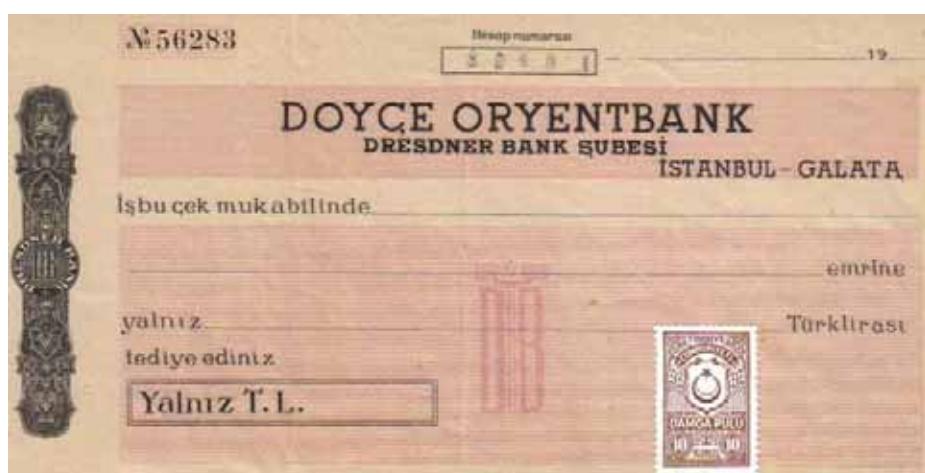


Wolfgang G. Schwanitz: *Changing or Unknown Identities? The example of the Deutsche Orientbank AG in Cairo and Alexandria (1906-1931)*.

In: Joachim Heidrich (ed.): *Changing Identities. The transformation of Asian and African societies under colonialism*, Berlin 1994, p. 401-413.



Scheck der Deutschen Orientbank in der Türkei, wo die Bank nach rückwirkender Übernahme durch die Dresdner Bank AG 1931 ihren Namen *Deutsche Orientbank* beibehalten hat im Gegensatz zu den Filialen in Ägypten, die fortan unter *Dresdner Bank* firmiert haben. Formell wurde die 1906 gegründete Deutsche Orientbank 1959 aufgelöst.

Der nachfolgende Beitrag erschien wie oben angegeben erstmals 1994 in Berlin und wird hier mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Klaus-Schwarz-Verlages reproduziert.

Changing or Unknown Identities? The example of the Deutsche Orientbank AG in Cairo and Alexandria (1906-1931)

Wolfgang Schwanitz

This paper seeks to provide a *socio-historical approach* to a part of the history in the German-Egyptian relations in the first half of this century. Using the *Deutsche Orientbank AG* (1906-1931) and the cotton company of *Hugo Lindemann* as points of departure, it serves to elucidate some of the interactions in the bilateral relations alongwith their shifting structures and ideas on industrialisation as a major question in search of identity and as one example - away from the 'industry-metropole / agriculture-periphery'.¹ It has to do with the historical patterns in the German-Egyptian relations. Searching in archives of Berlin, Bonn, Potsdam, and Cairo,² I will plumb the depths of the interactions³ with the help of eight selected historical documents.

In order to discover historically the reasons for German co-responsibility for the today's Egyptian affairs,⁴ I raised the following question: How did the *Deutsche Orientbank AG, al-Bank ash-Sharqî al-Almâni*, operate on the Nile from 1906 to 1931 - in view of semi-colonial status of the country which was controlled by Great Britain?

It may be mentioned that the Deutsche Orientbank has scarcely been investigated. Not even an article was available.⁵ This is remarkable because this bank rose to the number one position amongst the nine German regional banks.⁶ I will, therefore, elucidate the bank's history in a first short overview within six steps, in order to then problematise its socio-historical effects.

A view on the past history before the 20th century

German-Egyptian relations came to fruition after the turn of the century. Before that time the country on the Nile played a secondary role in German foreign affairs⁷ as Egypt's road to statehood under the rule of Muhammed 'Alî (1769-1849)⁸ failed precisely as a result of West European intervention. However, the cotton monoculture and the plans for the Suez Canal became a millstone on the throat of local agriculture. The period of German statehood (Gruenderzeit) was characterised by new foreign policy interests. Egypt became more significant as a function of the Suez Canal in 1869.

In a handbook Ewald Banse wrote forty years later: 'If Egypt was a corner state ('Winkelstaat') until 1869, if not even a locked country ('Sackland'), its general

economic position has shifted completely since then. As a result of its possessions of the Atlantic-Indian international canal it has become one of the most important areas of the earth.⁹ In addition, Egypt's decline within the Ottoman Empire unleashed rivalries amongst the Europeans.¹⁰ A new situation arose as Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 and later declared it to be a protectorate of the Crown.¹¹

Germans supplied three percent of passages through the Suez Canal. In 1881 *Glaefke & Hennigs* of Hamburg founded the first German *Orient-Linie* which was granted free passage by the 1888 Canal Convention, and was followed in 1889 by the *Levante-Linie*. Nine hundred Germans on the Nile were not of great significance. In the meantime Bernhard Fuerst von Buelow (1849-1929) was in search of 'our place in the sun', displayed by Emperor Wilhelm II (1859-1941) in 1898 in Jerusalem. In 1884 Berlin received a seat for twenty years to steward the national debt in Cairo, which was assumed by Ottomar von Mohl and Freiherr von Richthofen. They brought the banks in their wake: *Oppenheim, Dehlbrueck, Rothschild, Stern, Mendelssohn, Bleichroeder, and Warschauer*. In 1898 both of them advanced the establishment of Egypt's National Bank, *Al-Bank Al-Ahli*.

In 1895 a German consortium organised by Robert Warschauer received a railroad concession for the first on the Nile. Locomotive companies followed, e.g. *Henschel & Sohn* and the *Friedrich Krupp AG*. The first German-Egyptian commercial treaty was agreed upon in 1892. By 1900 the percentage of German participation in Egyptian trade had grown to three percent. Had Egypt earlier served as a means to disrupt the 'British-French axis', it now attained economic significance in its own right. Freiherr von Richthofen and Graf von Hatzfeld, consul-general as of 1908, supplied some orders.

The AEG¹² laid the Cairo-Alexandria telephone cable. German foreign trade grew to six percent. German orient-groups arose: in 1899 the *Deutsch-Orientalische-Exportgesellschaft*, in 1907 the *Deutsches Orient-Handels-Syndicat*, in 1910 the *Deutsch-Oesterreichischer Orient Verein*, in 1912 the *Deutscher Wirtschaftsverband Balkan/Orient*. Several of them went bankrupt, and others were well established like the *Tropen-Pflanzen-Gesellschaft*, Dresden-Ismaelia and the *Aegyptische Frucht- und Waldfarm-Gesellschaft*, Cairo.

The establishment of the Deutsche Orientbank AG

For this purpose the Dresden banker Herbert M. Gutman, director of the *Dresdner Bank*, founded in Berlin 1871, invited German banks to a meeting in 1905. Only the *Deutsche Bank*¹³ did not send a representative. They were later joined by: Czechs, Austrians, Swiss, the Dutch, Greeks, and the French (see bank's board in document 1).

In Turkey some affiliates of the *Banque d'Orient* had been taken over and in Egypt the *Bank Hasan Bâshâ Safîd* (see the first banking statement 1906 in document 2).

In addition, Germans assisted by well established German companies in Egypt like the cotton company *Lindemann & Co.*, and, later the *Upper and Lower Egypt Cotton Trading Cy.* in Alexandria. The brothers Hugo and Otto Lindemann operated a press which formed cotton into forms which were ready for shipping. Soon, only a few years later, they provided half of the cotton exports on the Nile. So Hugo Lindemann became a co-founder of the Deutsche Orientbank AG which formed in Berlin and Cairo on 3 January 1906 by the *Dresdner Bank*, *A. Schaffhausenscher Bankverein* and *Nationalbank für Deutschland*.

The Pre-War growth of the Deutsche Orientbank AG

After 1907 branch offices in Constantinople, Brussa, Alexandria, and Cairo belonged, in addition to Berlin and Hamburg, to the Deutsche Orientbank. They were followed by Tanger and Casablanca, Mersina and Dedeagatsch, and al-Minyâ, Tântâ, Mansûra, Banî Suwaif, as well as Damanhûr on the Nile. By doubling its capital to a total of 32 million Marks in 1910 the Deutsche Orientbank advanced to the forefront of all nine German regional banks.

<i>The nine German regional banks</i>	<i>capital in million Marks</i>
Deutsche Orientbank	32,0
Deutsch-Ueberseeische Bank	30,0
Deutsch-Südamerikanische Bank	20,0
Bank für Chile und Deutschland	10,0
Brasilianische Bank für Deutschland	10,0
Deutsch-Asiatische Bank	7,5
Deutsche Palästina-Bank	5,0
Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Bank	2,0
Deutsch-Westafrikanische Bank	1,0

Berliner Börsen-Courier, 21.9.1910; Reichsanzeiger, 5.10.1910.

In 1911 the Khedive 'Abbâs Hilmi (1874-1944) granted permission for an Deutsche Orientbank subsidiary, the *Egyptische Hypotheken Bank AG*, under Carl Hasselbach, Yûsuf Aslân Bâshâ Qattâwî and Muhammad Tal'at Bey Harb, via the Dresdner Bank, Nationalbank fuer Deutschland, Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft, A. Schaaffhausenscher Bankverein and Schweizer Bankverein.

In 1912 the Deutsche Orientbank established the *Kazan Carpet Co.* in London with offices in Istanbul and New York. In 1914 the Deutsche Orientbank took over the *Deutsche Palaestinabank* and its branch offices in Jerusalem and Damascus.¹⁴

In contrast to the British, it included more Egyptians like Léonidas Zariffi and Aristoteles Marcarian on its board. But in sharp contrast to this even in 1914 a kind of German antisemitism rose since the diplomatic envoy in Cairo Graf von Pannwitz noted: civil servants of the Deutsche Orientbank were supposedly Jews in the main.¹⁵

The America-Russia-Excursion in the First World War

At those times the Germans were not doing too well on the Nile. In 1915 England confiscated 'enemy property'. Seven hundred private German citizens¹⁶ whose property was confiscated were included on Lord Allenby's index (as far as the liquidation of the *Egyptische Hypotheken Bank* 1916 and 1918 see document 3). In general, the majority of Germans had to go to Malta. In 1919 some of them resumed their business: with a British stamp in their passports.

Egypt, however, revolted against the British.¹⁷ In 1920 many nationalists went to study in Germany.¹⁸ Their influence helped as well so that Sir Lloyd George revoked the trade boycott with the 'German enemy' and the protectorate (18 December 1914-28 February 1922), and permitted the *Independent Kingdom of Egypt*. Soon London warned in its reports: the Germans were returning with 'advertising and quality work': *Reidel*, *Britz*; *Badische Analin & Soda-fabrik*, Ludwigshafen; *Wordlich*, Stettin; *Bosch*, *Krupp*, *Borsig* and *Opel*.

The Deutsche Orientbank lost '30 million Gold marks' in Egypt and Turkey during the war. After the increase to 300 million paper Marks Erich Alexander and Henry Nathan made preparations for a new company in New York in 1919, and founded *The Dutch Staheeff Co.* in Den Haag in 1920. Batolin, head of *Ivan Staheeff & Co.*, was a partner of the 'Handels- und Industrie-AG' for two million Gulden. His bank was the *Russisch-Asiatische Bank*, Paris and London, with branch offices in China, Japan, and India.

Erich Alexander and Henry Nathan dined with Mr. Batolin in Berlin's Kaiserhof in 1921. At that time it was recorded that: Batolin heads the *Staheeff* company since 25 years. Formerly in the business of grain, industry, railway interests, and the Russian textile industry belonged to it. Though he is the descendant of peasants, speaks only Russian, Vladimir I. Lenin (1870-1924) asked for him as the new Russian commissioner for nutritional questions. As he was then in so much danger, he left Petersburg and went to America. There he became associated with 'Percy Rockefeller and the Guggenheims'.

In 1921 the Deutsche Orientbank bought then him a villa in Berlin in the Motzstraße for four million Marks. But everything collapsed in 1923: Mr. Batolin finally lost everything he owned in the USSR.

Bank's growth between the two World Wars

In mid-1925 diplomatic envoy Mertens and Egypt's Prime Minister Ahmad Bāshā Siwar concluded a contract in Cairo on the establishment of business. The attorney Fritz Dahm was of the opinion that: before the war Germans had privileges in the Turkish area of sovereignty: freedom of trade, residency protection, and non-applicability of national laws. This was supplanted by the Versailles Treaty. Although privileges became null and void, the treaty on the establishment of business would, nonetheless, be valid. It was now possible to establish business for any purpose and to trade.

On 1 May 1925 Deutsche Orientbank branch offices reopened in Cairo and in Alexandria. Before the diplomatic envoy Graf von Podewils reported: 'government fear of a bolshevist wave' after the March strikes. Advocates like Antūn Marūn allegedly brought seeds, 'which in my opinion makes recognisable the vain attempt to bring about a socialist and communist movement with one jump over thousands of years, whose threads clear point to Moscow.' *Egypt for the Egyptians, nationalisation and industrialisation* became slogans. But a joint German-Egyptian office for industry, should be formed by *Misr Bank*, founded in 1920 under Muhammad Tal'at Bey Harb, and Hamburger banks failed because some Egyptians did not like to provoke the British.

On the other hand, Egypt hosted international fairs from 1926 to 1933: industry and agriculture; shipping; automobiles; cotton and statistics; tropical medicine; patent law; journalism; music; railways. The Germans telegraphed that 'the Arab is for the Germans and prefers German commodities to those of the British because of antipathy to the British'¹¹⁹. Is it possible that a body of knowledge and ideas was conveyed in this tug-of-war? What significance does this have and the fact that Egyptians studied in Germany for new approaches to Egyptian problems?

Minimum wages obliged the government to subsidise cotton prices. The Deutsche Orientbank advanced four million LE as a consortium, especially since 3 December 1926 was a day of misfortune for the Alexandrian cotton market. A law which was passed required reduction of the useful area. The German-Egyptian commercial treaty took effect as of 1927. Thus the Germans were able to outdo their status from 1914 and became - according to the British - Egypt's second largest trading partner.

The Deutsche Orientbank, with a capital of 10 million Reichsmark, established a *German Coal Depot* in Bûr Saïd. Half of the shares were assumed by the Hamburg Coal Depot (*Hamburger Kohle Depot*) and the remaining shares were

assumed by consul Pauling, Hasan Bâshâ Sa‘îd, ex-Interior Minister Ismâ‘il Bâshâ Sidqî, the Suez consul Meinecke, and the Alexandrian Deutsche Orientbank head Erdoes.

The End of the Deutsche Orientbank AG

'German bank holidays and crises' lead to 'money scarcity and hard currency hoarding' in the Deutsche Orientbank, although it was third amongst 19 foreign banks after the *Al-Bank Al-Ahlî* and the *Bank Misr*. 'with 20 branches for cotton'. The anxiety with the German Mark was imponderable. Commissioner Craig checked out the Deutsche Orientbank. Up to August 1931 for the bank it was not possible to obtain funds from Berlin. Its customers stormed *Barclays Bank*. The bankruptcy judge closed the Deutsche Orientbank once and for all on at the end of August 1931.

The risky cotton business was excluded and the name of the *Dresdner Bank*, of which the German government was a principal share-holder, became accepted as of 1 September 1931 for the former Deutsche Orientbank AG and their Egyptian branches. But in Turkey the Dresdner Bank kept on the original name 'Deutsche Orientbank AG' for some years.

Now business surrounded, on a compensatory basis, 'nitrogen or paints in exchange for cotton', with twelve cotton businesses in Bremen and *IG Farben Co.*²⁰ The twenty-fifth year of business, 1930, was the last for the Deutsche Orientbank.

Focussing on Egypt Hermann Joseph Abs united several former Orient bankers in the 1930s again as well as in the early 1950s but without using the old name Deutsche Orientbank AG.

The period between the wars²¹ was the era of national institutionalisation²² on the Nile. As the population rose from 1917 to 1937 from 13 million to 16 million, and the multiply used area stagnated though at eight million Faddân²³, the problem grew. In 1936 W. Cleland, professor at the American University of Cairo²⁴ elucidated the problem with his work *The Population Problem in Egypt*. Grand mufti ‘Abd al-Magîd Sâlim permitted a temporary period of contraception based on the acquiescence of the husband under Islamic law. In 1937 the first conference on birth control convened in Cairo and recommended population control on the Nile.

In the 1930s the influence of Nazism on the Egyptians rose.²⁵ In the first Cairo *NSDAP* report in 1935 we read that Alexandria 'is a bastion of Jewishness like no other city in the world'. Germans, according to Mr. Bisce from Cairo, should replace them. The German foreign currency restrictions alone limited exports. In this case the *Dresdner Bank* was at work, for the German proportion of cotton exports was 1.4 percent, compared to the 'Jewish proportion' of 12.9 percent. The pharmaceutical business would be dominated by the *Bayer* and *IG Farben*

Industries. Moreover, *Schering-Kahlbaum, Merck, I.D. Riedel, Gehe, Kroll* and *von Heyden* had offices here. However, this NS propaganda did not help very much.

On 3 September 1939 Egypt's Prime Minister 'Ali Mâhir broke off relations to Germany 'because of the German-Polish crisis' and the obligations arising out of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

Conclusions from the example of the Deutsche Orientbank AG

The Deutsche Orientbank illuminated unequal relations. While Germans with an ample capital survived the wars and crises, suffering experienced by the Egyptians was one-sided. Division of the world economy into industrial centres and agrarian peripheries grew hierarchically and asymmetrically. The Deutsche Orientbank was exceptional because it accepted Egyptians on all of its governing bodies. It became multinational, an original form of the joint ventures, which the technology push forty years later so prevalent in Western Europe, the U.S.A., and Japan.

This mixed form also served the upper classes, which were often comprised of minorities. They wanted industry on the Nile.²⁶ Western Europe's and Germany's industrial model acted as the godfather as far as Muhammad Tal'at Bey Harb was concerned, advocate of the Deutsche Orientbank subsidiary *Egyptische Hypotheken Bank* and founder of the first national *Bank Misr* in 1920.

As far as the familiar and the foreign make up social history, the question arises: were foreign means of development copied in the British protectorate, under the influence of new powers from Europe, North America, and Japan? For between the wars, as Egypt established itself as a nation, the Germans, Americans, Soviets, and Japanese appeared as young rivals. The Germans considered whether one 'should bring means of production to the Nile', which could have brought them more competition. The envoys and the Deutsche Orientbank were of an affirmative opinion: otherwise it would fall into the hands of others, especially since a German bonus was effective against the British.

Egypt's attempt to find new paths under Muhammad 'Ali rebuffed West Europeans. They turned the country to monoculture in the agrarian-industrial division of labour. At the turn of the century it became a net importer of foodstuffs.²⁷ In the new state after the World War, even without the semi-colonial possessions of the British and with the second global division of labour, a partial industrialisation began at the company level - see the Lindemann brothers on this point. This appealed in reverse to the nationalists. But where did the features of the Egyptians lead to who studied in Germany and were interested in discovering their own way; or the other estrangements like the Nazi hate for the Jews,²⁸ Soviet ideology or the oil interests of the U.S.A?

Are the opinions of some Egyptians correct who today maintain that such influences from Europe inhibited original thinking on the Nile about indigenous

alternatives for solving the problems of population and identity for example? Were indigenous solutions suppressed by adaption of Western European concepts and the modelling of the country according to British standards?²⁹

It cannot be the task here to contort the 'historical wheel' by assigning any kind of blame. But it should remain in view that the Egyptians who were economically in a world-wide subordinate position had to react to historical processes in Europe, like the War and Erwin Rommel's 'campaign' in al-Alamain in 1942³⁰ showed. Thus there was not much energy left over for regulating the problems in searching of identity.

Aufsichtsrat
der
Deutschen Orientbank Aktiengesellschaft

Herbert M. Gutmann, Direktor der Dresdner Bank, Berlin, Vorsitzender.
Dr. Jakob Goldschmidt, Geschäftsinhaber der Darmstädter und Nationalbank
Kommanditgesellschaft auf Aktien, Berlin, stellvertretender Vorsitzender.
Dr. Paul v. Schwabach, i. Fa. S. Bleichröder, Berlin, stellvertretender Vorsitzender.
Fritz Andreea, i. Fa. Hardy & Co., G. m. b. H., Berlin.
Paul Briske, i. Fa. Briske & Prohl, Berlin.
Kurt Glogowski, i. Fa. Glogowski & Co., Berlin.
Fritz Gutmann, i. Fa. Proehl & Gutmann, Amsterdam.
Carl Hagen, i. Fa. Hagen & Co., Berlin.
Dr. Louis Hagen, Geh. Kommerzienrat, i. Fa. A. Levy, Köln a. Rh.
S. E. Hassan Pascha Said, Kairo.
Dr. Georg Hirschland, i. Fa. Simon Hirschland, Essen.
Arndt v. Holtzendorff, (Hamburg-Amerika-Linie), Gr. Hansdorf bei Hamburg.
Hugo Lindemann, i. Fa. Lindemann & Co. und Upper and Lower Egypt Cotton Trading Cy.,
Alexandrien.
Dr. Karl Melchior, i. Fa. M. M. Warburg & Co., Hamburg.
Dr. Gottlieb Morawetz, Direktor der Böhmisichen Unionbank, Prag.
Freiherr Simon Alfred v. Oppenheim, i. Fa. Sal. Oppenheim jun. & Co., Köln a. Rh.
Samuel Ritscher, Direktor der Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft A. G., Berlin.
Curt Sobernheim, Direktor der Commerz- und Privatbank A. G., Berlin.
Dr. Heinrich v. Stein, Konsul, i. Fa. J. H. Stein, Köln a. Rh.

Generaldirektion

Dr. jur. Erich Alexander	Curt Lebrecht
Stellvertretend: Erich Hanson	

Filialdirektion

Hamburg

E. Wilberg	E. Flörke
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Türkei (Konstantinopel und Smyrna)

C. Lambiki	J. Posth
------------	----------

Smyrna

M. Politi	Chahine Zadé Sélaheddine Fevzi
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Egypten (Kairo und Alexandrien)

Hassan Pascha Said als Delegierter des Aufsichtsrats	
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A. D. Marcarian	Dr. H. O. Schultz
K. Erdöes	

Deutsche Orientbank

Aktiengesellschaft

Berlin

Hamburg — Constantinopel — Brussa — Alexandrien — Cairo

Geschäfts-Bericht

der

Deutschen Orientbank Aktiengesellschaft

über das

erste Geschäftsjahr vom 1. Januar 1906 bis 31. Dezember 1906.

Das erste Geschäftsjahr der am 3. Januar 1906 gegründeten, am 20. Januar in das Handelsregister eingetragenen Deutschen Orientbank Aktiengesellschaft war vornehmlich der Organisation und dem Ausbau des Geschäfts gewidmet.

Die von der Banque d'Orient übernommenen Niederlassungen in Hamburg und Constantinopel haben wir weiter ausgestaltet.

Im März 1906 haben wir in Alexandrien und im Juni 1906 in Kairo und Brussa Niederlassungen errichtet, die sich ebenfalls in befriedigender Entwicklung befinden.

Von unserem Aktienkapital von M. 16 000 000.— haben wir am 3. Januar M. 4 000 000.—, am 20. März M. 3 000 000.— und am 1. August M. 3 000 000.— eingefordert, sodass gegenwärtig M. 10 000 000.— unseres Kapitales eingezahlt sind.

Der Reingewinn hierauf beträgt laut Gewinn- und Verlust-Konto M. 392 814,31. Wir schlagen vor, hiervon M. 19 640,71 der gesetzlichen Reserve zuzuführen, M. 301 666,66 als 4% Dividende auf das Durchschnittskapital von M. 7 541 666,66 zu verteilen und den Rest von M. 71 506,94 auf neue Rechnung vorzutragen.

BERLIN, im März 1907.

DER VORSTAND.

H. M. Gutmann. Zahn. Mosevius. Thomas.

Vorstehender Bericht, sowie die von dem Vorstand vorgelegte Bilanz und Gewinn- und Verlust-Rechnung sind von dem Aufsichtsrat geprüft worden, der nichts dagegen zu erinnern hat und den Anträgen der Direktion zustimmt.

Nach § 19 des Statutes scheiden die gesamten Mitglieder des ersten Aufsichtsrates nach der ordentlichen Generalversammlung aus.

BERLIN, im März 1907.

Document 2

DER AUFSICHTSRAT.

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Deutsche Orientbank Aktiengesellschaft

Gegründet von Preußischer Bank, d. Schaffhauser Bankirur und Nationalbank für Deutschland.

Aktienkapital Mk. 320000.

TELEGRAMM-ADRESSE :
DORIBANK.

CENTRALE: BERLIN.

CODE 5TH EDITION A.B.C.
LIEBER'S CODE.
PETERSON'S INTERNATIONAL
BANKING CODE
BAUERS CODE

ZWEIGNIEDERLASSUNGEN:

**ADANA
ADRIANOPEL
ALEPPO
ALEXANDRIEN
BENI-SUEF
BRUSSA
CAIRO
COPROPHANTES
DAMASCUS
DEUTSCHENWASSE
CONSTANTINOPEL
GALATA UND STAMBUL
DEUTSCHEINHABER PER
UNIVERSITÄT
DAMANHOUR
HAMBURG
MANSOURAH
MERSINA
ASSETTEREN,
TARSUS UND ANTAKIA
MINIEH
ZANJAH**

Dr. A/Sk.

Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft

Berlin W.

Wie Ihnen bekannt geworden ist, hat die englische Regierung die Zweigniederlassungen der deutschen Banken in London veranlaßt, ihren Hauptniederlassungen mitzuteilen, daß alle in London bei den deutschen Banken hinterlegten Wertpapiere auf den "Public Trustee" übertragen werden.

Die deutschen Banken haben hiergegen unter Unterstützung der deutschen Behörden einen Protest in England eingereicht, mussten jedoch ~~insistieren~~ jede Verantwortung für das weitere Schicksel der Papiere ablehnen.

Mit Rücksicht Jerauf,dass die in jer Anlage verzeichnetnen Effekten bei der Dresdner Bank London liegen,müssen wir unsrerseits ebenfalls jede Verantwortung für das weitere Schicksal Ihrer Effekten ablehnen.

Hochachtungsvoll
DEUTSCHE ORIENTBANK
AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT

Document 3

Notes

- 1 Thomas W. Kramer, Deutsch-Ägyptische Beziehungen. In: Heinz Schamp (ed.), Ägypten, Tübingen-Basel 1977, p. 553.
- 2 Historical details are from the Archives: Bundesarchiv Potsdam, Auswärtiges Amt 09.01, Deutsche Reichsbank 25.01, Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft 80 Ha1 VFII, Bd.1, Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee 61 Ko2 und Reichswirtschaftsammt 31.01; Archiv DDR-Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Berlin, L187; Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, Berlin, ZK-Abteilung Internationale Verbindungen IV/2/20, Nachlässe Otto Grotewohl, NL90, Walter Ulbricht, NL182; Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn, Orientalia Generalia 13, Bd. 1-3, Abteilungen I, III, V und VII; Ägyptisches Nationalarchiv Dār al-Watā'iq al-Qaumīya, Kairo, Bestände Staatssouveränität; see also Wolfgang Schwanitz, SED-Nahostpolitik als Chefsache. Die ZK-Abteilung Internationale Verbindungen 1946-1970 sowie die Nachlässe von Otto Grotewohl und Walter Ulbricht. In: asien, afrika, lateinamerika, Berlin 21(1993)1, pp. 63-90; Das Niederländische Institut für Ägyptologie und Arabistik sowie das Nationalarchiv in Kairo. In: ibid., 21(1993)4, pp. 411-415.
- 3 On Arabs, Jews and Germans: mutual perceptions see also: Wolfgang Schwanitz (ed.), Jenseits der Legenden: Araber, Juden, Deutsche, Berlin 1994.
- 4 Such as Anita Müller, Schweizer in Alexandrien 1914-1963. Zur ausländischen Präsenz in Ägypten, Stuttgart 1992; see also asien, afrika, lateinamerika, 21(1993)3, p. 310-313.
- 5 Behind the Deutsche Orientbank AG: Allgemeine Deutsche Creditanstalt, Leipzig, and Dresdner Bank, Berlin. See Meyers Reisebücher: Ägypten, Leipzig Wien, 1914, p. 211, 238, 333; for an overview on the Deutsche Orientbank AG see: Wie deutsche Gesandte in Kairo und Alexandrien nach Berlin über Ägypter, Amerikaner, Briten, Franzosen, Russen, Japaner und Juden berichteten (1919-1939). In: Schwanitz (ed.), Jenseits der Legenden..., pp. 23-59.
- 6 Cf. Berliner Börsen-Courier, 21.9.1910; Reichsanzeiger, Berlin, 5.10.1910, 12.11.1910.
- 7 Graf Ernst zu Reventlow, Deutschlands auswärtige Politik 1888-1914, Berlin 1917; Otto Hammann, Deutsche Weltpolitik 1890-1912, Berlin 1925; Egon Eißmann, Die deutsche Wirtschaftsexpansion in Ägypten 1871-1914 als Komponente des deutsch-englischen Gegensatzes, Leipzig 1958; Martin Kröger, 'Le bâton égyptien': Der ägyptische Knüppel - die Rolle der 'ägyptischen Frage' in der deutschen Außenpolitik von 1875/76 bis zur 'Entente Cordiale', Frankfurt/M.-New York-Paris 1991.
- 8 Adolf Hasenclever, Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert: 1789-1914, Halle 1917; Alexander Schölich, Ägypten den Ägyptern!, Zürich-Freiburg 1972; Wolfgang Schwanitz, Der Reformer Muhammad 'Ali aus ägyptischer Sicht. In: Gerhard Höpp (ed.), Entwicklung durch Reform - Asien und Afrika im 19. Jahrhundert. In: asien, afrika, lateinamerika, (1990), pp. 225-247.
- 9 Cf. Ewald Banse, Ägypten - eine Landeskunde, Halle 1909, p. 58.
- 10 Peter von Sivers, Die europäische Ausdehnung nach Nordafrika (1800-1900). In: Ulrich Haarmann (ed.), Geschichte der arabischen Welt, München 1991, p. 531.
- 11 Fritz Steppat, Nationalismus und Islam bei Mustafā Kāmil, Leiden 1956 (Die Welt des Islams IV(1956)4).
- 12 AEG: Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft.
- 13 See moreover Bert Schmiale, Die Deutsche Bank und Philipp Holzmann in Nahost. In: Schwanitz (ed.), Jenseits der Legenden..., pp. 60-82.

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- 14 Peter Thomsen (ed.), *Die Palästina-Literatur. Eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung mit Autoren und Sachregister*, Leipzig 1927, vol. 4: 1915-1924, pp. 506, 576.
- 15 See the overview in: Michael M. Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt 1920-1970*, New York- London 1992.
- 16 In 'all of Egypt' before the World War there were 1900 Germans belonging to the Reichs-Empire, 7000 Austrians and 700 Swiss, compared to 15,000 French, 21,000 British citizens, 35,000 Italians, 63,000 Greeks. Cf. Meyers Reisebücher: Ägypten, Leipzig-Wien 1914, p. 69; Germans also had to go to Malta during the war, so that for almost ten years there were no Germans on the Nile. They returned as of summer of 1923. In 1928 'Egyptian Germans' included over 1000 belonging to the Reichs-Empire. Cf. Alfred Kaufmann, *Ewiges Stromland: Land und Mensch in Ägypten*, Stuttgart 1929, p. 84.
- 17 Reinhard Schulze, *Kolonialisierung und Widerstand: Die ägyptischen Bauern-Revolten von 1919*. In: Alexander Schölkopf/Helmut Mejcher (ed.), *Die ägyptische Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 1992, pp. 11-54.
- 18 Gerhard Höpp, *Traditionen der ägyptischen Revolution: Ägyptische Nationalisten in Deutschland, 1920-1925*. In: Schwanitz (ed.), *Berlin-Kairo: Damals und heute. Zur Geschichte deutsch-ägyptischer Beziehungen*, Berlin 1991, pp. 72-84.
- 19 See Kaufmann, *Ewiges Stromland...*, p. 82.
- 20 Monika Friedrich, *Die Aktivitäten des deutschen Stickstoff-Syndikats in Ägypten 1924-1939*. In: *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*, Stuttgart 38(1993)1, pp. 26-48; *Die Aktivitäten der IG-Farben-Verkaufsgemeinschaft Farben in Ägypten 1925-1939*. In: *Ibid*, 35(1990)4, pp. 237-254.
- 21 Linda Schatkowski Schilcher/Claus Scharf (eds.), *Der Nahe Osten in der Zwischenkriegszeit 1919-1939*, Stuttgart 1989; Sâlim, Latifat Muhammad Sâlim, *Fârûq wa suqût al-malikîya fi misr 1936-1952*, Kairo 1989; Camilla Dawletschin-Linder, *Die Türkei und Deutschland in der Weltwirtschaftskrise 1929-1933*, Stuttgart 1989; Reinhard Schulze, *Ägypten 1936-1956: Die Nationalisierung eines kolonialen Staats*. In: Wolfgang J. Mommsen (ed.), *Das Ende der Kolonialreiche*, Frankfurt/M. 1990, pp. 134-156.
- 22 Wolfgang Schwanitz, *Ägyptens historischer Weg zum Technologie-Streit*. In: *Wissenschaft und Technik im Dienste der Dritten Welt*, Berlin 1989, pp. 146-167.
- 23 Rushdi Saïd, *Nahr an-Nil*, Kairo 1993, p. 233.
- 24 Silvia Tellenbach, *Landesbericht Ägypten*. In: Albin Eser/Hans-Georg Koch (ed.), *Schwangerschaftsabbruch im internationalen Vergleich - Empirische Grunddaten*. Teil 2, Außereuropa, Baden-Baden 1989, p. 28.
- 25 Stefan Wild, *National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939*. In: *Die Welt des Islams*, Leiden XXV(1985), pp. 126-173.
- 26 Victor Ottman, *Das Wunderland am Nil*, Berlin 1927, S. 124; Thâbit Thâbit, *Misr fi 'ahd Fû'âd al-auwal*, Kairo 1936; Nawâl Qâsim, *tatauwur as-sinâ'a al-misriyyâ mundhu 'ahd Muhammad 'Alî hata 'ahd 'Abd an-Nâsir*, Kairo 1987.
- 27 Siegmund Schilder, *Entwicklungstendenzen der Weltwirtschaft*, Berlin 1912, vol. 1, p. 274.
- 28 Such as the 'Protokolle der Weisen von Zion', which supported Gamâl 'Abd an-Nâsir 1958 in an interview with the Indian Magazin Blitz (Cairo Press Review 29.9.1958), and which are available today in central bookshops on the Nile: 'Agâg Nâwîhid, brûtûkûlat hukamâ' suhîyûn, Damaskus 1990, vol. 1, 2; see also Umberto Eco, *Das Foucaultsche Pendel*, München 1992, pp. 563-580.
- 29 Zakariyâ Fû'âd, *khutâb ila al-'aql al-'arabî*, Kairo 1990; Taufiq Ar-Rais, *al-ghurabâ' wa tanmiyat at-takhalluf*. In: *al-Ahrâm al-Iqtisâdî*, Kairo, 30.12.1991, pp. 32-34.
- 30 Heinz Tillmann, *Deutschlands Araberpolitik im zweiten Weltkrieg*, Berlin 1956.