research to analyse how these representations of people and cultures translate into 'objectification' of the people who were observed and studied and how these reports or travelogues or literary works form Europe's way of understanding the 'other' by reading it and constructing it. Such establishments of 'other' parts of the continent as 'delayed' and 'inferior', is what interests us to question and to analyse literary texts in colonial discourse.

As also in the case of the three works by Heinrich von Kleist, Anna Seghers and Heiner Mueller, namely, *Die Verlobung von St. Domingo*, *Karibische Geschichten* and *'Der Auftrag'* respectively, traces of colonial prejudices can be read and observed and therefore, it forms an essential factor for this research to examine the

---

<sup>295</sup> Said, Edward: *Orientalism*. p.5

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid* p. 23

<sup>297</sup> Said, Edward. 1971.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid* p. 22

<sup>299</sup> Cf. Polaschegg, Andrea: *Der andere Orientalismus. Regeln deutsch-morgenlaendischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin/New York 2005

'representational' forms in such literary texts because literary and cultural practices also embody cultural interactions and involve cultural prejudices against the colonised.

"The colonial contact is not just 'reflected' in the language or imagery of literary texts, it is not just a backdrop or 'context' against which human dramas are enacted, but a central aspect of what these texts have to say about identity, relationships and culture."<sup>300</sup>

Another major theoretical aspect of the research is the postcolonial discourse. Analysing literary texts on the basis of colonial discourse, undoubtedly, gives us a fair understanding of the concept of 'representational texts'.

Although the 'representation' of the French colonies in Haiti in the literary texts may make us aware of 'what had happened' and how the 'colonised' were projected and depicted in the texts, consecutively, opening up a certain kind of awareness of how the representations of the non-European characters such as Toni, Margot, Sasportas and Congo Hoango in the three texts as 'exotic' desirable 'evil' or 'immoral', it also becomes critical for the postcolonial literary theory, to construct a future, wherein the differences are understood, apprehended and criticised.

The postcolonial discourse helps us to understand and comprehend much more effectively, how such literary texts on historical events are considered to be an accepted form of historicising the past in the eyes of the European writer and it shall try to discuss the how such illustrations or depictions of the past in literature, if written by a 'third world' author would have to undergo various degrees of experimentations and testing.

"That Europe works as a silent referent in historical knowledge becomes obvious in a very ordinary way. There are at least two everyday symptoms of the subalterity of non-western, third-world histories. Third world historians feel a need to refer to works in European history; historians of Europe do not feel any need to reciprocate"<sup>301</sup>

#### **4. The Category of the 'Other'**

Reflecting on the theoretical aspects of Orientalism by Edward Said, it introduces us to another very important theoretical aspect which is the category of the 'Other'. Since several decades, theoreticians, culture historians and literary writers have tried to critically analyse and problematise this theoretical construct and epistemological category of the 'Other' in the ongoing racial discourse.

Thus, it was important for this research to study, how and when did the term 'culture' begin to connote the differences between two societies or two cultures or better described as the difference between 'Us' and 'Them' and how such categorisations became an accepted norm in the literary works of the European writer.

Another very important input on the categorisation of the non-European world as the 'other' is in the book written by Todorov, titled 'Entkolonisierung', in which he writes about the conquest of the Americas. Todorov does not embark on the historical conquests of the Americas in order to establish the European identity but he is rather concerned about the legitimising of the 'moral' intentions by the Europeans, as also in the case of Edward Said, and appropriating this 'need' to colonise. The category of the 'other' exists within a society and also within several societies, hence, the theoretical construction of the 'Other' creates on one hand, boundaries between two poles as eminently different, and on the other hand becomes an establishment of identities.<sup>302</sup>

When critically analysed, it is observed that this category of the 'Other' is always parallel to the degradation of the power structure, often evolving at the height of a political Imperialism and thus, becomes only evident in the various expressions of stereotypes or as forms of cultural hegemony. The presupposition of one culture being superior to the other leads to a prejudiced representation as in the case of the literary texts and also in the case of historical writings about the 'third world'. This process of articulating and organising the 'Other' by the Europeans in the literary texts forms an essential part of the research.

#### **In what way is this research different?**

The research attempts to take the Haitian theme in the German literary texts as a unit or a thematic composition between three texts, which has not been established before. Although many articles have been written on the texts dealing with various concepts, the thematic composition of the Haitian Theme has not been attempted.

The research establishes an interdisciplinary approach of analysing the literary texts. Through the analysis of the texts, it becomes imperative to critically study the various established discussions about the 'Representation' of the oppressed Class, People, and Group in tandem with the discourse of Postcolonialism.

The research also traces the different developments of revolution from the historical aspects of the texts and makes an attempt to establish how the European model of a revolution then becomes a projection of delimiting the 'black' revolution or the 'third world' revolution into a category of the 'other'.

The research is a distinctive and relevant in analysing the developing tendencies of German Studies in India and institutionalising this theme becomes interesting for a globalised world.

<sup>300</sup> Loomba, Ania: Colonialism/Postcolonialism. 1998. p. 72-73.

<sup>301</sup> Althusser, Louis: Postcoloniality and the artifact of History In, Dipesh Chakrabarty: Provincialising Europe 2000. p.28.

<sup>302</sup> Osterhammel, Juergen: Kulturelle Grenzen in der Expansion Europas, in: Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats. Goettingen 2003. p. 36.

The object of my inquiry is the representation of the 'oppressed' in the three primary German literary works. The research is a comparative study of the three German literary texts by Heinrich von Kleist, Anna Seghers and Heiner Mueller and proposes to find traces of colonial and postcolonial discourse in the literary texts which are used as primary texts segregating them under different categories of 'race', 'class', and 'gender'.

Another very important aspect of this research was in finding a theoretical approach to the various theories of culture and try to find relevance in the texts taken into account and how it would then lead into the establishing a concrete argument on the European identity in literature in the postcolonial perspective.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations:**

The research determines and brings in new observations on the relationships between Europe and the non-European worlds through these literary texts.

The research accentuates the theoretical aspects by finding relevance of the theories in the textual analysis of the literary texts and makes an attempt to find its application in the concerned texts.

Another major attempt of the research was to find and analyse the theories of 'representation of the 'other'' in each of the texts 'Die Verlobung von St. Domingo', 'Karibische Geschichten' and 'Der Auftrag' which then lead us to establish a concrete argument in the postcolonial perspective.

The Haitian-Theme has been for centuries, extensively discussed in the German literature from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century till date and forms the primary source for this research. The first German author to bring forth this particular theme was Heinrich von Kleist in his Novella 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo' published in the year 1811, which is the first primary source for the research. It was the time when Europe was establishing imperial and colonial power within and outside the European boundaries. The Napoleonic wars, the French revolution, colonisation, slavery and 'Fremdheit' were the historical themes prevalent during this period. It was also the period of enlightenment when not only Germany, but the various other European countries were trying to provide a distinctive identity of its own. The Haitian theme was revived again, centuries after Kleist's novelle, by another German author Anna Seghers in her 'Karibische Geschichten' in the year 1962, wherein the previous documentations of slavery and revolution were taken into a more complicated level of discussion. It was the period after the Second World War and a tumultuous time for German socialist authors in trying to come to terms with their reality of 'geteilte Welt'. It was also a period of the civil war and the student's movement in Germany and hence, the Haitian theme was considered to be a basis for further contemplation of the ongoing atrocities in the karibische Geschichten, constituting the second primary source to be used in the research.

A decade after Anna Seghers wrote her last story in her 'Karibische Geschichten'- 'Das Licht auf dem Galgen', Heiner Mueller's play 'Der Auftrag' was published in the year 1979. In addition to the colonial and representational contentions, Mueller displays a whole new concept on the idea of a revolution, therein, providing an open-ended situation to enhance the contemporary contentions, and therefore, forms the third primary concern of the research.

### **References:**

- Kleist, Heinrich von: Die Verlobung von St. Domingo. Hamburger Lesehefte 1977  
Mueller, Heiner: Der Auftrag. Quartett. Frankfurt a. M. 1988.  
Seghers, Anna: Erzählungen 1952-1962 Aufbau Verlag. Berlin 1981.  
Althusser, Louis: Postcoloniality and the artifact of History, In: Dipesh Chakrabarty: Provincialising Europe, Princeton University Press 2000  
Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen: The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures. London and New York: Routledge, 2002  
Assmann, Jan: Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identitäten in frühen Hochkulturen. München 2007  
Assmann, Aleida: Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit-Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik Schriftenreihe Band 633  
Barthes, Roland: Mythen des Alltags[1964], übers. von Helmut Scheffel. Frankfurt/Main 1981  
Baxter, P. and B. Samson (Ed.) Race and Social Difference London 1972  
Bhatti, Anil: Unser Wissen übereinander. In: Verstand zur Verständigung. Festschrift für Heinrich Pfeiffer. Hrsg.v. Thomas Berberich u. Jan Claus. Berlin u.a. 1987

*1st International Conference on Foreign Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*  
*May 5-7 2011 Sarajevo*

Bery, Ashok, and Patricia Murray, eds. *Comparing Postcolonial Literatures*. London: Macmillan, 2000.

- Bhabha, Homi: *The Location of Culture*. [1994] London Routledge 2008
- Bitterli, Urs: *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten'*. München 1976
- Boehmer, Elleke: *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. Oxford 1995
- Burke, Edmund: *Vom Erhabenen und Schoenen*. (1756) Berlin 1956
- Conrad, Sebastian, Randeria, Shalini (Hg.): *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus- Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. Frankfurt / Main 2002
- Daus, Ronald: *Die Erfindung des Kolonialismus*. Wuppertal 1983
- Duara, Prasenjit (Ed.): *Decolonization-Perspectives from Now and Then*, London Routledge 2004
- Davidson, B.: *Vom Sklavenhandel zur Kolonialisierung*. Hamburg 1966
- Bericht von der Verwüstung der westindischen Länder*. Frankfurt / Main 1981
- Fanon, Frantz: *Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press 1973
- Friedman, Dan: *The Cultural Politics of Heiner Müller*. Cambridge 2007
- Gilman, Sander: *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany*. Boston 1982
- Grimm, Reinhold and Jost Hermand (Ed.) *Blacks and German Culture Wisconsin* 1986
- Hall, Stuart: *Neue Ethnizitäten*, In: Uwe Wirth (Hg.) *Kulturwissenschaften- Eine Auswahl grundlegender Texte*. Frankfurt/ Main 2008
- Hörnigk, Frank: *Erinnerungen an Revolutionen: Zu Entwicklungstendenzen in der Dramatik Heiner Müllers, Peter Hacks' und Volker Brauns am Ende der 70er Jahre*. In: *Tendenzen und Beispiele*. Hrsg. Von Hans Kaufmann. Leipzig 1981
- Horn, Peter: *Heinrich von Kleists Erzählungen. Eine Einführung*. Königstein/Ts. 1978
- Huntington, Samuel P.: *The Clash of Civilizations and the remaking of World Order*. New York 1996
- Inauen, Yasmine: *Dramaturgie der Erinnerung – Geschichte, Gedächtnis, Körper bei Heiner Mueller*. Staufenburg Verlag
- James, C.L.R.: *Schwarze Jakobiner*. Köln 1984
- Kaufmann, Hans: *Aufsätze über Anna Seghers und ihr Werk*. Berlin 1960
- Kant, Immanuel: *Was ist Aufklärung? Thesen und Definitionen*, hrsgv. Erhard Bahr, Stuttgart 1974
- Labrousse, Gerd: *Heiner Müller-Problemen und Perspektiven*. Rodopi 2000.
- Lahaye, Birgit: *Pirating history- die Darstellung des haitianischen Unabhängigkeitskampfes in der Erzählliteratur*. Münster 2003
- Lazarus, Neil (Ed.): *Postcolonial Literary Studies*. Cambridge 2004
- Lehmann, Hans-Thies: *Dramatische Form und Revolution in Georg Büchners 'Dantons Tod' und Heiner Müllers 'Der Auftrag'*. In: *Georg Büchner: Dantons Tod: Die Trauerarbeit im Schnen*. Hrsg. v. peter von Becker. Frankfurt 1980
- Loomba, Ania: *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*. Routledge 1998
- Maurer, Emil H.: *Der schwarze Revolutionär: Touissant Louverture*. Meisenheim/ Glan 1950
- Müller-Seidel, Walter (Hg.): *Versehen und Erkennen. Eine Studie über Heinrich von Kleist*. 3. Auflage. Köln 1961
- Onana, Marie Biloa: *Der Sklavenaufstand von Haiti: Ethnische Differenz und Humanitätsideale in der Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Köln/ Weimar 2010
- Osterhammel, Juergen: *Kulturelle Grenzen in der Expansion Europas*, In: *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats*. Goettingen 2003
- Sareika, Rdriger: *Die dritte Welt in der westdeutschen Literatur der 60er Jahre*. Frankfurt 1980
- Said, Edward W.: *Orientalism*. 1978
- Sauer, Klaus: *Anna Seghers*. München 1978
- Schmitt, Richard: *Racism and Objectification –Reflections on Themes from Fanon*. In Lewis R. Gordon, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting and Renee T. White (Ed.), *Fanon : A critical Reader*, Oxford 1996
- Schuppenhauer, Nadja: *Die veränderte Rezeption der Haitianischen Revolution im Zuge des postcolonial turn: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*. GRIN Verlag 2003.
- Stoddard, T.L.: *The French Revolution in San Domingo*. New York 1914
- Todorov, Tzvetan; *Die Eroberung Amerikas. Das Problem des Anderen*. Frankfurt/ Main 1985
- Wichmann, Thomas: *Heinrich von Kleist*. Stuttgart 1988
- Williams, Patrick: *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*. New York 1994
- Witsch & Kiepenheuer: *Heiner Mueller: Krieg ohne Schlacht-Leben in zwei Diktaturen*. Koeln 1992
- Angress, Ruth. K: *Kleist's Treatment of Imperialism: 'Die Hermannschlacht' and 'Die Verlobung von St. Domingo'*. In: *Monatshefte*. Vol 69, No. 1, 1977. S. 17-33
- Barnett, David: *Literature versus Theatre. Textual Problems and Theatrical Realization in the Later Plays of Heiner Müller*. *German Studies Review*. Vol. 24, No. 3 (Oct., 2001), pp. 666-668

*1st International Conference on Foreign Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics  
May 5-7 2011 Sarajevo*

- Berding, H.: Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels auf dem Wiener Kongreß 1814/15. In: Historische Zeitschrift (1974)
- Bernd, Fischer: Zur politischen Dimension der Ethik in Kleists 'Die Verlobung von St. Domingo'. In: Dirk Grathoff(Hrsg): Heinrich von Kleist. Studien zu Werk u. Wirkung. Opladen 1988. S.248-262
- Bertram, Christian: Im Auftrag ohne Auftrag. In: Theatre heute 3/1980 S. 43
- Carl-Hermann, Middelanis: Blending with Motifs and Colors: Haitian History Interpreted by Edouard Duval Carrie. Journal of Germanic Studies. Small Axe - Number 18 (Volume 9, Number 2), September 2005, pp. 109-123
- Cultural Critique, No. 6 Spring 1987." The Nature and Context of minority Discourse".Ed. by Abdel Jan Mohammed& David Lloyd
- Enzensberger, Hans Magnus: Europäische Peripherie. In: Kursbuch 2 August 1965. S. 154-173
- Enzensberger, Hans Magnus: Peter Weiss und andere. In: Kursbuch 6 Juli 1966. S.175
- Fehervary, Helen (1998): Landscapes of an "Auftrag". In: New German Critique. Winter (1998) S.115-132.
- Gilman, Sander: The Aesthetics of Blackness in Heinrich v. Kleist's 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo'. In: MLN 90, 1975 S. 661-672
- Gugelberger, George. M.: "Cric?"-"Crac"! Vier literarische Versuche, mit dem Kolonialismus umzugehen. Monatshefte. Vol. 85. No.2 ( Summer 1993) S. 234-236
- Günther, K.: Die Konzeption von Kleists' Die Verlobung von St. Domingo'. In: Euphorion 17, 1910. S.313-323
- Hahne, O.: Die Entstehung von Kleist's 'Die Verlobung von St. Domingo'. In: Euphorion 33, 1921. S. 233-254
- Irele, Abiola: Negritude-Literature and Ideology. Journal of Modern African Studies. Vol 3. No. 4. 1965. S. 499-526
- Martin, James P: Reading Race in Kleist's "Die Verlobung von St. Domingo". Monatshefte , Volume 100, number 1, Spring 2008 S. 63.
- Martini, Fritz:Heinrich von Kleist und die geschichtliche Welt. In: Germanische Studien. Heft 225. 1940
- McCloy, S.T.: The Race Question in Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century France. In: Atlantic Quarterly (1961)
- Müller-Salget, Klaus: Das Doppeldeutigkeit in Kleists Erzählungen. In: Müller-Seidel, Walter(Hrsg.): Kleists Aktualität. Neue Aufsätze u. Essays. 1966-1978. Darmstadt 1981. S. 167-199
- Musgrave, Marian E.: Anna Seghers' 'Karibische Geschichten' and the tradition of Slavery Literature. In: American Association of Teachers of German: Proceedings of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting. Edited By Reinhold Grimm et.al. Philadelphia1975
- Quartey, Seth : Africa in German Literature 1880 and After; Representation of Africa and Politics of German Colonialism in Africa 1810 and After, In: Developement and Colonialism. February 28, 2005
- Reinhardt, Thomas: 200 Years of Forgetting
- g: Hushing up the Haitian Revolution. Journal of Black Studies. 2005. S. 246-261
- Said, Edward W.: Orientalism Reconsidered. In: Race and Class. Autumn 1985 No. 2 P. 1-17
- Teraoka, Arlene A.: Der Auftrag und Die Massnahme-Models of Revolution in Heiner Müller and Bertolt Brecht. The German Quarterly, Vol. 59. No. 1 (Winter 1986) S. 65-84
29. Wende, Waltraud (1998): "Überfahrt" von Anna Seghers. Liebesgeschichte, Zeitporträt und Erzählung über das Erzählen. In: Euphorion 1 (1998), S.25-46.
30. Witkowski, Wolfgang: Justice and Loyalty-Kleist's Die Verlobung von St. Domingo. Journal of Black Studies. Vol 23, No. 2, Special Issue: The image of Africa in German Society
31. Worsley, Peter: Colonialism and Categories. Excerpts from P. Worsley, The third World, Wedenfeld and Nicolson, 1964 S.25-28