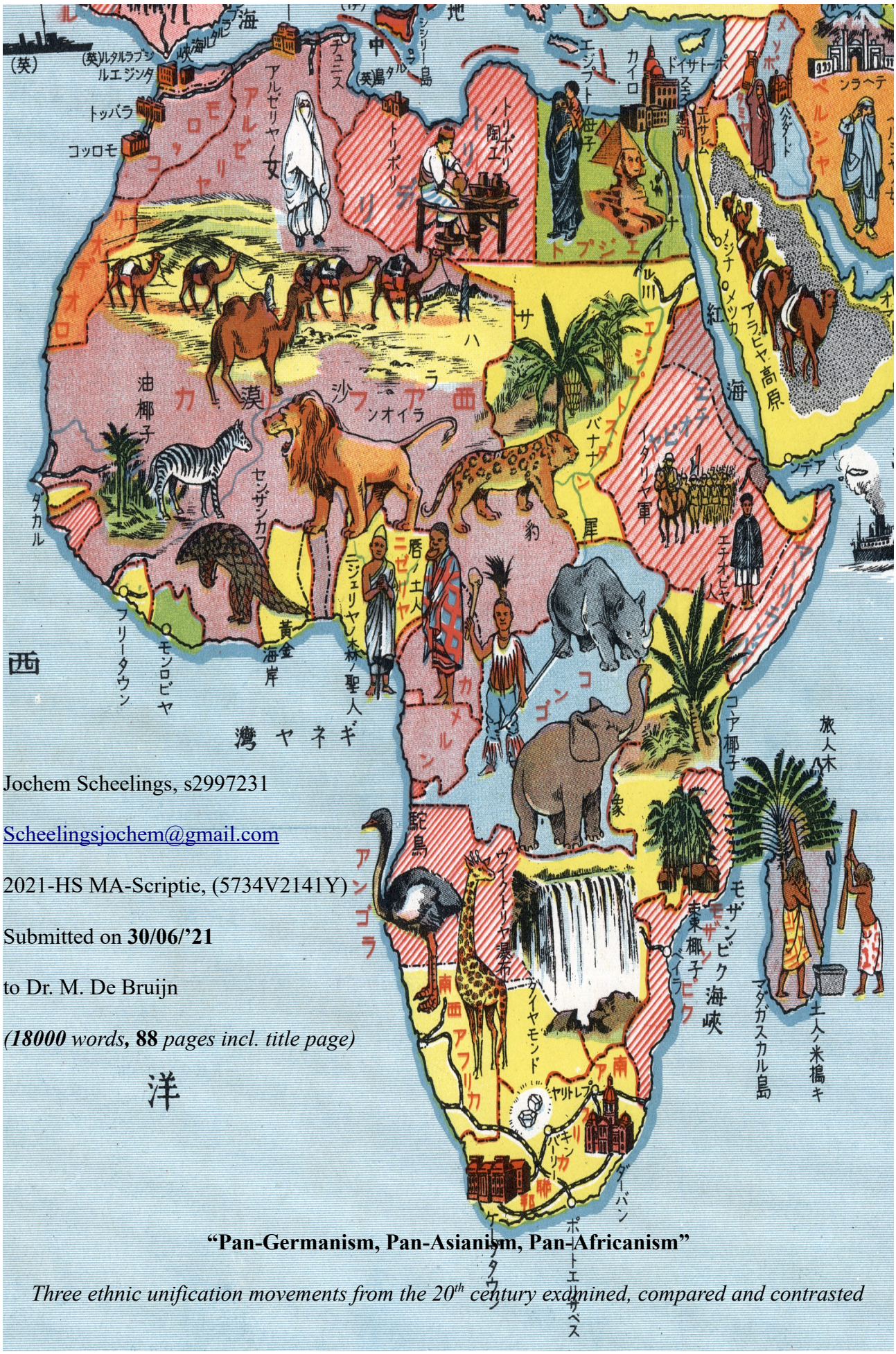


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**"Pan-Germanism, Pan-Asianism, Pan-Africanism"**

*Three ethnic unification movements from the 20th century examined, compared and contrasted*

*Abstract:*

This thesis provides an analysis of three marginal historical movements from the inter-war period in the 20th century; German neocolonialism, Japanese Pan-Asianism and Pan-Africanism. All three movements represent trends that present alternative views of the dominant ideologies of the century which they were ultimately suppressed by with the onset of the Second World War. Based on what documentation they left behind however, a model can be constructed that attempts to explain how these movements could have survived or otherwise have seen a resurgence in the absence of global liberalism and communism. Alternative histories found in video games, such as the popular *Hearts of Iron IV* expansion made by its (non-academic) community *The New Order: Last Days of Europe* provide an opportunity to put this model into practice, but the shortcomings in its existing narrative regarding Africa must first be addressed.

*Table of contents*


- Introduction: p. 5-7.


*Substantiation and Context*


- The German "*Neuordnung*" in an African context: p. 8-15.
- Japanese interest in the African world: p. 16-22.
- Afro-Asian Solidarity in the Inter-war Period and WWII: p. 23-28.
- Marcus Garvey's Legacy in Africa: p. 29-35.
- "*The New Order*" and Africa: p. 36-42.


*Case Studies*


- Case: Reichskommisariat Zentralafrika - Congo: p. 43-50.
- Case: Cameroon African State: p. 51-58.
- Case: Reichskommisariat Ostafrika - Tanganyika: p. 59-67.


*Perspectives*


- Conclusion: p. 68-70.
- Bibliography: p. 71-85.
- Appendix: p. 86-88.

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*Introduction*

The historiography of alternative histories is a relatively new but rapidly developing field. So far many of the academic articles discussing it mainly concern themselves with novels and historical fiction about grand narratives of alternative worlds constructed by American and European writers. The field of African studies is rather under-represented. One article that stands out in the small selection of works that do exist is *The Postcolony as a Cold War Ruin: Toward a New Historiography* by Bhakti Shringarpure. She studied ruins in Eritrea and Angola and posits that they serve as sites of contemplation where futures can be mapped.[1] While Shringarpure's ruins were from the Cold War era and her article is mostly concerned with utopian visions of Afro-Soviet cooperation, older ruins in other parts of Africa tell similar stories of futures that never were. Take for example the ruins of the 'Telefunken' radio station at Kamina in Togo.[2] Built there by the Germans during their colonisation of West Africa, the station nowadays is not much more than a few concrete pillars sticking out of the ground. So long as the ruin exists though it marks the presence of Germany in Africa and the vision of a possible future where this presence had been extended past the transfer of Togo's colonisation to France in 1919.

Out of that imagined future of a German return to Africa came forth a mass movement in the period between WWI and WWII with its own propaganda arm running parallel to the rising National Socialist movement. Initial German military successes allowed this movement to establish its own planning institute where imagination crossed over with reality, as former colonial administrators of the traditionalist old guard and young National Socialist opportunists collaborated on the construction of a new German colonialism bereft of its perceived weak liberal elements.

1 Bhakti Shringarpure, "The Postcolony as a Cold War Ruin: Toward a New Historiography." *Research in African Literatures* 50, no. 3, 2019. 160.

2 Reinhard Klein-Arendt, *"Kamina ruft Nauen!": die Funkstellen in den deutschen Kolonien, 1904–1918* Cologne: Wilhelm Herbst Verlag. 1995.

In Japan, ruins also spurred on the imagination of the leading thinkers of the Shōwa era. These ruins were a bit more recent however, as they were the sunken carcasses of the Russian fleet following Japan's victory at sea against Russia in 1905.[3] As Japan became a dominant force on the global stage, the world came to its doorstep and émigrés from the greater Asian world began working together with Japanese intellectuals on theories of communal solidarity on racial and religious lines. Pan-Asianism, Pan-Islamism and even Pan-Turanism all began circulating in learned circles surrounding the Japanese government, whose policy of expansion into Korea and Manchuria in the 1930's prompted questions of just how far the Empire should go in its policy to become the hegemon of Asians in the world.[4] Contemporary theories of race supported an idea of an Asian diaspora greater than what we would consider it to be today, and so the collective force of these intellectuals also looked to Ethiopia as a long-lost ancestor. More pragmatic voices also saw Ethiopia as an opportunity for Japan to have a stake in Africa, to be on equal footing with the West.

Secret societies in Japan, most notably Uchida Ryohei's Black Dragon Society, influenced a great number of these cultural exchanges in a bid to increase the presence of Japan in the world. They were active in Ethiopia, as well in the African-American community in the United States. In the 1930's its agents would sponsors several militant black nationalist groups in America and promoted the idea that Japan would support them in an alliance against European-descended people. Japan's influence should not be overstated however, it merely played into existing sentiments among another marginal movement from this time. African-Americans in the United States had their own response to the nationalist sentiments in Europe and Asia, which centred around the idea of a distinct black civilisation that should return to its ancestral homeland in Africa.

3 Michael Edward Brown, et al. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, 2001. 50.

4 See: Shanoaha Smith, *Reassessing Japan's Islam Policy (Kaikyō Seisaku) in China during the Early Twentieth Century.* Maydan. June 6 2017, https://themaydan.com/2017/06/reassessing-japans-islam-policy-kaikyo-seisaku-china-early-twentieth-century/

The African-American repatriation movement consisted mostly of successors to Jamaican black nationalist Marcus Garvey, with various factions of his Universal Negro Improvement Association producing its most vocal advocates. The crisis of the first half of the 20th century in the African-American community in the form of the Great Depression motivated these black nationalists to seek support from white racial advocates from the American South, who promised them Congressional backing. Here again World War II interfered on the delivery of these plans and the African-American nationalist movement passed the bar to the first wave of indigenous African activists in 1945, who would still take great inspiration from Marcus Garvey and often cited to be students of his work. Decades later the last remaining elements of Garvey's original organisation were themselves reshaped by their lived-in experience in Africa and moved away from its racialist roots.[5]

The aftermath of WWII has left many ruins. Can these particular ruins- the movements of German neocolonialism, Pan-Asianism and Garveyite Pan-Africanism, have their futures re-imagined? This thesis contains an archaeology of these movements and attempts to fit them into an existing alternative history, that of the video game *Hearts of Iron IV's* expansion *The New Order: Last Days of Europe. The New Order (TNO)* is a scenario of a world following a victory of the Axis powers in World War II that engages with the themes of German neocolonialism, Pan-Asianism and Pan-Africanism. Because *TNO*'s development is a decentralised cooperation between non-academic 'citizen' historians and enthusiastic volunteers it does not hold up to deep academic scrutiny, but nonetheless offers a valuable perspective on the perception of these themes through a popular-historical lens. Exploring what choices the *TNO* team made in their representation of a German-dominated Africa and its aftermath as well as providing plausible alternatives through the analysis of the legacy of these movements is how this thesis will present a model that is consistent with history and *TNO*'s world.

5 Erik S. McDuffie, ""A New Day Has Dawned for the UNIA": Garveyism, the Diasporic Midwest, and West Africa, 1920–80." *Journal of West African History* 2, no. 1, 2016. 97-103.

*The German "Neuordnung" in an African context*

When Germany handed over its African territories to France and Britain by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, it became Europe's first post-colonial nation.[6] The national trauma born from Germany's defeat in World War One manifested itself into a mass movement advocating for the return of the colonies, which itself gave rise to various organisations with the purpose of preparing Germany's return to Africa. Between 1933 and 1943 there existed a veritable government-in-waiting set up by these organisations which studied other forms of colonialism practised by its European competitors and attempted to combine the best elements of these with a mixture of lived-in experience by German colonists and National Socialism, the ideology and world-view of the Third Reich.

In 1934 the NSDAP established an official Party branch for colonial affairs; the *Kolonialpolitisches Amt der NSDAP,* or *KPA* for short. It oversaw the existing colonial organisations *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (*DKG*) and *Reichskolonialbund (RKB)* who were compelled to coordinate their propaganda and campaigning with the *KPA*.[7] German historians Wolfe Schmokel and Klaus Hildebrand denote that there existed an interplay between colonialist organisations set up immediately after Versailles in 1919 and National Socialist parent organisations meant to make the two ideologies conform to one another, with colonialist leaders being allowed to set certain criteria to National Socialists joining their movement and vice versa.[8] Schmokel and Hildebrand, who wrote their respective studies in the 1960's, attempted to emphasise that colonialism and National Socialism were intertwined in the Third Reich, perhaps even to an inextricable degree. Close reading of primary sources such as the *DKG*'s own response to being subjugated by the *KPA* reveal that there is more room for nuance in this analysis.

6 Willeke Hannah Sandler, "Colonizers Are Born, Not Made": Creating a Colonialist Identity in Nazi Germany, 1933-1945. Dissertation for Duke University's Department of History, 2012. 4.

7 Karsten Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators? Die NS-Kolonialplanungen für Afrika* Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2008. 30.

8 Wolfe W. Schmokel, *Dream of Empire: German Colonialism, 1919-1945.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964 and Klaus Hildebrand, *Vom Reich zum Weltreich. Hitler, NSDAP u. koloniale Frage 1919-1945,* Munich: W. Fink, 1969.

Erich Duems, the general secretary of the *DKG*, wrote an article called "*Gleichshaltung*" in mid 1933 addressing concerns about the then still prospective 'nazification' of the colonialist movement.[9] Duems believed that colonialism as an ideology had been incorporating itself into German political parties for the past fifty years and that attempting to do this with National Socialism would be no different.[10] In the mind of colonialists such as Erich Duems, colonialism was an entirely separate concept from National Socialism, but one that would nonetheless benefit from the NSDAP's promised national rebirth.

Initially, the results of the colonialist mindset to bend the NSDAP to their will appeared to have an adverse effect. In November of 1933, when Adolf Hitler held a referendum about Germany's membership in the League of Nations, the *KPA* bluntly ordered the *DKG* to stop issuing propaganda under further notice.[11] It was believed that the sentiment among colonialists was that membership in the League of Nations guaranteed a place on the negotiating table and that their propaganda might encourage Germans to vote against the referendum, when Hitler had intended for it to be a show of a uniform desire among the German people to leave the League. In response to this effective ban of their primary means of garnering popular support, prominent *DKG* members such as former governor-general of German East Africa Heinrich Schnee and colonial *Schutztruppe* veteran Franz Ritter von Epp had to do damage control to satisfy their upset membership base.[12]

9 Erich Duems, "Gleichschaltung," *Der Koloniale Kampf* 6, no. 5. 15 May 1933.

10 "Wenn wir vor kurzem das Wort als eine Forderung an das nationale Deutschland prägten 'National sein heisst kolonial sein,' so gilt von unserem Wollen der umgekehrte Satz: 'Kolonial sein heisst national sein.' Seit 50 Jahren haben wir die Vertreter der verschiedensten politischen Anschauungen auf diese Grundrichtung einer nationalen Kolonialpolitik gleichgeschaltet und so in engerem Bereich einer bestimmten nationalen Idee die auseinanderstrebenden Kräfte in eine gemeinsame Front zusammengefasst." in: Duems, "*Gleichshaltung*".

11 "Bericht über die Sitzung des Arbeitsausschusses am 24. Oktober 1933," BAB R 8023/712, Bl. 231. In: Sandler, "Colonizers Are Born, Not Made". 126.

12 See: "Stenogr. Protokoll der öffentlichen Vertretersammlung am Freitag, den 15. Juni 1934, nachm. 3 Uhr, im Institut für Weltwirtschaft zu Kiel," Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 8023/84, Bl. 88.

Schnee, von Epp and gen. Sec. Duems held on to the belief that the NSDAP's third point in their 25-point program, "We demand land and territories (colonies), to feed our people and in which to settle our excess population." was the end-all-be-all of Party policy and that any incidents that might occur were the result of individuals straying from the proper doctrine.[13] While it may seem easy to accuse the *DKG* officials of being naive or even delusional for coming up with this idea, the conflict between the different types of nationalism adhered to by the Party and by colonialists lying at the heart of these struggles was very real. Organisations for National Socialist expansion outside of Germany such as the *NSDAP Auslandsorganisation* and *Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland* considered colonialism reactionary in the same vein Hitler himself thought of the old Prussian elite.[14] They stifled the efforts of colonialist organisations to hold their own rallies, lectures and other campaigns, making sure National Socialist speakers and attendees were always present. Erich Duems and the *DKG* desperately tried to control the colonialist narrative while the Party, but never Hitler himself, flipped between support, derision and indifference on a whim. The strategy of the *DKG* to infiltrate the NSDAP had also been unsuccessful, as the Party leadership surrounding Hitler preferred orthodox National Socialists over the mixed bag that colonialists offered.

The autonomy of the *DKG* and the misfortune that came with both came to an end on May 19th 1936 a conference was held in Berlin, supervised by ambassador and future Foreign Minister of the NSDAP Joachim von Ribbentrop, where the various colonialists organisations agreed to unify into one movement.[15] The new *Reichskolonialbund* was a state-approved colonialist organisation and an effort by the Party to rejuvenate the colonialist leadership by limiting the influence of the settler generation that had founded the *DKG* who had maintained a degree of intellectual independence apart from National Socialism.

13 For an example, see:
Erich Duems, "Die unabänderliche Forderung," *Der Koloniale Kampf* 7, no. 8. 15 October 1934.

14 William Astore, Denis Showalter, *Hindenburg: Icon of German Militarism*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books. 2005. 106.

15 Wilhelm Mickausch, "Der Reichskolonialbund als Träger der kolonialen Propaganda," Bundesarchiv Berlin R 20/71.

The rejuvenation of the colonialist movement included a mass effort to recruit young people to its cause, which saw great success; the initial 50.000 members of all the colonialists organisations that existed before the reorganisation paled in comparison to the two million members the *RKB* would attain in less than five years.[16] It also revealed a generational struggle within the colonialist movement, as the millions of new members had no intentions to combat the influence of National Socialism. Franz Ritter von Epp, who despite being of the older generation was also an active member of the NSDAP in Bavaria, became the *RKB*'s leader. Von Epp was instructed to ensure the people with lived-in colonial experience would not desert the movement now that the Party had asserted its control over it and communicated with Heinrich Schnee over how to best go forward with the reorganisation.[17] Von Epp sided with von Ribbentrop and ignored many of Schnee's recommendations, which led to a significant amount of veterans and old colonials deserting the movement.[18]

The *Reichskolonialbund* had nevertheless been transformed into a mass movement with an emphasis on a changing of the guard for colonialist thinking. Hitler had intended the new *RKB* to become something of a silent tool which Germany could make use of when the time was right.[19] To this end various elements of the former independent colonial organisations were overhauled, militarised and staffed with a combination of the old guard for their expertise and young National Socialists to ensure loyalty.[20] Under these new conditions, unified and subservient to the Party, the *RKB* would continue to massively expand its operations throughout the period of peace between the world wars.

16 Mickausch, "Der Reichskolonialbund als Träger der kolonialen Propaganda."
17 Letter from Epp to Schnee, December 2, 1935, GStA PK, Nr. 46, 16.
18 "Reich to Dissolve Colonial League, Courting Britain by Halting Drive," *New York Times*. October 24, 1936. 1, 6.
19 Von Epp quotes von Ribbentrop, who reportedly got this statement from Hitler.
See: Letter from Epp to Schnee, 16.
20 Hanswerner Nachrodt, *Der Reichskolonialbund* Berlin: Junker & Duennhaupt, 1939. 22.

With the advent of World War II, the fall of France and a seemingly imminent peace with Britain in June of 1940 the *RKB*'s overseeing ministry the *KPA* was split into two offices; one that continued overseeing domestic colonialist propaganda and a new office (*KPA-Staat*) dedicated entirely to the planning of a future administration in Africa.[21] *KPA-Staat* received nearly 30 million Reichsmarks in funding in 1941, which is close to 1.7 billion Euros.[22] Additional offices were set up in occupied Brussels and Paris to siphon colonial knowledge from their respective administrations.[23] Between the period of 1940 and 1943 *KPA* officials work-shopped a new type of German colonialism that would borrow the most efficient elements of other European styles of governance in Africa.

The Berlin office head of the *KPA*, former District Officer of Togo Rudolf Asmis, outlined the general idea for a German post-war administration of their African colonies in *Afrika-Nachrichten*, an *RKB* newspaper. The three pillars of German colonialism according to Asmis were the preservation of the German-ness of Party personnel on the ground, the protection of the ethnic character of the indigenous African peoples and the idea of a circular economy between Africa and Germany that would ensure the German bloc's sovereignty over its resources.[24] Following Asmis' publication, the *KPA* drafted a set of legislations that were to be enacted as laws in the German colonies and would override all old systems. The new *Reichskolonialgesetz* would enforce the Nuremberg Laws in Africa, thus prohibiting marriages between Germans and Africans.[25] A further *Kolonialblutschutzgesetz* would enforce a traditional African social order from above through segregation, in an effort to preserve African-ness in the colonies in the same vein as German-ness at home and abroad.[26]

21 Schmokel, *Dream of Empire: German Colonialism, 1919-1945.* 143.
22 Ibid. 144. Converted to 2021 exchange rates.
23 Schmokel, 149.
24 Rudolf Asmis, "Grundlagen und Ziele der künftigen deutschen Kolonialverwaltung," *Afrika-Nachrichten* 21, no. 9 September 1940. 130.
25 "Reichskolonialgesetz. 9. Entwurf," Bundesarchiv Berlin R 2/4966, 12-14
26 "Entwurf. Kolonialblutschutzgesetz," Bundesarchiv Berlin R 2/4966, 12-14.
Note: National Socialist doctrine considers an individual to be the bearer of their state, this so-called *Staatsidee* is explored by colonialists in:
Dr. Ernst Gerhard Jacob, "Die nationalsozialistische Staatsidee und die Kolonialpolitik," *Afrika-Nachrichten* 14, no. 11 1 November 1933, 281-283.

To turn the concept of a circular colonial economy into reality the *KPA* cooperated with the *Arbeitswissenschaftliche Institut* of the German Labour Front. The *AwI* drafted its plans on the principles laid out by Bernhard Dernburg, the head of the colonial office in Imperial Germany from 1907 to 1910, who believed that a colony's most important asset was its human capital.[27] As even limited industrialisation of the colonies was predicted to upset the envisioned traditional African order, the *AwI* proposed that factories were to be integrated directly into local villages, so that Africans could continue subsistence farming while also providing Germany with processed goods. Labour migration like in for example the mines in the Witwatersrand in South Africa would according to colonial planners inevitably lead to 'proletarianisation' of Africans, which was something to be avoided.[28] A 1939 study by the International Labour Office in Geneva as well as a 1940 study by German Africanist Diedrich Hermann Westermann both concluded that Africa's intense social and cultural changes in the preceding part of the 20th century had occurred due to labour migration.[29] These studies led the *AwI* planners to the conclusion that migrant labour was a negative phenomenon with long-term consequences that Africa offered no natural recourse for.[30]

The *AwI*'s solution to this problem was that of the aforementioned integrated factories scheme, as well as a system of 'white labour guardians', German agents operating as recruiters in and overseers of African communities.[31] The labour guardian would serve as a permanent point of contact for Africans looking to participate in contract labour in the German factories or those pressed into service by local chiefs, a practice common across all of colonial Africa at the time.[32]

27 Reinhold Schober, *Kamerun. Neuzeitliche Verwaltungsprobleme einer tropischen Kolonie* Berlin, 1937. 34.
28 Arbeitswissenschaftliche Institut, *Die koloniale Sozialpolitik Afrikas in ihrer Problematik - Ein Aufriß bestehender Notstände und vordringlicher Aufgaben* , n.d. (1942), Bundesarchiv Berlin, NS 5 VI, no. 17909, fo. 9f.
29 Wilfrid Benson, "Afrikanische Arbeiterfragen", *Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit* , 17, 1939. 605-631. Diedrich Westermann, "Die Stellung der Naturvölker in Afrika", in idem (ed.), *Die heutigen Naturvölker im Ausgleich mit der neuen Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1940. 125-35.
30 Awl, "Die Arbeiterwanderung in Afrika", *Wirtschafts- und Sozialberichte*, 15 December 1940.
31 "Die arbeits- und sozialrechtliche Gestaltung der Lohnarbeit in Afrika", *AwI-Jahrbuch* 1940/41.
32 See: Sharon Stichter, *Migrant Labour in Kenya: Capitalism and African Response, 1895-1975* London, 1982. 30.

It was calculated that a single labour guardian could oversee 1000 rural Africans and that a ratio of 1.5 guardians per 200 workers needed to be maintained at plantations.[33] In total, around 33750 Germans were needed in Africa to oversee the planned factories and another 20000 to serve as labour guardians in rural areas, for a predicted 4.4 million factory workers and 20 million rural labourers. In line with National Socialist policies against religion, the concept of the labour guardian was intended to replace the missionaries that had historically gone to Africa on behalf of other European nations.[34] The labour guardians would be trained in special schools to adapt their skill-sets to local conditions and to cement the idea in the minds of Africans that the German was an exemplary, fatherly figure.[35]

The *AwI* planners working for the *KPA* designed their future German African administration in accordance with developing trends among contemporary European colonisers. Britain and France had been shifting their focus in the colonies towards developmentalism in the pre-war period such as with the Colonial Development Act of 1929.[36] The guidelines provided by the International Labour Office's report reflect this.[37] Where German policies differed was that the increased state control in the colonies was intended to be applied totally and systematically, with the intention to entrap Africans in their traditional societies by eliminating labour migration as well as other sources of social upheaval, on top of implementing National Socialist policies of racial segregation already in place in Germany itself.

33 Awl, *Der soziale Organisationsplan Deutsch-Ostafrikas. Richtlinien für die praktische Durchführung*, Bundesarchiv Berlin, NS 5 VI, no. 39652.
34 Ibid.
35 AwI, *Koloniale Sozialpolitik Afrikas*. 26.
36 Elmus Wicker, "Colonial Development and Welfare, 1929-1957: The Evolution of a Policy." *Social and Economic Studies* 7, no. 4, 1958. 171-179.
37 Internationale Arbeitskonferenz, *Die Anwerbung von Arbeitern in den Kolonien und in anderen Gebieten mit ähnlichen Arbeitsbedingungen. Berìcht IV, Erste Beratung*. Geneva, 1935. 292.

As Germany found itself in an increasingly precarious situation militarily, with the United States' entry into World War II and the Allied landing in North Africa under Operation Torch, chief Party secretary Martin Bormann ordered the entire *RKB* apparatus to be shut down by February 15th 1943 until the war was won.[38] Party minister of propaganda Joseph Goebbels would give a speech in May that same year declaring that although Africa is "of indispensable value to the national future of the people of the Axis, (...) for the rest of the war, [we] will have to go without [it]".[39]

The German ambitions in Africa and the entire bureaucratic apparatus that had been set up for them had to be shelved so the state could enter total war, which would result in the dissolution of the entire Third Reich in 1945. The colonialist movement went from an autonomous plurality of non-state organisations under Party supervision to an official mass movement with millions of adherents but the initial goals of the old guard conservatives and free agents to make National Socialism accept colonialism had not been achieved, nor did the new generation that replaced them on behalf of the Party get the chance to put their models into practice. Elements of the *KPA-Staat* such as their under-offices in France and Belgium would continue their operations until the liberation of these territories by the Allies.[40] The end of the German colonial idea came with the death of Heinrich Schnee in 1949, where an attendee at Schnee's funeral described his life's work and vision of German influence in Africa as well-intentioned, but a relic of a time gone by.[41] The various remaining schools and institutions that colonialist organisations had founded before their dissolution into the *RKB* similarly survived into the post-war era as a memory of something more profound than the Third Reich, perhaps as a very indirect result of the efforts of the old *DKG* leadership to retain their distinctiveness from National Socialism.[42]

38 Hildebrand, *Vom Reich zum Weltreich.* 941.
39 Reichsleitung der NSDAP. Presseamt des Kolonialpolitischen Amtes, *Kolonialpolitik in der Weltpublizistik* April, May, June 1943. 3-4.
40 Schmokel, *Dream of Empire: German Colonialism, 1919-1945*, 149.
41 Nachruf bei der Beerdigung von Excellenz Schnee, von Dr. Max Roscher," GStA PK, Nr. 12.
42 See: Hans-Jürgen Jensen, "Kolonialschule 'hat es verdient.' Bürgermeister weiht Bronzetafel ein." Koloniale Frauenschule Rendsburg, DVII 942 Lose Blätter, Stadtarchiv Rendsburg, Rendsburg, Germany.

*Japanese interest in the African world*

Documentation on Japanese contact with Africa before the Meiji era is scarce. In the roughly two hundred years during which the Tokugawa family enforced the policy of *sakoku* that severely limited the outside world from reaching Japan in any form the Japanese view of Africa was shaped by the Portuguese traders that were still allowed to operate in the Tokugawa court, who permeated the idea among Japanese intellectuals that Africa was a continent of enslaved peoples.[43] With the fall of the Shogunate and the restoration of the Empire in 1868 Japan began undertaking efforts to learn from and catch up to the rest of the world.

When Japan acquired the island of Formosa from China following their victory in the first Sino-Japanese war of 1894 intellectual interest in Africa increased, albeit mainly in the governing styles of Europeans over foreign peoples. Various books about French and British colonialism were translated into Japanese and as a result the administration in Formosa adopted a distinctly Franco-British character.[44] The acquisition and maintenance of colonies was seen as a matter of national prestige and a means to project power across a greater Japanese sphere of influence, much akin to European colonialism. While interest in direct participation in the Scramble for Africa was a fringe position among the Japanese elite, one notable figure that did advocate for a Japanese colonial venture in Africa was Dr. Tomizu Hirondo. Hirondo received his education in western Europe in the 1880s and published a pamphlet titled "*Afurika no zento*" (Future of Africa) in 1897. In it he espoused the greatness of European entrepreneurs in Africa such as Cecil Rhodes, who he described as the "Napoleon of Africa" and who had "named Rhodesia after him".[45] He also spoke highly of European national ventures in Africa such as those of the French, the Portuguese and those of King Leopold.

43 Matsuda Kiichi, *Daikokai Jidai no Nippon*, 8 vols. (Tokyo 1977): Vol. 1, *Nanbansen no torai*, 29-30.
44 Androw C. Nahm, *Korea Under Japanese Colonial Rule : Studies of the Policy and Techniques of Japanese Colonialism* (Western Michigan Univ. 1973).
45 Tomizu Hirondo , *Afurika no Zento* (Tokyo 1897) 20.

According to Hirondo, Leopold implemented policies that not only dramatically increased the revenue of his colony in the Congo but also benefited the people.[46] Hirondo predicted in his pamphlet that in the 20th century Africa and Asia will be at the center of global attention and that as European influence in the African continent grew, so too would their eventual benefits later down the line. He recommended the Japanese state to get a stake in Africa to remain on par with Europe in the race towards global influence. Japan found itself too embroiled in conflicts with Russia and China to consider Hirondo's advice however. Moreover, European intervention in Japan's affairs prevented them from achieving total domination in their own Asian backyard, as seen with the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France in 1895 when Japan attempted to enforce the Treaty of Shimonoseki on China.[47]

Hirondo's pamphlet sparked further intellectual interest in Africa and further studies by his peers helped develop a more nuanced view on matters discussed in "*Afurika no zento*". Yamada Saburo's '*Kongo jiyu koku no hassei oyobi Shtmesu*' (Rise and Decline of the Congo Free State) published in 1909 revealed new insights on the rule of Leopold II that had been circulating in Europe since 1900 following a worldwide propaganda war between the King and his international critics.[48] Saburo's book is highly critical of Leopold II, but in line with Meiji-era Japanese society aims more to warn the elite of Japan with an example of poor governance to strive to be better colonisers. Western governance was still seen as the highest attainable goal for Japanese colonialism so the debate among the elite was mostly concerned with which form of governance Japan should adopt in its colonies, with examples such as Yamada Saburo's book providing direction rather than solely condemning a system.

46 The former Belgian Congo was a royal possession of King Leopold II until its formal annexation into the state on October 18th 1908.

47 The European coalition forced Japan to give up Port Arthur, which it had conquered from the Chinese. See: Morinosuke Kajima, *The Diplomacy of Japan, 1894-1922. vol. 1: Sino-Japanese War and Triple Intervention.* Tokyo: Kajima Institute of International Peace. (1976).

48 Yamada Saburo, '*Kongo jiyu koku no hassei oyobi Shtmesu' (Rise and Decline of the Congo Free State')* Kokka Cakkai Zasshi Vol. 23 no. 10-11, 1909.

In their quest for guidelines to establish the Japanese often turned to the British system and British national figures such as Cecil Rhodes. Of the numerous books written about the life and times of Cecil Rhodes, one Yasiji Yanagisawa writes in *Cecil Rhodes-Narina Kitan Kitan* (Cecil Rhodes - The Distinguished man of South Africa) that it was the influence of Cecil Rhodes that personally prevented the British empire from fading into history as the Portuguese, the Spanish and the Dutch empires had.[49] Yanagisawa argued that "great people" such as Rhodes propelled nations forward and that Japan should produce one of their own in order to compete with Europe. This boom in everything Rhodes related in Japan in the early 1900s contributed greatly to their gravitation towards the British colonial policy of indirect rule, as opposed to the French policy of assimilation. Formosa served as a testing ground for these European policies, with the greatest trial to the Japanese colonial mission coming some time later when Japan emerged victorious out of its war with Russia in 1905 and the road was open for the annexation of Korea in 1910. Japanese intellectuals recommended the government to preserve the two-thousand year old traditions in Korea through the British system of indirect rule rather than try to assimilate Korean society into the Japanese one wholesale.

With the Japanese cultural elite actively recommending "good governance" to the military and colonial apparatus, one might expect there to be a clear indication of lessons learned from European-dominated Africa when it comes to Formosa and Korea. In reality the Japanese government in Korea was totalitarian, repressive and hostile to indigenous institutions.[50] Japanese knowledge of European colonialism in Africa was not widespread enough among the actual circles of government to have an impact on their policies on the ground.

49 Yasiji Yanagisawa, *Cecil Rhodes-Narina Kitan* (Cecil Rhodes-The Distinguished man of South Africa) Tokyo; 1902.

50 Kim Jinwung, "The period of Japanese colonial rule: (1910–1945)." In *A History of Korea: From "Land of the Morning Calm" to States in Conflict*, Indiana University Press, 2012. 321-66.

Knowledge about the indigenous peoples of Africa was, due in part to the European context through which Japan received its literature and sparse direct content with native Africans, nearly nonexistent in the Meiji-era. This situation slowly began to change with the emergence of the Ethiopian empire under Haile Selassie I, who began seeking out Japan-minded intellectuals among the Ethiopian elite in the early to mid 1930s. Ethiopia's 1931 constitution authored by Tekle Hawariat Tekle Mariyam closely mirrored the Meiji constitution as Tekle Mariyam, a leading member of Ethiopia's Japaniser school, believed that Japan was the ideal model of a modernising nation that did not forsake its non-European culture.[51] An Ethiopian cultural mission to Japan in that same year was met with a great deal of enthusiasm from the general populace that witnessed the delegation led by Ethiopian foreign minister Heruy Wolde Selassie arrive in their country. Among Japanese politicians with imperialist ambitions the advent of an independent, non-European nation from another continent currying favour with the Emperor proved itself a great source of nationalist and racial pride. Heruy's delegation was received by emperor Hirohito, who had succeeded emperor Taisho (Meiji's successor from 1912-1926) three years prior, and exchanged high military honours in the Imperial Palace. Heruy repeatedly expressed Ethiopia's formal desire to emulate the Japanese model of modernisation and to eventually export it elsewhere in Africa. In turn Japanese officials from both the military and commercial sectors vowed to assist Ethiopia in 'Japanising' every aspect of the state, from cornering the Ethiopian market with Japanese goods to overhauling the army with a Japanese style of command.[52]

Heruy's journey to Japan appears to have been the first genuine instance of a clearing of the air between the African and Japanese peoples. Misconceptions brought about by the European lens through which both cultures viewed each other had disappeared now that a concrete example of a free and prosperous empire existed in the minds of those who attended this cultural exchange.

51 Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1855–1991, second edition* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001), 110.
52 Joseph C. Clarke, *Alliance of the Colored Peoples: Ethiopia and Japan before World War II*. James Currey Ltd. 2011. 44.

Upon his return to Ethiopia in 1932 Heruy published *Mahdara Berhan Hagara Japan* (Japan: The Source of Light), an introduction to Japan for Africans.[53] The economic plans made during Heruy's mission crystallised in a large-scale irrigation development project around Lake Tana aimed at increasing cotton and opium production in the region horrified European observers, who speculated that 100.000 Japanese settlers were planning on setting up plantations in Ethiopia.[54] A perceived grand racial struggle between Europe and an alliance between Asia and Africa seized the imagination of observers to Japan and Ethiopia's growing friendship, one greatly exacerbated by the aspirations of one of Heruy's companions from his 1931 visit. Lij Araya Abeba, an Ethiopian nobleman, expressed his interest in marrying a Japanese princess.[55] Abeba found support among the Japanese Pan-Asianist community who wished for racial unity between their two peoples and soon Sumioka Tomoyoshi, a Tokyo-based lawyer who had met Heruy's entourage prior, began assisting the Ethiopian prince with finding a suitable Japanese marriage partner.[56] Once a suitable candidate had been found in Kuroda Masako, second daughter of the Viscount of Kuroda, a large-scale press campaign spearheaded by Japanese nationalist papers was kicked off in support of closer ties with Ethiopia.

The marriage between Araya Abeba and Kuroda Masako was intended to personify Japan's stake in Ethiopian affairs and Pan-Asian entrepreneurs eagerly anticipated further economic and political engagement with Africa, in what they saw as a uniting of the 'coloured races' against white imperialism.[57] Ethiopian intellectuals meanwhile championed the idea of intermarriage between Haile Selassie's court and that of the Emperor of Japan.[58]

53 Heruy Wolde Selassie, *Mahidere Birhan: Hagara Japan* Addis Ababa: Gohi Tsiba, 1934.
54 "Tokyo Seeks to Cut Great Britain From Orient Possessions". *The Salt Lake Tribune*. November 11, 1934. 4.
55 Yamada Kazuhiro, *Masukaru no Hanayome: Masukaru no Hanayome: Maboroshi no Echiopia Ojihi.* Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun-Sha, 1998. 113, 123, 230–33.
For a primary source, see:
"Masako Kuroda Chosen to Wed Ethiopian Prince," *Japan Times*, Jan. 21, 1934.
56 Aoki Sumio and Kurimoto Eisei, "Japanese Interest in Ethiopia (1868–1940): Chronology and Bibliography," *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective.* Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 1997. 724.
57 Kurosawa to Hirota, 1/24/36: Gaimusho Gaiko Shiryo Kan A461 ET/I1, vol. 6.
58 Ernest Allen, "When Japan Was 'Champion of the Darker Races': Satokata Takahashi and the Flowering of Black Messianic Nationalism," *The Black Scholar* 24, 1994. 30.

The Japanese government was less enthusiastic. Italy had been building up an invasion force in Eritrea since 1934 to conquer Ethiopia and establish a formal Italian empire. To this end the Italian foreign office had embarked on a diplomatic campaign to justify any military action against Ethiopia as self-defense or at the very least as a noble cause to accomplish things such as the end of Ethiopian slavery, as Italy had done in Eritrea.[59] Japanese interference in Italian markets in Africa ran counter to Italy's ambitions on Ethiopia and as the two countries were drifting towards an alliance against the League of Nations, the free agents of Pan-Asianism operating on Japan's behalf in Ethiopia became a source of diplomatic frustration. After several more trade scandals such as the Nikkei-Sha affair further escalated tensions between Japan, Ethiopia and the agitated European international community, the Japanese state press began to back-pedal on the idea of Abeba and Masako's marriage.[60]

Due to a combination of Italian pressure, the faux-pas from the Nikkei-Sha affair and the fears of the Japanese government of getting caught on the wrong side of an oncoming war the Japanese foreign office formally announced that the marriage between Lij Araya Abeba and Kuroda Masako was cancelled.[61] The ambitious plans of Pan-Asianists active in Ethiopia, such as the Lake Tana irrigation scheme, slowly began falling apart following this news. Of the 100.000 Japanese settlers the European press wrote about only 26 actually went over between 1932 and 1934, with most coming back after their enterprises had floundered.[62]

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59 Clarke, "Periphery and Crossroads: Ethiopia and World Diplomacy, 1934–36," in *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 3 vols., K. E. Fukui and M. Shigeta, eds. Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 1997. 1: 699–712.

60 The *Nagasaki Echiopia Keizai Chosa-kai Nikkei-Sha* [Nagasaki Association for Economic Investigation of Ethiopia] under the leadership of Kitagawa Takashi attempted to purchase 500.000 hectares of arable land in Ethiopia for various crops to be grown on, which the international community believed to be mainly used for opium production.
See: Tokyo to Blatin Geta Helouí, 9/4/33; Note to Kitagawa, 9/28/33: *Gaimusho Gaiko Shiryo Kan (Tokyo) E424 1–3–1.* in: Clarke, "Marriage Alliance: The Union of Two Imperiums, Japan and Ethiopia?"

61 Japan (Grew), 3/8/34: NA 894.00 P.R./75.
In: Clarke, "Marriage Alliance".

62 Ibid.

Japan began pursuing an alliance with Italy in August of 1935, which was negotiated on the condition that Japanese ventures into Ethiopia would cease. In September of that same year, Heruy Wolde Selassie's interpreter Daba Birrou would embark on another diplomatic mission to Japan in the hopes of securing aid against Italy, where he was once again received by scores of excited Japanese Pan-Asianists and nationalists, but failed to garner support from the government.[63] The Italian foreign minister Galeazzo Ciano had initially promised to protect the remaining Japanese Ethiopian investments, but when Italy invaded Ethiopia and broke this promise the Japanese response was one of indifference.[64] In the end, the political reality of cooperation with Italy outweighing any benefits Japan could reap from idealistic Pan-Asianism in Ethiopia led to a swift Italian victory in Africa in 1936.

The demise of a prospective Japanese-Ethiopian alliance can be characterised as an ideological victory for Japanese conservatives over Pan-Asianists and (ultra)nationalists. The idealistic sentiment of the latter group did manage to survive throughout the course of World War II, albeit on a much smaller scale than in the pre-war period. Intellectuals sympathetic to fellow Asiatic independence struggles and believers in the "clash of races" which news outlets the world over used as a framework to understand Japanese interest in Africa remained active on the sidelines of Japanese politics. In August of 1943 leading Pan-Asian intellectual Shūmei Ōkawa was commissioned by the ministry of foreign affairs to write a pre-amble to the Japanese response to the Atlantic Charter, the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration.[65] This Declaration, which advocated for the total liberation of Asia from European rule, was ratified by various Asian leaders aligned with Japan. While Africa's inclusion in this project was put on hold, Pan-Asianists continued to emphasise the importance of racial pride and solidarity among the free Asian nations.

63 Adrien Zervos, *L'Empire d'Ethiopie: Le Miroir de L'Ethiopie Moderne 1906-1935* Alexandria, Egypt: Impr. de l'Ecole professionnelle des febres, 1936. 482.

64 Clarke, "Japan and Italy Squabble Over Ethiopia: The Sugimura Affair of July 1935," paper presented to the Florida Conference of Historians, Daytona Beach, FL, March 1998. 12-14.

65 Sumio Hatano, " Joint Declaration of Shigemitsu Aoi and Daitoa- Wartime Diplomacy and Postwar" in: *International Politics,*Vol. 109, No. 109 1995. 38-53.

*Afro-Asian Solidarity in the Inter-war Period and WWII*

It should come as no surprise that the idea of a "clash of races" that was so pervasive in international press outlets leading up to and during World War II resonated with certain demographics in the United States. The African-American community's middle class had been growing increasingly sympathetic towards Japan following their upset victory in the war with Russia in 1905. That sympathy manifested itself in the founding of various friendship associations such as the Peace Movement of Ethiopia and the Pacific Movement of the Eastern world, led by African-American middle class activists and supervised by Satokata Takahashi, a Japanese man claiming to be a retired Imperial major living in Detroit.[66]

The Great Depression had worsened socio-economic conditions for all Americans but especially intensified the existing plight of African-Americans, who were often the first to be laid off from their jobs and as a demographic African-Americans reached an unemployment rate of 80 percent in the North, with an average rate of 50 percent more unemployment than whites nationwide.[67] As a result of this crisis separatist ideas began spreading among African-Americans intellectuals, who found themselves inspired by the ideas of both Pan-Africanism and Pan-Asianism. The founder of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, Mittie Maud Lena Gordon, was a student of prominent African-American nationalist Marcus Garvey and a former member of his Universal Negro Improvement Association.[68] Lena Gordon believed passionately in the idea of repatriation and ran her Peace Movement on a volunteer basis, charging no membership fee nor receiving a salary.[69]

66 Ernest Allen, "When Japan Was 'Champion of the Darker Races'. 31.

67 William A Sundstrom, "Last Hired, First Fired? Unemployment and Urban Black Workers During the Great Depression." *The Journal of Economic History* 52, no. 2 1992. 417-418.

68 After Garvey had been convicted of mail fraud in 1925 and deported to Jamaica in 1927, UNIA underwent reforms and distanced itself from Garvey's vision. Lena Gordon supported Garvey's original vision.
See: David van Leeuwen, "Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association", *Divining America: Religion in American History*, National Humanities Center, 2000.

69 Peace Movement of Ethiopia to President Roosevelt, November 14, 1933, quoted in *Congressional Record*, 75 Cong., 2 Sess., 1534 February 7, 1938.

She also believed that government aid was essential to achieve the Movement's goals, and to that end she petitioned president Roosevelt for official funding to begin repatriating African-Americans. Within eight months Lena Gordon secured 400.000 signatures from her membership base, which comprised mainly of marginalised and working-class African-Americans.[70] When the president was presented with the petition, it quickly disappeared into an endless pile of red tape. The Movement found more success on a state level, when a lobbying campaign in 1936 led to the passing of legislation endorsing federal aid for Lena Gordon's program.[71]

Because of Lena Gordon's racialist approach to campaigning and her rejection of left-wing ideas of integration the Peace Movement of Ethiopia was approached by white Southern activist and Methodist preacher Earnest Sevier Cox, who notably was a personal friend of Marcus Garvey.[72] Cox was in contact with Senator Theodore G. Bilbo from Mississippi and convinced him that if he would campaign in Washington for repatriation he could count on Cox' contacts with black separatist organisations to provide him with legitimacy and support.[73] Bilbo agreed, and in May of 1938 he presented a work relief bill that proposed the voluntary repatriation of African-Americans under the age of 40 to Liberia along with short-term financial support. To accommodate a potential mass exodus of African-Americans to west Africa Bilbo suggested that Britain and France would settle everyone that Liberia was unable to accommodate in their colonies, in exchange for a waiving of their World War I debts.[74] The cooperation between Lena Gordon and Bilbo through Cox on this bill led to several African-Americans writing letters to Bilbo directly to express their support for repatriation as the general belief grew that remaining in America would mean enduring poverty and racism.

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70 Michael W. Fitzgerald, ""We Have Found a Moses": Theodore Bilbo, Black Nationalism, and the Greater Liberia Bill of 1939." *The Journal of Southern History* 63, no. 2 (1997): 295.

71 Earnest Sevier Cox, *Teutonic Unity.* Richmond, 1951, 216; *Cong. Rec.*, 75 Cong., 3 Sess. 1537 February 7, 1938.

72 Jonathan P. Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant.* Univ. of Vermont Press. 2009.

73 William A. Edwards, "Racial Purity in Black and White: The Case of Marcus Garvey and Earnest Cox," *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, XV, Spring 1987, 117-42.

74 Michael W. Fitzgerald, ""We Have Found a Moses". 301.

African-Americans invoked images of self-managed black communities such as Mound Bayou in Mississippi as future prospects of better days in Africa.[75] In these letters there was a marked resentment towards integrationists and mixed-race people in the black elite. The NAACP and other pro-integration associations were seen by the authors of these letters as ignorant of the common African-American's lot in life.[76]

Ramon A. Martinez, president of the Negro Nationalist Society of America, mailed Bilbo a draft proposal to expand on the details of his bill in early 1939, which Bilbo adapted closely.[77] Now titled the Greater Liberia Bill, the expanded draft included various stipulations to maintain the American citizenship of African-Americans in the new territory and the decision to declare formal independence or transfer individual citizenship status to Liberia in the hands of American officials.[78] Contrary to Bilbo's expectations, Lena Gordon's Peace Movement and other racialist organisations denounced the Greater Liberia Bill, as it ran contrary to their narrative of African-Americans as totally separate from America.[79] The prospect of white American officials controlling so much of the new territory and the lack of any guarantee of exclusive African-American settlement raised further concerns. As the future of the bill depended on the legitimacy granted to it by support from the African-American community, Bilbo began making political manoeuvres to sideline Lena Gordon and to court other prominent figures in favour of repatriation such as Martinez to his side. The factional struggles that ignited from the game of power between Bilbo and Lena Gordon ultimately tore their coalition apart and terminated any possibility of the Greater Liberia Bill receiving widespread support in the Senate.

75 See various 'Bilbo Papers' in: Fitzgerald, ""We Have Found a Moses". William Flewellyn to Bilbo, February 17, 1939, Box 1090, Bilbo Papers.
76 William Flewellyn to Bilbo, February 17, 1939, Box 1090, Bilbo Papers.
77 Martinez to Bilbo, March 11, 1939, Box 394, Bilbo Papers.
78 Michael W. Fitzgerald, ""We Have Found a Moses". 307-308.
79 Ibid. 308.

In spite of these failings of racialism in the political arena of the Great Depression era the black nationalist movement retained a serious influence over the African-American community at large. The 'Back-to-Africa' idea had reached its first high point in the aftermath of the American Civil War and as racial tensions continued to rise with the fallout of the Great Depression African-American nationalist activists predicted a resurgence of this idea to be within the realm of possibility.[80] With the German invasion of Poland in September of 1939 senator Bilbo suspended his campaigning for the Greater Liberia bill altogether, as he deemed repatriating African-Americans a frivolous issue when America was mobilising for war and expected Franco-British participation in the project to now be impossible.[81] This radicalised Lena Gordon and the Peace Movement and hundreds of her followers, spurned on by her rhetoric about the folly of participation in the previous World War, threatened to march on Washington.[82]

Now that the 'white' political avenue for repatriation appeared to be closed, black racialist movements began opening up to influence from America's wartime enemies, most of all Japan. It was believed that a Japanese victory could forcibly upset race relations in America and could potentially lead to the liberation of Africa as well. The Pacific Movement of the Eastern world, led by Bishop David D. Erwin and General Lee Butler, actively promoted the idea that Japan would emancipate the peoples of Africa.[83] The Pacific Movement was in fact jointly founded by African-Americans and a Japanese immigrant, Satokata Takahashi, who also founded a host of smaller organisations aimed at influencing working-class African-Americans.[84]

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80 See: 6 Ralph J. Bunche, "The Programs, Ideologies, Tactics and Achievements of Negro Betterment and Interracial Organizations," manuscript prepared for Carnegie-Myrdal Study, Vol. III, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library. 431.
In: Fitzgerald. 316.

81 *Cong. Rec.*, 77 Cong., 2 Sess., 8957 (November 19, 1942).

82 Ethel Wolfskill Hedlin, "*Earnest Cox and Colonization: A White Racist's Response to Black Repatriation, 1923-1966*" Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1974. 147.

83 Roi Ottley, "*New World A-Coming ": Inside Black America.* Boston, 1943. Chapter 22.

84 Ernest Allen, "When Japan Was 'Champion of the Darker Races'. 38.

The perceived unwillingness of American politicians to mediate on behalf of Ethiopia during its conflict with Italy as well as military successes of Japanese allies elsewhere in Asia, like Subhas Chandra Bose's insurgency in India, further galvanised the African-American community against their government and in favour of Japan.[85] In the years leading up to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the formal American entry into World War II the view of the war among African-Americans ranged from indifference to negativity and outright support for the enemy, in such volume that the establishment press' dismissal of pro-Japanese sentiment as a fringe concern can be considered inaccurate.[86]

Equally inaccurate is the view that the African-American community as a whole veered towards the left during the Great Depression era. This view is pervasive in historical discourse and was at the time also the narrative pushed by white and black communist organisations such as the CPUSA and the African Blood Brotherhood, but the development of African-American class consciousness coincided with a flourishing of nationalist, racialist and millenarian movements that overshadowed left-wing thought in scope.[87] Communist rhetoric aligned with the goals of the establishment to integrate African-Americans and unite their community behind the American war effort while black nationalist thought, which stemmed from a deep desire for self-determination, was viewed as seditious. Lena Gordon and several of her prominent followers were tried and convicted for treason in 1942.[88] Many other African-American nationalists and conscientious objectors were arrested or otherwise put under surveillance by the FBI for suspected pro-Japanese activity.[89]

85 Ba Maw, *Breakthrough in Burma: Memoirs of a Revolution, 1939-1946.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968, 345-346.
86 Herbert Aptheker, *Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, 1933-1945* Secaucus, NJ: Citadel, 1973.
87 William R. Scott, *The Sons of Shebas Race: African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1941*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.
88 Hedlin, "Earnest Cox and Colonization." 150-156.
89 Robert A. Hill, comp. and ed., *The FBI's RACON: Racial Conditions in the United States during World War*. Boston, 1995. 33.

With the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the mass arrests of its leaders, the repatriation movement slowly began losing steam over the course of World War II. When the War ended and senator Bilbo began campaigning for his Greater Liberia bill once again he did so without the support of his pre-war African-American backers, who had become a political inconvenience for him.[90] Theodore Bilbo died in 1947 and his efforts for African-American repatriation, however self-centered they might have actually been, have since been relegated to the status of historical curiosity.[91] Nevertheless, the ideological undercurrent behind the rise of black nationalism in the Great Depression era as an expression of the desire for African-American self-determination is evidence of a black reaction to left-wing intellectual ideas of integration and assimilation. Resistance against president Roosevelt's liberalism among the common people of America did not just exist in the minds of America's enemies, despite the establishment press proclaiming this.[92]

Through aligning itself with white Southern activism and Japanese benefactors, the 'Back-to-Africa' movement painted itself anathema to Americanism and failed to achieve its ultimate goal. War-time political repression and the internal division among black nationalists prevented the movement from re-establishing itself in the post-war period, especially with the sweeping tide of patriotic liberalism of the 1950s.[93] Millenarian groups such as the Nation of Islam led by Elijah Mohammed and the black Hebrew movement are the only organisations with incorporated the ideology of Marcus Garvey that managed to endure, even if they were relegated to the sidelines for not conforming to main-line thought on civil rights.[94]

90 Bilbo to Cox, October 2, 1942, quoted in Hedlin, "Earnest Cox and Colonization", 153.
91 Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue.* New York, 1978. 117-118.
92 Fitzgerald, ""We Have Found a Moses"". 319.
93 Ibid. 320.
94 Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States.* Cambridge, Eng., and other cities, 1976. 58.
See also: Elias Fanayaye Jones, "Black Hebrews: The Quest for Authentic Identity," *Journal of Religious Thought*, 44:2 Winter-Spring 1988.

*Marcus Garvey's Legacy in Africa*

A few months after the end of World War II, the fifth Pan-Africanist Congress was held in Manchester in the United Kingdom. Pan-Africanist congresses had been held in various European and American cities since 1900 but the fifth Congress would be regarded by historians as the most significant, serving as a reaction by African people the world over to their enduring colonisation by Europeans.[95] It was the first Congress that invited Africans from the American and Caribbean diaspora and provided an opportunity for these groups to exchange ideas.[96] Central in this congress were the ideas of Marcus Garvey and the movements inspired by him. Although Garvey himself had passed away in 1940, his wife Amy attended as a delegate of Garvey's native Jamaica and chaired discussions on several topics regarding racial discrimination in Britain.[97]

Of the various African convention-goers, the Dr. Kwame Nkrumah would arguably take the most of Garvey's ideology with him in his political career later in life as the first president of an independent Ghana. Nkrumah put a black star- the symbol of Garvey's 'Back-to-Africa' line- in the Ghanaian national flag. He later stated in his memoirs "that of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* published in 1923."[98] In his speech on the eve of Ghana's independence Nkrumah even quoted Garvey, saying that his desire to create a "government of black people" had been fulfilled.[99] Following the 1945 Congress the contemporary ideology of Pan-Africanism began to take shape, especially in the initial wave of decolonisation from 1957 to 1961. Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana provides an insight in how Africa and its diaspora engaged with a great expansion of "governments of black people" and how of the legacy of Garveyism fits into a broader perspective.

95 Marika Sherwood. *Manchester and the 1945 Pan-African Congress*. London: Savannah Press. 1995. 3-10.
96 Christian Høgsbjerg, *Remembering the Fifth Pan-African Congress*. Centre for African Studies (LUCAS). April 12 2016.
97 Sherwood. *Manchester and the 1945 Pan-African Congress*. 132.
98 Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: International Publishers, 1957, 45.
99 "Prime Minister's Speech on the Eve of Independence, 6th March, 1957," Kwame Nkrumah Papers, box 14, folder 21, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC.

Nkrumah himself was as much as product of the African diaspora community as his contemporaries in neo-Garveyist movements mentioned in the previous chapter, as he had studied at Lincoln University in the United States in the 1930s.[100] Here he immersed himself in the African-American nationalist community and, through the adopted African nationalist ideas of his own. In 1947 Nkrumah returned to Ghana on the invitation of the United Gold Coast Convention, a political party which under Nkrumah's leadership became a popular national movement.[101] Ten years later in 1957, Ghana became an independent nation.

Historical events described so far should convey the optimism that was felt in Africa for Nkrumah, Ghana and Pan-Africanism. It could therefore be seen as an unexpected twist that in February of 1966 a coalition of the Ghanaian police and army overthrew the government, ousted Nkrumah and moved away from his policies.[102] The military, proclaiming to have liberated Ghana from dictatorship, shattered the illusion that Nkrumah's American-inspired reforms fostered a sense of civic identity among Ghana's various ethnic groups. Dr. Kwame Nimako explains in his article *How Black America Awakened Nkrumah and Nkrumah Awakened Black America* two ways in which Nkrumah's government failed.[103] Dr. Nimako firstly identifies that Nkrumah, in an attempt to distance himself from the British policy of 'indirect rule', greatly increased the role of the government on the local and regional level. This alienated regionalists, a group that traditionally enjoyed some autonomy under British supervision, who felt that Nkrumah's leadership style was too American. They united under Kofi Abrefa Busia and campaigned against Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) on a platform of protecting Ghana's primordial traditions.[104]

100 John Henrik Clarke, "Kwame Nkrumah: His years in America". *The Black Scholar*. 6 (2): October 1974. 9–16.
101 David Rooney, "Secretary of the UGCC." In *Kwame Nkrumah. Vision and Tragedy,* 52-72. Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 1988.
102 James L. McLaughlin and David Owusu-Ansah. *"*The fall of the Nkrumah and its aftermath*"* *Country Study: Ghana.* 1994. 36.
103 Kwame Nimako, "Nkrumah, African Awakening and Neo-colonialism: How Black America Awakened Nkrumah and Nkrumah Awakened Black America." *The Black Scholar* 40, no. 2, 2010. 54-70.
104 Nimako, "Labour and Ghana's Debt Burden: The Democratisation of Dependence," in: *Labour Relations in Development,* (eds.) Alex E. Fernandez Jilberto et al. London: Routledge, 2002. 54-55.

Secondly Dr. Nimako points to a deeper meaning that can be found in the struggle between Nkrumah's central government and Busia's opposition. The CPP had united the broad spectrum of independence activists in Ghana under a single banner of holistic nationalism, where opposition to British rule was the main conduit that rallied people together. Holistic nationalism disregarded class and ethnicity in favour of a shared civic identity and relied on education and politicization of the masses to become effective.[105] Kofi Busia's Ghana Congress Party (GCP) were sub-nationalists, who rallied against the central government and were in favour of preserving traditional rule and identities. The legacy of the British education system, the persistence of traditional rulership and Nkrumah's status as foreign-educated intellectual meant that sub-nationalists could depict the CPP as seeking the cultural destruction of Ghana's regions and could unite disparate factions from across the nation against the idea of a unitary state. Nkrumah's government thus became wrapped up in a dual struggle, where the Pan-African and holistic nationalist movement had to be legitimised in an international context to secure a future for the progress made at the Fifth Congress while also overcoming the obstacle of de-legitimising the old status-quo in the eyes of a domestic population that had been educated in a traditional system for generations and showed an increasing amount of political hostility as Ghana looked more and more across its own borders. Ghana's status as the global torchbearer of Pan-Africanism also made its way back to the United States. Garvey's successor in the UNIA, William LeVan Sherrill, visited Ghana in March of 1957. Here Sherrill met with the foremost African nationalists of the late 1950s which shaped his view that the African-American movement should shift its focus to the new leaders emerging from decolonisation.[106]

Sherrill and the UNIA's views at the time retained many of their characterists from decades prior, such as the belief in a monolithic black "civillisation", the essentialist nature of race and the need

105 Nimako, "Nkrumah, African Awakening and Neo-colonialism". 59.
106 Erik S. McDuffie, ""A New Day Has Dawned for the UNIA": Garveyism, the Diasporic Midwest, and West Africa, 1920–80." *Journal of West African History* 2, no. 1, 2016. 95.

for outstanding black 'empires' to achieve parity with the western world.[107] Although Nkrumah represents a modernisation of Garvey's thought and a departure from the racialist elements that had defined it the debate between holistic and sub-nationalism, or civic and ethnic nationalism, appears to be at the heart of the issues that caused the downfall of Nkrumah in 1966. Pan-Africanism's call for racial pride, unity and self-determination was accepted readily on the global level and among the ruling classes of independent African countries, but had to be 'sold' on the regional level as being an improvement over autonomy and traditional rule. African-American oriented thinkers championed modernity and enlightenment and viewed tradition in a negative light, as Sherrill makes clear in *New Africa Faces the World* which he published shortly after returning from Ghana. In this text he considers "African people who still follow their tribal laws and customs" to "not represent the New and awakened Africa".[108]

Another African country where the dilemma of competing nationalisms had been evident since its inception is Liberia. Liberia had traditionally been the focal point of African-American efforts to foster transnational links between them and Africa, with it being one of the few states where 'black' self-determination was an established fact. In the spring of 1966 Thomas Harvey, who had succeeded Sherrill as president of the UNIA in 1959, formally appointed Rev. Clarence Harding as High Commissioner of Africa.[109] The process of decolonisation had continued on and numerous African states had gained their independence, which drastically changed the role of the UNIA in Liberia going forward.

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107 Tunde Adeleke, *UnAfrican Americans: Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1998); Reena N. Goldtree, "Amy Jacques Garvey, Theodore Bilbo, and the Paradoxes of Black Nationalism," in *Global Circuits of Blackness: Interrogating the African Diaspora*, ed. Jean Muteba Pahier, Percy C. Hintzen, and Felipe Smith (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 152–73; Ibrahim Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers: Black Zion, Black Slavery* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 15–47. In: McDuffie, ""A New Day Has Dawned for the UNIA", 74.

108 William L. Sherrill, *New Africa Faces the World*, c. 1957, UNIA Papers MARBL, box 22, folder 10. In: McDuffie, 96.

109 McDuffie, "A New Day Has Dawned for the UNIA" 98.

Under Harding's leadership the "African Project" would champion the cause of indigenous Liberians in a period when dissatisfaction with African-American minority rule under president William Tubman, who had been in the head of Liberia's one-party state since 1944.[110] He founded the Marcus Garvey Memorial Institute in Liberia's capital Monrovia in 1968, which proved to be a critical institution for spreading Pan-African ideas to indigenous students and those attending from various other African states across the continent. Harding endeavoured to establish UNIA branches elsewhere in Liberia and in the capital of Ivory Coast in the late 60's, then made official visits to Tanzania and Congo in the 70's, but managed to secure little in the way of permanent support outside of Monrovia. Its real successes would instead come from African nationalists who took the lessons from the Marcus Garvey Institute and applied them in campaigns for greater rights for indigenous peoples in Africa. Such is the case with the Movement for Justice for Africa which advocated for left-nationalism and opposed Americo-Liberian minority rule.[111] Its leader in the late 70's, Amos Sawyer, was tutored by Harding. Sawyer became an important mediator and head of the interim government of Liberia during its civil war following the murder of president Samuel Doe in 1990. Sawyer in turn taught Doe at the Marcus Garvey Institute in 1978.[112]

Harding's experiences in Monrovia and his interactions with militant Pan-Africanists radically altered his original views, which were more in line with Sherrill and Garvey himself, towards sympathy for indigenous Africans and enthusiasm for a Pan-Africanist movement in their hands. This represents a rift between Garvey's successors in America and in Africa; The Monrovian school embraced African nationalism completely while their American counterpart continued to support racialism, cooperation with white race advocates and black colonialism.

110 Kaakyire Duku Frempong, "The Liberian Civil War: The Tubman Factor." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series, no. 4/5, 2000. 124-127.
111 "Movement for Justice for Africa (MOJA)" in *Historical Dictionary of Liberia*, ed. D. Elwood Dunn et al. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 237–8
112 McDuffie, "A New Day Has Dawned for the UNIA" 101.

Although the movement as a whole never stopped campaigning for repatriation, the Garveyites that were actually in Africa did so in the context of the Pan-African movement of the time whereas their American counterparts never abandoned their paternalist outlook. That paternalism, or rather the idea that an educated elite of African-Americans must be sent to Africa to enlighten the masses, is something integral to Garvey's ideology in practice.[113] Kwame Nkrumah symbolised a new generation of indigenous Africans who took the ideas of Marcus Garvey in their own hands and built nation states guided by his principles. Nkrumah shifted the focus of Pan-Africanism from the diaspora to the continent and the leaders that were produced there. He continued to be committed to Garvey's vision and endeavoured to created a holistic nationalist state in Ghana. To this end he greatly increased collective freedom for Ghanaians as a society, at the cost of individual and sub-national freedom.[114] As time went on and Nkrumah's pursuit of collective freedom shifted his international politics further to the left, regionalist elements led by Kofi Busia began signalling the United States to stage a coup. Democrats such as Thomas J. Dodd and James Eastland, in line with the typical right-wing liberal views that permeated Congress at the time, were eager to denounce Nkrumah as an enemy of freedom and democracy.[115]

Busia was inaugurated as president of Ghana in 1969 and ousted again by another coup in 1972. He had misjudged the apparent faults of holistic nationalism and was backstabbed by the sub-national elements that suddenly found themselves with a new central government to rally against, Busia's own. A repeat performance of these events would become the defining characteristic of African geopolitics in the second half of the twentieth century.

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113 See: "The majority of us must remain here, but we must send our scientists, our mechanics and our artisans and let them build railroads, let them build the great educational and other institutions necessary and when they are constructed the time will come for the command to be given, 'come home'."
In: Ken Jones, *Marcus Garvey Said…A Collection of Quotations From Statements Made by Marcus Garvey.* Jamaica: N.P., 2002. 92.

114 Nimako, "Nkrumah, African Awakening and Neo-colonialism." 68.

115 Kenneth W. Grundy, "The Congressional Image of Africa." *Africa Today* 14, no. 1 1967: 12.
See also: Raymond Arsenault, "White on Chrome: Southern Congressmen and Rhodesia 1962-1971." *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 2, no. 4 (1972): 46-57.

Coups like the one in Ghana in 1966 reversed the gains made by the Pan-Africanist movement and enabled outside forces to re-establish neocolonialist power relations. As Dr. Nimako phrases it in *How Black America Awakened Nkrumah and Nkrumah Awakened Black America*, the decline of British colonialism coincided with the rise of American neocolonialism.[116] Nkrumah's Garveyism transformed itself over the years into its own distinct ideology that many African nationalist leaders would adopt and follow. His move towards securing collective freedom at the cost of the individual and the sub-national hollowed out the domestic support for 'Nkrumahism', but as Nkrumah moved into exile he observed the successors to African-American Garveyism reconstitute themselves into the Black Power movement of the late '60s and early '70s.

A theoretical timeline of Marcus Garvey thought that can be traced from its inception in 1914 to its passing on to a new generation by Nkrumah in 1947 all the way to Muammar al-Qadhafi's Third International Theory that remained relevant until 2011.[117] Garvey's influence on Pan-Africanism is massive and several distinct schools of his thought have emerged in the twentieth century, two of which were identified in this chapter. As global power dynamics shifted following the end of World War 2 and America and Soviet Union became the foremost superpowers, the racialist elements of Garveyism became relegated to the fringes and confined in the radical African-American movements that rejected the dominant civil rights discourse. In Africa, the geopolitical realities of the time forced many African leaders seeking collective freedom to the left. Regionalists and others who benefited from the old status quo courted America and overthrew many of these first pioneers, but these temporary alliances of convenience could not extinguish the ideas of racial pride and solidarity that make up the pillars, built by Garvey, upon which Pan-Africanism stands today.

116 Nimako, "Nkrumah, African Awakening and Neo-colonialism." 67.

117 Muammar al-Qadhafi was a student of Nkrumah.
See: Claudius Fergus, "From Prophecy to Policy: Marcus Garvey and the Evolution of Pan-African Citizenship." *The Global South* 4, no. 2, 2010. 40.

*"The New Order" and Africa*

An observation of black nationalism can be made out of the previous chapters that positions it in the same category as other nationalisms of its time. It reached its zenith in the period of global racial consciousness in the 1920's and 30's but never returned to its classic form after liberalism and communism became the dominant ideologies for the rest of the century. World War II and its outcome defined the further development of Pan-Africanism, although Nkrumah's case can be used to substantiate the claim that the leftward shift of many African leaders in the 50's was more a geopolitical consequence than something rooted in Garveyism itself. The bent of repatriation-minded African-Americans such as Lena Gordon towards Japan can similarly be explained as a response by black nationalism to historical developments of its time. Bearing all this in mind, a model can be constructed of the broader context of Pan-Africanism throughout the twentieth century that can be adapted to scenario's wherein different geopolitical actors exist for black intellectuals to gravitate towards, which could present a radically different fate for separatist and 'black civilisation' thought than the fringe existence it found itself in.

For this purpose, this thesis will engage with alternative history. Alternative history exists in the public consciousness mostly as a literary genre, but has been an active field of historical inquiry since Antiquity.[118] The advent of the internet has created an entirely new environment for this field, with a significant increase in non-academic participation through interactive media such as video games.[119] One such game (or rather, a game "mod"), *The New Order: Last Days of Europe*, attempted to create a comprehensive, immersive scenario based on the alternative history of an Axis victory in World War II.

118 Gavriel Rosenfeld, "Why Do We Ask "What If?" Reflections on the Function of Alternate History." *History and Theory* 41, no. 4, 2002. 91.
See also: Alexander Demandt, *History that Never Happened: A Treatise on the Question, What Would Have Happened If...?* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1993.

119 Mark Slouka, *War of the Worlds: Cyberspace and the High-Tech Assault on Reality.* New York: Basic Bookbs, 1995.
In: Rosenfeld. 92.

At this moment of writing *TNO* has 102,868 registered subscribers on its Steam Workshop page, including myself.[120] Its gameplay is centered around the years 1962 to 1972 and the scenario's superpowers the United States, Germany and Japan have fully completed ten-year storylines for players to explore, with various other regional powers being playable from anywhere between five to ten years.

In Gavriel Rosenfeld's *Why Do We Ask "What If?" Reflections on the Function of Alternate History* Axis victory scenario's are characterised as an American reaction to resurgent neonazism in West Germany in 1959 and as critical reflections on the US' participation in World War II.[121] *TNO*, being first envisioned by Jacob "ThePinkPanzer" Zaborowski some time in 2015, is intended as a critical reaction on the pre-existing American alternative history mentioned in Rosenfeld's article and on contemporary neonazism in the digital age. Zaborowski explains his views in an interview with The Canada Files, stating that idealisation of Nazism in media such as The Man in the High Castle is a tool used by neonazi's to recruit people to their side.[122] The Canada Files interview reveals a great deal about the intended message of *TNO* as a left-wing, postmodern critique of the so-called "alt-right" movement in America. Zaborowski perceives them as having too much control over the narrative surrounding Germany and fascism, which his alternative history aims to combat by providing communism with a heroic rise from the ashes in the second half of the game's timeline.

While Zaborowski is the original creator of *TNO,* it should be noted that the construction of its narrative beyond the overarching vision described in this interview has been done through a highly decentralised process. Volunteers from the community are invited to participate in content-making teams that oversee the development of certain regions with minimal input from the project leader.

120 *Steam Workshop::The New Order: Last Days of Europe*. (n.d.). https://steamcommunity.com/sharedfiles/filedetails/?id=2438003901.
121 "II. The Nazi's Win World War II." in Rosenfeld, "Why Do We Ask "What If?", 94-98.
122 Daniel Xie, "Challenging Fascist Idealization and American Exceptionalism in Popular Media - An Interview with the Developer of The New Order: Last Days of Europe." *The Canada Files*, August 8 2020. https://www.thecanadafiles.com/articles/fsdno20.

These people, who are gathered in *TNO*'s Discord server (a popular messaging platform for game developers), did not step forward and give interviews like Zaborowski.[123] Almost all of them are completely anonymous beyond their usernames on Discord and other social media platforms frequented by the *TNO* community such as Reddit.[124] There nevertheless is enough information available on these platforms to gain an insight in the decisions made by the regional teams responsible for developing *TNO*'s African setting and since Zaborowski's input in this regard does not go much deeper than the surface level, he will not be taken into further consideration. The focus of this thesis is on examining what *TNO* presents its players with in Africa and on engendering an an academic debate on how the long history of Garveyism would have developed differently in its world.

Central to the narrative of *TNO*'s Africa is the conflict between the Union of South Africa and a faction of Boer separatists in the Transvaal and Orange Free State provinces, who are supported directly by Germany's African 'Reichskomissariats'. These latter ones are, at least in principle, based on the proposals by German neocolonialists described in 'The German "*Neuordnung*" in an African context'. On November 16th 1963 the German high command in Africa backs Albert Herzog's *Herstigte Nationale Party* and attacks the Union of South Africa to secure the independence of the Boer state.[125] Legions of conscripted Africans from the German colonies quickly overwhelm the South African Defence Force and the South African government formally requests aid from the Organisation of Free Nations, an allegory to NATO led by the United States and the remnants of the wartime Allies.[126]

123 *Join the The New Order: Last Days of Europe Discord Server!* Discord. (n.d.). https://discord.com/invite/tno.
124 *r/TNOmod*. reddit. (n.d.). https://www.reddit.com/r/TNOmod/.
125 See: *South African War.* The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/South_African_War.
Please note: The *TNO* Wiki is an unofficial source and is referenced here as a convenient place to read about alternative historical events in the scenario, but it is recommended to play the game instead to get a complete picture.
126 See: Ibid.
See also: *Organization of Free Nations.* TNO Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/Organization_of_Free_Nations.

America holds a summit on January 17th 1964 and formally commences the O.F.N. mission in South Africa. *TNO* tracks a modifier to display the domestic discontent with the intervention that goes up the more America commits to the war, so players have to balance defending South Africa from nazism with growing resistance against war measures like the draft at home.

There are several ways in which the war in South Africa can resolve. The O.F.N. alliance can utterly defeat the German colonial armies and set up interim governments in Angola, Congo and the majority of East Africa with a timeline for their denazification and decolonisation. There are three varieties of a stalemate that can occur where a peace deal is signed; one with no border changes whatsoever (with the Boers reintegrated into South Africa) one where South Africa annexes some German-African border regions and another where only Boer independence is recognised but the rest of South Africa remains independent. With all three stalemates, as well as with a complete German victory, the chief administrator of German East Africa Hans Hüttig will consolidate the colonies into a single entity under direct control of the African SS. This 'Reichstaat' will become a rogue state that embarks upon a campaign to exterminate the black African population within its borders, which although never successful can result in two stages of the so-called 'African Devastation'. The Devastation results in the complete collapse of German Africa into a plurality of post-colonial states that depending on how much damage was caused by Hüttig have moderate or radical leaders.[127]

The setup of this war raises a lot of questions. Why do the German colonies have huge standing armies? A German-African conscript army of hundreds of thousands led by European officers simply would not exist. German primary sources prove this; in an OKW document pertaining to the future organisation of the Wehrmacht in Africa six main objectives are stated, all related to garrison

127 See: "Outcomes" in: *South African War.* The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/South_African_War#Outcomes

and convoy protection duties.[128] Hitler himself rejected the idea of indigenous colonial troops completely.[129] Even ignoring the fact that the colonial government in Germany could never have autonomously decided to back an insurgency in another sovereign country, the military and logistical capacity needed to stage what would amount to a nearly continent-wide offensive is just not there. Furthermore the decision to make Hans Hüttig, a professional concentration camp guard, the head administrator of German East Africa is dubious. While it is true that Hüttig lived in then-German Tanganyika from 1914 to 1917 and participated in the campaign against Britain during World War One, he had no affiliation with the German neocolonialist movement nor any previous experience as a colonial administrator.[130] The *KPA-Staat* instead picked Philipp Bouhler as the head of a special commission for the future administration of German East Africa in June of 1942.[131]

Hüttig's appointment as the head of German East Africa, as well as his reign of terror following the end of the war with South Africa, can be regarded as misinformed historical fiction. As part of *TNO*'s worldbuilding however they do provide an interesting case of a misconception that exists in the popular historiography of National Socialism and colonialism. Certain historians, such as Benjamin Madley have been trying to establish an ideological pipeline "from Africa to Auschwitz".[132] They claim that the settler and colonial experience in German South-West Africa was the template for the atrocities committed in Eastern Europe and that mass killings such as the Herero Genocide of 1904 were a prelude to the Holocaust.[133]

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128 National Archives, Ebd., Koloniale Wehrmacht, Bl. 838236 ff.
In: Alexandre Kum'A Ndumbe, "4.3 Die deutsche Kolonialarmee" *Was wollte Hitler in Afrika?: Ns-Planungen für eine faschistische Neugestaltung Afrikas.* Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation. 1993. 141-142.

129 Kum'A Ndumbe. 142.

130 See: Tom Śegev, *Die Soldaten des Bösen zur Geschichte der Kz-Kommandanten*. Rowohlt. 1992.

131 Karsten Linne: *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators? Die NS-Kolonialplanungen für Afrika.* Ch. Links, Berlin 2008, 74, 86.

132 Benjamin Madley, "From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted and Developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe," *European History Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2005): 429-464.

133 Jürgen Zimmerer, "Colonialism and the Holocaust: Towards an Archaeology of Genocide," in *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004, 49-76.

As has been explained in 'The German "*Neuordnung*" in an African context', this view is far too simplistic and shuts down genuine engagement with the complicated relationship between German colonialism and National Socialism. *TNO* presents an extreme continuation of "Africa to Auschwitz" by bringing Auschwitz to Africa. The failure of the *TNO* development team to adhere to an academic standard in the finer details of their scenario can be excused as a product of their decentralised approach and high degree of non-academic participation, it may even be considered irrelevant to the overall experience of the game, but there is overwhelming evidence that the current African narrative exists to reinforce the belief that German colonialism and National Socialism are one and the same. This belief is incorrect and gameplay content designed around it reinforces this idea on players who do not expect or want to have to examine critically what *TNO* presents to them.

An alternative to the existing African content in *TNO* must therefore be provided. This thesis will put forward three cases of African gameplay content in the game as-is in combination with proposals for more accurate and appropriate experiences, building on the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapters. *TNO* allows the creation of 'sub-mods' to expand or alter certain aspects of the game that players can opt in with through the Steam Workshop.[134] In addition to this thesis, a 'sub-mod' aimed at addressing the points raised in the case studies is currently in development.

134 For example, see: *Steam Workshop::TNO - The Second West Russian War.* (n.d.). https://steamcommunity.com/sharedfiles/filedetails/?id=2514593219.

Beyond the colonial context *TNO* currently only offers only a glimpse into its post-colonial world. The African Devastation currently determines the political context of much of central and southern Africa instantaneously and as this is intended to be the end of Hüttig's content, the gameplay after the collapse of his state is limited to a few events. These include a civil war in Congo that mirrors the real-life Congo Crisis of 1960-1965 and a civil war between UNITA and the MPLA in Angola.[135] The representation of post-colonial Africa in *TNO* is a mixture of straight parallel with reality and attempts at justification that the presence of National Socialism on the continent would inspire African leaders to veer to the far left by themselves in the absence of a communist superpower.

In the worldbuilding leading up to *TNO*'s starting date of January 1st 1962, the Third Reich reduced the Soviet Union to warlord successor states and defeated the largest one of them, the West Russian Revolutionary Front in a continuation conflict known as the West Russian War.[136] As Zaborowski mentions in the Canada Files interview it was his intention to have a communist state re-emerge from Russia's 'warlord era', but in practice any of the dozens of warlords adhering to every possible ideology can emerge as the dominant power. It would also take decades for such a state to re-establish itself on the global stage, which Zaborowski alludes to when stating Russia, America and China would become the superpowers of *TNO*'s planned third decade.[137] Far too late to become relevant in post-colonial Africa in 1962 to 1972. Instead *TNO* should explore the roots of Pan-Africanism in the African-American context and adapt African geopolitics to the enduring hegemony of Japan, which is what the upcoming cases will focus on.

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135 "Congo" and "Angola" in: *TNO Post Colonial Central Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOPostColonialCentralAfrica.

136 See: *West Russian War. The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki.* (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/West_Russian_War.

137 "Regarding themes, the entire point of the third decade is that the Nazis are defeated, the Imperial Japanese are defeated. The US basically gets the best possible ending, with the Organization of Free Nations controlling all parts of the globe except a resurgent China and the Soviet Union."
In: Xie, "An Interview with the Developer of The New Order: Last Days of Europe." *The Canada Files*, August 8 2020.

*Case: Reichskommisariat Zentralafrika - Congo*

The 'Reichskommisariat' of Central Africa in *TNO* is comprised of the former French and Belgian colonies of Congo, Gabon and Ubangi-Shari. Germany, as part of the Atlantropa project, deposited much of the water of the Mediterranean into a basin which has become the Congo Sea.[138] Its chief administrator is Siegfried Müller, who according to the worldbuilding enrolled into the colonial civil service some time in the 1950s.[139] He has little interest in the actual affairs of colonial bureaucracy, preferring to go on hunting trips instead, so he delegates governing duties to the remnants of the Franco-Belgian bureaucracy and his second in command Rolf Steiner.

138 For more on Atlantropa, see: Alexander Gall, *Das Atlantropa-Projekt: die Geschichte einer gescheiterten Vision : Hermann Sörgel und die Absenkung des Mittelmeeres* Frankfurt: Campus-Verlag. 1998.
Note: The real-life Atlantropa Institute did propose the construction of a dam on the Congo River but intended to re-create the Mega-Chad Basin that existed roughly 11.000 years ago. This seems to have been misinterpreted or otherwise deliberately changed to creating a new sea in Congo in *TNO*.

139 See: *Siegfried Müller.* The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/Siegfried_M%C3%BCller.

Central Africa is described as Germany's most prosperous African colony, mainly due to Müller's policy of non-interference. Its military and police are largely comprised of holdovers from the French and Belgian colonial armies, as well as private military contractors operating on Germany's behalf. The economy is managed almost completely by corporations who have purchased much of Central Africa's land from Müller and are benefiting from complete lack of labour laws for 'undesirable' indigenous Africans, which allows plantations to operate with large amounts of forced labour.[140] The private military contractors' relationship with the central government is tracked by a dynamic modifier, which is influenced by events where Müller interacts with prominent mercenaries in the region. These include Mike Hoare, Jean Schramme and Bob Denard.[141] A contingent of Belgian deserters known as 'Les Affreux' ('The Terrible Ones', an allusion to Bob Denard's real-life group of soldiers for hire in Katanga in 1961) frequently burn down entire villages when commissioned by Müller to quell native dissent.

Joining the SS is presented to Africans as an opportunity to escape the conditions of plantation life, so Central Africa has one the highest rates of voluntary indigenous participation in the German army. A resort city called Hitlerstadt was constructed at an unspecified date before 1962 which rests on the edge of the drainage from Atlantropa and is visited by the metropolitan German elite. The Hitlerstadt concept appears to be inspired by the Colossus of Prora, an initiative of the German Labour Front's Strength Through Joy program that was intended to become part of an NSDAP seaside resort chain.[142]

140 "Reichskommissariat Zentralafrika" in *TNO Southern Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOSouthernAfrica.

141 All three men were mercenaries in Congo in real life. See: George Dodenhoff,"The Congo: A Case Study of Mercenary Employment." *Naval War College Review* 21, no. 8 1969. 44-70.

142 Hasso Spode, "Fordism, Mass Tourism and the Third Reich: the Strength through Joy Seaside Resort as an Index Fossil". *Journal of Social History* 38, 2004. 127–155.

When war with South Africa breaks out in late 1963 Müller has to scramble to reorganise the Central African armed forces, coordinate a strategy with the mercenaries and press the indigenous population into service. If the war goes on for long enough or ends in a stalemate or victory for the German colonies, governor of German East Africa Hans Hüttig will attempt to assassinate the other administrators to unify the colonies under his 'Reichstaat'. Müller narrowly escapes death by fleeing Africa with the help of Rudolf Steiner and disappears from the narrative from then on. Should the US and its allies capitulate the entire German colonial alliance then an interim administration of the Congo is established in Central Africa, led by American military personnel. Ingame events paint a picture of this American occupation government as neocolonialist and no better than what came before, with the foreign corporations, the mercenaries and various elements of Müller's administration kept in place to safeguard its economic stability.[143]

In the aftermath of the 'Reichstaat' collapse or the withdrawal of the American coalition, Central Africa will enter its post-colonial stage. The states emerging from this differ very little from their historical counterparts and contemporary conflicts such as the civil war in Congo have been included with ostensibly no real account for the context of the scenario. For example, Patrice Lumumba is one of the potential heads of state, he will always be assassinated.[144] Although the code for these events has no localisation associated with it (which is the actual ingame text to explain in detail what an event does to the player) Lumumba's assassination is triggered after Joseph Mobutu secedes from Congo proper in the north-east.

143 "OFN Provisional Government of the Congo" in *TNO Southern Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOSouthernAfrica.

144 See: Event ID A_SPRING.14 # Assassination of Patrice Lumumba in *TNO*'s event files. A_SPRING.14 checks CFS (Free Congo's 'nation tag'), kills the current leader and creates Joseph Kasa-Vubu in their place, then fires A_SPRING.4 in 60 ingame days, which is the civil war.

Combining this with the mentions of Mobutu in German Central Africa's events as a 'traitor' in hiding, it can be inferred that *TNO* again parallels history directly here and makes Mobutu responsible for Lumumba's death.[145] Other possible leaders of Congo are Joseph Kasa-Vubu, Joseph Iléo and Victor Lundula.[146] A portrait of Cyrille Adoula can also be found in *TNO*'s graphics files, but he is not coded to appear anywhere in the game.

During Congo's civil war a breakaway state called the Popular Republic of Congo appears in the territories occupied by the real-life Simba rebellion of 1963-1965.[147] It is led by the trade unionist Christophe Gbenye, who is characterised as a radical successor to (the real-world historical) Lumumba and his government is thus classified as communist. The state of Katanga also secedes from the central government and is directly controlled by Jean Schramme, who in several events for German Central Africa is portrayed as a flamboyant crime-lord pulling Müller's strings for the benefit of the remnant white Belgian community in Congo.[148] Interestingly, Schramme can also be directly empowered by the American provisional government in Congo if they decide to withdraw from Africa prematurely. Katanga will be able to expand further northward from its stronghold in Elizabethville if granted independence by America and it can be inferred that Schramme's government is intended to serve as a direct neocolonial outlet for European finance in the region.

145 "Mobotu seemed destined to rise as high as his race would permit him until he unexpectedly vanished into the jungle along with his entire unit and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition. Shortly after, he changed his name and developed a different reputation -- of one of the most ruthless and capable insurgent warlords in the region." See: Event ID A_SPRING.13 # Azandeland Proclamation in *TNO*'s event files and Event ID COG_misc.13. "Mobutu Sese Soko Spotted near Bangui" in *TNO*'s localisation files.

146 "Congolese Republic" in *TNO Southern Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOSouthernAfrica.

147 "Popular Republic of Congo" in *TNO Southern Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). See also: Peter Abbott, *Modern African Wars (4): The Congo 1960–2002*. Oxford; New York City: Osprey Publishing, 2014. 14.

148 "State of Katanga" in *TNO Southern Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.).

*Proposed Changes*

The main issue with *TNO*'s Congo content is it hardly makes any attempt to account for the context of its own scenario. Many of the Germans in Congo were only in Africa in the 1960's in real life because they transitioned from the Reich's Wehrmacht to become soldiers for hire in the Congo Crisis or in other conflicts. Müller first spent time in Egypt working for president Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1950s alongside other former German officers, while Steiner fought in the Biafra War in the late 60's but was not even 16 when World War II concluded in the 40's.[149] Neither men have a record of receiving colonialist training either. The actual designated chief administrator for the prospective German West- and Central African territories was Benhard Ruberg, who was the main representative of German expatriates in Cameroon on behalf of the NSDAP since 1934.[150]

149 Benjamin Brendel, "Experten Von Krieg, Hass Und Gewalt: Deutsche Nationalsozialisten Im Ägypten Der 1950er Und 1960er Jahre Im Blick Von AA Und CIA." *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 44, no. 4, 2018. 526-53.
Philip Jowett, *Modern African Wars (5): The Nigerian-Biafran War 1967–70.* London: Osprey, 2016. 15.

150 Tammo Luther, *Volkstumspolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1933–1938: die Auslanddeutschen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Traditionalisten und Nationalsozialisten*, Stuttgart 2004, zugl. Diss. Univ. Kiel, 2002. 108.

Ruberg's appointment as governor is mentioned in the same memorandum as the one about Philip Boulher from 1942.[151] Keeping in line with the economic plans mentioned in 'The German "*Neuordnung*" in an African context' Germany's primary focus in the colonies would be creating an integrated system of resource extraction that prevents so-called 'Kapitalabwanderung', the 'drifting off' of private enterprise away from the German sphere.[152] Unchecked private enterprise such as it exists in *TNO*'s Central Afrika would therefore be unlikely. Any and all profit generated from the colonies would be through the export of raw material goods back to Germany so they could be processed and sold in the German bloc. A colossal standing army of indigenous Africans makes no sense either, seeing as Germany only intended to commit manpower towards garrisons, police forces and the civil service. This does not completely rule out the use of European mercenaries, especially considering the German administration would have to be built on the existing Franco-Belgian framework. While there is no direct reference to the employment of non-German Europeans anywhere in the *KPA* documentation the proposed justice system for the colonies was to be founded on the principle of "justice for Germans and equalised foreigners in the German colonies", so there is evidence to suggest that French and Belgian colonials were somewhat equal and thus could serve in the German colonial apparatus.[153]

Germany would arguably also need to make use of European advisers from the former colonial governments during the peace-time transition of power, but as *TNO*'s setting begins in 1962 (17 years after the end of WWII) the German system should be firmly in place and local collaboration would no longer be needed. In essence the *KPA*'s planned civilian administration designed in '41-'43 could be embedded directly into the existing colonial apparatus and enforced militarily in the same way as Germany had conducted its North African campaign, effectively eliminating large-scale organised resistance from the indigenous population.

151 Karsten Linne, *Deutschland jenseits des Äquators? Die NS-Kolonialplanungen für Afrika*. Berlin 2008, 145.
152 Alexandre Kum'A Ndumbe, "1.2 Der ökonomischer Nutzen Zentralafrikas" *Was wollte Hitler in Afrika?* 57-68.
153 Kum'A Ndumbe. 121.

As mentioned before, the war between the German colonies and South Africa as it currently exists in *TNO* is impossible. Colonies do not just implode when war breaks out in Europe either. This is important because *TNO* is unclear about how the peace-time handover of the Belgian Congo to Germany went down even when a solution readily presents itself. On May 10th 1940 the Belgian Congolese administration petitioned the British government to request they respect the colony's neutrality in WWII after the fall of Belgium on that same day. The British refused and Congo was drawn into the war, but had they accepted this request then the whole colony could have been kept out of the conflict and much. of the war-time indigenous unrest may not have happened.[154]

Based on historical analysis alone one can never say for certain that there would have been an inciting incident to centre the gameplay around that currently exists in *TNO*'s South African war. Because this case study is intended to present an alternative to the war let us explore one possibility that at the very least is more in line with the historiography of Congolese decolonisation, with respect to the scenario's German context. In Leo Zellig's *Patrice Lumumba: Africa's Lost Leader* there is a description of the social and political climate in Congo following the Leopoldville riots of 1959. On July 5th 1960 Patrice Lumumba expelled the European community in Matadi. When a cadre of armed Belgian men stayed behind, 19 Europeans were killed in a skirmish that ensued.[155] A year prior in Stanleyville, Lumumba found out on a visit to the city that its European community was organising itself in self-defence clubs as a reaction to the unrest in the capital.[156] Contrary to popular belief, metropolitan German gun control laws were actually very lax and since 1938 any card-carrying member of the NSDAP was able to procure weapons for themselves without restrictions.[157]

154 Guy Vanthemsche, *Belgium and the Congo, 1885–1980*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 122.
155 Robin Mckown, *Lumumba: a biography*. New York: Doubleday, 1969. 120.
In: Vantemsche, *Belgium and the Congo*. 71.
156 Edwine Simons, Roupen Boghossian and Benoît Verhaegen, 'Stanleyville 1959: le proces de Patrice Lumumba et les emertes d'octobre', *Cahiers Africains* 17–18, 1995. 131.
In: Vantemsche, *Belgium and the Congo*. 53.
157 Wilhelm Frick, *Verordnung gegen den Waffenbesitz der Juden*. 11 November 1938.

Going with these two historical examples the German administration in Congo would either be forced to disarm the Belgian settler population and risk altercations with them or condone a potentially hostile and armed contingent in their colony. In *TNO,* the death of Hitler eventually leads to an armed conflict between factions supporting his successors known as the German Civil War.[158] Instead of the German colonies recklessly throwing the entire African continent into its own war by attacking South Africa, why not have the instability created by this event lead to the Belgians (and the French) staging a coup in Congo? This could lead to regional revolts by the indigenous African population, similar to the Masisi-Lubutu revolt in 1944.[159] The freshly re-empowered Belgians would retaliate with mass crackdowns across the colony that could spiral into a conflict similar to the Congo Crisis as regions break away from the capital, starting with the colonial fringes in Cameroon and Ubangi-Shari.

American interest in the ensuing conflict, which is necessary for the overall progression of *TNO*'s story, can be centred around securing the uranium located in the Shinkolobwe mine. In real-life 1940 the Belgian Congo cooperated with the United States in supplying them with 1200 tons of uranium via their state mining corporation the Union Minière. Congolese uranium has been accredited by historians as one of the main driving forces behind the American nuclear program.[160] Belgian-Congolese diplomats such as Michel Struelens (who had been in Congo since before WWII) could convince Democratic senators like Thomas Dodd and James Eastland, who were very intervention-minded in the real-world conflict between Congo and Katanga, to push for American participation on behalf of the central government.[161]

158 See: *German Civil War.* The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/German_Civil_War.

159 Jason Stearns, "North Kivu: The background to conflict in north Kivu province in eastern Congo" (PDF). *refworld.org*. 2012. 14.

160 Tom Zoellner, *Uranium*. London: Penguin Books. 2009. 1.
A neutral Congo in WWII could also have supplied uranium to the Axis and this may serve as a better justification for Germany's victory in *TNO*.

161 See: Josiah Brownell, "Diplomatic Lepers: The Katangan and Rhodesian Foreign Missions in the United States and the Politics of Nonrecognition". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies.* 47 (2), 2014. 218.

*Case: Cameroon African State*

The Cameroon African State is a fascinating nation in *TNO*. Not because you can play it, since it has no content beyond some feature descriptions and leader portraits as seen in the image above. Instead, Cameroon offers an insight into the developers' interpretation of Pan-Africanism in this setting. Its leadership is comprised of a combination of African-American and indigenous Pan-Africanists and its operates as a one party dictatorship of the African Continental Army, which according to its description is born out of a mishmash of allusions to historical developments described in this thesis' last few chapters. According to events in *TNO*'s files the Free French stronghold in equatorial Africa came in conflict with Cameroon in 1940 when Ruben Um Nyobè staged an insurrection and declared Cameroonian independence, which France was forced to recognise.[162]

162 See: Event ID CAO.1 "The cameroon african state: Part 1" in *TNO*'s localisation files.

Nyobè, who was characterised as a communist, was assassinated on an unspecified date between 1940 and 1951 by regionalist warlords. Cameroon experienced a period of anarchy until in the summer of 1951 Félix-Roland Moumié spearheaded an expeditionary force to re-establish order in Cameroon and to wage war against the newly set up German colony in Central Africa, which resulted in a peace agreement mediated by the Japanese.[163]

Under Moumié's leadership Cameroon can expand into Nigeria to the west and up to southern Chad in the east.[164] Various other Cameroonians from the real-world post-colonial political landscape also make an appearance, as well as Stokely Carmichael ("Kwame Ture"), an African-American.

163 See: Event ID CAO.2 "The cameroon african state: Part 2" in *TNO*'s localisation files.
164 "Cameroon African State" in: *TNO Post Colonial Central Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOPostColonialCentralAfrica.

An upcoming update to *TNO,* 'Toolbox Theory', is going to add a large-scale regional conflict between Cameroon and the remnants of Free France in West Africa. Because the worldbuilding for this conflict has been revealed to the playerbase in a development update about three months ago, it should be taken into consideration as part of Cameroon's overall presentation.[165] The Free French will attempt to make contact with Francophile elements in Dahomey and Mossiland, which will secure them a place in the alliance between the states of Wolofia and Mali. Cameroon will similarly attempt to establish fellow Pan-African states in Hausaland, Ghana and Guinea. Eventually these coalitions will declare war on each other as they are ideologically opposed; Free France is led by a white settler minority whereas Cameroon is intent on expelling all colonialists from Africa.[166] Two alternative scenario's are also offered, which depend on if the diplomatic campaign by Free France is a partial of complete failure. In the case of a moderate failure the now hostile states of Wolofia and Mali enter into a separate alliance with Mali, with France holding on to Dahomey only. Cameroon will declare war on all sides and a three-way war occurs. Should Free France completely fail to secure any allies via diplomacy they will sponsor a retaliatory action to armed uprising in northern Ghana led by Kwame Nkrumah's CPP, which will align itself with Cameroon and kick off the conflict that way.

Beyond this upcoming content, which in itself is only intended to be observed by players playing as other nations, Cameroon only offers a glimpse into *TNO*'s existing take on Pan-Africanism. From what can be inferred by looking into the files there is potential for Cameroon to expand and unify parts of Africa, but its ultimate form would become something resembling Nyobè's first (in-universe) attempt at an African federation without much deviation from history. So, what can be changed?

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165 *r/TNOmod - The West African Crisis in Toolbox Theory Teaser.* reddit. (n.d.). https://www.reddit.com/r/TNOmod/comments/m8rfmn/the_west_african_crisis_in_toolbox_theory_teaser/.

166 See: "u/bambaaduoma – Explanation for each path" in *The West African Crisis in Toolbox Theory Teaser.* Bambaaduoma is the development lead for *TNO*'s Britain and Italy content.

*Proposed Changes*

It should first of all be made clear that Cameroon would almost certainly not be an independent nation in *TNO*'s 1962. Cameroon was the only German colony that Hitler directly expressed interest in retaking.[167] For this proposal, it will be assumed that the collapse of German Central Africa occurred in the way it was described in the previous case study, with the Belgian coup. This frees up Cameroon as a potential framework in the game to showcase holistic nationalism, sub-nationalism and the effects of German neocolonialism later down the line.

167 Christian Hartmann, Thomas Vordermayer, Othmar Plöckinger, Roman Töppel (Hrsg.): *Hitler, Mein Kampf. Eine kritische Edition*. Band 1. Institut für Zeitgeschichte München – Berlin, München 2016. 398.

The ‘Vereinigung Kameruner Pflanzungen’, an organisation responsible for safeguarding the rights of German planters in Cameroon during the interwar years, would either directly or through a state-sponsored successor retain great influence in the country.[168] The VKP or any other political organisation of German settlers would be able to dictate the process of Cameroonian independence to such a degree that it would really only be theoretically independent. A real-world historical example that proves this is French Cameroon in the 50’s and 60’s, where Ahmadou Ahidjo’s government was controlled by French special advisers, it retained a common currency with France and its entire strategic resource output was exploited by French companies.[169] French and German colonialism worked very different from each other, but the basic principle of the former colonial power having a monopoly on the operation of all resource extraction infrastructure is shared by both. In fact, Germany’s ‘labour guardian’ system that completely eliminated indigenous white-collar labour would leave Cameroon with a worse shortage of middle-class workers than under real-world French colonialism, as other European colonial powers endeavoured to build a native civil service.[170]

*TNO*’s African Continental Army in Cameroon, which in real life was the ‘Armée de libération nationale Camerounaise’ (a guerilla offshoot of the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon), could still exist in some form as the neocolonialist government suppresses radical voices calling for the expropriation of German planters.[171] To use Dr. Nimako’s terms, currently *TNO*’s Cameroon start off in a position of extremely holistic nationalism. It is practically an aspirant Garveyite United States of Africa. This is a position it could end up in, but with the German system enforcing sub-nationalism from above it seems very unlikely for it to start out that way.

168 Wilhelm Kemner, “Deutscher Wiederaufbau in Kamerun.” in: Heinrich Schnee, *Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien.* Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1937. 246-254.
169 See: Thomas Deltombe, Manuel Domergue, Jacob Tatsita, *Kamerun !*, La Découverte, 2019.
170 Harvey Glickman (ed.), *Political Leaders of Contemporary Africa South of the Sahara*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1992. 1-2.
171 André Djiffack, and R. H. Mitsch. "The Myth of Ruben." *Research in African Literatures* 31, no. 2, 2000. 91-116.

Even in a world where decolonisation happened under liberal regimes a government such as Ahidjo's was still able to come into being, one where a one-party state was formed and the opposition was forced into armed resistance.[172] It should be the main challenge of a game of *TNO* as Cameroon to overcome such a regime in a variety of moderate or radical ways. Solutions would have to be found for the lack of infrastructure and skilled workers, as well as a means to foster a sense of civic identity in the aftermath of the German enforced sub-nationalism. The Cameroonian politicians from image in the first section of this chapter could present the government with options to work towards these solutions, which would increase their influence if Ahidjo decides to hold elections.

Cameroon would also need to find trade partners outside of the German bloc to wean off its reliance on the German planters. These could in theory come from anywhere in *TNO*'s world but for the sake of consistency it would make the most sense to have the other superpowers, namely the United States and Japan, be the primary candidates for investment. American pressure would push Cameroon to liberalise and democratise, which could give rise to moderate opposition figures such as André-Marie Mbida or Charles Assalé.[173] Japan's stake in Cameroon, although part of *TNO*'s pre-existing worldbuilding, is more difficult to predict. The Japanese sphere is too far away from west Africa to project power there directly without coming into conflict with the American military bases on Saint Helena and Ascension.[174] Any influence they could gain in Cameroon would be economic in nature, which means business ventures by Japanese corporations to expand Cameroonian infrastructure or exploit local resources are a possibility.

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172 Frank Stark."Federalism in Cameroon: The Shadow and the Reality". *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. 10 (3): 1976. 423–442.

173 "U.S. relations with Cameroon are positive, although from time to time they have been affected by concerns over human rights abuses and the pace of political and economic liberalization."
In: "U.S. Relations With Cameroon ". United States Department of State. Retrieved 6 April 2007.
https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-cameroon/

174 The U.S. seized these islands from Britain in the aftermath of WW2 in TNO.
See: *r/TNOmod - TNO Patch v1.0.5c is live!* reddit. (n.d.).
https://www.reddit.com/r/TNOmod/comments/jm7rmp/tno_patch_v105c_is_live/.

Should Ahidjo's government fail to liberalise, fix Cameroon's most pressing issues or otherwise fail to suppress the opposition then armed resistance should begin to take root. Like with the planned West African conflict this should be an opportunity for the superpowers to pick a side and exert influence through hard power in the region. The resulting radicalisation of the government and the opposition could lead to politicians with more extreme agendas being empowered. Here the militant Cameroonian nationalist Castor Osendé Afana stands out. The real-world Afana became a supporter of Chinese communism after visiting the 1957 Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference and later wrote a thesis on possible similarities between precolonial communalism and communism.[175] Recently the *TNO* developers revealed that although Mao Zedong died in the Chinese Civil War in the game's narrative, his ideology is still adhered to by certain communists such as the Palestinian George Habash.[176] Mass political mobilisation of the peasant class through whatever means *TNO*'s post-colonial leaders have available to them is in any case an appealing strategy to combat oppressive governments, regardless of what political context it might have.

Building on this notion it could even be argued that, in the absence of more profound theory, Cameroonian intellectuals might take a page out of the book of their former colonisers and emphasise race conciousness over tribal affiliation in their bid to seize back control of their nation from neocolonialists. It would certainly be in line with the undertones of Garveyism as discussed in 'Afro-Asian Solidarity in the Inter-war Period and WWII'. The idea deserves serious consideration, especially given *TNO*'s divergent global ideological context. Communism has disappeared from the world stage and liberalism has become isolated in the O.F.N. (American) bloc. Pan-Africanism in *TNO* should therefore be framed as less influenced by these ideologies and more by ideas from the German and Japanese blocs. The question then becomes, what would this look like?

175 Jocelyn Olomo Manga, *Les divisions au coeur de l'UPC: Contribution à la connaissance de l'histoire politique du Cameroun*. Harmattan, November 2011. 123.
Claudio Moffa, *L'Afrique à la périphérie de l'histoire*. Harmattan. December 1995. 266.

176 "Mao is still dead, but his ideas are not." /u/Kardan020, in: *r/TNOmod - Tiny little Subideology Leak*. reddit. (n.d.). https://www.reddit.com/r/TNOmod/comments/nxpwzw/tiny_little_subideology_leak/.

Based on observations of the real-world peak of racialism in the African-American 'Back-to-Africa' movement, Pan-Africanism can be framed as the Bantu peoples' response to the Aryanist doctrines that began with Arthur de Gobineau's *Essais* in the 1840's and culminated in German National Socialism in the 1930's and 40's.[177] In *TNO*'s world the classic Garveyite strain of Pan-Africanism, which was already being spearheaded by Bantu descendants in America, would have retained much greater influence once the opportunity arose for Africans to lead their own nations. The context of decolonisation in Cameroon would then present an opportunity for African intellectuals to separate German colonialism as a phenomenon from the doctrines Germany espouses at home. There is evidence to support this in the real-world decolonisation of French Africa; in spite of being colonised by France (or for the purposes of this analogy, the Fourth French Republic since the ideological birth of liberalism in 1795) many anti-colonial activists became avid liberals that actually considered themselves to be better model French citizens than metropolitans who in their eyes had fallen in with communism. Moreover, the practical expressions of Pan-Africanism like in Ghana mentioned in 'Marcus Garvey's Legacy in Africa' already resembled right-wing authoritarian regimes with their centralisation of power around a charismatic leader figure.[178]

In the Cameroonian context and perhaps even more so in the rest of German Africa the legacy of the *KPA* system would have to be interpreted by African intellectuals and engaged with critically, so an adaptation of metropolitan German ideology to the African context is something *TNO* should include in its narrative. To this end the process of the decolonisation of the real-world French empire offers many parallels that can be explored in the post-colonial narrative. After all, independence required making sense of the ideas that led to colonisation in the first place.

177 Frank Haskins, "Race as a Factor in Political Theory." In *A History of Political Theories*, Chap. XIII, The Macmillan Company. 1924.

178 "*Caudillismo-'Führerism*'. Expressed in concrete Ghanaian terms, this *Caudillismo* is of course the cult of the Osagyefo, of Kwame Nkrumah."
In: Walter Kolarz, "The Impact of Communism on West Africa." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 38, no. 2. 1962. 159-160.

*Case: Reichskommisariat Ostafrika - Tanganyika*

Hans Hüttig's East African administration is described as a totalitarian surveillance state. Hüttig himself is characterised as a fanatic believer in National Socialism who has grown weary of the lack of commitment shown by his fellow administrators in Congo and Namibia. He is the main instigator of the conflict with South Africa.[179] Hüttig's second in command, Richard Baer, is also a former concentration camp guard from Auschwitz. The formal representative of the remnant British settlers in the German colonies, Clifford Dupont, is described as much too tolerant for Hüttig's liking and the two frequently bicker over the status of non-German Europeans, who Hüttig wants to consign to forced labour. Dupont enjoys some protection from metropolitan German politics, so Hüttig has thus far not been able to go forward with this.[180]

179 "Reichskommissariat Ostafrika" in *TNO Southern Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOSouthernAfrica.

180 *Reichskommissariat Ostafrika*. The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/Reichskommissariat_Ostafrika.

Contrary to the other German commissariats East Africa has no indigenous armed forces whatsoever, relying instead on the German SS and some British auxiliaries. Africans have no access to the limited social mobility provided to them in other German-African regions, instead being expected to be exploited as merely a labour force. As a result East Africa is the most unstable German colony, with resistance cells constantly needing to be destroyed. To combat this dissent, as well as the rising sentiment of African emancipation among the German plantation holders, Hüttig's administration wages an information war. East Africa creates its own national broadcasting station, through which a constant dissemination of National Socialist propaganda dissuades the European middle class from having politically incorrect thoughts. On top of that, the television sets distributed for free by the colonial government all contain listening devices so that active dissidents can be found and arrested.[181] Hüttig also commands his own secret service, which the player can use to investigate the perceived 'non-Aryan' activities going on in the other commissariats. There are 32 investigation reports in total, ranging from Siegfried Müller's conspiring with foreign mercenaries in the Hitlerstadt resort to Katangese mining corporations smuggling goods from the mines to the black market.[182]

German East Africa provides funding and training to Boer separatists in South Africa in a bid to overthrow its central government and establish a loyal, fascist ally. South Africa in *TNO* is a conservative-liberal democracy led by the United Party as the National Party never came to power since 1948.[183] Radicalised elements of the National Party seek secession from the Union and the NP at large protest the Anglo-dominated government's overtures to America and the O.F.N bloc.

181 See: Event ID MZB_FOCUS.11 "Das Ostafrikanische Fernsehnetz" in *TNO*'s localisation files.
182 See: Event ID MZB_INVESTIGATION.1 through MZB_INVESTIGATION.32 in *TNO*'s localisation files.
183 *Union of South Africa*. The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/Union_of_South_Africa.
Note: The UP's upset victory over the NP in a world where nationalism is greatly empowered is highly questionable and worthy of discussion, but unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis.

In the lead-up to the war with South Africa Hüttig assassinates prominent UP politician Ian Smith in Cape Town, who had been exiled from Rhodesia and was known as a fiery orator giving speeches against both white separatism and black suffrage.[184] During the war itself East Africa has the option to either consolidate control over German Africa though the aforementioned assassinations of the other commissars or to use its chemical arsenal against South Africa, which will provoke direct American intervention.[185] Unless the O.F.N. coalition defeats the German colonies completely, Hüttig will reorganise Africa under his fanatical vision into the 'Reichstaat', the Greater African Realm.

The unified colonial state under Hüttig's command implements the East African system in the rest of the German territories, discharging and disarming the native SS. When Germany learns what Hüttig has done he is branded a traitor to the Reich, which reduces his effective support base to just the East African portion of the German SS.

184 See: Event ID MZB_FOCUS.174 "Ian Smith Shot!" in *TNO*'s localisation files.
185 East Africa's research and development division is responsible for creating gas weapons. See: "Abteilung Ostafrika" in TNO Southern Africa / Characters. TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOSouthernAfrica.

The player is presented with a mechanic to manage the unrest in each state of the 'Reichstaat'. If unrest in a particular state becomes too high, an African independence leader will secede and rebel against Hüttig. To combat unrest Hüttig initiates Organisation Werwolf; a network of stay-behind units that commit acts of terrorism against African leaders to prevent uprisings before they can gather enough momentum.[186] The Werwolf units are for extraordinary anti-rebel operations, Hüttig also has access to his own version of the 'Einsatzgruppen' to openly engage rebel factions militarily.[187] Should both of these groups fail then a group of anti-Hüttig Germans known as 'the Cabal' will oust him from his position as commissar and the administration that revolved around him will collapse, leading to the African Devastation.[188]

Hüttig's regime leverages much of the indigenous African population in a mass forced labour scheme called E.A.T. 'Entwicklung des Afrikanischen Territoriums Programm', wherein hundreds of Africans perish while working on the colony's infrastructure or in its factories.[189] The 'Reichstaat' can also demand the integration of the Boer state if it committed enough resources towards securing its victory in the war with South Africa, which can lead to its complete collapse and a second civil war.[190] If the Boer state received little aid from Hüttig then it cannot be integrated but will survive the African Devastation and its president Albert Hertzog will call for (intra-party) elections, after which his successors will petition for entry into the German bloc.[191]

186 See: Decision ID MZB_REICHSTAAT_die_organisation_werwolf "Die Organisation Werwolf" in *TNO*'s localisation files.
187 See: Decision ID MZB_REICHSTAAT_die_grossafrikanishen_ss_einsatzgruppen:0 "Die Ostafrikanishen-SS Einsatzgruppen"
188 See: Event ID MZB_REICHSTAAT_REICH.7.t:0 "The Cabal Victorious"
189 These new workers will join the §L"Entwicklung des afrikanischen Territoriums Programm" ("Development of the African Territory" Program) or E.A.T. Programm§!, and will be trained to operate in widely different areas, where we can build §Yroads§! or §Yfactories§!.
See: Decision ID MZB_REICHSTAAT_system_of_efficiency , MZB_REICHSTAAT_build_infra_here , MZB_REICHSTAAT_build_mil_factory_here
190 "Boer Republic" in *TNO Southern Africa / Characters.* TV Tropes. (n.d.). https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Characters/TNOSouthernAfrica.
191 See: Event ID MZB_REICHSTAAT_REICH.13.t:0 "The Wehrmacht Returns to Afrika"

*Proposed Changes*

In its current form, German East Africa in *TNO* is quite ridiculous. Hans Hüttig, a perpetrator of real-world atrocities in the Holocaust, is let loose on Africa to commit more genocide against the indigenous population in what is supposed to be a narrative about the evils of nazism. It reveals that the developers have fallen into the trap of conflating German colonialism with National Socialism. The 'Reichstaat' would not only be totally incapable of transforming most of sub-Saharan Africa into settlement territory for Germans, but any German administration adhering to the actual plans laid out by the *KPA* would be unwilling to.[192] A simple solution would be to replace Hüttig with the actual prospective commissar of German East Africa, Philipp Bouhler, and do away with the cartoonish evilness that is being portrayed right now.

192 See also: Jochem Scheelings, *What is Hans doing here?* IRM, April 20 2021. https://innovativeresearchmethods.org/what-is-hans-doing-here/.

To tie East Africa's content into the proposed rework of Congo a source has to be identified which could serve as the main factor to resist German rule in the region. For this proposal that source will be Islam in the Tanzania-Zanzibar region. Historically, Islam had greatly expanded itself under Imperial German rule in the 1880's until 1919. Germany back then incorporated many indigenous Islamic administrators into their civil service and Muslim soldiers into its colonial army. The British takeover changed the religious dynamic of the colony, as Christian missionaries were brought in in greater numbers and indirect rule favoured the inland chiefs over the coastal population. Muslims were politically disenfranchised in the British system, so anti-colonial resistance in the form of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) founded in 1954 was underpinned by Islamic activists. Christians, through missionaries and churches, meanwhile became advocates for the continuation of colonial ties with Britain.[193] A return of German colonialism in Tanzania would put a stop to the influx of Christianity but as the *KPA*'s policy was militantly secular and excluded Africans from the civil service entirely it would face serious, organised resistance from the Muslim population.

Religious-inspired armed resistance in Tanzania (necessary in this scenario to enforce German decolonisation) would follow its historical trend and centre itself around Sufism. The Maji Maji rebellion against German colonialism was inspired by a combination of primordial African beliefs and Sufism, as the Sufi orders active at the time were important supporters of this revolt.[194] In the real-world post-colonial era Muslims made up the majority of TANU's support base, particularly in Zanzibar. These Muslims and TANU as a whole adapted to the ideologies of their time and thus veered to the left, but non-leftist Islamic activists did exist and most critically were of Asian descent.[195]

193 Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, and David Westerlund. "African Islam in Tanzania –The historical background", *Islam outside the Arab world.* Psychology Press, 1999.
194 Ibid.
195 Lodhi, Westerlund. "African Islam in Tanzania – Islam in society".

This creates the possibility for *TNO*'s successors to the Pan-Asian activists in the Japanese bloc mentioned in 'Japanese interest in the African world' to gain a port of entry in Africa once again. There are several parallels to real-world history at play in this scenario. Not only would Tanzania offer historical similarities with the pro-Ethiopian movement from the 1930's, but those same nationalist societies concerned themselves with Islam and hegemonic race theory as well. Dr. Sinan Levent published a study on the ideology of Turanism, which was first introduced in Japan in the 1920's and became a rallying point against Russian and Han Chinese influence in Asia at its peak of popularity in the 1930's.[196] The Kokuryūkai（黒龍会）society and its founder Ryōhei Uchida supported Turanism in Japan and the Turanic concept abroad, which included advocating for racial kinship with Ethiopia and for Islam. Satokata Takahashi, who worked with pro-Japanese African-Americans, was a Kokuryūkai society member.[197] While Turanism was forced into the margins when the Japanese government banned the production of Turanic propaganda in 1941 (in a move strikingly similar to the banning of German neocolonialist propaganda in '43) the movement and the racial theories underlining it remained influential, going so far as to produce its own economic treatise for a mass expansion of Japanese people into their perceived ancestral central Asian homeland.[198] The potential for Japan to expand its influence again in East Africa following the collapse of German colonialism in *TNO* is justified by three principles;  a revival of the Turanic movement of the 1920's and 30's among Japanese nationalists, Pan-Asianism and an interest in a hegemonic position in the Islamic world. These would motivate the Japanese bloc to add Tanzania to its sphere and begin expanding further into the continent from there. Japan can in fact already do something similar if the Islamists win in the Iranian civil war. Ruhollah Khomeini's faction joins the Co-Prosperity Sphere under comparable circumstances.[199]

196 Sinan Levent, "Eurasian Policy of Imperial Japan before and during World War II " in: *Common Asianist intellectual history in Turkey and Japan: Turanism.* 2015.
197 Ibid. See also: "U.S. At War: Takcihashi's Blacks". *Time*. October 5, 1942.
198 Shigeji Nozoe, *Han tsuranizumu to keizai burokku* [Pan-Turanism and the Economic Bloc]. (Tokyo, 1933).
199 See: *Imperial State of Iran*. The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/Imperial_State_of_Iran.

The same problems that would arise in Cameroon, namely the shortage of skilled workers and infrastructure as well as the lack of a civic identity could be resolved be introducing Pan-Asiatic oriented Pan-Africanism in Tanzania. The 'national spirits' in the image featured in this section indicate these problems and the solutions the player can provide for them over the course of a session as a post-colonial state in *TNO*. In the Tanzanian case presented here the Asian Muslim intellectuals would align themselves with Japan, re-establish a unified Sultanate led by the Omani upper class from Zanzibar and work on a nation building project heavily influenced by middle class men from the Co-Prosperity Sphere. The situation would be an inverted version of the 1964 Zanzibar revolution, to name a historic example to compare it with.[200]

Naturally, this radical transformation of the state would not happen without resistance. The Africanisation (or in this case Asianisation) of the civil service in Tanzania would divide the Christian hinterland and the Islamic coast to such a degree that uprisings similar to the army mutinies that happened all over East Africa in real-life 1964.[201]

200 Godfrey Mwakikagile, *Why Tanganyika united with Zanzibar to form Tanzania*. New Africa Press, 2014.
201 Timothy Parons, *The 1964 army mutinies and the making of modern East Africa*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003.

The legacy of the British period of colonisation in *TNO* (which lasted from 1919 to 1945) would still have created an indigenous African soldier class as it had anywhere else on the continent. Germany would have disarmed them again, but the military experience that these soldiers would have developed in those 26 years would make them outstanding candidates for armed resistance forces even in the post-colonial period. These soldiers could mutineer against the central government if it is too aggressive with its social policies and serve as an example in this proposal of a divergence that could occur to add conflict and variety to *TNO*'s Africa. Whoever wins this hypothetical Tanzanian civil war would be able to dictate national policy from then on.

The leader of the 'King's African Rifles' (KAR) in this example is David Bugozi Musuguri, a WWII veteran who served with the KAR in the campaign against Vichy France in Madagascar.[202] Musugiri partook in the real-world Tanganyika Rifles mutiny in 1964 against his own wishes when indigenous African troops overthrew their white commanders and named him a major.[203] In this proposal Musugiri's government will align itself with Britain if it manages to break away from the German sphere but other than their relatively brief period of shared history in *TNO*'s world there is no historic tradition to base the KAR state's geopolitical leanings on.[204] Nevertheless, Musugiri's rebellion would present the anti-Asian and anti-Islamic sentiment in Tanzania that is both a real and historical phenomenon with deep roots in both German and British colonialism that continues to be a source of tension in East Africa, particularly in the absence of a common ideological enemy such as communism.[205]

202 Thomas Molony, *Nyerere: The Early Years*. Boydell & Brewer Ltd. 2014. 213.
203 Nestor Luanda, *Tanganyika Rifles Mutiny: January 1964*. Dar es Salaam University Press. 1993.
204 See: *Kingdom of England*. The New Order: Last Days of Europe Wiki. (n.d.). https://the-new-order-last-days-of-europe.fandom.com/wiki/Kingdom_of_England.
205 Lodhi, Westerlund. "African Islam in Tanzania – Islam in society".

*Conclusion*

The scenario presented in *The New Order* offers many opportunities to contemplate on the ruins of the 20th century and imagine futures that could have been for Africa, its diaspora in America and the forces that interacted with them. It is also clear that when it takes elements from the popular historiography of WWII and transplants them into its world, function tends to triumph over form. If Gavriel Rosenfeld's claim that alternative histories are reactions to developments of their time is true then what *TNO* offers is a clear example of the lack of nuance and perspective outside of academia in the debate about the legacy of the movements it features in its gameplay. There may have been several studies on how the expressions of German traditionalism found in the neocolonialist movement were distinct from National Socialism and that the atrocities of the Eastern Front would not find any recourse in Africa, but this perception continues to exist in the minds of the public at large. Not in the least of which in the minds of amateur historians with an interest in the Third Reich, like the development team that created Hans Hüttig's 'Reichstaat'.

Arguably, the same is true for the perception of Pan-Africanism today. As an ideology Pan-Africanism has its roots in Garveyism, which in turn has its roots in civillisational and racialist thought from the marginal black nationalist movement of the 1930's. War-time suppression of this movement as a perceived Japanese fifth column undermines its foundational importance in Pan-Africanism after 1945. In alternative histories like *TNO* where such suppression never happened the impact of Garveyism would have been much more pronounced in the post-war era and historians attempting to construct such a world should pay attention to that. The same goes for Japanese Pan-Asianism, which is often only viewed in the light of its state after the ban on Turanic and Pan-Islamic propaganda at the start of the Pacific War.

Like in the German case, inter-war Japanese society was a mixture of traditionalist and nationalist sentiments running parallel to each other. The interest of Japanese intellectuals in Africa, greater Asia and the Asiatic peoples that started in the late Meiji era continued into the Shōwa era and would have continued on in new forms had the outcome of the war been more favourable for Japan. It is not for nothing that the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration of 1943 stated that "The countries of Greater East Asia will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world, and work for the abolition of racial discrimination, the promotion of cultural intercourse and the opening of resources throughout the world, and contribute thereby to the progress of mankind".[206]

Alternative histories about oppressive war-time regimes tend to make the mistake of freezing its worst moments in time and building their entire premise on the idea that peaceful reform from within is impossible. If that was how history really operates, then we would still have a Stalinist USSR in Russia, the United States would be a social democratic utopia and European colonialism would never have ended. While these examples may seem like obvious consequences of history neither popular history nor fiction lends this courtesy to Germany or Japan. For some reason it is acceptable to assume that the marginal elements such as those described in this thesis would never gain the upper hand in German or Japanese society after the war, or that they would endlessly repeat their worst excesses in their own spheres. This is why *The New Order* inadvertently subscribes to the "Africa to Auschwitz" idea. Like many other alternative histories about the Third Reich it cannot escape this notion of the boot stamping on the human face, forever. Even when it is extended to Africa, it is more-so done as an afterthought. There is a reflexive assumption that post-colonial Africa would be more or less the same in the event of an Axis victory as it was in reality and that African intellectuals would not engage critically with the German colonial experience, despite there being plenty of historical evidence of this in other cases of European colonialism.

206 Sumio Hatano, "Joint Declaration of Shigemitsu Aoi and Daitoa- Wartime Diplomacy and Postwar". 38-53.

It is unfortunate to see that these gaps in memory tend to exist when it comes to ideology in Africa. Perhaps through generating greater interest beyond the West in alternative histories can this be remedied over time. If not that, then earnest academic debate about the possibilities presented in the movements of this thesis had history taken a different route will have to suffice. For if a 'New Order' would ever have existed it would have had to overcome Hitler and National Socialism. To quote the traditionalist Julius Evola in *Notes on the Third Reich*, the ideal of a 'New Order' could have referred only to an organic, solidary and synergetic coordination of states and communities whose characteristic traits and independence were respected.[207] This is the principle upon which traditionalists within the Third Reich and communal solidarists in Shōwa-era Japan first founded their ideas. Traces of it can still be found even in modern Pan-Africanism, as it still stands on the foundation laid by Marcus Garvey, his successors in the 30's and 40's and the waves of African nationalists that came after them.

207 Julius Evola, *Notes on the Third Reich*. Arktos Media Ltd., 2013. 80.

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