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ENCOUNTERS WITH THE SOCIALIST PAST

MOORINGS AND (DIS)ENTANGLEMENTS VOL 2

SONAKSHI CHAUHAN

Encounters with the
Socialist Past: Moorings
and (Dis)Entanglements
Vol 2

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Sonakshi Chauhan



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The Labor Migrants: Social Impacts and Memories

Fernando Agostinho Machava

Introduction¹

On an intensely hot afternoon in the city of Maputo in 2011, I was traveling by public transport towards the city center. When we arrived at the crossroads formed by *Avenida 24 de Julho* and *Avenida Guerra Popular*, our journey was interrupted by a crowd of people singing and dancing in the middle of the road. They carried with them banners, flags, and homemade posters. Singing and dancing at the junction of the two avenues, they obstructed traffic in both directions. In our bus, the passengers were exhausted by the delay and started to complain. One of the passengers said it was the fault of the “*Madjermanes*” and explained that they were a group of Mozambicans who had been in East Germany from 1979 to 1990. I came to learn that from 1980 to 1992, they formed a kind of neighborhood elite especially in the suburban districts of Maputo, such as the one in which I grew up. These returnees used to wear stylish clothes, so everyone in their districts wanted to hang out with them. I listened intently to the passenger and my curiosity was aroused. I later found out that during my childhood, my parents had owned a television set bought from a returnee from East Germany. As a result, on many evenings our house would fill up with neighbors who came to be entertained by our television set. I resolved to discover more about this group of people who once sold my parents the television set. Their legacies are still visible as they walk through the streets brandishing placards and demonstrating against the government and as they continue to occupy the public park *Jardim 28 de Maio*, better known as the “Garden of the Madjermanes.” What follows is the story of the return of these former labor migrants.

The name *Madjerman* became widespread in Mozambique when returnees from East Germany created a black market of what was perceived to be luxury

¹ This text was translated from Portuguese to English by Mark Beresford. I would also like to thank Marcia C. Schenck for allowing me to use her interviews with Mozambican workers to the GDR and for her guidance during the writing process. Many thanks to her and Immanuel R. Harisch for their editorial support.

products, called Red Star. It was named after a school in its proximity in the Alto Maé district of Maputo, a location about which I will speak later on. Here all sorts of used goods could be obtained at competitive prices ranging from television sets to fridges and kitchenware. This market helped to supply residents of the capital city with goods which until then had been scarce or even completely unavailable in Maputo.²

The young migrants that were to become known as Madjermanes had gone to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) as a consequence of bilateral cooperation agreements aimed at giving them qualifications across various industries, after which they would return to their home country to deploy their knowledge in Mozambique. Franziska Rantzsch in this volume elaborates on the contract that governed the labor migration from Mozambique to East Germany. This migration served as a refuge for many young Mozambicans who did not want to be recruited by the Armed Forces at a time when the country was suffering from civil war. Many young migrants further wanted to escape the hunger that had been caused by the nationwide drought in the 1980s and the ensuing food supply shortages. Europe further exercised a strong pull over the imaginations of the young Mozambicans.³

It is important to highlight that these young people left their country to gain work experience in what was known as a “brother nation” in the socialist world, and in the process were to disconnect from colonial labor values and to be transformed into socialist workers, the “*Homem Novo*.”⁴ It is my argument that they returned indeed as new men and women but not so much in the socialist sense; they returned as women and men of some modest wealth, who, much like the *gayisa*—Mozambican men who work in the South African mining industry—had accumulated material possessions abroad.⁵ Their moment of glory was, however, short-lived as many had to part with their goods in order to finance

2 Alice Samuel Sengo, “Processos de enriquecimento do léxico do português de Moçambique” (MA diss., Universidade do Porto, 2010).

3 For an analysis of the various reasons for the young Mozambicans employed migrating to East Germany, see Marcia C. Schenck, “From Luanda and Maputo to Berlin: Uncovering Angolan and Mozambican Migrants’ Motives to Move to the German Democratic Republic (1979–1990),” *African Economic History* 44 (2016), accessed October 20, 2019, doi:10.1353/ae.2016.0008.

4 The main characteristics of the *Homem Novo* that emerged in FRELIMO discourse were to be “free forever from ignorance, obscurantism, superstition and [...] conscious of the obligations of solidarity”. The new man was to serve a crucial role in the construction of a communal socialist Mozambique. The role of the FRELIMO party was paramount. See Tanja R. Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity: East Germany in Mozambique* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2014), 2–3.

5 Franziska Rantzsch (in this volume) goes into detail on the parallels between labor migration from Mozambique to South Africa and to East Germany.

their survival after their return. Many labor migrants thus fell back into lives at the margins of Mozambican society. Their story is one of socialist entanglements and socialist encounters as well as post-socialist disentanglements and isolation.

In the GDR, the young Mozambicans were allocated job positions in which they had frequent contact with people of other nationalities, meaning they were continuously navigating diverse socialist encounters. In the process of labor assimilation and socialization with East German culture, they not only acquired socialist values but also experiences and ideas closely linked to notions of autonomy and adulthood and “the good life,” notions that came to define their behavior post-return.⁶ Mozambican migrants were also faced with adverse circumstances: racist expressions and open conflicts involving Mozambicans were common, mainly in places of leisure and entertainment such as bars and discos.

The migration program ended after the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, a caesura in the lives of many of the Mozambican workers who returned home in the changing circumstances within East Germany and as the bilateral agreement was dissolved in 1990.⁷ Many foreigners who were in the country at the time, such as the Mozambicans, went back to their own countries after their work contracts were cancelled, uncertain which procedures they had to follow to remain in East Germany and also concerned by the wave of xenophobic violence that affected many German cities after the fall of the wall.⁸

While most existing studies on the Madjermanes focus on their experiences in the GDR, my contribution interrogates their impact upon return. It transpires that not only does the story of their return mirror that of the male Mozambican workers in the South African mining industry, but they also returned as new men and women, albeit not in a socialist sense.⁹ Many Madjermanes had left their homes as ordinary youth and returned to become figures of admiration who had a modest transformative impact on their communities. These young workers

6 See Marcia C. Schenck and Ibraimo Alberto in this volume for a depiction of the life of a Mozambican worker in the GDR.

7 Almuth Berger, “Vertragsarbeiter: Arbeiter Der Freundschaft? Die Verhandlungen in Maputo 1990,” in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!: Die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voss (Münster: Lit, 2005).

8 Aníbal Fernando Lucas, “Mão de obra Moçambicana na ex-República Democrática Alemã, 1979–1990” (Graduate thesis, UEM, 2002).

9 For a classic scholarship on Mozambican workers in South Africa, see Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c.1860–1910* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994); Dunbar T. Moodie and Vivienne Ndatshé, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Ruth First, *Black Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983).

were not the only group to return to Mozambique from the GDR. As discussed by Marcia C. Schenck and Francisca Raposo (Chapter 9 in this volume) and Tanja Müller, school students for instance were only allocated pocket money and were thus not able to assemble goods in the same way as the workers. Most school students had to serve military service upon their return and while some later managed to become part of Mozambique's middle class, others fell back into the poverty from which they emerged.¹⁰ Mozambican university students who studied in the GDR were in the long run among the economically most successful returnees as many became part of the middle and upper classes in Mozambique, from which quite a few originated.¹¹ Upon the return of these groups, the country as a whole was undergoing profound economic transformations in connection with the end of the socialist period and the Economic Rehabilitation Program.¹²

Based on 10 cited interviews with Madjermanes and with people close to them who witnessed their return, and on song lyrics, this text explores the social impact of the return of the Mozambican migrants from East Germany.¹³ It examines the social dynamics that developed after the return of the Madjermanes at a time when Mozambique was undergoing the upheavals caused by civil war and by the transition from a centralized economy to a political and economic system based on a free market. I explain how the products that the Madjermanes brought with them led their families into relatively privileged positions, at a time of great changes in Mozambique, and highlight how the feelings of pride

10 Tanja Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity: East Germany in Mozambique* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2014).

11 A systematic study of Mozambican university students to East Germany remains a desideratum.

12 The Economic Rehabilitation Program (PRE) emerged in 1987, after talks between Mozambique and the Bretton Woods institutions and led to profound political, economic, and social transformations in the country. See João Mosca, *A Experiência "socialista" em Moçambique (1975–1986)* (Lisbon: Instituto Piaget, 1999), 163–174; João Mosca, *Economia de Moçambique século XX* (Lisbon: Instituto Piaget, 2005), 309–400.

13 Interviewing people who had been in East Germany and returned after reunification posed a significant challenge. Most of them were not interested in sharing their experiences and some even replied aggressively, triggered by the money that Mozambican authorities allegedly still owe them. Nevertheless, the information I could obtain from the Madjermanes and from people who witnessed their return has been invaluable. I cite here only 10 interviews but I have read about 200 interviews (of which I have transcribed many) conducted by Marcia C. Schenck for her PhD dissertation "Socialist solidarities and their afterlives: Histories and memories of Angolan and Mozambican migrants in the German Democratic Republic, 1975–2015" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2017) and therefore can confidently state that what I cite here is representative for a wider pool of interviews.

derived from their stay in Germany and from having returned with fancy clothes, vehicles, and even European girlfriends or wives distinguished the Madjermanes and their families in their communities. I argue that these young people, returning from a developed European country, were first treated with high levels of respect and admiration. For their communities they indeed returned as New Men, however, not as initially idealized by the party and the state but rather as icons of fashion and bringers of essential and “luxury” goods. They initially were seen as an example for other family members and neighbors to follow until they failed to obtain stable work and had to sell their possessions. Importantly, I maintain that we should not forget, despite the narrative of social decline that is present in the current literature on this topic, that the return of the Madjermanes served to inject new life into peripheral districts, especially in the capital city.¹⁴ In some cases, the Madjermanes even helped support training and job creation by setting up small businesses after they returned to their country.

This contribution is divided into two main sections. The first examines the circumstances of the Mozambican labor migration to the GDR and the memories that former migrants express about this migration today. In the second part, I then move on to elaborate in four subsections the social and economic impacts of the mass return of many former worker-trainees to Maputo by tracing the rise and fall of the Madjerman as social groups within their Maputo communities.

Labor Migration Agreements: From Mozambique to East Germany

During the socialist period from 1975 to 1990, Mozambique signed agreements with various countries of similar political orientation. One such cooperation agreement was signed with the German Democratic Republic (GDR), one of Mozambique’s most important partners. Of all the accords signed with East Germany, the one with the highest public profile was the agreement to send young people to work on contracts with companies in Germany.¹⁵ In February 1979, Erich Honecker, then General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, visited

¹⁴ For an analysis of the decline in living standards on the returnees’ psyches see for instance Marcia C. Schenck, “A Chronology of Nostalgia: Memories of Former Angolan and Mozambican Worker Trainees to East Germany,” *Labor History* 59 (2018), accessed April 4, 2019, doi:10.1080/0023656X.2018.1429187.

¹⁵ Franziska Rantzsch (in this volume) studies the agreements between the governments of the GDR and Mozambique. She affirms that economic motives were crucial for the GDR’s recruitment of contract workers, as were the Cold War era political-ideological motives.

Maputo to sign a friendship agreement and a series of commercial deals. The relevant agreement was signed on February 24, 1979 by representatives from the parties of both countries.¹⁶ The Bilateral Commissions, which met alternately in Maputo and Berlin, then developed the details of the cooperation between the two states.¹⁷

Mozambique was experiencing an almost total paralysis of its administrative and economic system, as a result of the shortage of personnel qualified to hold the positions vacated by the Portuguese. Furthermore, most of the young people found in migration a way of escaping recruitment for the armed forces and for the front line in the civil war. Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman state that between 1974 and 1977, the Portuguese community fell from 250,000 to approximately 20,000. This exodus resulted in a severe shortage of technicians and professionals, as the Portuguese were the only group to enjoy access to higher education in the colonial period, as a result of their privileged racial and class position. Consequently, there were no engineers, mechanics, accountants or agronomists left in the country who had administered Mozambique during the colonial period but also limited qualified textile workers, harbor managers, and coal miners.¹⁸ The country's manufacturing industry faced a series of critical problems which forced the state to intervene immediately.¹⁹ At the same time,

16 The agreement was signed by Marcelino dos Santos, the then Minister of Planning for Mozambique, and by Günter Mittag, Secretary for Economics of the Committee of the Unified Socialist Party of Germany. See Agreement on temporary employment of Mozambican workers in the GDR, 1979, in Aníbal. F. Lucas, "Mão de obra Moçambicana na ex-República Democrática Alemã, 1979 – 1990" (Graduate thesis, UEM, 2002).

17 Marcia C. Schenck, "Socialist Solidarities and Their Afterlives: Histories and Memories of Angolan and Mozambican Migrants in the German Democratic Republic, 1975 – 2015" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2017).

18 Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1983), 145.

19 After the Lusaka Accord of 1974 and the implementation of a post-independence transition government, the Mozambican industry, which had been highly dependent on serving the Portuguese economy and the few Portuguese citizens in the country, entered into crisis for a number of reasons: firstly, because former Portuguese owners abandoned and sabotaged their companies; secondly, there was a shortage of qualified technicians to replace the foreigners who had left the country; thirdly, the agricultural distribution network, which had also been under colonial management, collapsed; and fourthly, the physical condition of equipment deteriorated and maintenance proved very difficult, leading to the almost complete collapse of industrial infrastructure. As a result, there was a 35% drop in industrial production from 1974 to 1976, forcing the state to intervene to rescue an industry in decline. See Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, "Problemas estruturais de Industrialização," in *Moçambique: Perspetivas Económicas*, ed. Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco (Maputo: UEM, 1994), 96.

East Germany was suffering from the loss of some of its young people to the Federal Republic of Germany, the more populous capitalist part of Germany which was outperforming the GDR economically and technologically.²⁰

For Mozambique, as well as encouraging migration for work, the agreement enabled the technical and professional training of young Mozambicans who in the future would return and deploy their skills in businesses and factories across the country. There are similarities to note between the recruitment of Mozambicans for East German companies and the recruitment for South African mines (see Rantzsch in this volume). However, one of the major differences between the two migrations was the existence of a system for training the young migrants on the job so that many returned with a certificate that marked them as skilled laborers, which did not occur with those Mozambicans who migrated to the mines of South Africa.²¹ This fact is featured centrally in former migrants' memories to which I turn now.

Migrants' Memories of their Reasons to Migrate²²

Many young Mozambicans who wanted to receive professional training went to East Germany. They came mostly from families with humble backgrounds and low income, with no chance of continuing their studies. Migration to East Germany was a dream for many young citizens of Mozambique, because of the political and military situation of their own country and because of the chance to discover a western country. Abílio Forquilha talks of his feeling of privilege on being chosen to go to (East) Germany, both because of the professional experience and the chance to continue his studies:

²⁰ Lucas, "Mão-de-obra Moçambicana."

²¹ Schenck, "Socialist Solidarities." Héctor H. Guerra makes a comparison between recruitment and migration for South Africa and recruitment for East Germany, noting the similarities and differences between both processes. Apart from the deferred payment systems established by both agreements, the author points to social and political factors as the driving forces for migration. While a desire to escape the forced labor system resulted in the massive migration to the Rand mines in the colonial period, in contrast it was the post-independence civil conflict and a desire to escape the draft that were the main reasons for migration to East Germany. Héctor Hernández Guerra, "Do Rand à RDA? Modernização Compulsória e Práticas Sociais e Estratégias de Mobilidade Social," *Revista d'antropologia i investigació social* 3 (2009): 61–83.

²² Alexandra Piepiorka and Eduardo Buanaissa (Chapter 14 in this volume) write about memory-scapes that exist between Mozambique and (East) Germany and consist of various memories from travelers of both countries about their lives in the other country. They also engage with Mozambican workers' memories about the GDR.

Being selected to go to Germany was not easy and was a challenge for students with scholarships and for workers. Everybody wanted to go to Germany, plus there was a war in Mozambique at that time and Germany was a relatively calm country with an impressive level of development and a decent lifestyle. Every young person wanted to go. So, when we left we felt that it was a time of good fortune for us. We were the lucky ones. In many cases the work and the training were successful, and we also had all the basics that a person needs to live. It was very good.²³

Inocência Honwana, a resident of Manhica in Maputo province, remembers the following general feeling:

Armed conflict in Mozambique had erupted and death was getting closer all the time. At night, death took youngsters, pregnant women, children, the sick. It was tough to live in Manhica and to wake up to see people mourning for a victim who the day before had been a companion. It was also sad to think about fleeing from Maluana, which had become a real slaughterhouse. I was obsessed by the desire to leave for a distant land [...]. It was more exciting than dreaming of making love to a nymphomaniac.²⁴

In the 1980s Mozambique was afflicted by natural disasters, in particular by a famine which had left many families in hunger and deprived the shops and co-operatives of food. In a collection of memories, Moisés Alberto writes:

At that time there were shortages of everything except tea leaves. Youngsters were growing up with an uncertain future, with very few vacancies for education or employment. The only solution was the army, but all young people were afraid and wanted to escape from certain death.²⁵

Faced by these difficulties, many young people chose to migrate to neighboring countries or even distant lands and specially to take up work contracts in East Germany. The idea of escaping hunger and war, obtaining a job, and discovering a developed European country was fascinating to young people, who signed up at registration posts all over the country eager to temporarily moor in a new region of the socialist world.

²³ Abílio Forquilha, March 5, 2014, Maputo, interview with Marcia C. Schenck.

²⁴ Inocência Domingos Honwana, "Berlim: Um paraíso Suspenso na Memória," in *Moçambique – Alemanha, Ida E Volta: Vivências Dos Moçambicanos Antes, Durante E Depois De Estadia Na Alemanha*, ed. Ulf Dieter Klemm (Maputo: ICMA, 2005), 89.

²⁵ Moisés João M. Alberto, "Untitled," in *Moçambique – Alemanha, Ida E Volta: Vivências Dos Moçambicanos Antes, Durante E Depois De Estadia Na Alemanha*, ed. Ulf Dieter Klemm (Maputo: ICMA, 2005), 191.

Memories of Former Labor Migrants in East Germany

The memories migrants share of their stay in East Germany are often quite positive, to the surprise of many German analysts, to whom the living and working conditions of most foreign workers in the GDR seem unattractive. Mozambican listeners on the contrary expect tales of adventure and riches to confirm their positive associations of Europe as the land of milk and honey. The exception to the nostalgic memories, which Marcia C. Schenck has termed “eastalgic” memories, are memories of racist incidents which ranged from verbal expressions to physical violence and even murder.²⁶

Regarding the working environment that labor migrants encountered in East Germany, experiences were mixed but most interviews record being satisfied overall with their work. Abdenego Levi Matsinhe, who went to Germany in the late 1980s, recalls:

I worked for a paper company called “*Zellstoff- und Papierfabrik*” in a small location near the city of Dresden. We worked in shifts [and groups] made up of Mozambicans, Germans, Angolans and Vietnamese [...]. We got on well with each other and there was not a lot of racism in the workplace because the laws were harsh.²⁷

And Rogério Cumbane concurs that, during official business, there was no space for racist expressions:

At the company where I worked there were no problems with racism, only some people from outside, mainly in bars, did not like us, especially because German girls preferred to go out with us rather than with them.²⁸

As the two testimonies above and other conversations with returnees show, racism was curtailed in the official domain of the anti-racist state but broke out in unpoliced spaces.²⁹ This is not to suggest that all private spaces were marred by racism. As Marcia C. Schenck observes, intercultural relationships were spaces for intercultural learning. In East Germany there were loving relationships between Angolan and Mozambican men and German women, or the other way

²⁶ Schenck, “A Chronology of Nostalgia.”

²⁷ Abdenego Levi Matsinhe, February 24, 2014, Maputo, interview with Marcia C. Schenck and Fernando Machava.

²⁸ Rogério Cumbane, February 17, 2014, Maputo, interview with Marcia C. Schenck and Fernando Machava.

²⁹ Quinn Slobodian, ed., *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2015).

around. This served to support the integration of the migrants in a foreign world.³⁰

During their time in the GDR, young migrants could also buy goods for personal use in their homes during their free time. Because many young Mozambicans did not like German cuisine and preferred to make their own meals, many of them bought freezers to conserve food in their homes. In the interview, Marcos, who moved in with his East German partner, states:

It was difficult for me to get used to German cooking (...) so I prepared my own meals when I was at home, as this was not forbidden. In my room I had a small fridge where I left food, I had bought to make meals. When I moved into my girlfriend's house, I took the fridge with me, along with the television set, the HiFi [High Fidelity] and other things that I had bought over there.³¹

Statements such as these show the complex nature of relations between Mozambicans and East Germans. These relations varied from affectionate and private relationships to professional relationships and ranged from love affairs and marriage to hatred and xenophobia.

The same cannot be said when the immigrants were in entertainment venues such as bars and discotheques. Many interviewees say they suffered threats or even aggression, mainly because the Mozambicans would interact with the German women in these places. Ilda Melembe remembers shocking experiences with violent racism from the last months of her time in Germany:

In Berlin we had a lot of problems with young men. We had to move out of our accommodation and go to Potsdam because there was so much racism. Before leaving the company dormitory we were assaulted by some young [German] men. I was one of the victims. I was hit by a stone when our building was invaded. After that we moved to another boarding house where we spent almost two months before returning to Mozambique but it was not easy. We suffered a lot. I did not know that in Germany we would suffer so much in the last days. We lived on apples, milk, boiled eggs and bread for the time that we were in the new boarding institution.³²

Rogério Cumbane concurs and speaks about his experience of xenophobia in East Germany:

30 Schenck, "Socialist Solidarities."

31 Marcos Rungo, July 21, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

32 Ilda Melembe, Rosita Lucas, Beatriz Simão et al., August 31, 2011, interview with Marcia C. Schenck.

After the fall of the Wall I remember that there were xenophobic leaflets around and that the Germans did not want to see any foreigners anymore. They only wanted to live among other Germans. From that time on, no black person could leave their accommodation without permission, because they could be beaten up or killed in the street.³³

This sort of intolerance from a part of German society led many young Mozambicans to fear for their safety and to start avoiding public spaces. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany the vast majority of migrants came home.

The Labor Migrants' Return to Mozambique

The political scenario in Germany in 1989 was dominated by a series of demonstrations, culminating in November with the fall of the Berlin Wall.³⁴ As a result of the breakdown of the GDR, the commissioner for foreigners Almuth Berger and her team negotiated the early termination of the agreements in Mozambique and thousands of Mozambicans who had come to Germany to work under the agreements returned.³⁵ The last agreement signed between the governments of the GDR and Mozambique in May 1990 established that, in the event of dismissals, workers had the right to three months of 70% of the gross salary previously earned, to stay at the company's home, and to a return ticket to Mozambique. In addition, dismissed workers and those who were willing to leave the GDR had right to an indemnity payment of DM 3000.³⁶ Many workers received these payments at a time when products from West Germany were already introduced, quickly replacing East German products in their popularity and lowering the prices of local products. It was then that many migrants bought the products to support their whole families and their own construction of a new family.

The mass return of workers led to a lack of coordination between the German government and Mozambican authorities when it came to scheduling the return flights back to Mozambique. An example of this can be found in a news report in *Tempo* magazine on October 14, 1990, which discusses an “unex-

³³ Rogério Cumbane, February 17, 2014, Maputo, interview with Marcia Schenck and Fernando Machava.

³⁴ Lucas, “Mão-de-obra Moçambicana.”

³⁵ Berger, “Vertragsarbeiter: Arbeiter Der Freundschaft? Die Verhandlungen in Maputo 1990.”

³⁶ See Jochen Oppenheimer, “Mozambican Worker Migration to the Former German Democratic Republic: Serving Socialism and Struggling under Democracy,” *Portuguese Studies Review* 12 (2004): 163–187; Lucas, “Mão-de-obra Moçambicana.”

pected return,” referring to the return of about 16,000 Mozambicans from the newly unified country of Germany. The repatriation of the young Mozambicans was disorderly and often “unplanned,” as the events of September 17, 1990 demonstrates:

A group of youngsters coming back from former East Germany was arriving at Maputo on an unscheduled flight, without the authorities at the International Airport of Maputo or the relevant Mozambican authorities being aware. The airport did not authorize the landing of the airplane, which had to go on to South Africa. From there, however, the Mozambicans were sent back to Europe, even though their luggage had been taken off the airplane in South Africa [...].³⁷

In Maputo, returning workers, especially those who did not have a fixed abode or any family in the city, were received at a provisional housing facility for outgoing and returning workers in the neighborhood of Machava close to the airport and the lodges of the Mozambican railway company. However, because of the high number of people these sites became too small to cope with so many returnees at once, which meant that they had to find alternative accommodation. Some of the returnees soon bought land on the outskirts of the city of Maputo and began to build their makeshift or even stone houses there.³⁸

Another cause that led many returnees to stay in the capital city was the reception of their goods, which were usually chartered by sea and, therefore, arrived later – if at all. Many tell stories about the late arrival of their products that were only released after paying customs. Due to having to raise the money to be able to receive the goods, many prolonged their stays. Moreover, the costs of air tickets to the provinces, especially those of the center and north of the country, were high but it was very difficult and dangerous to travel by land because of the civil war. Thus paying for the costs of customs clearance and the transport of their goods in many cases exhausted funds to pay for onward travel to their home regions.³⁹

Francisco Macaringue remembers the following:

I was actually very anxious to return to the land where I was born (the province of Sofala), but we had to wait for a long time for the goods which were all supposed to arrive here in Maputo. When they arrived, I had to pay a large sum of money for customs clearance and then I also had to pay to transport them to my province, which was very expensive and

³⁷ António Elias, “Moçambicanos na RDA: O Regresso Inesperado,” *Tempo Magazine*, October 14, 1990, 22–25.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Lucas, “Mão-de-obra Moçambicana.”

which I could not afford. I went to visit my family, taking with me only the products I had bought for my family, while the other items stayed behind in Maputo at a family house because I could not take them all home.⁴⁰

Although the government erected a temporary camp for returnees in Machava, the returning Mozambicans encountered problems in receiving their payments, and, when they finally received them, found that the calculation had not taken inflation into account. These and other factors resulted in most of the returning Mozambicans who were from the provinces setting up homes in Maputo, with a major impact on the city. Although living conditions did not approach the level of German cities, it was the location in Mozambique where they felt most comfortable and safe from the impacts of the civil war. Furthermore, the Mozambican Labor Ministry, which was in charge of the affairs of former workers in East Germany, was located in Maputo and hence easy for them to reach if required.

In response to demands uttered across the country, in September 2001 the government carried out the first nationwide census of former workers in East Germany, using criteria such as the presentation of documents which confirmed their residence and employment in Germany, including passports and employment cards with the company name. This first census registered 11,252 former workers with the right to receive social security repayments. Of this number, it is important to note that around 6,000 people had set up their residences in Maputo City.⁴¹

Social Impact of the Madjermanes across Maputo

Originally, the workers were sent to East Germany in a revolutionary context with the objective of educating the “Homem Novo.” However, in East Germany the migrants were exposed to new forms of socialization, not all of which were in line with the SED and FRELIMO politics. Labor migrants returned as New Men, although not in the socialist context as previously envisioned by their representatives. Instead, they returned as an embryonic class in ascension, accumulating a material and even monetary wealth that to a certain degree impacted the lives of the people around them, before it disappeared again. Thus, the cycle closed, and many returned to the lives they unmoored from to migrate to East Germany. What migrants had in their baggage, apart from material goods, were practices such as

⁴⁰ Francisco Macaringue, July 21, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

⁴¹ Lucas Xavier Canjale, “O Fórum dos ex-trabalhadores da ex-RDA na Cidade de Maputo (1996–2006)” (Graduate thesis, UEM, 2007).

protests and invoking notions of self-esteem and social inclusion.⁴² Notions of autonomy and adulthood had a long tradition in transnational Mozambican labor migrations but were not part of the socialist goals of solidarity and the collective. Where governments expected political and technical education along a real socialist exegesis as practiced in East Germany at the time, quite a few labor migrants began to practice indiscipline, alcoholism, and violations of dormitory rules in an attempt to ensure personal freedoms so abhorred by both governments.

The Madjermanes who returned and established themselves in Maputo stimulated the curiosity of numerous residents of the city. Many people were keen to get to know these men (and some women) who were returning from a western country with a vast range of experiences. Returnee Adevaldo Banze recalls that “People were amazed. They all wanted to see the Madjermanes, as we were affectionately known. We were men who commanded economic respect from anyone who showed up.”⁴³ Carlos Cossa, a resident of the Ferroviário neighborhood in Maputo, remembers:

When the young people from East Germany returned, the neighborhood became very exciting. Their houses were nearly always full of people, family members as well as neighbors. Every young person wanted to hang out with them because they had money and there was nearly always a party in their homes. Their houses were full of quality things, whether food and drink or things to watch. People wanted to be close to them. They were always dressed very differently. I remember that one of them who brought back a motorbike would make a lot of noise when he left home and all the kids would run to watch him go by.⁴⁴

Another kind of transformation resulting from the return of the Madjermanes took place in their residences. Some of the youngsters returned and invested their money in improving the living conditions of their families, especially in building houses of brick and stone. These houses were equipped with electrical appliances from East Germany which were very hard to find in the suburbs and even in the most expensive parts of the city. Adevaldo Banze states that on his return one of his priorities was to build a decent home for his family and to fur-

⁴² See Eric Allina, “From ‘New Man’ to Superman: The Politics of Work and Socialism, from Maputo to Karl-Marx-Stadt, c. 1982,” (WISER: Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, 2016).

⁴³ Adevaldo Banze, “Berlim: um Paraíso Suspenso na Memória,” in *Moçambique – Alemanha, Ida e Volta: Vivências dos Moçambicanos antes, durante e depois de estadia na Alemanha*, ed. Ulf Dieter Klemm (Maputo: ICMA, 2005), 37–39.

⁴⁴ Alfredo Mandlate and Carlos Cossa, July 18, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

nish it with “television sets, fridges, radios, videos and many more, plus the famous MZ motorbike,⁴⁵ which was the flag of Germany in Mozambique.”⁴⁶

At this time, it was seen as a major privilege to have traveled to East Germany. When migrants returned, they were seen as individuals with valuable life experience. João Raimundo, a resident of the Ferroviário neighborhood in Maputo, states:

When the youngsters who were in East Germany returned home, many young people wanted to be close to them. They thought that they had more experience of life because of their time in Europe, where things were more dynamic [...]. For example, they wanted to know what sort of clothes went well together or how to get with a girl. They also wanted to be close to them to increase their popularity and even to be seen with them by a woman in whom they were interested. Some people would borrow their clothes or even their motorbikes to make an impression.⁴⁷

Some of the returnees also impressed by bringing with them their European girlfriends,⁴⁸ partners or wives, something which—as a relic of colonial times—was seen as an honor for the neighborhoods where they lived. This was not simply an affinity for the foreign read as exotic and exciting, but it mattered that these women were white, the color of power.

In his song “*Miboba*” (2000), José Guimarães describes the joy of the Mozambicans who went to (East) Germany and their delight in seeing the beauty of German cities. The same music talks of the return in triumph of some of the Madjermanes, who came home with German girlfriends or motorbikes, to the amazement and admiration of the locals, singing “*A Loko aho ku tivha Nwana mamany, a uta Tsaka, a Skambalene*”⁴⁹ [...] *Vhanwany Vhafana, vha*

45 The MZ refers to an East German brand of motorbikes produced by IFA (Industrieverband Fahrzeugbau), which many of the young Mozambicans acquired in the GDR second hand. This was one of the most visible assets upon the return of the Madjermanes, leading to the expression “German flag in Mozambique.” It was characteristic in the whole city to see young people on these motorbikes for years until they disappeared one by one as they broke down and could not be repaired for lack of spare parts.

46 Banze, “Berlim: Um paraíso Suspenso na Memória,” 37–39.

47 João Raimundo, July 29, 2019, interview with Fernando Machava.

48 According to several interviewees, some young East German women accompanied their partners to Mozambique. However, given the differences in climate, living standard, and culture, most did not last long before they eventually returned, in some cases with their partners, in others alone. At present no East German woman still in Mozambique was identified either by the author or Marcia C. Schenck during her dissertation research in 2014.

49 Unfortunately, the composer of this song has died and it was not possible to ask him about the meaning of this word. Based on the story told by the song, the word refers to a city in East

vhuhy ni swithuthuthu, niswy linguana, a Skambalene [...]”⁵⁰ In this music, the artist sings of the beauty of German cities, for which many returnees felt strong nostalgia when they had to return to Mozambique after the end of the socialist regime in East Germany.⁵¹ The song also mentions the labor migrants who returned from East Germany not only with goods (motorbikes) but also with “white girls” (East German women), to the widespread admiration of their families and local community.⁵² At that time it was not common for a young Mozambican man, especially one from a suburban neighborhood, to go out with a white woman or to have a white wife. A colonial legacy, white women were still considered to be members of the elite, so these young people enjoyed a privileged position in their neighborhood by virtue of an assumption about the economic and social position of their East German partners. Regardless of the East German background the white women actually came from, their skin color privileged them in the Maputo of the early 1990s.

We should also note that the returning men were highly attractive to some local women, again based on an assumption about material wealth but also fascinating as somebody who had seen Europe personally and could tell interesting stories. Many new relationships between Maputo’s women and returning migrants were formed immediately after their return, sometimes culminating in marriage and family creation. The country was still feeling the devastating effects of the civil war and its economy was extremely weak. This had an impact above all on families in poor suburbs across the country. Some Mozambican women were keen to have relationships with young men returning from their work experience in East Germany, who apparently had goods and money. Samuel Manjate, a resident near the temporary camp in Machava, which was established on an old farm to process male returnees, says:

Germany. Many returnees whom I was able to interview could not say exactly what it refers to, but everything suggests that the word denotes a real or fictitious city. The song discusses the beauty of European cities and the joy that young people who had been in Europe felt when remembering the place.

50 This translates to “If you met my brother you would be happy in Skambalene [...] Other kids came back with motorbikes, with white girls from Germany [...]”, José Guimarães. *Miboba*. Rádio Moçambique, 2000.

51 See for instance Schenck, “Socialist Solidarities.”

52 Marcia Schenck describes the reverse process in East Germany, where black husbands and boyfriends were often not approved of in East German families and communities; see Schenck, “Socialist Solidarities.”

The area near that place used to be full of women who had relationships with the Madjermanes, thinking that they could get on in life that way. These people had come from Europe and the women thought they had a lot of money which wouldn't run out soon.⁵³

Before the money ran out, many Madjermanes were role models to the young people in their neighborhoods but life changed for everybody, young and old, for better or for worse. Alfredo Mandlate and Carlos Cossa, both residents of Ferrovário, saw how some of the young returnees from Germany moved close to their homes and remember:

A lot of things changed here when they arrived. Everyone would go to one of their houses to watch TV, which only they had. They were basically the first people with stereos and they played very loud music which was totally different to what we were used to. (...) There were always people with them and sometimes we could not sleep because of the noise they made when they had a party.⁵⁴

The return of the Madjermanes led to changes in the habits and customs of the neighborhoods, as thousands of youngsters arrived bringing their experiences of Germany with them and influencing other residents. The returnees were similar in many ways, but also different from the migrants who had been to the South African mines. They had emigrated to Europe in a state-organized program targeted at job training while the miners had emigrated within the region and often for personal reasons such as marriage, improved living conditions, or traditions in the family or community. Both, however, made an impact in their communities, not least through the goods they brought.⁵⁵

Improvement in Living Conditions Thanks to New Products

One of the most significant legacies of the cooperation between Mozambique and East Germany was constituted by the material goods brought back by thousands of Mozambicans. Thousands of containers full of products arrived, includ-

⁵³ Samuel Manjate, July 15, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

⁵⁴ Alfredo Mandlate and Carlos Cossa, July 18, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

⁵⁵ Consumption is also a theme familiar from southern African labor history; see Emmanuel Kreike, *Recreating Eden: Land Use, Environment, and Society in Southern Angola and Northern Namibia*, Social History of Africa (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2004), Chapter 5; Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c.1860–1910* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994).

ing electrical appliances, clothes, vehicles, and other items, which were unloaded in the port of Maputo after being shipped from East Germany.

Most of the youngsters had enjoyed good living conditions in East Germany, with subsidized food, accommodation, and leisure activities resulting in an economically stable, if not prosperous, life. The migrants bought two kinds of goods: goods for immediate consumption and use and goods for their return to Mozambique. In Germany, many bought food and a fridge to be able to cook their own Mozambican food, but also a television set, radio and HiFi for their entertainment. For their return, migrants bought everything they considered useful for their families or that could be sold to substantiate their meager income. But many also prioritized their own creation of a future household.

The material items that the returnees brought with them, for instance appliances such as television sets, sound systems, motorbikes and even vehicles, which until then had been scarce or non-existent in the suburban communities of Maputo, converted the Madjermanes into a local elite. Their style and clothes inspired a new way of dressing and a new look and they made a major impression with their haircuts and ripped jeans. These items also led to major changes in their families and the surrounding communities, for example by increasing the capacity to preserve food in freezers and fridges and also by increasing access to information and entertainment from radio and television, with informal cinemas in the community known as “videos.” Many of the new appliances were still reliant on local electricity and thus their use was not possible at all times or in all places.

Most of the migrants to East Germany and their families had experienced scarcity of almost all types of products prior to migrating. When they received their wages abroad, they prioritized buying the goods they deemed useful and prestigious. Workers like Manuel Loureço, who was among the workers who received compensation pay after the early termination of his contract due to the German re-unification, used that money to go on a shopping spree and buy Western and formerly Eastern goods for home:

With the money that I received in Germany when the company I was working for was shut down, I bought some things to use here in Mozambique and for all the family. I knew there was not a lot here so I invested in things that would be useful to me. I already had some items I used over there, such as a fridge, record player, dishes and an MZ motorbike for myself I just bought some more clothes and then a lot of stuff for my family.⁵⁶

56 Manuel Loureço, June 29, 2019, interview with Fernando Machava.

Aware of the difficulties that their families were experiencing, Mozambicans in East Germany tried to cover the full range of a family's needs when buying goods. When they returned home, these items would serve to distinguish the families of Madjermanes, who stood out because of the way they dressed.

Florêncio Obadias mirrors the intention to build his own household with the goods acquired during the migration process:

I bought clothes, a fridge, television set, dishes and other utensils which I could use at home. I was coming back with my girlfriend and she chose most of the things as she said we had to arrive and build our home. I remember there were a lot of dishes and sheets and that we even brought curtains with us.⁵⁷

When they returned, electrical appliances gave these families of the returnees an advantage in life that they had not enjoyed before, such as the ability to conserve food in the freezers and refrigerators brought by the Madjermanes from East Germany. As one interviewee explains:

[...] I brought a fridge which helped a lot at home, especially in the summer when food goes bad quickly. It was not easy in our humble families of farmers to find someone with fridge or a freezer. Many of our neighbors would come to store their things here, mainly fish and meat products, which before they had stuffed with salt [...] so that they did not rot.⁵⁸

These domestic appliances increased a family's capacity to conserve food and hence enhanced their ability to buy perishable food products in large volumes, as they could be preserved without difficulty.

Another benefit from these goods of high prestige was the possibility they provided of increased access to televised information and entertainment. Televised football games and soap operas gave the families and neighbors of the Madjermanes access to more entertainment. Normally, a Madjerman's house would be full of people of all ages looking for some form of content to watch on their televisions. For the communities, these appliances gave more access to entertainment and, even more importantly, more choices when accessing information. Another important opportunity for entertainment came from films on video cassettes, which until then had been very scarce in families in the suburbs of Maputo. The return of the Madjermanes saw video players arrive in these homes, providing families and neighbors with a new form of entertainment. Interviewee Alfredo Mandlate remembers:

⁵⁷ Florêncio Obadias, June 27, 2019, interview with Fernando Machava.

⁵⁸ Alfredo Mandlate, July 18, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

[...] We used to go to the home of our neighbor who had come back from Germany to watch his TV, mainly when there were football matches from Portugal. We sat down and watched the games with people of all ages because television sets were rare around here. On days when there were no matches, we would watch the news, soap operas and some films they had brought from Germany. It was something new that had never been seen before and the house used to fill up. Some people saw that their houses were getting full and started to charge entry. On normal days there was one price, on days when there was a football game there was another price.⁵⁹

As this interview shows, people would flock to the house of a Madjerman to enjoy audiovisual entertainment. With their sound systems and records, the Madjermanes introduced new music which began to captivate and delight the listeners. The Madjermanes thereby introduced to the community western music that was not very well known in Mozambique at the time. As we have seen in this section, the goods of the Madjerman changed the lifestyle of the local Maputo communities into which the returnees integrated in many small ways.

From Prestige Goods to Opportunities for Financial Gains

Some of the returnees also made the most of the training they had received in East Germany and created small businesses to support themselves and their families. They brought with them and acquired materials to help them in their work, such as equipment for metalworking and mechanical work and they set up businesses supplying the local population. Apart from being the economic foundation of their livelihoods, these businesses created employment for young people to acquire trading skills and earn an income, albeit mostly in the informal economy:

When my contract with the [East German] company where I was assigned ended and I knew that I had to come home [to Mozambique], I began to buy materials to come and open a small metalworking shop to produce pieces for people. At the start my idea was not to make the things myself: it was to train people so that they could make the items while I was at work in the company that would be allocated for me when I arrived home. When I saw that things were not working out as had been planned, I assumed personal responsibility for the project. Even today I am still working in the area in which I received training in East Germany.

59 Alfredo Mandlate, July 18, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

With the small company that I opened I managed to support my parents and brothers and then form my own family, all supported by my small business.⁶⁰

With the small enterprises that they established, some of the returnees not only made full use of the knowledge they acquired in East Germany but also trained people, created job positions, and produced or repaired items for neighboring communities.

Another way of raising funds came from the informal cinemas. Conventional cinemas were normally the preserve of well-off people in the city itself. The Madjermanes, however, began to introduce to the suburbs cinemas which were known as “videos.” When finances began to become tighter, these young people would not only sell goods from East Germany but also entertain youngsters with video films they had brought with them from East Germany. These informal cinemas had another impact on society, which was the change in the name of robbers from “*Mabandidos*”, the name they had during the civil war, to “*Ninjas*”, which had become famous thanks to the films shown in the cinemas set up by the Madjermanes. One interviewee states:

There were no Ninjas here. The Madjermanes brought them with their martial arts films. A few years later a martial arts training area was even set up in the Xikhelene zone. Before that there were only “*Bandidos*” or “*Mabandidos*”, but after the Madjermanes came back there started to be people who assaulted and beat up their victims, wearing those hoods that cover the face. The only thing you could see was the eyes and the nose [...].⁶¹

The films from the Madjermanes created the space for a new form of behavior by people who caused trouble and carried out looting in the communities. Thus, some of the aspects of the mixing of cultures had tangible disadvantages.

The goods that the Madjermanes brought with them from East Germany initially gave them a considerable privilege. With that came many friends and many expenses. Most of the money they had brought from East Germany was soon spent on parties, drinks, and fun with friends. As their money ran out, and with no income coming from the payment transfers they had made when they were in Germany, they began to sell their goods to survive and support their habits. Adevaldo Banze says in his memoirs:

The days began to darken and day after day became even darker, with no payments or anything. The time had come to find a job, but no jobs appeared. I can still remember the sad

⁶⁰ Marcos Rungo, July 21, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

⁶¹ Samuel Manjate, July 15, 2016, interview with Fernando Machava.

time when I gave up my goods, day after day, piece after piece. I got rid of my television, my radio, even my famous and beloved MZ, because I had to live [...].⁶²

The first sales of products brought from Germany began in the 1990s, when some returnees put their belongings up for sale in the area that today is known as the Red Star Market. When their products ran out, these people then began to sell the products of other Madjermanes who were also in financial difficulties. One of the interviewees says:

The Red Star market became famous for selling products from people who had returned from East Germany. From 1990 to 1997–1998 people would show up to sell the appliances they had bought in Germany. When we came back from Germany and we had not been employed or received the value of the transfers, we had to find other ways to survive. The only way out we found was to sell the items that we had brought from Germany. This became our employment. The business began with one person and after a while there were around 20 Madjermanes selling products from Germany, either their own goods or those of other people who had sold them to us for resale or just to sell for a certain commission.⁶³

As the interviewee confirms, those responsible for selling the products of the Madjermanes were other returnees, who would sell the products of their colleagues for a commission. When the goods of the Madjermanes began to run out, they started to sell other products. To this day, they continue in the same business. This section has shown that while many returnees did not gain a place of employment in Mozambique's formal economy in the industry for which they have been trained, some still used their skills on the informal market to create small businesses, rooted in their local communities.

From the Elite to the Margins: The Social Legacy of the Madjermanes

For a certain period, the Madjermanes constituted an elite in Mozambican society and they seemed firmly moored back home. Many of these youngsters were still enthused by their time in Europe and expected to quickly be assigned a job where they could put into practice the skills they had learned. As a result, with the cash they momentarily possessed and the money they expected to receive, a certain complacency set in.

62 Banze, "Berlim: Um paraíso Suspenso na Memória," 37–39.

63 Grupo Mercado Estrela Vermelha, interview with Marcia C. Schenck, April 21, 2014.

Their dreams were destroyed, however, not least by the change in the political and economic systems as socialism unraveled and the armed fighting continued and the abandonment of Mozambique's socialist projects for which thousands of youngsters were sent to third countries to receive professional training. With few formal employment opportunities and no goods left from East Germany to support them, some of the returnees migrated again, this time to the mines of South Africa. Others looked for jobs locally, and yet others started small businesses. Most Madjermanes continued to wait for the money the Mozambican government owed them from the payments made when they were in East Germany, regardless of how they created their income. Before long, the situation of the unemployed returning migrants became desperate, culminating in a demonstration in front of the Ministry of Employment in late December 1990, when the Madjermanes demanded the money that was owed to them. Many of them expressed regret for having returned to the country, maintaining that those who remained in reunified Germany had better opportunities than those who planned to fulfill President Samora Machel's dream of developing Mozambique through a trained vanguard working class.⁶⁴

As well as financial problems and unemployment, the Madjermanes faced the problem of social reintegration, as they were to a degree discriminated against and prevented from accessing employment opportunities because they had a reputation for participating in protest marches. They began to be referred to as "Madjermanes," "ninjas," or even "*molwenes* of the district," and thus their name was tainted with associations of troublemakers and indeed a few Madjermanes slid into a life of crime, though that is by no means representative of the population as a whole.⁶⁵

Time went by and the Madjermanes became older. During the period of their protests and demands, which began shortly after their return and intensified in the decade following the mid 1990s, there were countless confrontations between the returnees and not only governmental authorities but also ordinary citizens, who would sometimes suffer the consequences of the frustrations of the Madjermanes. As a result, their reputation considerably deteriorated over the course of the years.

⁶⁴ Ibraimo Alberto is an example of Mozambican labor migrant who decided to stay in Germany after its reunification. He obtained German nationality, founded a family, retrained and worked in integration and anti-racism work; see Marcia C. Schenck and Ibraimo Alberto, Chapter 10 in this volume.

⁶⁵ Lucas, "Mão-de-obra Moçambicana."

Conclusion

Many Mozambicans, especially the generation born after the 1990s, have little inkling of the history behind the social changes that the Madjermanes experienced and the protests they provoked upon returning to their home country in the early 1990s. Faced overall with a decline of prestige and living standards, expressions of Madjermanes' frustrations continue to be tangible up to the present day in the form of marching through the city with placards and occasionally inciting violence. Nowadays, the Madjermanes as a whole have a reputation of being violent troublemakers and stone throwers, mainly because of the violence that has occasionally broken out at their protests and in the park that they occupy. However, as I have highlighted in this contribution, they have suffered from intense social and economic changes in a short period of time. Moreover, many of the returnees were in their early twenties as they returned to Mozambique and have since grown old with their frustrations and disappointments.

The chance of migrating to a “developed” and above all “peaceful” European country, the dream of being in an industrialized nation, of acquiring goods with which to improve the standard of living, of having contact with other peoples and of opening new horizons—all this inspired many young people to sign up for a working experience in the socialist country GDR.

On the one hand the young men and women had the chance to emigrate to East Germany, to receive training, live in decent accommodations, and enjoy acceptable working conditions. They had the opportunity to acquire goods such as fridges, television sets, and HiFi systems, which were at once useful in their daily lives in East Germany and increased their status in their post-return lives in Mozambique. On the other hand, their work contracts were suddenly canceled, and they had to return en masse to Mozambique where they neither encountered the money that had been subtracted from their wages nor regular jobs in the positions for which they had been trained. When they arrived in their home country, they were initially seen as popular and wise key figures across Maputo, but their reputation began to tumble as their poverty increased.

The Madjermanes exercised an impact on the communities where they settled. For example, their arrival with television sets increased access to information. Their fridges and freezers helped expand people's ability to preserve food. Culturally, they brought new genres of music, a new style, and a new look. Their arrival also inspired acquisitiveness and a new capacity for protest for demands. Yet, as I have illustrated, the socioeconomic status and prestige of the Madjermanes was subject to rapid change. Their disappointment at not being allocated to jobs after their return, their loss of importance in the communities where they

lived, and their increasing criminalization led some of the Madjermanes to become more violent in order to try to convince authorities to settle the demands they had relating to their social security and deferred wage payments. Today, when some of the Madjermanes participate in marches to demand their rights, street traffic builds up rapidly. Car windows are shattered by stones, sticks, and other instruments. Occasionally people are insulted or assaulted by the Madjermanes. Resorting to violence in lieu of wielding political and economic power to claim their payments, the Madjermanes are not as important now as they were once perceived to be. The desperate demonstrations are mere echoes of a past remembered as affluent.

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School of Friendship: The Dream of the Unknown

Marcia C. Schenck and Francisca Raposo

Education is our principal instrument in forming the New Man; a man, liberated from old ideas, from a mentality that was contaminated by the colonial-capitalist mindset; a man educated by the ideas and practices of socialism.¹

Mozambican President Samora Machel

When Mozambique achieved independence in 1975, there arose new opportunities for knowledge exchange and socialist encounters in the education sector. The socialist alignment of the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) allowed the country to tap into international knowledge networks connecting socialist countries across the world. Young Mozambicans attended schools in Cuba and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), while adults received vocational and military training or attended universities all over the Eastern Bloc, as part of state-initiated knowledge transmission migrations.² The idea for the School of Friendship (Schule der Freundschaft, SdF) was born in FRELIMO leadership circles at the end of the 1970s. President Samora Machel (1975–86) prioritized professional education to provide the industrializing country with skilled labor in the absence of a professional working class. This was important both ideologically and practically. Not only was the working class the revolutionary class in the Marxist-socialist exegesis favored by Machel, but in the aftermath of colonial neglect of education and the exodus of Portuguese settlers, the young People's Republic of Mozambique (PRM) lacked people with professional skills.³ The SdF was to provide its 900 students with both general knowledge and vocational training to return skilled socialist workers as New Men (and Women) for the Mo-

1 Samora Machel, "Organizar a sociedade para vencer o subdesenvolvimento," [Organize society to fight underdevelopment] *Coleção Estudos e Orientações* 14 (1982): 4.

2 Hauke Dorsch, "Rites of Passage Overseas?: On the Sojourn of Mozambican Students and Scholars in Cuba," *Africa Spectrum* 43 (2008): 225–44. Prior to independence, Mozambicans had already migrated to other African countries for instance to attend school in Dar es Salaam; see Michael G. Panzer, "The Pedagogy of Revolution: Youth, Generational Conflict, and Education in the Development of Mozambican Nationalism and the State, 1962–1970," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35 (2009).

3 Mathias Tullner, "Das Experiment 'Schule der Freundschaft' im Kontext der Mosambikanischen Bildungspolitik," in *Freundschaftsbande und Beziehungskisten: Die Afrikapolitik der DDR und der BRD gegenüber Mosambik*, ed. Hans-Joachim Döring and Uta Rüchel, (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2005), 100.

zambican socialist and industrial revolution. The East German Socialist Unity Party (SED) leadership also took up the idea in the late 1970s and developed the SdF, not least because this goal was congruent with the SED's political values, its aspiration to aid the socialist development of so-called brother nations, and its economic interests in Mozambique. The SdF can be read in a broader tradition of East German institutions of learning targeted at the African and international vanguard. Other examples of these institutions explored in this volume include the FDGB college in Bernau, discussed by Eric Angermann in Chapter 4, the Herder Institute, discussed by Jörg Depta and Anne-Kristin Hartmetz in Chapter 2, and the higher education student exchanges discussed by Christian Alvarado in Chapter 3.

Existing studies dedicated specifically to the SdF are overwhelmingly based on the German archival record and aim to understand what the experiment can tell us about the successes and failures of schooling children from socialist brother states.⁴ Some researchers have given particular attention to the socialist dimension of this education migration project.⁵ Education scholars focus on the education aspect.⁶ This contribution combines an analytical section with a first-hand account and is divided into two parts. The first provides background and historical context to understand the second part. This second section, which, similarly to Chapter 10, delves into one life-history, is a first-person account by a former student of the SdF, Francisca Raposo. Ms. Raposo pays particular attention to the process of her unmooring from Mozambican life to prepare for her new life in the GDR. She describes how she navigated personal disentanglements from familiar social structures and contexts, while forming new connections as she made new friends from all over Mozambique even before she arrived in the GDR. We can interpret her account using the metaphor of mooring and unmooring, discussed in the introduction to this volume. The metaphor comes into play here both in a spatial and a temporal sense.

4 See Annette Scheunpflug and Jürgen Krause, *Die Schule der Freundschaft: Ein Bildungsexperiment in der DDR*, Beiträge aus dem Fachbereich Pädagogik der Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg (Hamburg: Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg, 2000); Lutz R. Reuter and Annette Scheunpflug, *Eine Fallstudie zur Bildungszusammenarbeit zwischen der DDR und Mosambik* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2006).

5 Uta Rüchel, "...Auf Deutsch sozialistisch zu denken..." – *Mosambikaner in der Schule der Freundschaft*, ed. Die Landesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR in Sachsen-Anhalt (Magdeburg: JVA Naumburg – Arbeitsverwaltung, 2001); Tanja Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity: East Germany in Mozambique* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2014).

6 Scheunpflug and Krause, *Die Schule der Freundschaft: Ein Bildungsexperiment*; Reuter and Scheunpflug, *Eine Fallstudie*.

Why did 900 young Mozambicans have to travel thousands of kilometers northward to attend an East German school to become skilled workers? For the FRELIMO leadership circle, establishing the school in Mozambique was out of the question, due to the ongoing war, a scarcity of internship opportunities, and funding challenges. Under these circumstances, it did not seem possible to maintain an isolated school with elite conditions in the country itself – it was more prudent to transfer the children. The SdF was to be a vision of Mozambique’s scientific-Marxist future, one in which “tribalism,” “occultism,” and “poor work routine” were to be overcome and Mozambican traditions were to become nothing but folklore.⁷ The few hundred square meters of an idealized Mozambique, embodied in the school’s campus in Staßfurt, were dedicated to the socialist venture of educating the New Man.⁸ In the language of the time, it was a symbol of international solidarity, but it also played into the political and economic interests of the GDR.⁹ The content and concept of the SdF were intentionally left in German hands; Mozambique was interested in East German, not Mozambican, standards.¹⁰ This produced an in-betweenness, where an idealized Mozambique was constructed in Staßfurt. The school remained isolated, foreign visitors were not allowed in, and initially the Mozambican students were only allowed to go out in supervised groups. Thus the young migrants traversed a whole continent, only to find themselves practically immobile, at least in the beginning.¹¹ As the students became older and spoke better German, they were able to leave the premises by themselves, especially to visit their East German host families, or friends at the weekends. Many students remember their overall experience in a rather positive light, but they were also subjected to racism and found their freedom curtailed in other ways. For instance, the possibilities for students to enact their faiths or live in accordance with religious commandments were limited at best.¹² This is, therefore, a case study for political

7 Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900–1982* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 93–99.

8 Tullner, “Das Experiment ‘Schule der Freundschaft’,” 103.

9 Katrin Lohrmann and Daniel Paasch, “Die ‘Schule der Freundschaft’ in Staßfurt,” in *Freundschaftsbande und Beziehungskisten*, ed. Hans-Joachim Döring and Uta Rüchel (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2005), 95–98.

10 Tullner, “Das Experiment ‘Schule der Freundschaft’,” 105.

11 Scheunpflug and Krause, *Die Schule der Freundschaft: Ein Bildungsexperiment*, 82, 128.

12 Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity*, 86–90; Marcia C. Schenck, “Small Strangers at the School of Friendship: Memories of Mozambican School Students to the German Democratic Republic,” *Bulletin of the GHI* 15 (2020): 49–50; Emilia Francisco, “A Presença de Skinheads em Staßfurt?,” in *Moçambique – Alemanha, Ida e Volta: vivências dos moçambicanos antes, durante e depois de estadia na Alemanha*, ed. Ulf Dieter Klemm (Maputo: ICMA, 2005), 81–84.

entanglements between two countries but on the social level of the school project entanglements remained temporary encounters, transitory moorings rather than roots. This story ended with political disengagement of the two governments, a process that reverberated on the individual level long after the participants had returned to Mozambique.

Who were the students, like Francisca Raposo, and how were they recruited and selected? The Mozambican Minister of Education, Graça Machel, had the prospective students recruited from across provinces to foster the unity of the Mozambican nation state which the government was trying to create.¹³ Students were often approached in their local schools, as Francisca describes in her account. Once they were convinced, they often had to persuade their parents, many of whom were afraid of selling their children into slavery: a fear based on their and their ancestors' experience with Portuguese colonialism, forced labor, and slavery.¹⁴ Other parents placed their trust in the FRELIMO government and immediately supported their children's decision to pursue their education abroad.¹⁵ Francisca's experience lay somewhere in the middle of these extremes. What drew many children, including Francisca, was a thirst for adventure, the will to leave behind a life of relative poverty, and a desire to further pursue their education.¹⁶ Most, like Francisca, were making a leap into the complete unknown.

As regards the operation of the SdF, in the summer of 1982 a total of 900 Mozambican children arrived in Staßfurt. They were between 12 and 14 years of age, and had completed at least a fourth-grade education in Mozambique. Contrary to official documentation, the new students did not constitute a homogeneous group. Rather, the 200 girls and 700 boys, from all over Mozambique, arrived with various levels of education and an actual age range of nine to 16.¹⁷ The result was a potpourri of religions, languages, customs, and class origins. This diversity was, however, all but ignored. The students were to grow into socialist Mozambican citizens, overcoming ethnic and religious identities. It was irrelevant whether they were Makonde or Makua, Shangaan or Shona, animist, Muslim, or Christian. For the students, this meant that by the time they were brought together in holding centers all over Mozambique—even prior to reaching Maputo—their ties with their home regions, languages, and customs were slowly loosened and they learned, as

¹³ Tullner, "Das Experiment 'Schule der Freundschaft'," 103.

¹⁴ Albino Forquilha, interview conducted by the author, Maputo, September 2, 2011; Pedro Munhamasse, interview conducted by the author, Quelimane, June 7, 2014.

¹⁵ Forquilha, interview.

¹⁶ Pedro Munhamasse, Pascoa Rodrigues, and Narguice Ibrahim Jamal, interview conducted by the author, Quelimane, June 8, 2014.

¹⁷ Reuter and Scheunpflug, *Eine Fallstudie*, 78.

Francisca vividly describes, to engage on new terms with children from all over the country. As Francisca left her home region further behind, the group diversity increased and she gradually had to communicate in Portuguese and concentrate on what she shared with the other children: being young, curious Mozambican citizens.¹⁸ The more Francisca and the children met children with other mother tongues, customs, and lived realities, the more they were encouraged to shed these distinguishing features and to form a new identity: that of a shared Mozambican-ness. This process was intensified once they were living and studying in the closed cosmos of the SdF, in a small East German village. The aim was to become Mozambique's vanguard workforce of the future.

In Francisca Raposo's contribution, we are invited to step into her shoes as a Mozambican girl, not yet a teenager. For her this story was decidedly not a political story about education cooperation between brother nations, but a personal story of liberation and emancipation from a life of work and service to family members. Her tools of liberation were her mind – she was always an excellent student – and the opportunity to travel to the GDR. The story Francisca chooses to share leaves no doubt that she sees her child-self as the main protagonist. In other words, it was her who made the decision to leave at all costs and managed to talk her parents into letting her go. The larger political context, socialism, and government agreements play no role in her story. Her account highlights the level of misinformation, rumors, and speculation that were rife in the general population in Mozambique as regards to the government's international education initiatives. Despite all the distorted reports that young Francisca heard about the GDR, she chose to trust in the information her teachers provided and placed all her hopes and anticipations for a better life in her journey to an unknown land. There is, however, more context and background to these rumors (p. 242) than Francisca knew when she came across them as a girl. There is a long history of rumors in different parts of Africa asserting that slavers were cannibals.¹⁹ Witches and vampires served as metaphors to talk about exploitation and reveal anxieties and concerns of those speaking about them.²⁰ Where violence was concerned, fact and fiction often merged.²¹ These rumors likely then indicate, in the minds of those spreading them, a continuity between the

18 Munhamasse, interview.

19 John Thornton, "Cannibals, Witches, and Slave Traders in the Atlantic World," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 60 (2003).

20 Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture (Berkeley, Cal.; London: University of California Press, 2000).

21 Ann Laura Stoler, "In Cold Blood": Hierarchies of Credibility and the Politics of Colonial Narratives," *Representations* 37 (1992).

slave trade, colonialism, and the GDR. Despite official rhetoric that the new partners in the socialist east (who claimed to be anti-racist and anti-imperialist) were to be radically different from the former colonizers, people appear to have been less than convinced, as they continued to associate overseas countries with white inhabitants with a centuries-long history of forced migration, labor exploitation, and unfreedom. This might open up a new perspective on stories told by migrants to the GDR about racism and exploitative working conditions. On the other hand, this particular form of labor migration had only been active for two years at the time when Ms. Raposo heard these rumors.

This story focuses on the long path that young Francisca had to travel before she ever set foot on East German soil. With that, this contribution deals with a little-explored topic, namely the migration process from selection to arrival at the SdF. Francisca Raposo reflects on her childhood as a girl growing up in central Mozambique between the Zambezi River and the city of Quelimane. She also presents her perspective as one of the only 200 female students at the SdF. Another important feature of her story is its theme of unity between the students from all walks of life and all corners of Mozambique. This unity of the student body, which was later to become a socialist collective, is something that alumni all over Mozambique continue to emphasize to the present day, and which even led to the establishment of many alumni groups across the country.²² The special connection that many former students maintain with one another, but also with the SdF as an institution and with Germany, as heir to the GDR, is also a motivation for women like Ms. Raposo who chose to travel across continents again to speak about her time as a student at the School of Friendship, 30 years after her return to Mozambique. In contributing her recollections to this volume, she also chose to defy personal circumstances and the personal consequences of devastating cyclones, demonstrating the importance of her SdF experience to her personal story.

* * *

What follows now is Francisca Raposo's narrative:²³

22 Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity*, Chapter 3; Schenck, "Small Strangers," 57. During 2015, Marcia C. Schenck spent six months travelling through Mozambique and interviewed just about 200 returned workers, school children, and students who had spent part of their formative years in the GDR. In the process she met with many active alumni groups.

23 Thank you to Immanuel Harisch and Marcia C. Schenck for providing feedback and editing the narrative and to Marcia Schenck for translating it from German into English. Marcia C. Schenck and Francisca Raposo met at the conference "Respekt und Anerkennung" (Respect and Acknowledgement) in Magdeburg, Germany, February 22–24, 2019. Ms. Raposo agreed to

A Long Way to School: My Memories of Making My Way to the GDR

In December 1981, my school director announced that the government would select the best students between 11 and 13 years of age to fly to the German Democratic Republic to continue their studies. I lived in a small village called Conho, which is located 18 kilometers from the town of Mopeia. I was almost 13 years old at the time. At the time, in fifth grade, I was one of the best students in my class. I did not know what GDR meant and could not even imagine what the country looked like. But I was curious and wanted to go.

I really wanted to fly far away with other students because my life at home was not easy. I lived with my aunt and had to do a lot of housework and take care of my cousins. Sometimes I also lived with my grandmother, the mother of my father. I had to go to the forest for firewood with my friends. We didn't have an electric cooker or a gas stove. To buy school supplies, I had to work in the fields to earn money. Once I was given a lot of school materials as a gift because I was one of the best students. That was a relief for me, but I had to share some school materials with my brothers and sisters. My older sister studied in another school, in another place called Luabo. We saw little of each other. She was in a dormitory and sometimes, when she had no money to pay for the dormitory, she lived with my aunt, my mother's sister.

The Dream of the Unknown

Given this life at home, the option of flying to the GDR was a relief for me – and a very big chance. I was a girl with no concept of the GDR, but that didn't interest me. Whether it looked nice there or not, whether there were nice people or not, none of that mattered to me. I only wanted to go to the GDR – that became my primary goal.

Finally, the six best students between 11 and 13 years among us were chosen. Our parents were informed by the school director about our trip. At first, my parents did not agree to my leaving, because they had no idea what it meant to learn in the GDR either. Illiteracy was a problem for my parents' generation

write a contribution for this book. During the writing process, she was hit hard by Cyclone Idai, family tragedies, and the Corona pandemic, which made writing much more challenging than anticipated.

and the population in Mozambique in general at the time. Thus, speculation was rife and wrong attitudes about white people prevailed. For example, people were convinced that the GDR made sardines out of us. Some children, people said, will return to Mozambique in crates, or we will never return home at all. I was not scared easily. For me it didn't matter whether they made sardines out of me or killed me, I just wanted to get away from what to me was an unbearable life. To dispel the rumors and allow us children to go, the headmaster tried to explain to the people that it was not true that people were making sardines or something else out of us. He also said that white people do not eat human flesh, but many didn't believe it. It was clear to my parents that it was unlikely we would end up as sardines because they trusted the government. Yet, my mother still didn't want me to fly to the GDR but eventually, after many explanations, she agreed.

An Inner Mozambican Odyssey to the GDR... Quelimane first

After our parents agreed, we thought we were ready to go; but before we could start, we had to have many health checks. Fortunately, I was healthy and so were my fellow students. Next we all had to go to Quelimane, the state capital, where we met other students from other county towns. When we finally arrived in Quelimane one evening, everyone was tired and exhausted but also curious about what was waiting for us. I already knew Quelimane because I had been there several times with my aunt. It is a very beautiful city with many coconut trees.

In Quelimane I started a different life, without my aunt, my cousins, without my brothers and sisters, and without housework. The girls were separated from the boys. We were placed in a boarding school. After three days we could visit the boys. Our boarding school was small and better than the boys'. In the meantime, students from different districts of the Zambézia Province also came. They looked just like me: exhausted and curious. We immediately made friends and learned our names. All the girls were very nice and everyone wanted to know about everything. Each of us spoke about life at home and at school, about what we wanted to play and other such matters on the mind of young girls. I quickly made new girlfriends: Arminda, Laura, Narguisse, Bernadette, Gloria, Angelina, Laurinda, and others. We were treated very well and had enough to eat. Although the boys were in a different home, we almost always met.

... Then onto Nampula

After staying in Quelimane for about three weeks we went to Nampula. There, in the north of Mozambique, we stayed for three months. The trip to Nampula was not as easy as I had imagined because the roads were in very bad condition. Once in Nampula, we were to meet other students from other provinces, namely from Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and also Zambézia. Once again a new life began for me – different faces, many different languages, different habits, and expectations. In Mozambique, each province and even subregions have their own language, but everybody uses Portuguese to communicate and so it was the same for us.

... And Finally Maputo

When three months had passed, we had to travel again, this time by plane to Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. It was not the first time I flew, because I had flown once before from Quelimane to Beira together with my aunt.²⁴ But for most of the others, it was the first time and they were afraid.

In Maputo I met even more children from yet other provinces: Maputo, Tete, Sofala, Inhambane, Gaza, Cabo Delegado, Niassa, Nampula, Manica, and Zambézia. Now the whole country was gathered. And we all established friendships despite the many new languages, new faces, new cultures, and new habits. We were housed in a home called Pousada dos Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique. The home belonged to the Mozambican railway. We were about 1,500 students. Five hundred of them flew to Cuba and only 900 were allowed into the GDR. This meant that 100 students were too many – once we learned that nobody slept peacefully anymore. We were so afraid that our name might not be on the right list, or worse yet, on no list at all. It didn't help matters that we stayed in Maputo for about four or five months. We had to do different examinations again but otherwise spent a lot of time waiting and fretting about who would go. After about two months, people from the ministry came with lists and passports. All of us were called to gather. They told us that this time a group of 70 students could fly. I was glad of that. I thought this time I was going to fly for sure. The names were read out, from one to seventy, but my name was not among

²⁴ Flying was something very special to be remembered by every child in this story. At the same time, given the civil war, it was the only safe way to travel between the provinces for much our post-independence history and whoever could afford it would prefer that way of travel.

them. Every time new groups were read out, I intently listened for my name, but every single time I was disappointed and left even more anxious than before. Eventually, my name was read out in the ninth group. I was thrilled and beside myself with relief, joy, and expectation. But I did not have much time for feelings as I had to prepare for the journey.

The day of all days then came quickly. We took a truck to the airport. I was trembling all the time because I was afraid that someone would tell me I wasn't allowed to fly because I was sick, or the names got mixed up, or something similar. But our flight left Maputo at 10:00 a.m.

And Then – My First Night in the GDR

Between 11:00 p.m. and 12:00 a.m. we finally landed in Berlin. It was the middle of the night, and pitch dark, but I could see many things because of the lights. I saw a very large city with so many colorful lights I had never seen before. We slept in a hotel in Berlin, well most of us didn't sleep that much. But the next day, we drove on to the village of Staßfurt, to the School of Friendship, where our colleagues, educators, and teachers were already waiting for us. And there we finally arrived.

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Boxing in the GDR: Story of Ibraimo Alberto

Ibraimo Alberto and Marcia C. Schenck¹

When I meet Ibraimo Alberto, I recognize him immediately. He is the man with the hat. Today, it is a narrow-brimmed black hat, very similar to the one he is wearing on the cover of his autobiography. During our interview, I see pictures of Ibraimo wearing a cowboy hat, a broad-brimmed hat, the color of which is hard to determine in the black and white photograph, and various other head-dresses. Today, Ibraimo asks whether the hat can stay on during the interview. It is part of his style, an expression of his personality, and timelessly fashionable, he remarks with a grin. The hat has stayed with Ibraimo throughout his often-tumultuous life.

Ibraimo's story begins to take shape for me like an extensive collage that spreads out over the big conference table that stands between us as we talk. Pictures emerge: a certificate of excellence for Ibraimo's work in the GDR, a pennant of his sports club after reunification. These artefacts appear like flags to mark the unclaimed territory on the tabletop. There are constantly reemerging themes: Ibraimo the protector, Ibraimo the boxer, Ibraimo the hat connoisseur. Ibraimo artfully spins the web of his life in front of me, using the artefacts and themes to signpost his winding path. He speaks intently, often relating stories in the

¹ First of all, I would like to thank Ibraimo Alberto, without whose patience and generous willingness to share his memories this contribution would not have been possible. When I approached Ibraimo with this idea, he was immediately keen, on the condition that he did the talking and I did the writing. So, here we are. As the co-author of this piece I have taken off my academic hat and slipped into a new role, that of Ibraimo's hand and pen. I have thus not fact-checked or otherwise verified this story but have written down the memories that Ibraimo wanted to share with me about his life in the GDR and beyond. I have decided against using a first-person perspective because I want to make explicit the layers of interpretation inherent in the co-creation of this text. During May and June 2019, Ibraimo and I met in Berlin and he told me stories which were intended for a wider audience. I listened and transformed them into a piece of writing, which we then edited together. In the process, our subjective lenses combined into the present text. A note on language: our conversations took place in German and Portuguese and I wrote this text in English, which I then translated back for Ibraimo during the editing process. Further, I would also like to extend my thanks to the International Research Center Work and Human Lifecycle in Global History at the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin for allowing us to use their wonderful facilities for our meetings. And lastly, I would like to say thank you to Daniela Lehmann, Eric Burton, and Immanuel Harisch for their helpful comments and suggestions.

form of direct dialogue. His hands underscore his stories with emphatic gestures. Ibraimo takes this chance to talk about his life seriously. It is important to him to speak about the wonders but also the injustices that he has experienced as a black man in the GDR, and later in unified Germany. It is his larger goal to foster intercultural understanding through the sharing of memories. That is why he has agreed to share his recollections of life in the GDR, and of its legacies with which he continues to live.

Ibraimo has written his autobiography together with Daniel Bachmann, published in German in 2014.² This article is not just an English short version but zooms in on Ibraimo's life as a boxer in the GDR and is grounded in his memories as he shared them with me in 2019. Alexandra Piepiorka and Eduardo Buanaissa, in this volume, analyze the memoryscape that emerges as a result of the lived experiences that saw people travel along the axes of the socialist world. They reflect in detail on the role of memory in the production of intercultural spaces of remembrance. I will now turn towards Ibraimo's memories.

The Travels of the Man with the Hat

When I first met Ibraimo at a conference in Magdeburg in February 2019, I had already read his book and thus approached him to ask whether he would be interested in contributing a chapter to our edited volume.³ He said he was willing to do so—provided he could do the talking and I did the writing—offered me the informal *Du*, gave me a big hug, and handed me his business card. The motto on his business card reads: “Wege entstehen dadurch, dass man sie geht” (“paths are made by walking”). Nothing could be more appropriate for a life such as Ibraimo's, including as it has migrations big and small, forced and voluntary.

Ibraimo's first transcontinental journey took him to Europe, straight into the heart of East-West divisions, into a city where cold war rivalries had become

2 Ibraimo Alberto and Daniel Bachmann, *Ich wollte leben wie die Götter: Was in Deutschland aus meinen afrikanischen Träumen wurde* (Köln: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2014).

3 The symposium “Respekt und Anerkennung” [Respect and Recognition] brought together former Mozambican contract workers and former Mozambican school children in East Germany with East German experts who worked in Mozambique and actors from politics, the development sector, the Lutheran church and the academy and took place in Magdeburg, February 22–24, 2019. The conference proceedings have been published; see Birgit Neumann-Becker and Hans-Joachim Döring, ed., *Für Respekt und Anerkennung: Die mosambikanischen Vertragsarbeiter und das schwierige Erbe aus der DDR*, Studienreihe der Landesbeauftragten (Halle/Saale: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2020).



Image 1: Ibraimo in cowboy hat and jeans posing at a photographer's studio in Berlin at the beginning of the 1980s (image in the possession of Ibraimo Alberto).

manifest in the very cityscape: to East Berlin. Ibraimo came to the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) on June 16, 1981, as an 18-year-old teenager thirsting for life, eager to embrace the new world he was about to encounter, to absorb all the education he could before returning home. He and his two third-grade friends, Fernando António Macajo and Manuel João Diego, had decided together to migrate to the GDR because they wanted to take the opportunity to receive an education.⁴ Neither of them had the faintest idea about the

⁴ See Franziska Rantzsch in this volume for a study on the negotiations between the representatives of the GDR and Mozambique with regard to the labor mobility scheme that brought Ibraimo Alberto and his friends to the GDR. See Marcia C. Schenck and Francisca Raposo in this volume for a discussion of an education migration scheme between Mozambique and the GDR.

GDR or what life there might look like. They only knew that it was a country in Europe, inhabited by white people. Ibraimo, the cowboy, was ready to explore the Wild East and the urban jungle of East Berlin. His hat made him invincible and his glasses (Ibraimo needed no glasses except for fashion reasons) let him see the world in a new way.

Ibraimo felt like he now was somebody: a traveler, a learner, an important young man, making an investment in his and his country's future. Intertwined, both futures would follow a path to success: while the young, recently-independent People's Republic of Mozambique was to develop through industrialization, Ibraimo was to learn a profession and return as skilled laborer and eligible bachelor who had explored Europe and in the process amassed not only stories but also material goods with which to support both his extended family and future nuclear family in Mozambique. "Nos somos continuadores!" is the slogan that comes to Ibraimo's mind, nearly 40 years later: "We are the continuation of the Mozambican revolution!" That was a sentiment close to young Ibraimo's heart. Aiding the revolution and working towards personal success were not exclusionary, but on the contrary, were interlocking goals, as Ibraimo understood the objective of his future return migration. Asked about this, more than a quarter of a century after the collapse of socialism in both Mozambique and East Germany, Ibraimo is not sure whether he ever believed in socialism. He was proud of Mozambique and he wanted development for his home country. He found himself living in two socialist people's republics and as such was active in the respective party organizations, but he cannot remember having been a particularly fervent supporter of socialism as a political doctrine.

At first, the young migrants were still very much connected to their previous lives in their respective home regions across Mozambique. This was a time before cellphones. Most migrants were only able to write letters home, but much more important than the written word (with which sometimes neither migrants nor their parents were overly familiar) were photos. Ibraimo and his friends sat for professional portraits in photo studios across East Berlin to document their journey. These were carefully orchestrated displays of a life Ibraimo and the other young workers lived as much—if not more—in their dreams as in reality. They wanted to send home images of successful young men and women who could afford to buy the latest fashionable clothes and pose with consumer goods. Their pictures also illustrated friendships (sometimes with white friends or extras, more often with one another) and playfulness. I am young, I am strong, I have travelled a long way, and I am invincible, these photos seem to say. They do not show the drudgery and long hours of work, the darkness and cold, the unfamiliar food, and the struggle to learn a foreign language (German) through another language (Portuguese) that was rarely the migrants' mother

tongue.⁵ This was also the case for Ibraimo. Looking at the young Mozambican cowboy, who is exploring the city of East Berlin not on horseback but on foot, not guarding cattle but hunting for consumer goods and enjoying touristic sites, I recall the motto on Ibraimo's business card: paths are made by walking. With these professional photos, Ibraimo and his friends wanted to convey to their friends and families at home that the path they were walking now was a prosperous one. The temporarily lost sons and daughters were basking in material attainments and enjoying their explorations of a far-away land in Europe, inhabited by foreign white people.

What these photos did not show was the shock that Ibraimo and others experienced upon arriving in East Germany. Ibraimo, who says of himself that he is an anxious person, suffered from disappointment and alienation, and struggled to adapt to the different climate and cuisine during his first few weeks. He felt isolated, betrayed, and at the mercy of those around him. Living in a country about which he knew nothing, where he could neither speak the language, nor any other language that would help him communicate with the inhabitants, was a deeply unsettling experience for Ibraimo. He felt that he had been lured to Germany under the false promise of education and was instead confronted with menial work in an industrial slaughter house. He wanted to return. But he believed that were he to return before his time was up, he would spend 14 years in a labor camp in Mozambique working off his travel costs. Not knowing what to do, he stopped eating. In the period immediately after his arrival, Ibraimo's chosen path looked gloomy and dangerous.

Becoming a Boxer

It might have all ended disastrously, had Ibraimo not had a dream. On the bus back from Schönefeld airport on the fateful day of June 16, 1981, a fight broke out. Teenage Ibraimo did what he always did. He went straight up to the aggressor and demanded: "Beat me, not him. But I will hit back!" Fifty-two heads turned, eyes expectantly on Ibraimo the protector. And in this moment Ibraimo's dream crystalized in his mind. He was going to learn how to box in East Germany.

He lost no time in asking the Mozambican intermediary and translator where he could learn boxing in this new land. The translator was used to many ques-

⁵ Katrin Bahr's text in this volume examines the other side of the coin, namely photographs taken by East Germans in Mozambique.



Image 2: Ibraimo and his friend Manuel João Diego training (image in the possession of Ibraimo Alberto).

tions from the recently arrived, but never before had he encountered such a request with such urgency. He did not know, but the German teacher assigned to the new worker-trainees of the meat processing plant, *VEB Fleischkombinat Berlin*, promised to inquire. Two months after his arrival in the GDR, Ibraimo started boxing at *Tiefbau Berlin*, a sports club of the *VEB Tiefbau*, a publicly-owned civil engineering enterprise. At 18, Ibraimo had no formal knowledge of boxing, so he started with the very young boys of 12 to 16, but that did not deter him. He was still wary of moving about the city by himself and so he persuaded his friend Manuel João Diego to accompany him. That was the beginning of two amateur sports careers that made headlines in East Germany.

To Ibraimo, boxing was not just a sport: it became central to his self-image. When he tells the story of his life, it begins with a small boy in the North of Mo-

zambique who had an innate drive to protect the weak and needy. There was not a single fight in the boy's village or the boy's school that took place without that boy going up to the aggressor and stating: "Before you hit him, hit me!" The reply would come: "But you are a good person, we want to attack the boy behind you." And the little boy Ibraimo would reply: "But he is as good a person as I am. We are all good people." Sometimes the fight would dispel as quickly as it had brewed. In other instances, young Ibraimo would have to physically fight and sometimes got badly beaten. Ibraimo the boy not only got into fights for noble reasons, but also for necessity. He had to protect his food from older youths who attacked him on his way to school, and to defend himself in class from older boys during unsupervised school hours. With all this fighting, young Ibraimo dreamed of learning how to box—not simply to be more effective in terms of self-defense, the older Ibraimo underscores—but to be a better protector. Yet, Ibraimo could not find boxing training anywhere near him in Manica and so he buried the dream and kept on fighting the only way he knew. Until one day on the bus from Schönefeld airport, an opportunity emerged to finally become a boxer.

Boxing in the GDR

Ibraimo's travels half way around the globe, to an unfamiliar country called the GDR, would have meant nothing to him had he not been able to start an amateur boxing career which saw him become Berlin Champion in September 1983. Even today, boxing is more to Ibraimo than a sport. It has been a valve, a mental challenge, an avenue for integration, and a tool for self-defense. Boxing was what made his life in the GDR enjoyable and protected him from overt and covert racism. Without boxing, his life in the GDR would have been miserable, Ibraimo states bluntly. But boxing gave him a purpose and a social network of teammates and trainers on which he was able to rely. His successes in the ring gave him a reason to feel proud and provided his life with the purpose and mental challenge that he could not find in his work. He worked in a meat-processing factory, *VEB Fleischkombinat Berlin*, from 1981 to 1986, and later as group leader in a glass factory, *VEB Glaswerk Stralau*, from 1986 to November 1990.

At work, Ibraimo was always successful. He was elected as head of his brigade as early as 1982. His gregarious and open character and his reputation as protector of the weak made him an obvious choice for his colleagues. In 1988, Ibraimo received a medal from the mayor of East Berlin for "excellent productiv-

ity in the socialist competition.”⁶ Yet, his work was never a source of satisfaction for Ibraimo. Ibraimo spent much of his time doing sports. He organized soccer competitions between Mozambicans from different companies across East Germany, and he played in an otherwise all-German team, *Turbine Treptow*. His real passion though was boxing.

Ibraimo describes boxing as a conversation using one’s hands. It requires awareness and concentration. It is not brute violence, but physical interactions that are governed by strict rules. Ibraimo thinks of boxing as an exchange. In many ways, boxing to 18-year old Ibraimo became the conversations he could not have otherwise, because he still only spoke a few words of German. It became the cultural exchange that rarely took place outside the training room and boxing ring for him. Ibraimo lived in a hostel near Tierpark that only housed foreign workers, a living arrangement he remembers as fun because of the parties that were thrown every weekend, but also as isolating from East German society. His brigade at the meat-processing plant combined workers from different nationalities, including Mozambican, Mongolian, Polish, and German, and relations were generally amicable, but during break time, everybody went to sit with their own national groups in the company canteen. Not so with boxing. In Ibraimo’s memory, he and his friend João became inseparable, trained together, travelled together to and from training and supported each other. But the support did not stop there. Their East German trainers and the other boxers from their club, young and old, stood behind them. They taught the two young Mozambicans the ins and outs of boxing and physically protected them from racist attacks.

Ibraimo recalls his first fight as if it were yesterday. He had been training for a year, when his coach Rainer Kühn told him that he was ready to compete. They chose an opponent who was a good match for his weight class and experience level, but on the day of the competition, the opponent bailed. Ibraimo was furious because he wanted nothing more than to fight. In the end they found a man who already had experience of seven fights. Despite the experience mismatch, Ibraimo decided to brave it out. He won. It was the moment in which Ibraimo found his style. The minute he entered the ring, Ibraimo says he became a wild animal that needed to defend its territory. He mercilessly attacked and attacked, and attacked, and attacked again.

6 The full German text reads: “In Anerkennung hoher Leistungen und beispielgebender Initiativen im sozialistischen Wettbewerb wird Ibraime (sic) Alberto als Mitglied eines sozialistischen Kollektivs die Medaille für ausgezeichnete Leistungen im Wettbewerb verliehen. Berlin 7. Oktober 1988.”

That style served him well, and only one year later Ibraimo had boxed himself to the top of Berlin's amateur sports scene and became city champion. During this time Ibraimo represented Berlin in different cities and was loaned to different clubs such as *Berlin TLC* and *Dynamo Berlin*. He remembers that when the others in his team had fun on the bus to competitions, he sat by himself and went through all the different scenarios of a fight. He would discuss the different strategies with his trainers and teammates. Ibraimo did not allow himself to lose focus. He had a goal. He had a passion. He had a mission.

Ibraimo's focus paid off. From 1985 onwards, he and João competed internationally for Mozambique. They bought training suits and designed the Mozambican national outfit for boxing. When Ibraimo recounts these stories his eyes still light up. He was proud to be able to bring fame to his home country. Ibraimo recounts how his East German coach became the Mozambican national trainer. Sadly though, the trainer had no emotional connection to the country and there was no money in it. That was the end of the Mozambican boxing team. Ibraimo's disappointment is still palpable many years later.

Being a black boxer in a white man's country was an ambivalent thing for Ibraimo from the start. In his East German opponents' minds, it was often not Ibraimo Alberto who entered the ring, but Muhammad Ali or George Foreman. Some were already afraid before the fight began, and Ibraimo quickly learned how to incorporate that into his strategy. But there were just as many fights when Ibraimo was not met by awe but by blank hatred. Especially when his team went to fight in Dresden and Magdeburg, Ibraimo felt racism emanating from both the audience and his opponents. That, he says, made him fight like a predatory animal. His trainers, he recounts, would never understand what came over him at these occasions. Only he knew. He was defending himself from much more than just the fists of his opponents. They were fighting about something more important than winning or losing this or that competition. Ibraimo felt the weight of defending his personal honor and the honor of every black man on planet earth. He needed to make the audience see that this "ape" knew a thing or two about boxing. He needed to make his opponents crumble under his fists because he knew how hopeless it all was. In the face of racism, Ibraimo felt himself standing on the losing side. Even when he walked away victoriously, his team would have to wait just outside the ring and embrace him with their masses of sweaty, muscular bodies to guard him safely back to the bus, back to Berlin. Ibraimo remembers these moments as sweet moments of boxing success, but also tainted forever with racism.

Boxing, however, did more than just expose the bigotry of some parts of the GDR. Boxing also allowed Ibraimo and João privileges that other Mozambican worker-trainees and workers did not have, such as mobility but also—paradoxi-



Image 3: Ibraimo fighting a boxer from VEB “Schwarze Pumpe” (image in the possession of Ibraimo Alberto).

cally—the opportunity to settle. For instance, Ibraimo proudly remembers international boxing competitions in Copenhagen, Moscow, and Budapest. Travel to the other side of the iron curtain was prohibited for the average Mozambican worker-trainee, but sport let Ibraimo cross what, even to most GDR citizens, was the insurmountable anti-fascist bulwark. And while boxing allowed Ibraimo to be mobile and travel along new paths to different countries, it also afforded him the ability to continue on the path on which he had set out in East Germany: it allowed him to put down roots. Ibraimo tells me he became a GDR citizen in 1988, a process that in the end needed him to make the tough decision to give up his Mozambican citizenship. Ibraimo, unlike his boxing partner João, did not lose much sleep over that issue, because he saw the center of his life to be in

East Germany.⁷ Overall, Ibraimo declares, life in the GDR was good because of the sports. The GDR fully supported Ibraimo's boxing career and once he had a contract, he was released from work to attend training camps. Between work, sports, and parties in his free time, time passed, the GDR fell, and the machines around Ibraimo came to a grinding halt.

Boxing in a Brave New World

While the GDR crumbled, Ibraimo boxed. When his Mozambican co-workers at the *Glaserwerk* on the Stralau peninsula phased out of his life and returned to Mozambique, he took it out on the punchbag. João, his partner in crime for many years, also left and Ibraimo found himself alone. Ibraimo trained some more. As the world fell to pieces around Ibraimo, the sport gave him focus and strength.

The winds of change blew through East Germany like a cyclone, swept Ibraimo up, and dumped him in the small and isolated town of Schwedt. The town lies in Brandenburg state, on the left bank of the river Oder which marks the border with Poland. Schwedt has a special history, marked by substantial growth during the early days of the GDR—from 6,000 to 52,000 inhabitants—due to the petrochemical industry (PCK-Raffinerie). It then saw rapid decline in employment possibilities after German reunification, resulting in the outmigration of almost half of its population.⁸ Here, against the dramatic changes of the reunification period, emerged a personal treasure: Ibraimo was in love and soon his family began to grow. Still, the city of Schwedt and its surroundings proved less welcoming to Ibraimo and his family as time passed. Once again, boxing remained as Ibraimo's constant, the pillar of his self-worth, and the defining characteristic of his place in the community at large. While all the East German box-

7 Unlike Ibraimo, the majority of workers decided to return. Fernando Machava, in this volume, examines how fellow worker-trainees fared after their return back to Mozambique, describing a return in the expectation of riches and the good life but soon falling from grace and struggling to survive.

8 Schwedt was situated at the very fringes of the GDR but connected to the Druzhba pipeline which was constructed in the early 1960s as Comecon project to connect Russian oil to several countries in the Eastern bloc. While this was hugely important, the city was, apart from oil, also known as the country's biggest potato supplier, for paper factories and for the notorious NVA (the army of the GDR) prison. See Marc Langebeck and Alexander Goligowski's *Brandenburg aktuell*, May 6, 2014 special on the future of Brandenburg, "Die Kunst des Schrumpfens," published on May 7, 2014, <https://www.rbb24.de/politik/thema/2014/gehen-oder-bleiben/bei-traege/gehen-oder-bleiben-die-kunst-des-schrumpfens.html>, accessed July 2, 2020.

ing clubs changed their names, and no longer were affiliated with the socialist factories from which many had originated, the boxers stayed. Ibraimo now boxed for what had been the club of the *PCK Chemie* in Schwedt but was now known as *Uckermärkischer Boxverein 1948 Schwedt e.V* (Uckermark Boxing Club 1948 Schwedt). Ibraimo began boxing in the national second division and moved up after one year to the first division (the Bundesliga). Ibraimo remembers that his success was untarnished. He had a secret weapon. He was able to lose weight, or what he calls to “make weight”, like nobody else. His nickname from that time—“Ali, the world champion of making weight”—attests to that. His normal weight would have been about 75 kg, but he managed to slim down to 63 kg for fights. Ibraimo’s amateur boxing career was the center of his life until he had to retire at the age of 37. But even then, he did not hang up his gloves but continued to train the next generation and got certified as a coach and referee. By the time of his retirement from competitive amateur boxing, the world around Ibraimo had fallen to pieces and was in the process of putting itself back together. The GDR was no more and its former citizens were now struggling to make a living in unified Germany.

At first, Ibraimo thought he had escaped the worst upheavals of the reunification ramifications. He married Birgit, an East German nurse who he had met after a boxing accident in Schwedt hospital in the fall of 1989. Their first child, a daughter, arrived in November 1990. With that, it was clear to Ibraimo that his future would be in Germany. A second child, a son, followed. The family still lived in Schwedt. During that time, Ibraimo remembers working for intercultural understanding, against all odds. He often had to take on the role that he was so familiar with from his childhood, that of a protector. He protected not only his family and himself, but also other migrants and Germans who needed his protection, in his role as representative for foreigners’ issues. While his wife continued working as a nurse, Ibraimo worked for the city of Schwedt as translator and advisor to the many refugees and asylum-seekers who arrived from Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the early 1990s. Ibraimo became very successful, not only knowing how to knock out his opponents in the boxing ring, but also interacting with and mediating for the many international sojourners who found a new home in Schwedt. As a result of his work fostering integration and intercultural understanding, Ibraimo studied social work at a college in Potsdam from 1997–2002. He still works as social worker with refugees in Berlin and remains active in anti-racism work.

Despite his evident people skills, one day it all became too much even for Ibraimo the protector. After a group of Neo-Nazis came to one of his son’s soccer games and threatened to kill him and another boy of Vietnamese heritage, Ibraimo felt that he could no longer guarantee the safety of his family. They packed

their belongings and left Schwedt under cover of darkness that very night. Their idea was to look for “inner German refuge” as Ibraimo calls it, in the “West”, meaning the former West Germany. Ibraimo says that I should have no trouble locating this tragic event in the newspapers because at that time he became famous for another reason, as “the last black man” fleeing Schwedt. At first, the family stayed in a rented holiday home close to Stuttgart until they received an offer that they could move into a flat in Karlsruhe. Ibraimo remembers thinking that life in Karlsruhe was far from perfect, but that he noticed that people were different, in that they sat next to him on public transport. According to Ibraimo, this was impossible in Schwedt. In Karlsruhe, life returned to a new normal and every family member worked through their own trauma of having survived racism in various forms. Eventually, however, the marriage broke apart and Ibraimo now found himself back where it had all started, in Berlin.



Image 4: Ibraimo never loses focus.

New Paths on Old Routes

When Ibraimo walks through Berlin today (yes, more often with a hat than without), he, like any East German Berliner, sees two cities. He walks the streets of the capital of the united Federal Republic of Germany and his eyes meet those

of the hipsters, businessmen and women, politicians, migrants, and tourists who dominate the streets today. But in his mind, he sees the East German Friedrichshain and Stralau peninsula, where he used to work in the 1980s. His memories of the rather greyer and more dilapidated city are juxtaposed with the new information his retina sends to his brain. What emerges is a city of memories, in a city where new memories are made daily.

Ibraimo's current life as a German citizen in Berlin is a legacy of the socialist dreams that expanded the world for Mozambicans like Ibraimo. Young Mozambican boys, girls, men and women were sent to Cuba, East Germany, the Soviet Union, and other countries of the Eastern Bloc, to go to school, to work, to attend universities, to take part in military training and professional job development workshops. Without the labor migration program that brought up to 21,000 Mozambican workers in their late teens and early twenties to East Germany, he would have never set foot on East German soil. Without setting foot on East German soil, he would not have had a boxing career, he would not have met his East German wife, and they would not have had children. If he had stayed at home, or if he had returned in 1990, there are countless scenarios of what might have happened. The two extremes are that Ibraimo might be dead as a result of the 16-year war in Mozambique, or alternatively he might have become successful at home with a combination of luck, relationships, and his boxing knowledge. Either way, he would most certainly not be sitting in Berlin with me today to talk about his past.

When asked how he remembers the GDR, Ibraimo brings up the metaphor of an oven. He explains that just like in an iron oven, it is nice and warm inside, and good things are in the process of being cooked. Yet, looking from the outside, you do not have a clue what is happening inside. It might get too hot, and, when you finally open the oven, you see that everything has already burned. When he first arrived, he knew nothing about the GDR. Later, there was a lot that Ibraimo came to enjoy. The friendships he formed, the parties they had, the clothes and consumer products he was able to buy, the travels he was able to undertake, the soccer matches he played with Mozambicans and Germans, and of course his boxing. But—and it is a big but—his memories of the GDR, just like his memories of his traumatic post-GDR experience in reunified Germany, circle back to the experience of racism. He remembers two types of racism. Firstly, the everyday, chronic, verbal kind; a poison that slowly sets about decomposing the self-worth even of a boxing champion and protector of the weak. Secondly, he remembers the immediate, acute, life-threatening kind of racism. Both seep into your very being, rewire your memories, stay with you forever. It was the latter, though, that made Ibraimo leave everything behind after his son was threatened. All Ibraimo had to protect him until the police arrived was his

own muscle strength, against the odds of a group of more than 10 ferocious Neo-Nazi boys. Nobody bothered to look into the oven. It is too late now. Everything is burned. The fear has never left Ibraimo.

Ibraimo accuses the average GDR citizen of a lack of interest in the people that came from abroad to work and train in the GDR. While he established friendships, he also encountered indifference and hostility. He credits a certain measure of protection from racist expressions in the GDR to the *Volkspolizei* (People's Police) and to their omnipresence. Ibraimo was not surprised at the outbreak of racist violence after reunification. To him, these actions were on a continuum with the GDR he had experienced before, where the illegality of racism merely led to it being capped and contained, not eradicated. In the end, in places like Schwedt, racism and xenophobia were able to grow to such proportions that Ibraimo reports even his friends became afraid of inviting him over for fear of themselves becoming targets of the wrath of the xenophobic. Ibraimo felt he could no longer trust the police to protect him and his family. But Ibraimo also gives a glimpse into the complicated notions of belonging in Schwedt, in that local people who he describes as Neo-Nazis protected him against outside Neo-Nazis, claiming the boxer is "one of us." In this complicated interplay between notions of masculinity, race, and belonging, we can see why Ibraimo might have seen hope in fighting for a peaceful and multicultural Schwedt during his 20 years in that town. For everything he has lived through, he has maintained a forgiving attitude. He speaks of the possibilities of understanding between people of different colors and life experiences and he takes us as an example. Our sitting at a table, a black man in his fifties and a white woman in her thirties, my listening to him telling his stories. Our project of giving voice to his memories so readers might gain an insight into a Mozambican former contract worker's recollection about his life in East Germany and the legacies thereof.

As Ibraimo and I are walking towards Friedrichstraße station on our respective ways home, he looks at me and relates a story that is at once funny and sad. In 1981, shortly after his arrival, he was exploring Berlin with a friend. They were taking in the new sights and taking pictures as any tourist would. When they came to Friedrichstraße, they did the same. Very soon, they found themselves handcuffed and held by the East German police for the afternoon. They did not have the faintest idea what was happening to them or why they were spending hours in police custody. When their translator finally arrived, after what seemed like an eternity to the two frightened teenagers, they learned that they had stumbled upon an inner-German border where it was strictly prohibited to take pictures. Today, Ibraimo, along with everybody else, can take pictures and traverse Friedrichstraße in whichever direction he likes. This is his freedom

as a German citizen. That citizenship, and the rights that come with it, are an important legacy of the pan-socialist links which connected Mozambique to East Germany, and which continue to reverberate into the present, embodied in the lives of people like Ibraimo.

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III GDR, Visions and Solidarity

Ulrich Makosch and the Society of GDR: Africa on Screen

George Bodie

Although our two states are located on different continents, Socialist Ethiopia is close and dear to every citizen of our country.

*Erich Honecker to Mengistu Haile Mariam, 1978.*¹

The GDR is often described as a “closed” society.² This metaphor has a number of implications, mostly related to the very real restrictions placed on travel, goods, and exchange by the state. Indeed, travel restrictions have in many ways come to define it in both popular memory and the historiographical literature. In the order of the GDR’s symbolic associations, the Berlin Wall remains primary, its figurative importance matched only by the vital practical role it played in perpetuating the state’s existence. But were physical restrictions matched by similar limitations on ideas or images? Did state-produced media mirror the GDR’s border regime, shielding citizens from the outside world? Or was such imagery and reportage used to make up for a lack of opportunity to travel? In a state where travel beyond the Eastern Bloc was difficult for most citizens, what role did reportage on the outside world play?

Thanks to a growing literature on the subject, we now know that international solidarity—particularly the variety practiced with non-European nations and

1 Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv (hereafter SAPMO-BArch), DY 30/2419, “Toast während des Essens zu Ehren Mengistu Haile Mariams,” 1.

2 The GDR has frequently been depicted as deliberately resisting global forces; see, for example Charles S. Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 104; Gareth Dale, *Between State Capitalism and Globalisation: The Collapse of the East German Economy* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004), 340; Olaf Klenke, *Ist die DDR an der Globalisierung gescheitert?: Autarke Wirtschaftspolitik versus internationale Weltwirtschaft; das Beispiel Mikroelektronik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), 111; Christoph Buchheim, “Die Achillesferse der DDR – der Aussenhandel,” in *Überholen ohne einzuholen: die DDR-Wirtschaft als Fußnote der deutschen Geschichte?*, ed. André Steiner, Forschungen zur DDR-Gesellschaft (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2006), 91; Peter Grieder, *The German Democratic Republic* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). No state in the world has ever been completely autarchic, of course. Some scholars have acknowledged that state-socialist countries traded with the rest of the world, although still argue for autarchy—or at least “near-autarchy”—on the basis that these states didn’t take part in “outward-orientated developmental strategy” or “international specialization”. See for example Jan Winiecki, *Shortcut or Piecemeal: Economic Development Strategies and Structural Change* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), 24.

movements—played an important role in GDR culture, political discourse, and everyday life. For the most part, this culture of solidarity was rooted in imagery and iconography. As Quinn Slobodian has shown, “for the great majority of the East German population, icons and contributions rather than personal experience remained the means of engaging with the global South and activists of colour.”³ A number of scholars have explored the shape and form of this iconography.⁴ Very little work has been done on the content of foreign news reporting however, which was one of the most quotidian and widespread mediums through which this iconography was disseminated: an absence that is perhaps unsurprising given the Cold War consensus that news, to quote Simon Huxtable, “was alien to the communist world view.”⁵

The GDR’s cultures of solidarity were not monodirectional, however: they also grew from the strategic concerns of national liberation movements in Africa. Socialist journalists from the Eastern Bloc sought to convey the image of a growing socialist world to their fellow citizens, but they were also used by national liberation movements and newly independent states to spread their own messages, creating transnational entanglement. In the throes of anti-colonial struggle or the early days of independence, such movements and states were often reliant upon foreign bureaus.⁶ As Matthew Connolly has shown in the case of the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria, “human rights reports, press conferences, and youth congresses” were among the most important weapons of anti-colonial struggle, with world opinion and international law more than important than conventional military objectives.⁷ Hakan Thörn illustrates in his transnational history of the anti-apartheid movement that national liberation movements were centrally concerned with a “struggle for representation” that took

3 Quinn Slobodian, “Socialist Chromatism: Race, Racism and the Racial Rainbow in East Germany,” in *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 32.

4 See, for example, Gregory Witkowski, “Between Fighters and Beggars: Socialist Philanthropy and the Imagery of Solidarity in East Germany,” in *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015).

5 Simon Huxtable, “Making News Soviet: Rethinking Journalistic Professionalism after Stalin, 1953–1970,” *Contemporary European History* 27 (2018): 59.

6 George Roberts, “Press, Propaganda and the German Democratic Republic’s Search for Recognition in Tanzania, 1964–72,” in *Warsaw Pact Intervention in the Third World: Aid and Influence in the Cold War*, ed. Natalia Telepneva and Philip Muehlenbeck (London: I.B.Tauris, 2018), 151.

7 Matthew Connolly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria’s Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4.

place in a “transnational media space.”⁸ In this space, partisan socialist journalists were important actors to be utilized by anti-colonial forces.

It was events across the continents of Africa and Asia which sparked the growth of an extra-European-centered solidarity culture in the GDR, specifically the acceleration of decolonization in the early 1960s. This acceleration led GDR elites to believe that they were entering what Politburo member Hermann Axen would later call a “new revolutionary moment.”⁹ The states produced by this new revolutionary moment were not simply potential allies for the socialist world, but rather viewed as being “objectively anti-imperialist” according to Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev.¹⁰ As a Soviet academic wrote at the time, “the national liberation movement is an inseparable part of the world revolutionary process.”¹¹

In the GDR, the state made a concerted effort to depict Africa as a site of friendly, revolutionary, anti-imperialist movements and peoples, educating its citizens both about the existence of this revolutionary world and their need to practice solidarity with it. Erich Honecker, the General Secretary of the ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), frequently boasted to African leaders that they were popular figures in the GDR: despite geographical distance, as he told Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1978, “socialist Ethiopia is close and dear to every citizen of our country.”¹² A year earlier, Joachim Yhombi-Opango—the head of state of the Marxist-Leninist People’s Republic of the Congo—had traveled to East Berlin, where Honecker assured him that he was a household name. “In our country,” he told the Congolese leader, “it is very well known how much the People’s Republic of the Congo is doing for the final liberation of the African Continent from colonialism and racism.”¹³ As Honecker would go on to tell Yhombi-Opango, he was not the only African leader to play a prominent role in everyday life in the GDR, noting that streets and buildings in the

8 Håkan Thörn, *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 17.

9 Hermann Axen and Harald Neubert, *Ich war ein Diener der Partei: autobiographische Gespräche mit Harald Neubert* (Berlin: Edition Ost, 1996), 400.

10 Donald S. Carlisle, “The Changing Soviet Perception of the Development Process in the Afro-Asian World,” *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 8 (1964): 386.

11 Cited in Roger E. Kanet, “Soviet Propaganda and the Process of National Liberation,” in *The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and the Third World*, ed. Roger E. Kanet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 91.

12 SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/2419, “Toast während des Essens zu Ehren Mengistu Haile Mariam,” 1.

13 SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/2459, “Toast des Generalsekretärs des ZK der SED und Vorsitzenden des Staatsrates der DDR, Erich Honecker”, 31.

country had recently been named after Patrice Lumumba, Amílcar Cabral, and another Congolese Marxist, Marien N’Gouabi.¹⁴

This chapter will analyze this depiction both on screen and in text, focusing on the output of a figure whose work spanned both media forms: Ulrich Makosch. It will show how GDR media sought to elide distance between Africa and the GDR, while at the time reproducing gendered and othering depictions which distanced the continent from the East German state. In particular, it will focus on the output from a trip Makosch made as a guest of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) to Tete province in the early 1970s, which resulted in several articles, a book, and three documentaries. This output represented both sides of the dual role taken on by socialist foreign reporters in this era: created both as propaganda for GDR citizens at home and as an object of international diplomacy. As we will see, Makosch’s work ultimately proved to be more successful as the latter than the former.

Depicting a Revolutionary World: GDR Foreign Reportage

How were different media to present this image of Africa to the GDR population? Each one, as former Socialist Unity Party (SED) propaganda chief Werner Lamberg noted in 1976, had “its own place, its own specific potential impact. Together they form our reliable ideological orchestra. And in opposition to certain composers, we prefer neither the strings nor the brass, nor also the flutes. The Party’s score has enough notes for all.”¹⁵ The orchestral metaphor, of course, depends on absolute state control of media sources. In societies where media is subject to competition (or, as is often the reality, oligarchic monopoly), newspapers and television often exist in competition with one another. But in the GDR, the different sections of media were merely different outlets of the same body sharing the same message, meaning that their different attributes came into sharper focus.

For GDR propagandists keen to efface the geographical space between the GDR and national liberation movements abroad, television and film were exciting media. They were also vital weapons in the struggle for national liberation, with movements such as FRELIMO using radical filmmaking in order to garner solidarity across continents. As Radina Vučetić has shown in the case of Yugo-

14 Ibid., 33.

15 SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/477, “Schlusswort des Genossen Werner Lamberg,” 1–2.

slavia, FRELIMO had been cooperating with foreign socialist powers in order to produce propaganda films since the late 1960s if not earlier.¹⁶ Beyond the socialist world, R. Joseph Parrot has highlighted the influence of Robert Van Lierup's *A Luta Continua* (The Struggle Continues), a collaborative film produced with FRELIMO, which played an instrumental role in the growth of African American solidarity with liberation movements in Southern Africa.¹⁷

In an often isolated GDR, television could elide distance, thus domesticating the political vision of socialist internationalism and translating grand ideology into everyday entertainment. In this regard, news programming was naturally seen to have a hugely important role. In terms of timescales of appearance, the development of news programming in the GDR largely mirrored West Germany (the Federal Republic, or FRG): the GDR state broadcaster *Deutscher Fernseh-funk's* (DFF) flagship newscast *Aktuelle Kamera* (Current Camera) first aired in December 1952 with a report on Stalin's birthday, with daily broadcasts beginning in 1957. The West German *Tagesschau* premiered five days after *Aktuelle Kamera* and began appearing daily in 1956. The content of the two programs was different, however, both in form as well as focus. Communist news bore its own very specific temporality. Domestic news was often thematically planned weeks or months in advance: the front pages of the SED's official newspaper, the *Neues Deutschland*, usually covered statements from party officials and reported breakthroughs or economic achievements, official celebrations or anniversaries, or party functions.¹⁸ In theory, one might expect foreign news reportage to be different: more reactive, or guided by events, and of course, more unpredictable. But foreign news could also be selective: reports on the capitalist world focused on poverty, drug addiction, weapons-trading and the far right, drawn together with anti-imperialist developments worldwide. As author and television critic Uwe Johnson once summarized, communist news was "news regarding the advantages of the East and the disadvantages of the West."¹⁹

DFF polling of citizens' views on television, so-called *Sofortresonanzen* ("immediate response") often picked up criticisms regarding GDR television's selectivity in this regard. One, from January 1969, noted that three different respondents had demanded that *Aktuelle Kamera*—which focused on the socialist and

16 Radina Vučetić, "We Shall Win: Yugoslav Film Cooperation with FRELIMO," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 118 (2019).

17 R. Joseph Parrott, "A Luta Continua: Radical Filmmaking, Pan-African Liberation and Communal Empowerment," *Race & Class* 57 (2015).

18 On the Soviet case, see Huxtable, "Making News Soviet," 66.

19 Cited in Knut Hickethier, *Geschichte der Fernsehkritik in Deutschland* (Baden-Baden: Sigma, 1994), 88.

anti-imperialist world—showed more reports from “all of the world,” the clear implication and emphasis on the word “all” suggesting that what was really meant was the West.²⁰ We should, of course, be wary of presenting this as a cut-and-dried case of socialist propaganda in contrast to journalistic integrity in the West. Instead, the question of comparison is better thought of in terms of form. Socialist media systems might not have been more political than capitalist media, if such calculation were meaningful or indeed possible. But socialist media was intentionally political and those who controlled it imbued it with explicitly political purposes. Discussing the East German state film studio DEFA, for example, Seán Allan and Sebastian Heiduschke argue that to describe film as a propaganda tool is reductive, but that is very literally how film, alongside other media, was understood, at least by those in charge.²¹ Socialist media systems were defined by the Leninist notion of “agitprop”: propaganda explains the “capitalistic nature of crises,” agitation rouses the masses to action.²² As Kristin Roth-Ey explains in her history of Soviet television, the mass media boom in the Soviet Union was similar to that in the West, but the socialist ideal of culture was a key differentiating factor; communist culture was elitist and pedagogical because it saw itself as carrying out a spiritual mission of cultural uplift.²³ At the same time, it is misleading to speak, as Kochanowski, Trültzsch and Viehoff do, of “political indoctrination.”²⁴ The goal of socialist media was, rather, to create independent and ideologically literate socialist subjects.

Ulrich Makosch and Mozambique

As the GDR’s best known foreign correspondent, Ulrich Makosch was one of the foremost examples of this media landscape. As the DFF’s chief foreign correspondent from 1965 until 1971 and then the face of *Objektiv*, the GDR’s weekly political television program based on foreign affairs and international news, Ma-

²⁰ BArch, DR 8/131, “Ergebnisse der 2. (26.) Sofortresonanz vom 25 Januar 1969,” Anhang, 1.

²¹ Seán Allan and Sebastian Heiduschke, “Introduction,” in *Re-Imagining Defa: East German Cinema in Its National and Transnational Contexts*, ed. Seán Allan and Sebastian Heiduschke (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 5.

²² See especially Chapter 3 of V. I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988).

²³ Kristin Roth-Ey, *Moscow Prime Time: How the Soviet Union Built the Media Empire That Lost the Cultural Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

²⁴ Katja Kochanowski, Sascha Trüeltzsch, and Reinhold Viehoff, “An Evening with Friends and Enemies: Political Indoctrination in Popular East German Family Series,” in *Popular Television in Eastern Europe During and Since Socialism*, ed. Timothy Havens and Kati Lustyik (London: Routledge, 2013).

kosch was a prominent exponent of the GDR's state-led *Afrikabild*. He also served on the board of the GDR-Mozambique Friendship Committee, a state-led organization consisting of various journalists, politicians, and other public figures which existed to promote GDR-Mozambique relations, and was a prolific author of African and Asian travelogues. Born in Brandenburg in 1933, Makosch studied journalism at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig, joining the Journalists Union (Verband der Journalisten der DDR, or VDJ) in 1952 and graduating in 1955. He began work in local radio as an editor at the *Landessender Schwerin* where he worked from 1955 to 1956, when he became editor and travel correspondent for the national broadcasting committee. He joined the SED in 1963, and in 1965 became radio and television correspondent for the DFF in Asia, based in Jakarta, before being forced to leave for Singapore in 1968 following Suharto's takeover.²⁵ His early books and reportage were travel reports from Asia: featuring Japan (*Heute in Japan: Aufgezeichnet zwischen Tokio und Hiroschima*, 1959), multiple Asian countries (*Zwischen Fudschijama und Himalaja*, 1963, and *Jahre in Asien, Eindrücke und Begegnungen*, 1970), and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) (*Paradies im Ozean: Begegnungen in Ceylon*, 1966).

Makosch moved away from foreign based reportage in the 1970s, taking key editorial roles in Berlin. He became editor in chief of reportage and documentaries at the DFF in 1972, editor-in-chief of *Aktuelle Kamera* in 1975, and a member of the SED district leadership in Berlin in 1976. At the same time, his focus switched to events in Southern Africa and became more explicitly political. Both of these shifts were the result of the marriage of personal circumstances and broader political changes in the GDR. The mid- to late 1970s were the heyday of internationalist solidarity in the country. Honecker's ascendance as leader preceded the collapse of the Hallstein doctrine and the entrance of the GDR and the FRG into the United Nations, leading to widespread diplomatic recognition.²⁶ Many scholars have claimed that the GDR's emphasis on discourses of international solidarity existed as a means to circumvent diplomatic isolation:²⁷ paradoxically, however, the discourse of solidarity actually grew following wide-

25 See a letter regarding Makosch's redeployment, SAPMO-BArch, DR 8/362, Letter from Adamek to Kiesewetter, July 2, 1968.

26 The Hallstein doctrine was a West German foreign policy principle which stated that the FRG would not maintain or establish relations with any nation that recognized the GDR. It was largely successful in preventing widespread diplomatic recognition of the GDR until it was abandoned in favor of *Ostpolitik* in the early 1970s. See Rüdiger Marco Booz, *Hallsteinzeit: Deutsche Aussenpolitik 1955–1972* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1995).

27 For an illustrative example, see Toni Weis, "The Politics Machine: On the Concept of 'Solidarity' in East German Support for SWAPO," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37 (2011): 362.

spread recognition. As Gregory Witkowski has shown, usage of the term “solidarity” in the GDR press peaked in 1973, the same year as entrance to the UN.²⁸

Makosch’s rise to prominence also coincided with an increased focus on Lusophone Africa in the GDR. Portuguese efforts to hold on to their colonial possessions in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique had faced armed insurgency since the early 1960s, but events came to a head in terms of international attention in the 1970s. Tanzania—which bordered Mozambique and had seen an influx of Mozambican refugees since the beginning of the anti-colonial insurgency—was an important site of entanglement for the GDR and FRELIMO. GDR officials had maintained relations with Lusophone resistance movements since the mid-1960s, especially through its consulate in Dar es Salaam, which, as Eric Burton has shown, became a hub for revolutionaries and the leaders of national liberation movements in this period.²⁹ The existence of a GDR consulate—which had survived Julius Nyerere’s abortive diplomatic recognition of the country—meant that GDR diplomat Helmut Matthes was able to meet and establish links to these movements, including FRELIMO, the Angolan MPLA, and the Guinean PAIGC in the 1960s.³⁰ Peter Spacek, a reporter with the East German state news agency, the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst* (ADN), was also based in Dar es Salaam from 1965 and reported for the *Neues Deutschland* on developments in Tanzania and East Africa. Spacek’s reports often relied upon contacts and bulletins from national liberation movements based in the city during that period, which included FRELIMO, the South African ANC, Namibian SWAPO, as well as the Zimbabwean organizations ZAPU and ZANU and the head of the Angolan MPLA, Agostinho Neto.³¹

28 Witkowski, “Between Fighters and Beggars: Socialist Philanthropy and the Imagery of Solidarity in East Germany,” 73.

29 Eric Burton, “Hubs of Decolonization. African Liberation Movements and ‘Eastern’ Connections in Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam,” in *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War “East”: Transnational Activism 1960–1990*, ed. Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders, and Helder Adegas Fonseca (Boston, MA: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019), 47–55; See also Andrew Ivaska, “Movement Youth in a Global Sixties Hub: The Everyday Lives of Transnational Activists in Postcolonial Dar es Salaam,” in *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Richard Ivan Jobs and David M. Pomfret (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), 188–210.

30 Matthias Voß and Helmut Matthes, “Die Beziehungen DDR – VR Mosambik zwischen Erwartungen und Wirklichkeit,” in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!: die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 15.

31 Peter Spacek, “Mit der FRELIMO im Busch,” in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!: die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 47.

In the early 1970s, these links would be exploited to great effect as a newly confident, internationally recognized GDR expanded its international influence, and organizations such as FRELIMO increasingly sought to bring their struggles to international attention. A key feature of FRELIMO propaganda at this time was an emphasis on “liberated zones”: areas of northern Mozambique that the organization claimed to have liberated from colonial rule. Photography and film were important means through which these liberated zones could be depicted. As Drew A. Thompson has shown, FRELIMO’s Dar es Salaam-based Department of Information and Propaganda placed particular importance on photography: as a FRELIMO photographer would later explain, sending photographs “all over the world ... was necessary to make [audiences] understand the objectives of our struggle.”³² In this regard, the work of foreign photographers in liberated areas was particularly valuable due to FRELIMO’s self-perceived deficits in both equipment and credibility, turning “propaganda,” as Thompson puts it, into “information.”³³

Foreign press visits to liberated zones were a constant feature in *Mozambique Revolution*, FRELIMO’s English-language periodical which was published in Dar es Salaam using a printing press donated by Finnish students from 1963–1975. The periodical was intended for an international audience, and visitors came from across the globe, including West Germany, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Italy. Official state visits were limited to the socialist countries, however. The December 1969 edition of *Mozambique Revolution* reported messages of solidarity sent to FRELIMO by the GDR’s Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and reports of a FRELIMO delegation visit to the GDR in June.³⁴ The next edition, from March 1970, featured a report from Peter Spacek, who had traveled to a liberated zone and proudly proclaimed himself to be the “first German to visit the free part of Mozambique.” While there, Spacek reported witnessing a West German-produced military plane, a Dornier DO 27, drop bombs on civilians.³⁵

The intra-German conflict was, of course, a key theme of GDR propaganda efforts, especially in the era of the Hallstein doctrine. What may have otherwise been an obscure provincial European conflict to FRELIMO was made important, however, by West German relations with Portugal, which had grown throughout the 1960s to encompass a significant amount of Portuguese arms imports and

³² Drew A. Thompson, “Visualising FRELIMO’s Liberated Zones in Mozambique, 1962–1974,” *Social Dynamics* 39 (2013): 28.

³³ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁴ *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 41, October – December 1969, 38.

³⁵ *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 42, January – March 1970, 17.

foreign investment.³⁶ During the early 1970s, a key FRELIMO demand was West German divestment from the Cahora Bassa dam project: international pressure had already forced Swedish and British companies to withdraw from the scheme.³⁷ According to *Mozambique Revolution*, not only were German companies providing key services in the construction of the dam, but there were also widespread campaigns to settle white Europeans—including West Germans—on the arable lands that would be created by the project.³⁸

In the immediate period following the election of Willy Brandt as Chancellor in 1969, FRELIMO reached out to the West German leader, hoping to persuade him to draw back FRG support for Portugal.³⁹ Although these efforts were unsuccessful, grassroots support for the national liberation movements in Lusophone Africa among the membership of Brandt's party, the SPD, did lead to a FRELIMO delegation visiting Bonn in July 1973. SPD support did not mean government support, however, and the FRELIMO delegation, led by vice-president Marcelino dos Santos, left Germany disappointed by their inability to extract concrete assurances on Cahora Bassa or official recognition of FRELIMO as government in exile.⁴⁰

The summer of 1973 saw FRELIMO come more firmly down on the side of the socialist camp. A June 1973 article in *Mozambique Revolution* delineated a hierarchy of international solidarity, with African nations at the top, and the socialist camp coming in a close second: "Africa is leading the solidarity movement," the article claimed, but the "Socialist countries have also increased their support. Although far from meeting our needs, this support has played a very important role in our successes."⁴¹ It was in this atmosphere of increased cooperation that Ulrich Makosch began to focus on Mozambique in the summer of 1973. His first mention of events in Africa in the *Neues Deutschland* came on July 20. An ADN report entitled "GDR Journalists visited the site of Portuguese massacre" detailed a press conference held by a delegation of the GDR Journalist's Union in Lusaka, Zambia, in which Makosch, as the leader of the delegation, stated that

36 As Luís Nuno Rodrigues has shown, West Germany became a key supplier of arms for Salazar's Portugal in the 1960s, filling a gap created by John F. Kennedy's (short-lived) withdrawal of US support for the regime. Luís Nuno Rodrigues, "The International Dimensions of Portuguese Colonial Crisis," in *The Ends of European Colonial Empires: Cases and Comparisons*, ed. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 257–261.

37 *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 42, January – March 1970, 30–32.

38 *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 45, October – December 1970, 14.

39 Rui Lopes, *West Germany and the Portuguese Dictatorship, 1968–1974: Between Cold War and Colonialism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 20.

40 *Ibid.*, 225–227.

41 *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 55, April – June 1973, 1.

he had visited the charred remains of a village in Mozambique whose inhabitants had been murdered by colonial troops. Having traveled to the country on a two-week “information trip,” Makosch also asserted that he had met 68 children in an orphanage, and uncovered evidence that Portuguese troops were being supported by Rhodesian and South African units.⁴² The date of Makosch’s claims was interesting, coming seven months after the Wiriyamu massacre, which occurred in December 1972, and just ten days after the massacre was first reported in the Western press, in the *Times*, on July 10, 1973.⁴³ The *Times* report came from a former British missionary, Adrian Hastings, who had received the information via survivors who had reported the massacre to local Spanish missionaries.⁴⁴ When Makosch’s account of the trip was later published in book format, however, the book only mentioned the burnt remains of a village “where the inhabitations appeared to have got out just in time.”⁴⁵ It seems the intention of the *Neues Deutschland* article was to suggest that Makosch had visited Wiriyamu: in his later published book, Makosch mentions the outcry regarding Wiriyamu following Hastings’ report, but does not claim to have visited the site himself.

This book, entitled *The Girl from the Zambezi*, [*Das Mädchen vom Sambesi*] was based on Makosch’s experiences in Mozambique in the summer of 1973, when he traveled as part of a three man team to the liberated zone of Tete to collect material for work that would span the GDR media landscape, including film, articles in the East German press, and an article for *Mozambique Revolution*.⁴⁶ Makosch’s account of his trip, adapted from articles in *Neues Deutschland* and other journals, appeared as the first monograph in a new series of “current-political” texts from Leipzig publisher F. A. Brockhaus in early 1975, just months before Mozambique achieved formal independence in June. A review in the *Neues Deutschland* praised its accounts of personal encounters with both ordinary people and FRELIMO leaders and the “self-sacrificing struggle” against the colonial regime, claiming that it “explains the issues of the national liberation movements in concrete detail.”⁴⁷

42 “DDR-Journalisten waren am Ort portugiesischer Massaker”, *Neues Deutschland*, July 20, 1973, 5.

43 On the massacre, see Mustafah Dhada, *The Portuguese Massacre of Wiriyamu in Colonial Mozambique, 1964–2013* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017).

44 “Portuguese massacre reported by priests”, *The Times*, July 10, 1973, 1.

45 Ulrich Makosch, *Das Mädchen vom Sambesi* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1975), 9.

46 *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 56, July – September 1973, 14.

47 “Start zur aktuell-politischen Reihe bei F. A. Brockhaus”, *Neues Deutschland*, May 21, 1975, 14.

In the book, Mozambique was presented as being both at the center of a global socialist community, but also fundamentally different: both distant and close. In an article written following the end of the Cold War, Makosch admitted to knowing very little “about Mozambique, about the structure of FRELIMO, or the different influences in this African area of tension” at the time.⁴⁸ What followed from this was a work of representation: of Makosch’s experiences in Mozambique, but also of the wider significance of events in Mozambique for the socialist world. For Samora Machel, the leader of FRELIMO, these issues of representation were central to revolutionary praxis. In conversation with Erich Honecker later in the decade, Machel complained that

[w]hen people speak of Africa, they often have a particular notion. It is one that says: we will help the Africans. The African is one who lives in misery, walks barefoot, is plagued by illness, who walks through the desert. That is to say that the image of the African is a timeless one, one rooted in the past. When European tourists come here, they want to take photos. But when they see me, they aren’t interested, because I wear a suit and tie: I am not African enough. They want to see Africans whose ribs can be counted, who are hungry, dirty, and barefoot. This mentality has still not been dispelled.⁴⁹

As Gregory Witkowski has argued, GDR solidarity campaigns towed a thin line between emphasizing the “superiority of the donor as much as the bond of solidarity between donor and recipient,” depicting non-white recipients as somewhere between “fighters and beggars.”⁵⁰ In his literature and prodigious literary output on Mozambique, Makosch towed this same line, claiming that he “experienced Africa, in pain, sorrow and confidence and with the smile of victory.”⁵¹

In the text’s opening pages, the socialist optimism of the mid-1970s is palpable, with the GDR’s new-found international confidence coinciding with the collapse of the Portuguese empire. Both the Carnation Revolution itself and the Marxist-inspired nature of the liberation movements that fought the Portuguese in Africa were a huge source of hope for GDR ideologues. Indeed, the impression made by the success of these movements was not limited to GDR apparatchiks:

⁴⁸ Ulrich Makosch, “Was bleibt... Afrika in den Medien der DDR,” in *Engagiert für Afrika: die DDR und Afrika II*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden, Ilona Schleicher and Hans-Georg Schleicher (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1994), 267.

⁴⁹ SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/2470, “Stenografische Niederschrift der offiziellen Gespräche des Generalsekretärs des ZK der SED, Genossen Erich Honecker, mit dem Präsidenten der Frelimo und der Volksrepublik Moçambique, Genossen Samora Machel, in Maputo, 22. Februar 1979”, 47.

⁵⁰ Witkowski, “Between Fighters and Beggars: Socialist Philanthropy and the Imagery of Solidarity in East Germany.”

⁵¹ Makosch, *Das Mädchen vom Sambesi*, 13.

as US international relations expert and future emeritus senior Hoover fellow Thomas H. Henriksen noted in 1978, the victories of PAIGC and FRELIMO could be interpreted as the “first successful indigenous Marxist revolutions accompanied by prolonged fighting not growing directly from the conditions of international war.”⁵² These successes also fit into a pattern discerned by GDR foreign policy experts in the 1970s. Hermann Axen later remembered that the Portuguese revolution had played “an important role” in elite thinking: not only had it shown that revolution could take place in a small, agrarian country, but it had also been led by a small group of army generals. These developments were part of a broader global trend, Axen noted, that “appeared to show was that we were arriving at a new moment, where not only the intellectuals, but also the military were joining the revolutionary movement—Nasser in Egypt, Assad in Syria, the Portuguese military.”⁵³ Makosch himself played an important role in articulating the importance of Portugal to GDR audiences, appearing on a program in 1974 to outline “how this victory of the democratic forces in Portugal became possible, and what difficulties still exist in consolidating the progressive forces.”⁵⁴

The opening passages of Makosch’s book show this revolutionary optimism through the prism of transnational linkage. In the opening scene, Makosch discusses attending the founding of the PAIGC’s youth organization in newly freed Guinea-Bissau with Soviet, Portuguese, Guinean, and Mozambican comrades:

And while we all still carried the red dust of the runway in Guinea on our face and in our hair, one of us... gave a spontaneous comparison of the stone thrown into the water, generating waves, which in turn produce further waves on the far shore. This refers to the emergence of the states of the socialist community with the Soviet Union at the head, the emergence of revolutionary-democratic governments such as in Tanzania and Guinea, which in turn made the stream of solidarity for the national liberation movements more powerful, a struggle which has now led to success.⁵⁵

Such a metaphor was typical of the confidence of the socialist 1970s: highlighting the power of transnational effects; the vital, if not always clearly perceptible role played by socialist movements in the success of national liberation movement, while always making sure to note the key role played by the Soviet Union. It was also typical of a certain socialist “mooring” in the decade: the

52 Thomas H. Henriksen, “Marxism and Mozambique,” *African Affairs* 77 (1978): 441.

53 Nasser had actually died in 1970, but his successor, Anwar Sadat, was also a member of the military. Axen and Neubert, *Ich war ein Diener der Partei*, 401.

54 “Information und Eindruck”, *Neues Deutschland*, June 25, 1974.

55 Makosch, *Das Mädchen vom Sambesi*, 10–11.

fleeting collision of state-socialist confidence and national liberation in Lusophone Africa. Later, Makosch notes, the group “hear the historic speech of Brezhnev, and over the long distance his voice penetrates into the camp of Madina do Boe, a greeting to the peoples of Africa.”⁵⁶

The world-historical importance of developments in Lusophone Africa was a key element of Makosch’s account here, noting that the “last two decades have seen my journalistic work take me to various showplaces of international events in Asia and Africa: to the culminating points in the result of the interaction of the revolutionary mainstreams, as in Vietnam, as in Mozambique, as a witness of anti-colonialist revolutions, which themselves became powerful accelerators of modern history.”⁵⁷ Makosch was keen to highlight the GDR’s role in these events. In keeping with GDR solidarity discourses, notions of development were prominent: “Earlier, every serious illness led to death. There is a hospital with a grass roof now. For almost 400 years here, there was no development to speak of.”⁵⁸ The pedagogical work of FRELIMO was also a key focus. Here again, the GDR’s influence was felt strongly: “Here, that [freedom] means the overcoming of illiteracy and a real right to education. A maths course book, developed and printed with the help of the GDR, shows the power of the socialist community, here in a mountainous province.”⁵⁹ This form of cooperation would expand following Mozambican independence to encompass a wide variety of education exchange programs, as Marcia Schenck’s chapter in this volume illustrates. One chapter of Makosch’s text, entitled “Bridges of Solidarity,” centered on this theme: the influence of the GDR framed through a developmentalist and “stage-ist” conception of history. Revealingly, Makosch quotes Marcus Mobote, then a commander with FRELIMO, who told him that “the medicine in our hospitals, some of the books in the schools, the material for our uniforms and much more—it comes from you.”⁶⁰ This claim is followed by a comparison of the two countries, which imagined similarities between anticolonial and antifascist struggle: “you have also liberated yourselves, many years ago. Now you govern yourselves, and can help us because you have built up your country... although you live far away, divided by the sea, you feel like us, think like us, and we have the same enemy.”⁶¹

56 Ibid., 11.

57 Ibid., 11.

58 Ibid., 23.

59 Ibid., 23.

60 Ibid., 109.

61 Ibid.

For Makosch, Mozambique was at the forefront of a global community of socialist struggle and development. Its struggles were closely tied to that of the GDR, but at the same time the text relies on gendered, othering tropes which present Mozambique as fundamentally foreign. On one level, this difference was articulated through age-old climatic stereotypes: Makosch frequently mentions the biting cold at night, something he admits he “never would have thought” was possible in Africa.⁶² Camera operator Hans Anderssohn was more explicit in his usage of the traditional tropes of Western charity, talking of children with “big eyes” who looked “sad and intimidated.”⁶³ Children featured heavily in the text, mostly as orphans who had lost parents to the Portuguese and were now under the care of FRELIMO: as we will see later, of all of Makosch’s output, it was that which focused on children that was most successful among GDR viewers. As Makosch himself later noted, knowing very little about Mozambique, what struck him most upon arrival was the children: “That was the saddest thing I have had to view in my life... The children, many very small, some of them adolescents, had no shoes. They froze miserably in the night and in the mornings.”⁶⁴

The title of Makosch’s travelogue, *The Girl from Zambesi*, is a reference to a FRELIMO instructor named Evenia that Makosch met on the trail and to whom a chapter is devoted, as well as half of the front cover. At 18 years of age, Evenia had been with FRELIMO for three years when Makosch met her. Much of his introduction is based on her appearance: “I estimated then—she looked almost like a boy—that she was about 16.”⁶⁵ By contemporary standards, Evenia was a child soldier. She would have been one of many recruited by FRELIMO: almost half of the FRELIMO fighters questioned for a study in Mozambique’s Manica province were younger than 18 when they joined the organization.⁶⁶ At the time Makosch was writing, however, it was common for socialist writers to celebrate imagery of armed women and children engaged in political struggle: there is no sense in the text of any issue with Evenia’s age. Conversely, as Harry G. West has shown, it was common at the time for female teenage and child soldiers to be celebrated in 1960s propaganda, making them “legends of them not only in southern Africa but, more broadly, among leftist and feminist

62 Ibid., 18.

63 “Kinder der FRELIMO”, *Neues Deutschland*, May 13, 1974, 7.

64 Makosch, “Was bleibt... Afrika in den Medien der DDR,” 267.

65 Ibid., 30.

66 Jessica Schafer, “The Use of Patriarchal Imagery in the Civil War in Mozambique and Its Implications for the Reintegration of Child Soldiers,” in *Children and Youth on the Front Line*, ed. Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 87.

militants worldwide.”⁶⁷ Indeed, it was only in the 1980s and 1990s that the phenomenon of child soldiers began to take center stage in international human rights campaigns. One of the key architects of this new discourse was Graça Machel, former FRELIMO member and Mozambique’s first Minister of Education and Culture, who authored an influential UN report on the issue in 1996.⁶⁸

Makosch’s description of Evenia is also typical of the focus on female fighters which dominated GDR coverage of national liberation struggles. Thanks in part to FRELIMO propaganda, women in Mozambique became international icons of revolutionary feminism in the 1960s.⁶⁹ While throughout the book most of Makosch’s conversations are with men, it is Evenia who gains prominence as a symbol and image. We are introduced to her as a “source of the excitement and attraction” in a FRELIMO camp.⁷⁰ Her appearance is detailed much more than any of the men profiled, beginning with her face, which looked “like a particularly realistic Makonde woodcutting, a colorful cloth often covering frizzy hair... in her backpack, among a thousand other things, a mirror and a comb... and a machine gun over the shoulder.”⁷¹

As Katrin Bahr shows in this volume, a refusal to engage with European colonial legacies—despite their anticolonial intentions—manifested in GDR citizens frequently reproducing the colonial gaze in Mozambique.⁷² Although the references to Evenia’s appearance represent a typically European example of the male gaze, they stop short of the overt sexualization and exoticization seen in other GDR solidarity campaigns.⁷³ Instead, Makosch is keen to present Evenia as a symbol of female emancipation: “calm and composed, passionate in discussions, self-sacrificing, friendly to us, tough when it comes to her opponents.”⁷⁴ Coded within this notion are a number of assumptions. Makosch initially presents Evenia as running the field kitchen, and moves on the later describe her running, to his surprise, a military maneuver. “Evenia works as an instructor

67 Harry G. West, “Girls with Guns: Narrating the Experience of War of FRELIMO’s ‘Female Detachment,’” in *Children and Youth on the Front Line*, ed. Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 112.

68 See Graça Machel, *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children* (New York: United Nations, 1996).

69 Kathleen E. Sheldon, *Pounders of Grain: A History of Women, Work and Politics in Mozambique* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 2002), 142.

70 Makosch, *Das Mädchen vom Sambesi*, 29.

71 Ibid.

72 Bahr, this volume.

73 See, for example, depictions of Cuban women in the literature surrounding the practice of tourism to the island in George Bodie, “‘It Is a Shame We Are Not Neighbours’: GDR Tourist Cruises to Cuba, 1961–89,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, August 28, 2019.

74 Makosch, *Das Mädchen vom Sambesi*, 30.

here, accepted by all her male compatriots who find nothing wrong with it”, Makosch notes.⁷⁵ Evenia’s role is clearly portrayed as an outcome of FRELIMO’s success: Makosch quotes a pamphlet he claims to have found in a village, which argues that in the colonial system women “were doubly exploited: first through the traditional society and second through the hungry capitalist regime, which gobbled up the material and cultural wealth of our people.”⁷⁶ This notion of a doubled exploitation was ironically a key theme of feminist literature in the GDR, which focused on the dual oppressions of workforce involvement and unpaid domestic labor, but this appears to pass Makosch by.⁷⁷

The feminism presented in Makosch’s text is clearly rooted in developmentalist conceptions of history: patriarchy was colonial, but also a remnant of feudalism. As Makosch writes, despite the overcoming of colonial forces, “there exists psychological factors which hold some women back from the realisation of their dreams: the inferiority complex, which resides in the conjunction of traditional worldviews and the colonial system.”⁷⁸ Evenia notes to Makosch that “contradictions” between men and women have existed for a long time, but she asks rhetorically if these are not “representative of the contradiction between the obsolete societal order and our lives?”⁷⁹ When Makosch asks Evenia about the difficulties of commanding men, her answer is revealing: answering in the affirmative, she notes that her role “was probably only unusual for some at the beginning. Tradition and superstition are often just old habits, but our chairman, who spent some time in the GDR, said that it also wasn’t easy there... and some people still do not quite understand it today.”⁸⁰

Although Makosch’s text was not guilty of a sexualized depiction of Evenia, her foregrounding raises questions. To a large extent, state-led feminism in the GDR, as Donna Harsch notes, retained the gender norms of previous social systems: and being state-led almost always meant being led by men.⁸¹ Scholars such as Celia Donert have alerted us to the previously underexamined importance that official (and, to a lesser extent, unofficial) women’s organizations

75 Ibid., 31.

76 Ibid.

77 On this, see Lorna Martens, *The Promised Land?: Feminist Writing in the German Democratic Republic* (New York: SUNY Press, 2001), 171–80.

78 Makosch, *Das Mädchen vom Sambesi*, 36.

79 Ibid., 31.

80 Ibid.

81 Donna Harsch, “Communism and Women,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism*, ed. Stephen A. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 488.

played in the global Cold War.⁸² But the patriarchal nature of socialist power structures meant that official feminist discourses emanated from male voices as much as, if not more than, female ones. Because foreign reporters and journalists in the GDR tended to be men, the focus on female emancipation in Africa thus came almost exclusively from male voices.

Makosch's text is a striking example of this ventriloquism: references to interpreters in the text make it unlikely that Makosch understood or could speak Portuguese, but large sections of the book consist of direct quotations from his subjects, and these quotations often sound remarkably similar to the Party (in this case, either FRELIMO or the SED) line.⁸³ Evenia's notion of a double oppression under patriarchy and colonialism was also a theme for Samora Machel, who claimed in 1973 that "Generally speaking, women are the most oppressed, humiliated, and exploited beings in society. A woman is even exploited by a man who is himself exploited, beaten by the man who is lacerated by the *palmtoria*, humiliated by the man who is crushed under the boot of the boss and the settler."⁸⁴ In a particularly jarring example of this ventriloquism, a 1972 text was published featuring writing from Makosch and three other male writers entitled "Salaam Fatima! Women of an Awakening World" [*Salaam Fatima! Frauen der erwachenden Welt*], focusing on "women's issues in Africa, Asia and Latin America" and heavily illustrated with pictures.⁸⁵ This, of course, was a world in which the punishment for a television presenter deemed to have crossed the line in making sexist remarks on air was to be summoned to the office of a male boss and given a copy of August Bebel's *Women and Socialism*, as happened to Heinz Quermann: that is to say, not one where issues of representation or female voices were often considered in any great detail.⁸⁶

82 Celia Donert, "Feminism, Communism and Global Socialism: Encounters and Entanglements," in *The Cambridge History of Communism, Volume 2: Everyday Socialism and Lived Experiences*, ed. Juliane Fürst, Silvio Pons, and Mark Selden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Celia Donert, "From Communist Internationalism to Human Rights: Gender, Violence and International Law in the Women's International Democratic Federation Mission to North Korea, 1951," *Contemporary European History* 25 (2016).

83 Makosch, *Das Mädchen vom Sambesi*, 9.

84 Samora Machel, "The Liberation of Women is a Fundamental Necessity for the Revolution", <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/machel/1973/liberation-women.htm>, accessed December 15, 2019. I am grateful to Dr. Eric Burton for this reference.

85 Otto Marquardt et al., *salaam fatima! Frauen der erwachenden Welt* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1975).

86 Heather L. Gumbert, *Envisioning Socialism: Television and the Cold War in the German Democratic Republic* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 115–16.

Africa on Screen: Socialist Internationalism as Entertainment

Probably the most prominent outputs from Makosch's trip were three documentary films: "Mozambique – The Struggle Continues," [*Der Kampf geht weiter*] first screened on GDR television screens in September 1973 and later at the sixteenth International Leipzig Documentary and Short Film Week in late November; "FRELIMO's Children" [*Kinder der FRELIMO*], first screened on GDR television on May 14, 1974; and "Victors on the Zambezi" [*Sieger am Sambesi*], which focused on the challenges of the new Mozambican state and first aired, also on GDR television, on July 16, 1975. While the reception of his book is difficult to gauge, television audience research produced by the DFF provides some useful insight into the relative success—or otherwise—of Makosch's televisual output.⁸⁷ As already noted, Makosch was an important figure within GDR foreign news journalism, which had grown from the late 1950s onward into a particularly important feature of television programming. As Heather Gumbert has shown, the state broadcaster in the GDR, the *Deutscher Fernsehfunk*, or DFF, had been chastised by the Politbüro for being outflanked and outpaced by Western news agencies in their coverage of the Hungarian uprising in 1956.⁸⁸ From the late 1950s onwards, then, there was an increased focus on "current-political" (*aktuell-politisch*) programming, with a particular emphasis on anti-imperialist struggle in Africa and the Middle East.⁸⁹ This domestic development combined with events worldwide, where decolonization and the increasing momentum of various forms of national liberation were attracting the attention of the socialist state. The DFF were already demanding in 1958 that television raise awareness among the GDR population regarding "fraternal socialist countries."⁹⁰

This focus lasted only a decade, however. It is a central claim of the historiography that from the late 1960s onward, GDR television moved toward a focus on entertainment as information and news-based programming failed to have

⁸⁷ The qualitative data produced by such research comes with obvious reservations, but viewership figures would seem to be relatively unproblematic. For a detailed discussion of Zuschauerforschung, see Michael Meyen, *Einschalten, Umschalten, Ausschalten? das Fernsehen im DDR-Alltag* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2003), 18–29.

⁸⁸ Gumbert, *Envisioning Socialism*, 71.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.

the desired propagandistic effect.⁹¹ Michael Meyen's study of GDR television made similar findings via both interviews and contemporary viewer research.⁹² Claudia Dittmar traces this shift to the late 1960s and early 1970s, as does Heather Gumbert, citing a commonly quoted Honecker speech in 1971 which exhorted programmers to overcome a "certain boredom" among GDR viewers.⁹³ As Sasha Trültzsch and Uwe Breitenborn have shown, the GDR television program corresponded similarly to other countries—including the FRG—in terms of genre-share by the 1970s, eschewing an earlier focus on factual programming.⁹⁴

Despite the decline of factual programming, the DFF's own research convinced it that foreign news reportage remained both popular and important for GDR viewers. This was true of events close to home, such as the Prague Spring in 1968, which prompted a demand for more informational and educational programming in a similar fashion to the Hungarian uprising.⁹⁵ But the GDR's growing international confidence and widespread optimism in the socialist world during the 1970s led to opportunities for more foreign news reporting in Africa too, of which Makosch's Mozambique films were a notable example. DFF researchers found that foreign reporting was the fourth most desired form of programming in the early 1970s, and that GDR-produced foreign reportage was lacking in the program, with existing foreign reportage-based programs proving popular.⁹⁶

Makosch became *Objektiv's* frontman in the late 1960s, presiding over a slump in the show's viewership, from an average of 20.9 percent in 1968 to 8.2 percent in 1972.⁹⁷ Given international events, one might have expected a growth in audience, but instead viewership declined throughout the decade,

91 Sascha Trültzsch and Reinhold Viehoff, "Undercover: How the East German Political System Presented Itself in Television Series," in *Popular Television in Authoritarian Europe*, ed. Peter Goddard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 142. Carol Anne Costabile-Heming makes the same claim. See Carol Anne Costabile-Heming, "'Rezensur': A Case Study of Censorship and Programmatic Reception in the GDR," *Monatshefte* 92 (2000): 54.

92 Meyen, *Einschalten, Umschalten, Ausschalten?*, 80.

93 Gumbert, *Envisioning Socialism*, 161.

94 Sasha Trültzsch and Uwe Breitenborn, "Program Structure Analysis of the GDR Television 1956 to 1991," *Siegener Periodicum zur internationalen empirischen Literaturwissenschaft* 25 (2006): 266.

95 Deutsches Rundfunk Archiv (hereafter DRA), H008-02-04-0023, "Analyse der Bisherigen Forschungsergebnisse zur Wirkung der Journalistischen Sendungen im Programm des Deutschen Fernsehfunks", 18-19.

96 *Ibid.*, 51.

97 DRA, H074-00-02-0082, "Einige Ergebnisse zu *Objektiv*", July 4, 1972, 1.

continuing on a steady decline into the 1980s.⁹⁸ DFF reports noted that viewership was significantly higher among SED members.⁹⁹ While Makosch's reportage was increasingly viewed as unpopular and messages regarding socialist internationalism were increasingly finding more traction via entertainment, GDR viewers were also increasingly getting their information and news from television.¹⁰⁰ DFF leaders obviously hoped that films like Makosch's could fill this gap.

"The Struggle Continues" was the most heavily touted of the three films and appeared on GDR television screens first, on the important 8 p.m. slot on the DDR 1 channel on September 25, 1973.¹⁰¹ GDR press reported on its success with rapturous acclaim. "The documentary-maker's search for truth often goes hand in hand with unfamiliar physical efforts," a review of the film's first screening claimed: "Ulrich Makosch and Hans Anderssohn walked 200 km through hard-to-reach areas in an unfamiliar climate for their half-hour GDR feature film 'Mozambique – The Struggle Continues,' in constant danger of discovery by Portuguese colonial troops."¹⁰² Despite the fanfare, however, the initial screening defied the high expectations that earlier DFF reports had placed on foreign reportage. Research showed that only 5.5 percent of viewers watched the show, which was "well under the average for journalism in the Tuesday 8pm slot and well under the average for foreign reportage."¹⁰³ These numbers were put down to the fact that the film had been screened at short notice and not widely advertised, and the report noted that those viewers who had seen the show evaluated it favorably.¹⁰⁴ The film was screened again during the Christmas period and highlighted in a Christmas television guide in *Neues Deutschland*.¹⁰⁵ This time round, however, viewership was even worse: audience researchers were unable to find a single viewer among their research subjects.¹⁰⁶ The follow up film, "Victors on the Zambezi," which used Makosch's footage to

⁹⁸ Klaus Behling, *Fernsehen aus Adlershof: Das Fernsehen der DDR vom Start bis zum Sendeschluss* (Berlin: Edition Berolina, 2016), 57.

⁹⁹ DRA, H074-00-02-0082, "Einige Ergebnisse zu Objektiv", 2.

¹⁰⁰ DRA, H074-00-02-0082, "Zusammenfassende Darstellung aller bisherigen Erfahrungen der Zuschauerforschung auf dem Gebiet: Allgemeine Einstellungen zum Fernsehen und Probleme der Programmstruktur", May 1971, 4.

¹⁰¹ "Fernsehen Aktuell", *Neues Deutschland*, September 25, 1973, 6.

¹⁰² "In der vordersten Frontlinie des Klassenkampfes", *Neues Deutschland*, 29.10.1973, 4.

¹⁰³ DRA, H081-03-02-0053, "Ergebnisse der 39./193. Sofortresonanz vom 28.09.1973", 16-17.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹⁰⁵ "Was es an den Festtagen zu sehen gibt", *Neues Deutschland*, 12.12.1973, 4.

¹⁰⁶ The film was screened on the GDR's less popular second channel this time round, but these numbers are nevertheless surprisingly low. DRA, H081-03-02-0053, "Ergebnisse der 52./206. Sofortresonanz vom 27.12.1953", 16.

put together a film anticipating the forthcoming Mozambican independence celebrations, also struggled to attract audiences despite media previews.¹⁰⁷ Notably, a third film, “The Children of FRELIMO,” which aired in May 1974 and focused on the orphans Makosch had encountered in Mozambique, received almost double the viewership of the previous two, at ten percent.¹⁰⁸

The evidence suggests that Makosch’s films were more important as objects of high diplomacy than a means of generating solidarity among the GDR population. In this regard there was a curious mirroring with the work of FRELIMO’s Department of Information and Propaganda, which drew distinct lines between its domestic and international audiences, belying claims to transnational unity in the process.¹⁰⁹ As the initial review of “The Struggle Continues” in *Neues Deutschland* noted, quoting Makosch’s press briefing in Leipzig, the film was to serve the elision of distance between the GDR and FRELIMO, serving to “bring us closer to the fight of FRELIMO, allowing us to look into the faces of people who, because they love life, have learned not to fear death in battle.”¹¹⁰ But it was also made to be used as propaganda for FRELIMO themselves, and thus as an instrument of the “solidaric unity” between the two sides.¹¹¹

Makosch’s visit to Mozambique’s liberated zones came at a time of increased cooperation between FRELIMO and the GDR: the very existence of the trip and resulting film may have been more important than its reception in the GDR. In contrast with low viewership figures, the film was greeted with much international fanfare. At the 1973 Leipzig film week, which featured delegations from almost 40 nations, the film was well received, receiving a Silver Dove award.¹¹² The Palestinian delegation to the festival awarded it the first “Palestine Prize,” which was given to films “which depicted the struggle of a people against imperialism and whose struggle resembled that of the Palestinians.”¹¹³ Later reports suggested the film was sold to “many Asian and African nations” at the festival.¹¹⁴ In December Samora Machel (misspelt “Marchel” in the *Neues Deutschland* article

107 DRA, H081-03-02-0068, “Sehbeteiligung und -bewertung der Sendungen der 29. Woche”, 3.

108 DRA, H081-03-02/0067, “Ergebnisse der 21. (227.) repräsentativen Umfrage vom 22. Mai 1974”, 12.

109 Thompson, “Visualising FRELIMO’s Liberated Zones in Mozambique, 1962–1974,” 38.

110 “In der vordersten Frontlinie des Klassenkampfes”, *Neues Deutschland*, 29. October 1973, 4.

111 *Ibid.*, 4.

112 “Was es an den Festtagen zu sehen gibt”, *Neues Deutschland*, December 12, 1973, 4.

113 Nadia Yaqub, *Palestinian Cinema in the Days of Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 134.

114 “DDR-Künstler solidarisch mit den kämpfenden Völkern”, *Neues Deutschland*, December 29, 1973, 2.

reporting the event) wrote a letter to Erich Honecker thanking him for the production of the film, which had been screened to a delegation consisting of the vice president of FRELIMO, the Tanzanian information minister, and the deputy General Secretary of the Organisation for African Unity National Liberation Committee at the tenth World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin.¹¹⁵ Machel would note his gratitude to Honecker in person at a meeting in 1979, praising the “fruitful cooperation” that FRELIMO had with the journalists and press organs of the GDR, “who disseminated the news of our struggle” and noting that many of them, like Makosch, had “visited liberated areas and areas of conflict.”¹¹⁶ The impact of the film itself remained fleeting, a temporary act of solidarity, or mooring. It does not appear in a recent study of similar foreign-made films in Mozambique during this period by Ros Gray, for example, and references to it beyond the 1970s are difficult to find.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

Ulrich Makosch was a party journalist in the purest sense. His reporting on Africa, then, was political and pedagogical: it was agitprop, seeking to depict Africa as “close” to the GDR in the abstract. Makosch was deeply involved and implicated in some of the more unsavory implications of agitprop: in 1985, for example, he presented a Stasi-produced program entitled “Returned: Interviews with the Disillusioned” [*Zurückgekehrt – Interview mit Enttäuschten*], which featured interviews with people who had fled the GDR and returned, agreeing in arrangements with the Stasi to appear on the program in the hopes of a comfortable resettlement.¹¹⁸ Makosch himself was, for a number of years, an “IM” or unofficial collaborator with the Stasi, which was almost certainly a requirement of his role. Following the fall of the Wall, he renounced agitprop and spoke of being “ready, with pleasure to work along journalistic lines.”¹¹⁹ He subsequently worked for US

115 “FRELIMO dankt DDR für Film über Befreiungskampf”, *Neues Deutschland*, December 20, 1973, 2.

116 SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/2470, “Stenografische Niederschrift der offiziellen Gespräche des Generalsekretärs des ZK der SED, Genossen Erich Honecker, mit dem Präsidenten der Frelimo und der Volksrepublik Moçambique, Genossen Samora Machel, in Maputo, 22. Februar 1979”, 42.

117 Ros Gray, *Cinemas of the Mozambican Revolution* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2020), 15–64.

118 See <https://www.stasi-mediathek.de/medien/propagandavideo-zurueckgekehrt-interview-mit-enttaeuschten-ueber-rueckkehrer-in-die-ddr/>, accessed November 11, 2019.

119 “East Germany: Putting the Pieces Together Again”, *Broadcasting*, June 2, 1990, 55.

broadcaster CNN for a couple of years. Freed from the dictates of GDR agitprop, Makosch's work saw a shift in register, highlighted by a contribution to an edited volume on GDR-Mozambican relations in 2005: in contrast to the air of impending victory found in his 1970s texts, Makosch spoke of encountering a "sad and tired existence" among Mozambicans in that period.¹²⁰

If the newspaper was the dominant medium for foreign news reportage at the beginning of the GDR's existence, then television would have assumed this mantle by the end of its existence. Television, particularly on location filming, boasted an ability to sever the physical divisions between viewer and viewed. The German word for television, *Fernsehen*, is a calque derived from English, thus sharing its literal connotation of "distance viewing." The technical ability to remove distance, as the great theorist of television Raymond Williams noted, created specific forms of cultural power; during the Falklands War, Williams criticized a particular mode of distancing in contemporary coverage, which "distorts the imagination and permits the fantasies of models and of convictions without experience."¹²¹ Williams' concern was television's ability to create distance from reality and thus soften the effect of war, so that "the sovereign power to order war operates within the cultural power to distance."¹²² Television abstracted what was real. Depictions of Africa in the GDR, conversely, began with an abstract ideal and sought to reify it. The GDR was a confined state, but one that imagined itself, through the medium of Marxist-Leninist theory, to be part of an objectively defined global political movement. Unlike the news reportage that Williams chastised, GDR television's depictions of this world thus sought to elide, rather than create, distance.

Ulrich Makosch's output on Mozambique was an important example of this attempt to create elision. In this sense, it was a paradoxical success. In a post-*Wende* evaluation of the GDR's *Afrikabild*, Makosch struck a largely defiant tone. If this image was to be criticized, Makosch noted, such criticism ought to center on its inability to draw out "differentiation," arguing that "great proximity and differentiation are usually mutually exclusive, an experience that is to be discerned in the African reporting of the GDR media."¹²³ For Makosch, the problem was over-identification: "one suffered with the guest state," and fears regarding the utilization of criticism by mutual enemies led to the creation of

¹²⁰ Ulrich Makosch, "Salz auf der Hand...," in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!: die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voss (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 577.

¹²¹ Raymond Williams, "Distance," *London Review of Books*, June 17, 1982, 20.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 20.

¹²³ Makosch, "Was bleibt...Afrika in den Medien der DDR," 275.

an “idealised image.”¹²⁴ The notion of such proximity reveals the mutual advantage found in foreign reportage between Makosch and his Mozambican partners: the importance of such reportage lay in the international sphere, in the transnational world of anti-imperialist politics. But this proximity was not reproduced on the domestic level: evident both in his othering and ventriloquizing of Mozambican subjects, and in the lack of success and viewership that Makosch’s films found at home. In the end, elision worked only on an international level: preaching to the converted, but failing in its promise to bring the struggles of FRELIMO home for GDR citizens.

Such findings may not come as surprise to those familiar with the GDR’s cultural output. “Nothing did more harm to the GDR,” Stefan Wolle has claimed, “than its own propaganda.”¹²⁵ But the failure of Makosch’s work to have an impact at home challenges the usual assumptions regarding state-led cultures of solidarity in GDR, which have long been viewed as primarily existing to promote the state’s legitimacy among the GDR population at large. The case here seems to indicate that rather than existing as a symbolic projection for a credulous East German public, the real importance of Makosch’s work lay abroad. For the leadership of FRELIMO, figures such as Makosch were important weapons in the fight for international recognition and support. And for the exponents of international socialism in the 1970s, it seemed to confirm the growing strength of the socialist world. In the longer term, the importance of Makosch’s work would prove fleeting, an imperfect mooring: the optimism of the early to mid-1970s dwindled toward the end of the decade as Mozambique and the GDR descended into civil war and a fiscal crisis respectively.

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¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 275.

¹²⁵ Stefan Wolle, *Die heile Welt der Diktatur: Alltag und Herrschaft in der DDR 1971–1989* (Berlin: Links Christoph Verlag, 2013), 70.

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The Structured Practice of Solidarity in the GDR: Socialist Encounter and East German Friendship¹

Paul Sprute

*Solidarisch eng verbunden
mit Angola das geschunden
Stolz erhoben dieses Land
Kämpfen mit Ihm Hand in Hand²*

*Wir zogen an, das ist schon wahr
Ersatzteile aber blieben stets rar!
Drum war Erfindergeist gefragt
Und jeder brachte uns 'ne Tat³*

In solidarity closely connected
with Angola sorely tormented
this proudly risen land
with whom we fight hand in hand

We held fast, that is true for sure
but in spare parts we remained ever poor
inventive spirits were in demand
and everyone gave us a hand.

Introduction

In his monthly poems, Rudi reflected on the routines of his deployment in a *Brigade der Freundschaft* (also called *Freundschaftsbrigade*, “Friendship Brigade”) in Angola. These collectives of young citizens of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) were sent to the “newly independent nation states” of the post-colonial world in order to enact the “international solidarity” that the GDR leadership

1 I am very grateful to the editors of this piece, Eric Burton and Immanuel R. Harisch, who made all the necessary and extremely helpful editorial suggestions. What is more, both were so kind to share their great expertise gained from working on the otherwise little-studied *Freundschaftsbri-gaden* themselves.

2 “Gedanken,” Rudi S., April 1984, Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv (hereafter SAPMO-BArch), DY 24/19129.

3 “Freude,” Rudi S., February 1984, SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

proclaimed as one of its basic political principles. The *Brigaden* of the GDR's official youth organization *Freie Deutsche Jugend* (FDJ, "Free German Youth") provided social services or training and supported local economies by directly engaging in agriculture, transport, or construction.⁴

Rudi's poem echoed official solidarity discourses—namely as a unified struggle of African and German actors—but also reflected the practical dilemmas of exercising solidarity in Angola. Taking up this lead, my contribution seeks to reconsider the roles of young East Germans in the *Freundschaftsbrigaden* within the Cold War—which became a "hot war" in the vast and resource-rich country of Angola.⁵ My central aim is to examine the perspectives that the brigade collectives assumed and presented of their deployment to socialist Angola in the last decade of the GDR's existence. Particular attention is put on their views of the mission of "friendship" and "international solidarity" within their work environment and (official) encounters with the Angolan youth and project partners.

The discussion on the impact of official state solidarity and its ramifications in reality for this specific group of East German actors is inspired by Odd Arne Westad's emphasis on the importance of the interventionist and modernist polit-

⁴ This contribution relies on the solid basis of Immanuel R. Harisch's research on the deployment of the GDR's *Freundschaftsbrigaden* in Angola in the larger context of economic relations between the two countries. Apart from a general overview of the numbers, Harisch touches upon the issues of motivation, choice, and selection of the *Brigadisten*, the bilateral negotiations preparing their deployment, their remuneration as well as supply, provisioning, and accommodation, but also the fields, places, and results of their work, as well as instances of disciplining, racism, and corruption; Immanuel R. Harisch, "Handel und Solidarität: Die Beziehungen der DDR mit Angola und São Tomé und Príncipe unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Austauschs 'Ware-gegen-Ware' ca. 1975–1990" (M.A. thesis, Universität Wien, 2018), 111–169. Ulrike Gödeke's study of the political organization of *Freundschaftsbrigaden* in Africa is equally very helpful to come to an overview of their role in the political context of the GDR; Ulrike Gödeke, "Zwischen brüderlicher Hilfe und allseitiger Stärkung der DDR: Die Freundschaftsbrigaden der FDJ in Afrika 1964 bis 1990" (Diploma thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2002). While the scholarly literature on the *Brigaden* is generally scarce, Eric Burton has recently highlighted the entanglements of the brigades' activities with state interests as well as work relations and personal motives in his contribution "Solidarität und ihre Grenzen: Die Brigaden der Freundschaft der DDR," in *Internationale Solidarität: Globales Engagement in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR*, ed. Frank Bösch, Caroline Moine, and Stefanie Senger (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018). For an apologetic account that still gives a good overview, see Ulrich van der Heyden, "FDJ-Brigaden der Freundschaft aus der DDR – die Peace Corps des Ostens?," in *Die eine Welt schaffen: Praktiken von 'Internationaler Solidarität, und 'Internationaler Entwicklung,'* ed. Berthold Unfried and Eva Himmelstoss (Leipzig: Akademische Verlaganstalt, 2012).

⁵ Vladimir Shubin, *The Hot 'Cold War': The USSR in Southern Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2008).

ical ideologies on both sides of the bloc divide for perpetuating the global Cold War.⁶ Westad states that “injustice and oppression became more visible in the 20th century ... [and] people—especially young people—felt the need to remedy these ills. Cold War ideologies offered immediate solutions to complex problems.”⁷ The commitment of the young East Germans within the context of the “anti-imperialist struggle” of Angola turns this group of actors into a relevant test case for Westad’s assumptions. The *Freundschaftsbrigaden* were directly and personally affected by the global Cold War. Still, they have been mostly neglected in the existing literature on the GDR’s international solidarity as well as in the literature on Angola’s Cold War more generally.

The GDR’s official and state party documentation indicates the interlinkages and entanglements of the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*’s deployment in Angola with profane economic interests.⁸ In retrospect, this view is also shared by former brigade members dismissing the GDR’s solidarity as “plundering among friends.”⁹ Other memory accounts of brigade members rather stress apolitical understandings of an “adventurist journey.”¹⁰

My approach, focusing on the contemporary motivations and their discussion in the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*, complements these views of former brigade members as well as recent scholarship.¹¹ The analysis focusses on the *Brigadentagebücher*, annual “brigade diaries” that were written and compiled by the col-

6 Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4–5; 39–73.

7 Odd Arne Westad, “The Cold War and America’s Delusion of Victory,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2017, accessed January 20, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/28/opinion/cold-war-american-soviet-victory.html>. Apart from Westad, other historians, such as David Engerman or Sara Lorenzini, have also offered reflections on the links between “developmentalist” and Cold War ideologies. David Engerman, “Development Politics and the Cold War,” *Diplomatic History* 41 (2017); Sara Lorenzini, *Global Development: A Cold War History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

8 Albrecht to Günter Mittag, “Abkommen über den weiteren Einsatz von FDJ-Brigaden,” February 12, 1981, 103, SAPMO-BArch, DY 3023/1464.

9 “Franke,” “Mein Angola 1984,” Angola Forum, accessed January 20, 2020, <http://www.angola-forum.de/thread.php?board=3&thread=1>.

10 “Mit einer FDJ-Freundschaftsbrigade in Angola,” MDR.de, January 13, 2011, accessed January 20, 2020, <https://www.mdr.de/damals/archiv/artikel105354.html>. For an exemplary analysis of not only East German but also Lusophone African (in this case Mozambican) memories of cooperation, see Piepiorka and Buanaisa, this volume.

11 Here I follow the suggestions of Berthold Unfried, “Instrumente und Praktiken von ‘Solidarität’ Ost und ‘Entwicklungshilfe’ West: Blickpunkt auf das entsandte Personal,” in *Die eine Welt schaffen. Praktiken von ‘Internationaler Solidarität, und ‘Internationaler Entwicklung,’* ed. Berthold Unfried and Eva Himmelstoss (Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 2012), 77.

lectives themselves. These diaries were in line with similar documentation of economic and political collectives in the GDR.¹² In the diaries, brigade members dutifully chronicled their deployment but also engaged in broader reflections.¹³ The entries in these diaries give insight into a dense network of official socialist encounters with Angolan counterparts of the socialist ruling party *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) or the brigades' counterparts of the MPLA's official youth organization, the *Juventude* (JMPLA). Consequently, the *Brigadetagebücher* are unique and compact sources offering insights into concrete practices shaped by non-elite East German conceptions of international solidarity. They showcase the subjectivities of *Brigadisten* as well as the possibilities of their communication within the forum of the collective. Their perspectives were constrained by the expected audience, balancing different communicative demands. The "semi-official" diaries were part of the competition for collective awards and thereby favored entries by individual brigade members situating their mission within publicly condoned narratives.¹⁴

As I show in this contribution, the image of Angolans within the *Tagebücher* largely remained confined to the GDR's official framework of solidarity. The brigade members' mediated and fragmentary perspective on the Angolan counterparts presents the latter as willing and thankful beneficiaries of East German actions rather than complex individuals or even political allies. The *Tagebücher* only rarely give proof of direct repercussions that encounters with Angolans had for *Brigadisten* or point to potential criticisms against GDR policies emerging from the ruptures in their experiences. These limitations are due to the character of the sources as well as the rigidly controlled structured realities of the *Brigaden's* deployment.

Still, a close reading of the *Brigadetagebücher* can reveal how the dichotomy between the "modern" GDR and the "backwardness" of post-colonial Angola turned into a central interpretative frame for individual brigade members. The

12 Emerging out of the East German brigade movement of work collectives, brigade diaries were promoted as chronicles of collective work life to take account of participation in work competitions. See Jörg Roesler, "Berichtsbuch, Beschwerdeschrift oder Bilderfolge? Unterschiedliche Vorstellungen zum Inhalt von Brigadetagebüchern in den Anfangstagen der 'sozialistischen Kollektive,'" in *Vorwärts und nichts vergessen. Sprache in der DDR – was war, was ist, was bleibt*, ed. Ruth Reiher and Antje Baumann (Berlin: Aufbau, 2004).

13 For a broader introduction to the *Brigadetagebücher* as sources, see Immanuel R. Harisch and Eric Burton, "Sozialistische Globalisierung. Tagebücher der DDR-Freundschaftsbrigaden in Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika," unpublished manuscript, forthcoming in *Zeithistorische Forschungen*.

14 The *Brigadetagebücher* were read and assessed by superiors. See Harisch and Burton, "Sozialistische Globalisierung."

task of “modernization” was understood as the fundamental transformation of the Angolan society by mirroring attributes that the East German actors assumed to be central for the basic set-up of their own society, such as rationalism and industrialization.¹⁵

I argue that the *Brigadisten* presented their deployment as a crucial factor in contributing to Angola’s “modernization” along socialist lines through the transfer of knowledge and values. In practice, the *Brigadisten* strongly focused on their immediate surroundings as well as their concrete possibilities to this contribution and providing “humanitarian” relief as their main objectives. These practical concerns frequently contradicted the official GDR’s cliché phrases of internationalism and anti-imperialism.

My findings therefore relativize arguments which stress the immediate centrality of socialist ideology for this group of exposed East Germans in the Cold War. Still, they also underline the emphasis in Odd Arne Westad’s writing on the “modernizing” mission as a central dimension of Cold War ideologies with respect to nation building in countries such as socialist Angola. Remarkably, the members of the friendship brigades in Angola rarely engaged explicitly with the need for socialism. Instead of projecting a “politicized” understanding of their activities, I show how their “interventionism” focused on tangible practices of aid and the mechanics of modernization instead.

The tensions between the collectivist and individualist perspectives within these sources show how far the collectivist ideal within the brigades actually extended and how visions of solidarity were sourced between individual emphases and common proclamations. Not least, this collective source undermines common tropes contrasting African collectivism with European individualism, as a European collectivism comes into view. The taken micro-historical approach of a close focus on the brigades helps to trace the intensity and ambiguities of the brigades’ socialist encounters, but also the extent of their (dis)entanglement with the political conditions in Angola as the *Brigaden* moored in this crucial locale of the Global Cold War.

15 This take on ‘modernization’ draws from Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 113, 120 – 122.

International Solidarity in the GDR's Global Cold War

The *Brigaden der Freundschaft* and its members were active within the wider context of the GDR's foreign policy's focus on the "newly independent nation states" of the post-colonial world. Throughout the GDR's existence, the involvement with these countries was presented as international solidarity which even carried constitutional weight from 1974.¹⁶ The GDR would stand "united" with these states in a joint struggle against "imperialism" and "capitalism."¹⁷ Conceptually, international solidarity was presented as a quasi-natural life praxis of "true" and "mutual" friendship on an equal footing in no need of profound theoretical deliberations.¹⁸

In the GDR public sphere, officially condoned solidarity was legitimized and popularized by the state-socialist organizations from state-coordinated media to education. International solidarity was present(ed) as an ideological argument for the continued benefits of the East German political order despite the GDR's lethargic state.¹⁹ At the same time, non-state actors promoted values of international solidarity as well, but were marginalized by the official GDR.²⁰ The "omnipresence" of this "mission" instilled it as an integral part of the political consciousness of GDR citizens.

With regards to the discursive functions of international solidarity within the GDR, Gregory Witkowski argues that the campaign for solidarity was supposed to mobilize East Germans into action by stressing the dependency of its recipients but also calling for a change of consciousness among GDR citizens. The predominant narrative of the already socialist East German state seeking to spread this remedy for continuing political ills was to position the GDR society "on the

16 "Artikel 6," *Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, October 7, 1974, accessed January 6, 2020, <http://www.documentarchiv.de/ddr/verfddr.html>.

17 Hans-Joachim Spanger and Lothar Brock, *Die beiden deutschen Staaten in der Dritten Welt: Die Entwicklungspolitik der DDR – eine Herausforderung für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland?* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987), 39–49.

18 Hubertus Büschel, *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe: Deutsche Entwicklungsarbeit in Afrika 1960–1975* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2014), 77–78.

19 Ulrich Mählert and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan, *Blaue Hemden – Rote Fahnen: Die Geschichte der Freien Deutschen Jugend* (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1996), 187–188.

20 Maria Magdalena Verburg, *Ostdeutsche Dritte-Welt-Gruppen vor und nach 1989/90* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012).

side of moral righteousness,”²¹ and perpetuated a hierarchical and even racialized worldview.²²

Toni Weis equally stresses the importance of the anti-colonial imaginary of solidarity and describes it as a vague ethic at the same time.²³ Weis rejects discussions about its imposition or genuineness, underlining how solidarity was endorsed “to different degrees and for a variety of reasons.”²⁴ Indeed, GDR citizens fundamentally agreed with the benevolence of East German support for anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and anti-capitalist causes, that could, at the same time, be acknowledged as genuine and state-imposed.

Exploring the reasons for the perpetual stability of the discourse, Weis introduces the picture of a “working misunderstanding” in the political relations of East German and African actors: the “rhetoric of solidarity remained abstract enough to be filled with different contents by the two partners and used for their own respective agendas.”²⁵ With regards to the discourse within the GDR, Weis assesses how “[t]he image of the ‘other’ was confined to the framework of solidarity, which in turn reflected back—ideally in a positive way—on the GDR itself.”²⁶

FDJ-Friendship Brigades in Socialist Angola

By exploring the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*, set up in 1963 as a main actor of the GDR’s practice of international solidarity, it is possible to reconsider the concrete implications of the solidarity framework. As tools of their foreign policy, detached to over 20 countries on three continents in total, the *Brigaden* were used by the SED leadership to woo “newly independent nation states” and their socialist alignment.²⁷ From the mid-1970s onwards, the *Freundschaftsbrigaden* had a strong focus on Ethiopia, Mozambique, and particularly Angola as “socialist-ori-

²¹ Gregory Witkowski, “Between Fighters and Beggars: Socialist Philanthropy and the Imagery of Solidarity in East Germany,” in *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 76.

²² Witkowski, “Between Fighters and Beggars,” 88–89.

²³ Toni Weis, “The Politics Machine: On the Concept of ‘Solidarity’ in East German Support for SWAPO,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37 (2011): 352.

²⁴ Weis, “Politics Machine,” 359.

²⁵ Weis, “Politics Machine,” 352.

²⁶ Weis, “Politics Machine,” 363–364.

²⁷ Ulrike Gödeke, “Zwischen brüderlicher Hilfe und allseitiger Stärkung der DDR.”

ented countries.”²⁸ Their deployment was entangled with trade and export interests as well as it was linked to “solidarity efforts,” such as the support of vocational training and donations organized by societal organizations of the GDR.²⁹ In these countries, the alignment with the socialist bloc remained fragile and at times contested so that the East German employment of brigades served to continuously underline the benefits of cooperating with the GDR as a comparatively weak socialist economic and political partner.

The *Freundschaftsbrigaden* were joined by young men and (fewer) women of different professions who lived and worked as “collectives” in their countries of deployment. Before they traveled abroad, the brigade members were thoroughly checked for their political reliability and underwent training. Whereas the services of the *Brigaden* were usually provided free of charge, the host government was responsible for food and accommodation.³⁰

In 1989, the FDJ celebrated the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*’s mission to overcome colonial legacies and their role as the “bridges of friendship” to the youth of the postcolonial world.³¹ The FDJ named the provision of (vocational) training and possibilities for academic study as well as contributions to construction projects, or their work in industry, transport, and agriculture, as central objectives of the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*. Transport and agriculture were of particular importance to the activities of the *Freundschaftsbrigaden* in Angola.³² The GDR had emerged as a trusted partner among other socialist states for the ruling Marxist MPLA since at least the early 1960s.³³ Its international relations to socialist countries were of vital importance to the MPLA to seize government control after Angolan

28 For a detailed list of the dispatched brigades from 1964 to 1989 see Ilona Schleicher, “Elemente entwicklungspolitischer Zusammenarbeit in der Tätigkeit von FDGB und FDJ,” in *Entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der DDR*, ed. Hans-Jörg Bücking (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998), 136–137.

29 Burton, “Die Grenzen der Solidarität,” 157–161.

30 Immanuel R. Harisch, “Bartering Coffee, Cocoa and W50 Trucks: The Trade Relationships of the GDR, Angola and São Tomé in a Comparative Perspective,” *Global Histories* 3 (2017): 44.

31 Zentralkomitee der FDJ, “25 Jahre Brigaden der Freundschaft – Berlin 28. Juli 1989,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19631.

32 For a thorough account of the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*’s activities in Angola see Immanuel R. Harisch, “East German Friendship-Brigades and Specialists in Angola: A Socialist Globalization Project in the Global Cold War,” in *Transregional Connections in the History of East Central Europe*, ed. Katja Naumann (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming 2021).

33 Zentralkomitee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands – Abteilung Internationale Verbindungen, “Angola,” 95–191, SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/98121. See also Hans-Georg Schleicher, “The German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa,” in *Southern African Liberation Struggles 1960–1994: Contemporaneous Documents*, ed. Arnold Temu and Joel das Neves Tembe (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014).

independence from Portugal in 1975 with the help of Cuban soldiers and Soviet arms.³⁴

Both should remain vital for the MPLA's hold to power with the continuation of Angola's anti-colonial liberation war as an internationalized civil war. The MPLA leadership's rule over the country was challenged by internal opposition within the party resulting in an attempted *coup d'état* in May 1977 and the continuing onslaught by competing former liberation movements. The interests of these armed groups were interwoven with those of neighboring states, such as Zaire, as well as South Africa which had control of Namibia. The dynamics of the Cold War, but also commercial interests in Angola's diamond and most importantly oil resources, guaranteed the longevity of conflict.³⁵

Over the years following independence, the GDR leadership took strong interest in its political as well as economic relations with Angola. Seeing Angola as a model for other African states, an official of the East German Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted accordingly: "For the first time, a developing country with the foundations of a modern economy is on our side."³⁶ Angola became not only a major and politically relevant supplier of coffee, but also an important export destination for GDR machinery and technologies, most notably the IFA W50 trucks.³⁷

The deployment of GDR personnel to Angola as technical and administrative experts as well as political advisers was an integral part of trade and cooperation.³⁸ In late 1977, these GDR experts were joined by over 130 members of the

34 For an overview of Angola's history before and after independence see David Birmingham, "Angola," in *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa*, ed. Patrick Chabal (London: Hurst, 2002).

35 For an overview of the longer-term entanglements of these interests, see Birmingham, "Angola," 155–179. For Cuba's paramount importance in the support of the MPLA government stressing a course of action independent from the Soviet Union, see Piero Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria and the Struggle for Southern Africa* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013). Gleijeses' further argument of Cuban "revolutionary idealism" stands in contrast to Christine Hatzky's who has pitted the importance of economic motivations for the lasting service of Cuban experts in Angola. Christine Hatzky, *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge, 1976–1991* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 181–188. For an account of the Soviet Union's role in this context, see Shubin, *The Hot Cold War*, 67–115.

36 Generalsekretär des Ministeriums für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, A. B. Neumann, "Information über die Reise einer Delegation des MfAA in die Volksrepublik Angola," September 1, 1977, SAPMO-BArch, DY 3023/1463.

37 Harisch, "Coffee, Cocoa, and W50 Trucks."

38 Alexander Schalck to Günter Mittag, "Informationen über Aufenthalt Klaus Häntzschel, 5.–14.10.1983 in Angola," SAPMO-BArch, DY 3023/1464.

Freundschaftsbrigaden on the explicit request of the Angolan President Agostinho Neto who had himself once lived next to a brigade in his Tanzanian exile.³⁹ The *Brigaden* were to mainly facilitate and guarantee the servicing of W50 trucks and coffee exports, mostly by familiarizing Angolans with (the repair of) the trucks as well as maintaining other agricultural machinery.⁴⁰ Internal sources explicitly refer to such tasks as “*Kundendienst*,” customer service, a term reflecting the brigades’ integration into economic supply lines and inclusion into trade relations overall.⁴¹

The MPLA’s youth organization, the *Juventude do Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (JMPLA), was the direct counterpart of the FDJ in the deployment of the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*, an awkward fit as the JMPLA was a tiny cadre organization by comparison.⁴² Apart from their frequent exchanges with the JMPLA, the brigades also cooperated with other official organizations of the Angolan socialist society, such as the women’s organization and the trade unions, but also the armed forces, most notably the regular army *Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola* (FAPLA).⁴³ The East Germans were one group in a lively sphere of “internationalists” from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Vietnam, and Cuba among others—fertile ground for “socialist encounters”.

The *Brigaden* of around 10 to 20 Germans were first based in the urban centers Luanda, Gabela, N’Dalatando, and Uíge. In later years, further *Brigaden* set up “repair stations” for GDR machinery and vehicles. From the beginning, the conditions of their service were plagued with problems, leading to dissatisfaction among the *Brigadisten*, but also fueling political dispute between the Ger-

³⁹ A.B. Neumann, “Information über die Reise,” 34, SAPMO-BArch, DY 3023/1463.

⁴⁰ Harisch, “East German Friendship-Brigades and Specialists in Angola.”

⁴¹ Erich Honecker to Günter Mittag, “Informationen über beendete Beratungen des Gemeinsamen Wirtschaftsausschusses DDR/VRA Angola,” March 8, 1981, SAPMO-BArch DY 3023/1464. Interlinkages between economic and solidarity relations were characteristic of the East German interactions with “newly independent nation states” beyond Angola as well. One prominent example is the coal plant in the Mozambican town Moatize.

⁴² While the JMPLA only had a few thousand members at times, the FDJ included the vast share of young GDR citizens, e. g. 2.3 million members in 1981, more than 77 % of GDR citizens between 14 and 25 years of age. Unfortunately, there is hardly any secondary literature on the JMPLA; for some basic information refer to Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol, *Angola in the Frontline* (London: Zed Press, 1983). For an official historical account by the MPLA see Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, “História Da JMPLA,” no date, accessed November 25, 2019, <http://www.mpla.ao/jmpla.39/historia.40.html>.

⁴³ Wolfers and Bergerol, *Angola in the Frontline*, 166; Keith Somerville, *Angola: Politics, Economics, and Society* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1986).

man and Angolan sides.⁴⁴ The prolonged internationalized civil war resulted in severe risks for the safety of the dispatched brigades due to which the ones in Gabela and Malanje were, for example, evacuated in 1983.⁴⁵ Security concerns also co-determined the extent to which the brigades isolated themselves or engaged with the partners and society surrounding them, underlining the impression of limited and finite moorings with the possibility of sudden departure. Nonetheless, the deployment of *Brigaden* was continued until 1989.

The Structured Practice of Solidarity in the GDR Collective

The five *Brigadetagebücher* analyzed here⁴⁶ were authored by four different brigades and jointly cover a time period from 1982 to 1986. These “diaries” were produced by the brigades themselves over the course of their deployment. Supposed to “represent the interesting life of the collective,”⁴⁷ the diaries included written texts as well as various forms of illustrations⁴⁸ from multiple authors and were part of wider documentation obligations.⁴⁹ They gave “calendar sheet” reports reflecting the cycles of deployment and others on political meet-

44 Alexander Schalck to Günter Mittag, “Bericht über die Reise der Genossen Stritzke und Büttner nach Luanda/VR Angola,” November 29, 1977, Eberhard Feister to Paul Markowski, October 30, 1977, SAPMO-BArch, DY 3023/1463.

45 “Basiswechsel,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215. In Mozambique, which had also officially embarked on a socialist path in 1977, rebels of the Western-financed *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (RENAMO) killed eight agricultural specialists from the GDR in 1984. See Bahr in this volume.

46 The archive *Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv* (SAPMO) holds a number of these “brigade diaries” (SAPMO-BArch/DY 24). It remains unclear where other diaries may be found. The respective titles are: “Brigadetagebücher der Ernte und Reperaturbrigaden ‘Comandante Bula’ in Samba Caju und N’ Dalatando, Angola, 1983–1984,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129; “Brigadetagebuch der Brigade ‘Daniel Dangereux’ in Uige, Angola, 1982–1983,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213; “Brigadetagebuch der Brigade der Freundschaft in Gabela, Angola, 1983,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215; “Brigadetagebuch der Brigade ‘Comandante Kassange’ in Lobito, Angola, 1985–1986,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20214.

47 “Daniel Dangereux,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

48 While my analysis focuses on the writings of the *Brigadisten*, these illustrations—including clippings from publications, drawings, and photos—often assembled into collages, would be compelling sources in their own right. For an analysis of private photographs taken by East Germans during their stays abroad in the 1980s in Mozambique, consult Bahr’s contribution in this volume.

49 See Harisch and Burton, “Sozialistische Globalisierung.”

ings or the fulfillment of work requirements, but also covered the extraordinary events of brigade life. These events included festivities and get-togethers with the members of the JMPLA or other “internationalists,” but also recreational activities. Moreover, there was space for reflections of individual brigade members on their personal situation within the brigade collective. Taken together, the “diaries” feature relatively unguided and sometimes quite personal contents and perspectives—diverse takes on brigade life with strong individual emphases—next to more official takes on conventional markers of socialist life in the collective abroad.

The diaries represent the collectives’ activities as tightly structured around the political space of the GDR and official encounters with the Angolan side confirming their mission of solidarity and mutual friendship. Reflective of their continuing close integration into the GDR’s socio-political structures were the brigades’ participation in work competitions for honorary titles,⁵⁰ but also their duties to present solidarity donations to beneficiaries in Angola.⁵¹ Here, the brigades acted as representatives of East German organizations and companies that usually exercised their solidarity through collections from afar.⁵² Reports on the occasion of national political events in the GDR or certain initiatives of the Free German Youth (FDJ)—for example by transplanting “peace marches” to Angola—further underlined how East German political rituals were perpetuated in the social life of the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*:

It wasn’t that easy to explain without an interpreter why we should take to the streets together and that peace marches took place everywhere in the world and that the youth of the GDR also demonstrated at the same hour for the same goals. [...] Everyone of us was a little proud that we had succeeded in getting the people out of their huts and houses according to the peace contingent of the FDJ.⁵³

50 “Öffentliche Veranstaltung zur Antragstellung zur Auszeichnung mit dem Ehrentitel ‘Kollektiv der Sozialistischen Arbeit’,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

51 “Unsere Patenklasse und die Solidarität,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129; “Solidaritätsgüter aus der DDR für die Waisenkinder von ‘Kipuco’,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

52 “VEB Kraftwerkskombinat Dresden – Liebe Jugendfreunde!,” March 21, 1983, SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

53 “Es war nicht ganz einfach, ohne Dolmetscherin zu erklären, weshalb wir gemeinsam auf die Straße gehen wollten und daß Friedensmärsche überall in der Welt stattfinden und auch die Jugend der DDR zur gleichen Stunde, für die gleichen Ziele wie hier, demonstriert. ... Jeder von uns war ein bißchen stolz darauf, daß es uns gelungen war, entsprechend dem ‘Friedensaufgebot der FDJ’ die Menschen aus den Hütten und Häusern zu holen.” “Keine Atomwaffen für Südafrika! Sofortige Beendigung des unerklärten Krieges gegen die VR Angola!...,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

Importantly, the actual work of the brigades was not necessarily linked to these reports. The political axioms in the diaries therefore often only served as general confirmations of the GDR's official political causes, extended and copied into a new environment.⁵⁴ These rituals gave limited opportunity for exchange: the "peace march" was, for example, aimed against US and South African aggression as an immediate concern through which the *Brigaden* attested to the urgency of the GDR's anti-imperialist mission in Angola and beyond. However, while the brigades sought to mobilize the Angolan population and partners, the extension of such rituals "according to the FDJ" did not envisage their creative transformation through exchange. These rituals seem as attempts to create socialist encounters and confirm the different partners of their entangled political realities. However, the challenges to their translation and adaption rather underline how they ultimately remained rooted in the East German political space and detached from their surroundings.

The diaries further give account of a dense network of socialist encounters with other internationalists from socialist countries, representatives of the MPLA, and local leaders of the Angolan military, economy or state to strengthen the internationalist friendship.⁵⁵ Delegations of the brigades were constantly invited to central political events, such as the oath-taking of Angolan soldiers,⁵⁶ to which the Germans contributed short messages reaffirming their internationalist mission.⁵⁷ The reports on such encounters, just as well as the ones on interlinkages with the GDR, were rife with the parlance and set phrases of solidarity as a "class duty."⁵⁸

These encounters were completed by the cooperation between the brigades of the FDJ and representatives of the party youth organization JMPLA as their official counterparts.⁵⁹ Purged, and kept under strict control by the MPLA after the JMPLA's implication in the attempted coup by a disillusioned faction of the MPLA against its leadership in 1977, the JMPLA only had around 4,000 members

54 "Abzeichenprüfung für gutes Wissen," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

55 "Marx-Gedenken bei unseren Freunden der FAPLA"; "Zu Gast bei unseren kubanischen Freunden," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

56 "Vereidigung bei der FAPLA," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129; "Vereidigung der Kämpfer der ODP," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

57 "FDJ – Freundschaftsbrigade – Basis Gabela An das Sekretariat des Kreiskomitees von Amboim der JMPLA-JdP Gabela," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215; "Grussadresse," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

58 "FDJ-Freundschaftsbrigade – Basis Gabela An das Sekretariat des Kreiskomitees," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

59 Unfortunately, there is hardly any literature on the JMPLA and it proved impossible to retrieve perspectives of (former) JMPLA functionaries in contact with the brigades.

after “rectification.” It was a small cadre organization with limited pervasion in the Angolan society.⁶⁰ The MPLA also identified serious deficiencies in the JMPLA with regards to its level of activity, politicization, and social responsibilities towards the country’s youth.⁶¹ Documents by the FDJ’s central committee show that it understood its relations to the JMPLA as privileged, but was also staunchly critical of “parasitic tendencies” within the JMPLA.⁶² The FDJ and JMPLA agreed that the brigades were supposed to contribute to the political profile of the JMPLA and support its development into a mass organization.⁶³ The FDJ offered material support to the JMPLA, inter alia by printing brochures. The brigades themselves joined through work services, for example by setting up a JMPLA youth club in premises that had been “in colonial times a night club, called *To the Black Diamond*.”⁶⁴

The *Brigaden* were further integrated into political cooperation by the leadership of both youth organizations as they were expected to offer political training to JMPLA functionaries. Together with the local JMPLA, the *Brigaden* therefore drafted working programs and held joint political forums or information events on various East German political customs or events.⁶⁵ The JMPLA chapters respectively celebrated important Angolan political occasions with the brigades. Representatives of the JMPLA served the *Brigaden* as gate keepers and intermediaries to the political reality of Angola and accompanied them on excursions to Angolan companies or the remote rural area.⁶⁶

The official encounters between members of the FDJ and the Angolan youth of the JMPLA were not limited to Angola. Five places at the Wilhelm Pieck academy of the FDJ in Bogensee were reserved for JMPLA members throughout the

60 Somerville, *Angola*, 92–94.

61 Somerville, *Angola*, 90–91.

62 “Information über den Aufenthalt einer Delegation des Zentralrates der FDJ in der VR Angola vom 25.10.–2.11.1989,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/14424.

63 “Vereinbarung über Freundschaft und Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Freien Deutschen Jugend (FDJ) und der JMPLA – Jugend der Partei für die Jahre 1980–1982,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/22466.

64 “Eine schöne Aufgabe. Jugendclub der JMPLA ‘Ché-Guevarra,’” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

65 “Forum mit JMPLA-FDJ Freundschaftsbrigade ‘Kommandante Kassange’ und der Besatzung der MS ‘Inselsee,’” “Vorbereitung des 40. Jahrestages der FDJ,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20214.

66 Besichtigung des Radio- und Fernsehwerkes von Lobito,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20214; “Ein Lepradorf- Quitunga,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129. Considering the limited exposure of brigade members to their Angolan environment, the brigades were in dire need of guides. To give an example, a brigade got into trouble on an unaccompanied excursion as they had unknowingly (and uncaringly) cut down a banana tree ignorant of a local farmer’s ownership. “‘Frühschoppen oder Organisieren’ Von Bananen im Botanischen!” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

1980s and a permanent representative of the JMPLA supervised young Angolans studying and working in the GDR in the second half of the 1980s.⁶⁷ Furthermore, information, formalized greetings, and delegations were exchanged steadily. In March 1980, a JMPLA delegation visited Ludwigsfelde where the IFA W50 trucks exported to Angola were manufactured. Extending a practice known from Angola and interlinking their respective activities, a local youth brigade in the factory was awarded the honorary title “Dr. Agostinho Neto” to celebrate their contribution.⁶⁸

In fact, the most significant recurring moment of the mutual confirmation of solidarity within Angola was the annual bestowal of the brigade’s honorary title, the name of an Angolan “martyr” to the “revolution,” awarded by the Angolan side.⁶⁹ Names like “Daniel Dangereux,” a member of the FAPLA general staff who had been killed during the attempted coup in May 1977,⁷⁰ signified that the Angolan army and the German brigades were leading one unified struggle. This subtly confirmed the assumed intrinsic links between everyday acts, such as the maintenance of W50 trucks, and the global cause of anti-imperialism. In its struggle for the honorary title, the friendship brigade “Comandante Bula,” also named after a victim of the coup, accordingly argued: “His name is honor and obligation to us. [...] But the disputes continue. [...] The support which we can offer to the country [of Angola], is to guarantee the operability of the agrarian technology in our province.”⁷¹

The internationalist role of the brigades was further reflected by the diaries in the frequent exchanges with Soviet, Bulgarian, or Vietnamese personnel next to the dominating Cuban presence.⁷² The collectives of internationalists shared

67 “Information über den Aufenthalt einer Delegation des Zentralrates der FDJ in der VR Angola vom 25.10. – 2.11.1989,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/14424”. For a contribution on Angolan students in the GDR see Marcia C. Schenck, “Negotiating the German Democratic Republic: Angolan Student Migration During the Cold War, 1976 – 90,” *Africa* 89 (2019).

68 “Jugenddelegation bei Automobilwerken,” *Neues Deutschland*, March 8, 1980, 2.

69 “HOJI YA HENDA – Der 14. April”; “Hoji Ya Henda würdige Verteidigung des Ehrennamens,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

70 Paul Fauvet, “Angola: the Rise and Fall of Nito Alves,” *Review of African Political Economy* 9 (1977): 101. An Angolan student association was named after “Commandante Dangereux” as well.

71 “Dieser Name ist für uns Ehre und Verpflichtung zugleich. [...] Aber die Auseinandersetzungen gehen weiter. [...] Die Unterstützung die wir dem Land geben können, ist die Gewährleistung der landwirtschaftlichen Technik in unserer Provinz.” “Kampf um Ehrentitel,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

72 Concerning the Cuban presence see Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom*.

extensive social contacts of friendly visits or good-spirited sports competitions,⁷³ for example marking the International Worker's Day as a globalized event now also linked to anti-colonialist causes.⁷⁴ Beyond these official expressions of friendship with Angolans and internationalists emphasizing a common sense of mission,⁷⁵ the brigade diaries also occasionally mentioned more "spontaneous" and "surprising" get-togethers, implicitly giving accounts of their usually structured, mediated, and planned character:⁷⁶ "On the eve of January 22, where actually nothing special was going on, ten youth friends of the JMPLA suddenly came to us [...]. They brought tapes with Angolan music with them and asked us to play those for them as they didn't have a cassette deck. [...] For us it was interesting as well to get to know the Angolan folk, *Schlager* pop songs and rock music for once."

These types of diary entries always referred to the brigade as a whole, while individual members only featured as representatives of a larger collective and its common struggle. This was because of fundamental collectivist orientations in GDR society,⁷⁷ but also due to their nature as collectively produced sources for the perusal of a limited public. This collectivist rather than individualized framing, with its most direct expression in the almost exclusive use of "we" throughout the respective articles, was reinforced by the fact that the brigade members spent their free time mostly together due to constantly bemoaned language barrier as well as concerns of political control among the GDR authorities and security risks.⁷⁸

At the same time, the sources omit mentioning more informal encounters between the brigade members and the Angolan counterparts or other internation-

73 "Eine schöne Aufgabe – Jugendklub der JMPLA 'Ché-Guevarra,'" SAPMO-BArch DY 24/20213; "Unser Klubleben," SAPMO-BArch DY 24/20213; "Cabambe – Hier treffen sich Freunde," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129; "Protest," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

74 "1. Mai 1983 in Sumbe," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215; "66. Jahrestag der Oktoberrevolution 1917," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

75 "KAMPFPROGRAMM zur Führung des sozialistischen Wettbewerbs der FDJ-Freundschaftsbrigade Lobito im 9. Einsatzjahr 1985/86 in der VR Angola," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20214.

76 "Am Abend des 22. Januar, wo eigentlich nichts besonderes los war, kamen plötzlich 10 Jugendfreunde der JMPLA zu uns [...]. Sie brachten einige Kassetten mit angolanscher Musik mit und baten uns, diese für sie abzuspielen, da sie kein Kassettengerät hätten. [...] Es war auch für uns interessant mal die angolansche Volksmusik, Schlager und Rockmusik kennen zu lernen." *Schlager* is a sub-genre of German popular music, dealing with romantic themes and often delving into exoticism. "Ein unerwartet schöner Abend," SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20123.

77 See Thomas Reichel, *Sozialistisch arbeiten, lernen und leben: die Brigadebewegung in der DDR (1959–1989)* (Köln: Böhlau, 2011), 287–294; Mählerl and Stephan, *Blaue Hemden*, 213–216.

78 Harisch, "East German Friendship Brigades."

alists beyond the recourse to official socialist group encounters. The Angolan addressees of East German solidarity mostly appeared in the diaries as willing apprentices of East German skills in the workplace and political activists in socialist organizations. Apart from the bestowal of individual honorary titles, namely for the “best Angolan colleagues” of the month, the Angolan contacts were subsumed under amorphous abbreviations and collective descriptions such as “the JMPLA,” “Angolan friends,” or just as “Angolans.”

Given that unofficial contacts, not to speak of intimate relationships, were discouraged by the SED functionaries who ran the operational command in Luanda, and probably the brigade leaders in each brigade as well, they would not have been included in the *Tagebücher*. This lack of reports on individual encounters underlines the impression of the tight rigidity of the *Brigaden*’s officially acceptable (inter)actions. Entries on festivities to official occasions do, however, often hint to more informal possibilities “to cement the friendship” usually during or after banquets.⁷⁹

The Exercise of Solidarity: Seeing like a Brigadist

The reports in the diaries presented in the chapter above reflected the brigade collectives’ mission of “enacting solidarity”:⁸⁰ the diaries immediately connected work duties with the struggle of the MPLA for a socialist society in the official affirmative reports of solidarity. However, the reports written from a stronger personal perspective in the focus of this chapter went beyond the officialized solidarity discourse—and possibly cliché. While the section above was seeing with us like an East German state,⁸¹ this one seeks to source the visions of solidarity of individual *Brigadisten*.

The *Brigadisten* themselves still dedicated the most space and reflection on their daily work and its impact, which stressed a practical interpretation of the brigades’ presence. The *Brigadisten* frequently identified material shortages or technical difficulties as the ultimate challenges to “modernization” in Angola.⁸²

79 “Zweiter Sanza Pombo Report,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

80 “Es lebe der proletarische Internationalismus! Es lebe unsere Freundschaft!” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

81 James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

82 “Meine Arbeit in der Küche!,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

This reflects a rather technocratic understanding of their contribution as well as the fact that such language could serve as a safeguard against the shallows of political phrasing. In this context, the brigade members sought to stimulate technical innovations by giving *Neuerervorschläge*, “innovation proposals” common in the GDR, to overcome specific technical problems.⁸³ The so-called “innovators’ movement” (*Neuererbewegung*), as an official GDR policy and means to get extra payments for successful innovations,⁸⁴ aimed at promoting individual initiatives to increase economic productivity. Transplanting this “movement” to Angola was an attempt to export characteristic means of East German work organization.⁸⁵ The innovation proposals documented in the diaries reflected understandings of standardized and regularized work organization and the assumed possibility to directly transfer them to war-torn Angola as well.⁸⁶

As such work processes were described in great detail throughout the diaries,⁸⁷ the Germans perceived “creativity” and “ingenuity” as their most important qualities: their individual initiative and readiness to take inconvenient steps were presented as indispensable assets within the Angolan context. The *Brigadisten* understood this set of skills and qualities as honed in the GDR in response to material shortages and technological deficiencies. They assumed that they could make use of these skills in the Angolan economy, in their view characterized by similar problems. Both the assumption of ingenuity as a typical East German skill as well as the link drawn between the economic conditions illustrate how the experiences in Angola illuminated the own background of the *Brigadisten* to them and how they deduced their role in Angola from it.

Through their day-to-day work in the car workshops, repair missions for coffee harvesting machines, and in vocational training, the *Brigadisten* were sure to not only achieve tangible economic progress but also directly impact their Angolan partners: “Our work did not only have statistical value but had an absolutely

83 “Bericht über die Verwirklichung des Neuerervorschlages ‘Wie kann unser Waschautomat ständig und zu jeder Zeit genutzt werden,’” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20123; “Ein Vorschlag zum Neuererwesen,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

84 *FDGB-Lexikon*, s.v. “Neuererbewegung,” Berlin 2009, accessed August 8, 2020, <http://library.fes.de/FDGB-Lexikon/texte/sachteil/n/Neuererbewegung.html>.

85 Inge Tvedten, *Angola: Struggle for Peace and Reconstruction* (Boulder: Westview, 1997), 70–77; see also M. R. Bhagavan, “Establishing the Conditions for Socialism: The Case of Angola,” in *Africa: Problems in the Transition to Socialism*, ed. Barry Munslow (London: Zed, 1986).

86 “Packen wir es an es gibt viel zu tun,” “Einige Gedanken zu den Ergebnissen unserer Zusammenarbeit mit Enama; Unsere Werkstatt,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20123.

87 “Die Kaffeeschälanlage in Puri,” “Aktion Sanza Bombo vom 19. – 22.9.1982,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20123.

real effect for our Angolan friends.”⁸⁸ In this context, the brigade members understood themselves as irreplaceable mentors: “Who but us could attend to that work?”⁸⁹ Thereby, the East Germans positioned themselves as “benefactor” of the Angolans, since the former presented themselves as the bearers of further progressed knowledge to be passed on to the Angolan colleagues. The aim was for the Angolans to pick up the East German dedication to work to “raise the individual responsibility and interest in participation,” as one *Brigadist* described the mission.⁹⁰ The Angolan co-workers were generally assumed to be willing learners, but still lacking these necessary qualities so that “responsibilities [could] only slowly be transferred.”⁹¹ In this way the *Brigadisten* also legitimized their continued presence. The *Brigadisten’s* focus on the dissemination of knowledge and their positioning as educators of the Angolans highlights the projection of inequality and hierarchization in supposedly horizontal solidarity relations.⁹²

The focus on practical work, still communicated within the collective as common and shared experiences, was supplemented by broader reflections of the individual *Brigadisten* on their own “African adventure,”⁹³ as it was an extraordinary privilege for GDR citizens to travel overseas.⁹⁴ The exoticist expectations of *Brigadisten*⁹⁵ reporting on their first day in Angola were, however, reliably curbed by impressions of dirt, the staggeringly frequent mention of which speaks to the anticipation of an unspoiled “Africa” (but possibly also of their lacking prep-

88 “Zweiter Sanza Pombo Report,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

89 “Zweiter Sanza Pombo Report,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

90 “Einige Gedanken zu den Ergebnissen unserer Zusammenarbeit mit Enama,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20123.

91 “Unsere Werkstatt,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20123.

92 To a large extent, the idea of international solidarity in the GDR was based on the assumption of a shared opposition between East Germans and their partners in solidarity against global forces, such as imperialism. From this perspective, the hierarchized understanding of solidarity seems ill-fitting. On the other hand, solidarity has been described as a contradictory concept, which could also include the connection to a group perceived as different, or in need, finding an expression in humanitarian action. While not represented to a large extent in the GDR’s solidarity discourse, the perspectives of the *Brigadisten* rather have their roots in the latter form. See Kurt Bayertz, *Solidarität: Begriff und Problem* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1998), 49.

93 “Meine Einreise in die VR Angola und die Fahrt nach Uíge,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

94 “Aus dem täglichen Leben der FDJ-Freundschaftsbrigade Gabela,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215; “Exkursion nach Massangano,” “Erste Eindrücke,” SAPMO-BArch DY 24/19129.

95 The expectations communicated in such reports, which come close to travelogues, had been co-shaped by East German media coverage. For an analysis of the projections by a prominent East German journalist, see Bodie’s contribution in this volume.

aration or German babbitttry).⁹⁶ As one brigade member observed: “The capital of Angola made a very depressing impression on me, since everything was still different as I had imagined. [...] I spent three days in Luanda and slowly got used to half-finished houses, ever changing scents, and auto wrecks along the roads.”⁹⁷

Similarly, the misery observed among Angolans was addressed throughout the diaries, raising the awareness of “how much help this country needed to eliminate all the poverty still present.”⁹⁸ This writer’s explicit disgust with the presence of “shoe shine boys” is telling because their service represented to him the continuation of exploitative economic structures in a post-colonial setting. As it was not possible to criticize the MPLA’s nascent socialism, such continuing deficiencies were understood and presented as remnants of capitalism or neo-colonialism.

Indeed, the writers of the *Brigadetagebücher* often pointed to Angolan “backwardness,” “ignorance,” and even “darkness” in opposition to East German progress showcasing how myriad forms of hierarchical thinking were beneath the language of solidarity.⁹⁹ Adopting the anti-colonial discourse common in the GDR, they located the causes of these miseries in the legacies of Portuguese colonial rule. These were discovered and discussed by the *Brigadisten* in reports on excursions to the splendor of churches, graveyards, or resorts of the colonial era juxtaposed with concrete impressions of hardships, for example in leprosy villages. Reassuringly, these contradictions were about to be overcome by the MPLA state with the active support of the *Brigaden* themselves.¹⁰⁰

Against the backdrop of their perceptions of Angolan “backwardness,” many writers in the *Tagebücher* expressed their own humanitarian concern and desires

96 “Anleitung in Bezug auf Sauberkeit und Hygiene,” “Neu in N’Dalatando,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129; The term babbitttry refers to a kind of narrow-minded self-satisfaction with an unthinking attachment to middle-class values and materialism after the main character in Sinclair Lewis’ novel *Babbitt*.

97 “Die Hauptstadt Angolas macht einen sehr deprimierenden Eindruck auf mich, weil alles noch anders war, wie ich es mir vorgestellt hatte. [...] Mit diesen Eindrücken verbrachte ich drei Tage in Luanda und gewöhnte mich langsam an halbfertige Häuser, ständig wechselnde Gerüche und Autowracks am Straßenrand.” “Erste Eindrücke,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129. Next to the here mentioned smell the unpunctuality of life in Angola was another frequently invoked negative impression.

98 “Meine Einreise in die VR Angola und die Fahrt nach Uíge,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213.

99 “Meine Einreise in die VR Angola und die Fahrt nach Uíge,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20213; “Hospitation in der Patenklasse,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20214; “O.M.A. Die Teilnahme der angolanischen Frau an den Aufgaben der Revolution,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

100 “Hospitation in der Patenklasse,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20214; “Stadtrundfahrt in Luanda,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

to relieve Angolans from the starkest effects of poverty. The occasions of such reflections were found in the handover of donations, for example of clothes collected in the GDR, collective work services, or visits to partner classes in Angolan schools. The *Brigadisten* showered neighboring children, clothed them or fed them with German-style sandwiches (*Stullen*).¹⁰¹ Individual brigade members thereby set up their own “aid projects” reflective of their self-image as benefactors. This certainly attests to the potential for independent positioning among brigade members.

Despite the fact that individual *Brigadisten* put their own emphases in their activities, the personal reflections in the *Brigadetagebücher* expectedly did not criticize the politics of GDR solidarity. The Angolan partners were not directly criticized either. Their praise, for example of the “open atmosphere” in Angolan political conventions, is telling, however. It points to the opinion of individual *Brigadisten* that such a spirit was lacking in their own organization.¹⁰²

The futility of relief as well as work efforts,¹⁰³ not least due to the lack of supplies, found frequent expression in the diaries. Open dissatisfaction and doubts seemed acceptable in a context that explicitly subscribed to the pursuit of solidarity duties and their insufficient fulfillment. Brigade members, the initially quoted poet Rudi among them, often criticized the lack of spare parts. The expressions of discontent even extended to direct, collectively voiced criticism of the organizational priorities among superiors. This was the case when assigned tasks did not seem to align with the brigades’ central objective and their Angolan partners’ assumed main interest to maintain trucks: “One was not pleased, however, that just in the last week of our deployment [...] a part of our *Brigadisten* was kept from repairing the ENAMA trucks. [...] Whether this was actually necessary? On whose costs is surely beyond question—isn’t it???”¹⁰⁴

101 “1. Juni 1983,” SAPMO-BArch DY 24/20215; “Kinderfest auf unserer Basis,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129; see also “Aus dem täglichen Leben der FDJ-Freundschaftsbrigade Gabela,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

102 “Gewerkschaftsversammlung mit der UNTA,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

103 “Gedanken zum Weltgesundheitstag am 7. April 1983,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215, “Werkstattkollegen August und Manuel,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215.

104 Please note the use of the German neuter pronoun in this case of collectively voiced criticism. “Nicht erfreut war man jedoch das ausgerechnet in der letzten Woche unseres Einsatzes [eine Maßnahme] einen Teil unserer Brigadisten von Reparaturen [...] fernhielt. [...] Ob das wohl nötig war? Auf wessen Kosten wohl steht außer Frage – oder???” “Kraftakt – auf wessen Kosten???” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215. The *Empresa Nacional e Mecanização Agrícola* (ENAMA), National Enterprise for the Mechanization of Agriculture, was the brigades’ economic partner.

Conclusion

The diaries reflect a variety of “socialist encounters” between the *Freundschaftsbrigaden* and their Angolan colleagues or political partners as well as their consequences. Within this context, this contribution has focused on the expressed subjectivities of the *Brigadisten*, presenting a range of perspectives originating in solidarity conceptions common in the GDR, but also emerging from their experiences on the spot in their temporary Angolan workplaces. Overall, the individual reflections of *Brigadisten* on their service were shaped by their emphasis on the impact of their work and on their position mediating the technologies to overcome the assumed “ignorance” of the Angolan society as well as relieving Angolans of crass expressions of misery.

The *Brigadisten* believed it their mission to help “modernize” a MPLA-ruled Angola along socialist lines. Regarding their work assignments, they emphasized skills and concrete techniques of management known from the GDR as solutions to be adopted and adapted in the nascent socialist economy of Angola. In their living environments, the *Brigadisten* were acutely unsettled by the encountered social realities of Angolan life in response to which they spontaneously took on the responsibility to provide aid, for example through concrete humanitarian action. Such relief efforts as well as the fact that the *Brigadisten* saw themselves as “agents of modernization” at the workplace reaffirmed hierarchical relations between the East German benefactors and their supposedly dependent beneficiaries. This stood in an uneasy relationship with the equality proclaimed as a basic principle of solidarity by the GDR’s leadership, but can still be rooted within the contradictory implications of the solidarity concept.¹⁰⁵

Schematic portrayals of their Angolan counterparts remained prevalent in the “diaries.” These sources therefore are in many instances of limited use to understand the reciprocal effects of the relations; in their unilateral nature they mostly hint at certain entanglements. Moving on from this study, it would be crucial to find ways to account for the question of how African actors (re)produced, reflected, and rejected specific perspectives on solidarity relations in co-dependence and interaction with their Eastern “friends,” whom they often located in the global North given their relative wealth.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Bayertz, *Solidarität*, 49.

¹⁰⁶ The impressions of Angolans and Mozambicans studying in the GDR are emphasized in Marcia C. Schenck, “A Chronology of Nostalgia: Memories of Former Angolan and Mozambican Worker Trainees to East Germany,” *Labor History* 59 (2018): 1.

Still, despite their imbalances and limitations in portraying African actors and dynamics of entanglements, the sources give a clear indication of the positioning of the East German *Brigadisten*. The image of the Angolan realities presented in the diaries positively reflected on the GDR through the lens of solidarity. The service in Angola had the potential to stabilize the East German order in the minds of *Brigadisten* since Angolan misery proved to them how much material progress had already been achieved in the GDR, for example in the social sector: “Our life and our work in a developing country is instructive to us all and fills us with gratitude and recognition of our socialist health care and its achievements.”¹⁰⁷

Yet, the brigade members did not present themselves as actors in a pressing ideological confrontation—although correspondent reflections on anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism would have seemed self-evident concerns in the context of the internationalized civil war in Angola. Whereas Toni Weis identifies a “politics machine” at work in the GDR’s solidarity discourse and practices, the diary entries of the *Brigadisten* do not transmit an explicitly “politicized” understanding or ideologized expressions of their activities, focusing on actual mechanics of aid instead. The GDR leadership’s official politicized statements of solidarity co-existed with the brigade members’ emphasis on managing the concrete challenges to (socialist) modernization. Thereby, they established their own “working misunderstanding” within the structure of the *Freundschaftsbrigaden*, accommodating quite different emphases in interpretations of the GDR’s role in Angola, even if both were within the scope of international solidarity at large.

The brigade members’ assumed role as agents of modernization partly confirms Westad’s emphasis on interventions in the name of modernization as a useful frame for the interpretation of the global Cold War. The diaries do, however, challenge Westad’s focus on pronouncedly ideological, that is explicitly political, interpretations of such modernization and, by consequence, diminish the importance of competition with its capitalist or imperialist variation for the case of the *Brigadisten*. Although it was a self-evident opportunity to fill the space of the “diaries” with cliché phrases of anti-imperialism, the *Brigadisten* did not engage in political rhetoric.¹⁰⁸ Rather, their writing highlights the impact of a “de-

107 “Unser Leben und unsere Arbeit in einem Entwicklungsland ist für uns alle sehr lehrreich u. erfüllt uns mit Dank u. Anerkennung für unser sozialistisches Gesundheitswesen und seine Errungenschaften.” “Gedanken zum Weltgesundheitstag am 7. April 1983,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/20215; “Tag des Gesundheitswesens,” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

108 While it is certainly hardly possible to interpret ‘modernization’ with its baked-in teleology and aspirations in non-ideological terms and thereby extract ideology from it, my argument is

velopmentalist paradigm” understood as a “humanitarian mission of modernization” as the guiding interpretation of their experiences in the postcolonial world.¹⁰⁹ In this spirit, the brigade poet Rudi concluded the typical brigade member’s accomplishments relating to their perceived modernizing as well as humanitarian mission to the occasion of their “disentanglement,” their heaving out:

*Du lerntest wahre Not erkennen,
warst stets bereit Dich zu bekennen.
Tratst ein für Fortschritt und Verstand,
und gabst dein Wissen unverwandt.*

You came to see real distress,
you were ever ready to profess.
You stood up for progress and reason.
and steadfastly, you gave your ken.¹¹⁰

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that the expressly ideological conflict of the Cold War played a diminished role in this case. For the relevant take on modernization, please see Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 113–149.

109 For the establishment of this paradigm see Katrina M. Hagen, “Internationalism in Cold War Germany,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2008), 42.

110 “Abschied von N’dalantando!” SAPMO-BArch, DY 24/19129.

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The Use of Private Photographs in the Context of GDR Memory and Beyond

Katrin Bahr

As the Second World War came to an end, African colonies underwent tremendous political, social, and economic changes. The colonial powers Great Britain and France saw their economic base severely weakened after the Second World War, as newly founded liberation movements in those colonies began to revolt against their colonial rulers. As a result, most of the formerly colonized African countries achieved independence during the 1960s. Each state, however, faced similar problems in its attempt to overcome colonial legacies and to implement well-suited political systems. While few African countries consciously chose a capitalist path, many African governments at least theoretically pursued one form or another of socialism—derived from the assumption that capitalism was an extension of colonialism and imperialism.¹ Socialism, therefore, was seen as a way to achieve liberation and future development.

Beginning with the armed struggle in 1964, it took the liberation movement *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO) until 1975 to achieve political independence in Mozambique. While British and French colonies followed a classic “neocolonial solution,” Portugal remained uncompromising and refused to surrender its colonies.² Following the Carnation Revolution in Portugal in April 1974, and the uprising in the other Portuguese colonies Angola and Guinea-Bissau, the colonial power was now unwilling and felt increasingly unable to retain its grip on power; ultimately, this condition, paired with FRELIMO’s struggle for independence, resulted in the sovereignty of Mozambique on June 25, 1975. Though Portugal’s presence in Mozambique was limited to the coastlines and specific trade routes in the hinterland for many centuries, the colonized had suffered greatly under the Portuguese, including from the exploitation of its people and resources to other foreign interests; forced labor and slavery, underdevelopment in the agricultural and economic sectors, illiteracy, malnutri-

¹ Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), 3; Bruce R. Bartlett, “Capitalism in Africa: A Survey,” *The Journal of Developing Areas* 24 (1990).

² John S. Saul, *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985), 9.

tion, tribalism, and racism had turned Mozambique into one of the poorest African countries.³

The experience of Portuguese colonialism, marked by economic exploitation, and the foreseen threat of neighboring anti-communist countries, led FRELIMO to direct its political mission towards socialist countries and to establish a “Socialism with a Mozambican face.”⁴ One of FRELIMO’s allies was the German Democratic Republic (GDR)—which, due to the West German Hallstein Doctrine, itself struggled for state recognition since 1955. First contacts between the GDR’s ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) and FRELIMO were established in the 1960s when the East German government agreed to train Mozambican FRELIMO fighters in the GDR, financed by the Solidarity Committee of the GDR.⁵ Additionally, a handful of East German specialists⁶ were sent to Mozambique to teach in the camps of FRELIMO.⁷ The exodus of Portuguese settlers on the eve of Mozambique’s political independence left the country devastated with neither trained personnel nor the infrastructure and technical equipment to reconstruct its economy. Based on the cordial relations established during FRELIMO’s liberation struggle, the SED government intensified its collaboration with Mozambique. Those first socialist encounters led to the signing of the Treaty of Friendship (*Freundschaftsvertrag*) on February 24, 1979.⁸ Furthermore, they strengthened the relations between the two countries and paved the way for thousands of East German specialists and their families who would visit the country over the next ten years.⁹ In the GDR’s official discourse, these specialists arrived under the prospect of international solidarity. As a concept, international solid-

3 Saul, *A Difficult Road*, 36–48; Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 3, 27–60.

4 Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 3; Saul, *A Difficult Road*, 9–31.

5 See Ilona Schleicher, “Berufsbildung und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen der DDR-Mosambik,” in *Engagiert für Afrika: Die DDR und Afrika II*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden, Ilona Schleicher, and Hans-Georg Schleicher (Münster: Lit, 1994), 179–180; Hans-Georg Schleicher, “The German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa,” in *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents, 1960–1994*, ed. A. J. Temu and Joel das Neves Tembe (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2014), 507–598.

6 In the bureaucratic jargon of the GDR, the term specialist (*Spezialist*) referred to citizens working abroad.

7 Matthias Voß, “Um de nós – einer von uns! Gespräch mit Achim Kindler, der als Lehrer im Auftrag des Solidaritätskomitees der DDR als erster DDR-Bürger bei der FRELIMO arbeitete,” in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen! Die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005), 34–46.

8 Schleicher, “Berufsbildung und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen DDR-Mosambik,” 179–195.

9 For more information on the negotiations of the contract labor accord between the GDR and Mozambique and the sending of Mozambican contract workers (*Vertragsarbeiter*) to the GDR see Franziska Rantzsch in this volume.

arity was seen as the counter-project to the Western understanding of development aid, and was interpreted as a relationship among equals; “instead of continuity with the past, it emphasized rupture; instead of otherness, likeness; instead of differentiation, integration; and instead of continuing subjugation, political emancipation.”¹⁰ Depending on the work assignments, East German specialists remained in Mozambique for a period of six months to three years, and were deployed across the country, with the majority living in the capital Maputo.¹¹ Beyond their solidarity, GDR citizens brought their technical knowledge—occupations ranged from railway engineers, mechanics, and bricklayers to teachers, doctors, and geologists. Equipped with their cameras, East Germans took snapshots both at their workplaces and in their domestic environments. Largely, though, the people who took these private photographs were amateurs in our current understanding of the word.

While scholars became increasingly interested in the foreign policy of the GDR in the early 1990s, most of the resulting research remained limited to the political and economic sphere.¹² More recent studies have begun to look at the everyday life experiences of East Germans, focusing on the working and living conditions abroad and the collaborations with their respective counterparts.¹³

10 Toni Weis, “The Politics Machine: On the Concept of ‘Solidarity’ in East German Support for SWAPO,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37 (2011).

11 They were divided into three groups: *Reisekader* (short-term deployment up to six months and business trips), *Auslandskader* (long-term deployment up to three years), and *FDJ-Brigadisten* (young people from the Free German Youth Brigades, the official youth organization of the GDR). Only the *Auslandskader* and sometimes also the FDJ brigade leaders were allowed to bring along their families (with restriction). See also Jens Niederhut, *Die Reisekader: Auswahl und Disziplinierung einer privilegierten Minderheit in der DDR* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005) and Informationen über das Kollektiv der DDR-Bürger in der VRM, Botschaft der DDR in der VRM, Maputo 5.7.1989, Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, Berlin (henceforth: SAPMO-BArch), DY 30/14095.

12 Some pioneering works worth mentioning are Siegfried Baske and Gottfried Zieger, *Die Dritte Welt und die beiden Staaten in Deutschland* (Asperg: Edition Meyn, 1983); Gareth M. Winrow, *The Foreign Policy of the GDR in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ilona Schleicher and Hans-Georg Schleicher, *Die DDR im südlichen Afrika: Solidarität und Kalter Krieg* (Hamburg: Institut für Afrikakunde, 1997).

13 Iris Christina Obernhummer, “Experten der ‘wissenschaftlich-technischen Zusammenarbeit’ der DDR in Afrika: Alltag und Lebensweisen zwischen DDR-Richtlinien und angespannter Sicherheitslage in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren” (diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2010); Hubertus Büschel, *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe: Deutsche Entwicklungsarbeit in Afrika 1960–1975* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2014); Alexandra Piepiorka, “Exploring ‘Socialist Solidarity’ in Higher Education: East German Advisors in Post-Independence Mozambique (1975–1992),” in *Education and Development in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa, Global Histories of Education: Policies, Para-*

Edited volumes that include interviews with former specialists about their experiences in Mozambique established another narrative of the GDR's participation in Africa.¹⁴ Researchers became increasingly interested in the visual representation of everyday life within the GDR, but have not yet looked across the borders of the nation state. While researchers have begun to discuss the representation of international solidarity in official state photographs,¹⁵ scholars have yet to make use of private photographs taken by East Germans documenting socialist encounters, solidarity, and the everyday life in African and other non-European countries.

In this chapter, I show that private photographs are documents of vital importance for the discussion of the GDR's participation in development activities abroad, and, more specifically for this work, in Mozambique. Firstly, private photographs give insights into the different lives of East Germans and their individual interactions and entanglements with Mozambicans. They combine a personal-political message of the state and the photographer's own endeavor to apply international solidarity in that moment and space. The everyday life (*Alltagsleben*)¹⁶ that East Germans experienced abroad contrasted with their lives in the GDR. Importantly, the private pictures that East Germans took serve as a counter narrative to the existing photographs of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst* (ADN)—the main state news agency that published its photographs in various newspapers and magazines.¹⁷ While most of the official photographs only portray the (overwhelmingly male) specialists at work, the private photographs, in contrast, portray a number of aspects of the everyday life abroad that were usually absent in the state-official portrayals. In this context, a more gendered

digms, and Entanglements, 1890s–1980s, ed. Damiano Matasci et al. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 289–318; Alexandra Piepiorka and Eduardo F. Buanaissa, this volume.

¹⁴ Two edited volumes should be mentioned here: Matthias Voß, *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen! Die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten* (Münster: Lit, 2005); Hans-Joachim Döring and Uta Rüchel, *Freundschaftsbande und Beziehungskisten: Die Afrikapolitik der DDR und der BRD gegenüber Mosambik* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes und Apsel, 2005).

¹⁵ Büschel, *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe*, 271–274; Gregory Witkowski, “Between Fighter and Beggars,” in *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 73–94.

¹⁶ Alf Lüdtke, *Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2018 [1989]), 21.

¹⁷ Photographs addressing the development of African countries can be found in the daily newspapers *Neues Deutschland* (ND) and *Junge Welt* (JW), and the weekly magazine for international politics *Horizont*, *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* (NBI) and the illustrated magazine for women *Für Dich*.

perspective becomes visible. Crucially, the pictures illuminate the various roles of women within the concept of international solidarity and their participation in the preservation of a Eurocentric idea at home. Women are portrayed organizing solidarity bazaars with other socialist countries and undertaking leisurely activities such as knitting *Macramé* (a knitting technique to create wall hangings, tablecloths, and other home furnishings). And finally, while those photographs are private snapshots, they also show how colonial structures were perpetuated by the concept of solidarity. The photographs highlight that the state ideology of anti-racism and anti-colonialism did not hold off the white male gaze but rather assumed a certain superiority towards their subjects of interest.

To substantiate my claims, I will first explore the meaning of photography as a medium that reflects on *Alltagsleben*. In this context, it is important to examine the various genres of photography that were used in the GDR in order to be able to embed private photographs in the broader discourse of GDR amateur photography and its representation of GDR culture. Secondly, I will discuss the representation of East German specialists and their Mozambican counterparts in official state photographs and how those photographs were connected to the understanding of international solidarity and the GDR's state mission. Having set the foundation for the use of photographs to discuss the GDR's involvement in Africa, I will then analyze the meaning of private photographs. During a research trip to Germany in 2016, I received over 2,000 photographs from my German interview partners who were on long-term deployment in Mozambique in the 1980s. Most of these photos came without caption and can therefore only be discussed on an image-based analysis. The photographs discussed in this chapter all appear with context provided by my interview partners—as such, a text-based analysis accompanies these photos. The historical contribution of the aforementioned interviews, however, has to be evaluated critically as they constitute constructions of memories that partly aim to justify one's own action.¹⁸

Moreover, I discuss photographs of two travel reports published by GDR specialists working in Mozambique during the 1980s. In my analysis, I differentiate between work and leisure time, and show the personal lens East Germans applied when taking photographs. Importantly, I will also include the types of representation of East German women in those pictures. In closing, I trace colonial continuities in both the official and private photographs I have analyzed.

18 Cf. Piepiorka and Buanaiassa, this volume.

Photographs as a Medium to Document *Alltagsleben*

The use of photography as a medium for documenting everyday life creates a relationship between those people who take and those who view photographs. Pictures taken with a camera are socially distinct objects that exist and interact in a certain time and space, moving between the past and the present, and therefore reflect on the social and cultural experiences of the photographers. They tell stories that are carried on visually and orally. Photographs are social objects that have a certain effect in conveying the stories and experiences of the photographers and incorporate real-life experiences, biographical narratives, and agency.¹⁹

In evaluating East German photographs, researchers have mainly focused on the artistic or professional photography produced of the SED government.²⁰ Studies on amateur photographs as part of the state's project mostly refer to the pictures of *Betriebsfotogruppen*, photographic circles which operated in many state-owned companies abbreviated *VEBs* (*Volkseigene Betriebe*).²¹ In the 1950s it was the German Cultural Association (*Deutscher Kulturbund*) and the Free German Trade Union Confederation (*Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, aka FDGB), which tried to establish amateur photography (*Hobbyfotografie*) as part of "photo work in the service of socialism,"—a classification that was consequently meant to also control its people.²² In her book *Greif zur Kamera, Kumpel!*, cultural historian Regine Schiermeyer points out that in the eyes of the GDR

19 Elizabeth Edwards, "Photography and the Material Performance of the Past," *History and Theory* 48 (2009); Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, "Introduction: Photographs as Objects," in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2010); Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003), 85; Tina M. Camp, *Image Matter: Archive, Photography, and the African Diaspora in Europe* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2012), 6–7.

20 One of the most recent publications is Candice Hamelin's dissertation "Behind Immaterial and Material Divides: East German Photography 1949–1989" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2016).

21 Regine Schiermeyer, *Greif Zur Kamera, Kumpel! Die Geschichte der Betriebsfotogruppen in der DDR* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2015), 165–166.

22 Karin Hartewig, "Einleitung," in *Die DDR im Bild: Zum Gebrauch der Fotografie im anderen deutschen Staat*, ed. Karin Hartewig and Alf Lüdtke (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), 10. For a short overview about the *Kulturbund* see also Kurt Ludwig, "Zwischen Anspruch und Anpassung: Der Kulturbund im kulturellen Alltag der DDR," in *Die DDR zwischen Mauerbau und Mauerfall*, ed. Heiner Timmermann (Münster: Lit, 2003), 126–138.

state, amateur photography was an “organized hobby photography with an artistic claim.”²³ According to cultural historian Karin Hartewig, the state differentiated between “serious amateur photographers” (*ernsthafte Amateure*) and “unreflective amateur photographers” (*gedankenlose Knipser*), who took pictures for their own private use.²⁴ The state, however, was more interested in the “serious amateur photographers” who took pictures for their *Brigadetagebücher*, the brigade journals that documented the work of the brigade collective.²⁵ In contrast to official GDR photographers, the so-called “unreflective amateur photographers” were those who took photographs without a primarily socialist intention, and whose pictures were therefore considered meaningless products.

Researchers have maintained the division between professional and amateur photographs in so far that the former are embedded in the narrative of presumed socialist success and achievement.²⁶ But it was the “unreflective amateur photographers” who provided their own projections, with niches and forms of expression becoming increasingly important. Art historian Catherine Zuromski defines these private photographs as snapshots that do not belong to a clearly defined genre. A “subjective purity” differentiates them from other photographic genres and challenges the notion of a defined style or convention of any kind based on the plentiful number of photographs and the paradoxes they present.²⁷ In the case of the GDR, those pictures are individual, non-normative, and unexpected, therefore, in complete contrast to the regime of control and standardization that the East German regime implemented. What makes them so interesting, moreover, is that they are not professionally shot rather sometimes blurred or improperly exposed. Most important is the setting in which they are “viewed, touched, framed, exchanged, discussed, remembered, collected, and, on certain occasions, defaced.”²⁸ By embedding them into social conventions and cultural patterns, the photographs document special events within the sphere of the individual, the family, or immediate relatives and friends. They follow a chronology

23 Schiermeyer, *Greif zur Kamera, Kumpel!*, 12.

24 Hartewig, “Einleitung,” 10.

25 See Gerhard Henniger, *Zur gesellschaftlichen Wirksamkeit der Amateurfotografie in der DDR: Hinweise und Erfahrungen* (Berlin: Dt. Kulturbund, 1965), 5–6. *Brigadetagebücher* were also kept abroad by the friendship brigades of the FDJ working in African countries like Mali, Guinea, Zanzibar, and Angola. On the *Brigadetagebücher* of various friendship brigades working in Angola see Paul Sprute in this volume.

26 Hartewig, “Einleitung,” 11.

27 Catherine Zuromski, *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2013), 8–9.

28 Zuromski, *Snapshot Photography*, 48.

that reveals the everyday life of the photographers and the people being photographed.

The Power of Images: Official State Photographs

In a 1988 interview conducted with the *Horizont*— a weekly magazine reporting on international politics and economy—Kurt Seibt, chairman of the Central Revision Commission of the SED and Chairman of the Solidarity Committee of the GDR, spoke about the importance of promoting solidarity with other peoples and nations. While the GDR already had a history of almost three decades of solidarity aid in African, Latin American, and Asian countries, Seibt stressed the continuing effort to anchor the idea of solidarity with those countries in the consciousness of the East German population. Although a continuous increase in public donations was fundamental to the solidarity campaigns, it was also considered important “that the unifying idea of solidarity is supported in all collectives and in all families. This is even more effective [...] when we bring our citizens closer to the struggle, the suffering and hopes of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.”²⁹ In this sense, photographs became an important part in showing the struggle in those countries firsthand.³⁰

Besides depicting poverty and destruction in the aforementioned regions,— which Susan Sontag describes as a “gazing on other people’s reality with curiosity but also detachment”—these photographs also highlighted East German accomplishments.³¹ Showing one’s own accomplishment was not a new concept and had already accompanied the intrusion of Europeans before the advent of colonialism.³² In this context, photography was used as a tool “through which

29 “[...] dass die völkerverbindende Idee der Solidarität in alle Kollektive, in alle Familien getragen wird. Das wird um so wirkungsvoller gelingen, [...] wenn wir unseren Bürgern den Kampf, das Leid und die Hoffnungen der Menschen Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas nahebringen.” Ein festes Band von Managua bis Hanoi: interview with Kurt Seibt, chairman of the Central Revision Commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and chairman of the Solidarity Committee of the GDR, *Horizont*, 8/1988, 3–4. Author’s own translation.

30 For a discussion on the representation of development work in East German newsreels, see also George Bodie in this volume.

31 Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1973), 55.

32 See, for instance, Willeke Sandler’s article “Deutsche Heimat in Afrika: Colonial Revisionism and the Construction of Germanness through Photography,” *Journal of Women’s History* 25 (2013), doi:10.1353/jowh.2013.0000; Henrik Stahr, *Fotojournalismus zwischen Exotismus und Rassismus: Darstellungen von Schwarzen und Indianern in Foto-Text-Artikeln deutscher Wochenillustrierter 1919–1939*, (Hamburg: Kovač, 2004).

Europeans sought to establish, stabilize and disseminate concepts about African pasts and imaginaries about African futures.”³³ Photographs served as documentation of the work of missionaries in Africa, including their construction of missionary schools and hospitals. Photographs also served to legitimate and illustrate one’s own missionary work abroad and were used to raise donations in the home country.³⁴ As scholars Richard Vokes and Darren Newbury state, “the photograph’s orientation towards the future emerges not only from the semiotics of their representations but also from the ways in which they are circulated and deployed.”³⁵ It is therefore not a surprise that those concepts continued to exist with decolonization and postcolonial independence in the making following the Second World War. While the Cold War saw an arms race between the East and West, it also highlighted competing ideologies. Within this rivalry, both the United States and the Soviet Union used photography as part of their mission in Africa. The resulting images were meant to represent solidarity in building a future that each country had in mind for its African “recipient country”.³⁶

The GDR engaged itself in shaping narratives. Solidarity in the GDR was supposed to be everyone’s concern, and therefore had to be staged accordingly. The “staging of help” on television and in newspapers and magazines promoted, on the one hand, the willingness of the population to donate. On the other hand, it promoted political and ideological education.³⁷ Portrayals of encounters involving socialist assistance and support were personalized by the faces of East German specialists and the friendship brigades (*Freundschaftsbrigaden*) of the Free German Youth, or FDJ (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*). As historian Hubertus Büschel ar-

33 Richard Vokes and Darren Newbury, “Editorial: Photography and African futures,” *Visual Studies*, 33 (2018): 2. doi:10.1080/1472586X.2018.1424988. On the definition of images as objects see also Elizabeth Edwards, “Objects of Affect: Photography beyond the Image,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 221–234, doi:10.1146/annurev-anthro-092611-145708.

34 Joachim Zeller, and Peter Weiss, *Weisse Blicke, schwarze Körper: Afrikaner im Spiegel westlicher Alltagskultur* (Erfurt: Sutton Verlag, 2010); T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans Publ., 2012); Nina Berman and Klaus Mühlhahn and Patrice Nganang, eds., *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Press, 2018).

35 Vokes and Newbury, “Editorial: Photography and African futures,” 2.

36 Vokes and Newbury, “Editorial: Photography and African futures,” 4.

37 Witkowski, “Between Fighter and Beggars,” 74–80; Quinn Slobodian, “Socialist Chromatism: Race, Racism, and the Racial Rainbow in East Germany,” in *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 23–39. See also Bodie, this volume.

gues, the photographs of the specialists' work abroad created a narrative of the "developed" GDR with a "still-in-development" Africa.³⁸ According to historian Jürgen Osterhammel, the "civilizing mission" (*Zivilisierungsmission*) from colonial times carries on into the present day.³⁹ During the Cold War, the civilizing mission transformed into a new developmental strategy of strategic support, the *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe* or solidarity for self-help, in order to create a lasting order of ideologies from the supporting countries.⁴⁰ Education and training was the focus of the GDR's development policies and the success of such solidarity projects was documented in the state's newspapers and magazines. Photographs depicting East Germans with their counterparts often showed East Germans explaining the handling of machinery and equipment to Africans, all while the latter appeared to be watching closely. Africans are thereby depicted as the ones who must pave the path to modernity, to catch up, and to make progress.⁴¹ This is the very same narrative Büschel describes for the West German specialists who appeared in scientific journals and newspapers. The photographs also connect to patterns used in the GDR's representation of work and its worker in the 1950s, in which we often see an experienced worker explaining something to his colleagues gathered around him. The speaker usually points with a distinctive hand gesture at the discussed object, such as a part of a machine. As art historian Agneta Maria Jilek further notes, these types of images were meant to establish an authentic atmosphere of a newly created world.⁴²

The theme of labor as a representation of establishing socialism and economic wealth was already incorporated in the state's art photography in the GDR in the 1950s. In doing so, the human being was seen as a major player in the construction of the socialist society and state.⁴³ This image motif and the creation of the "New Man"—the development of a new socialist personality—were also being used for the development work in African countries. Within these representations, the East German worker was seen as a symbol for the successful

38 Hubertus Büschel, "In Afrika helfen: Akteure westdeutscher 'Entwicklungshilfe' und ostdeutscher 'Solidarität' 1955–1975," in *Dekolonisation: Prozesse und Verflechtungen 1945–1990*, ed. Anja Kruke (Bonn: Dietz, 2009), 350.

39 Jürgen Osterhammel, "'The Great Work of Uplifting Mankind': Zivilisierungsmission und Moderne," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), 422.

40 On the concept of "Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe" see Büschel, *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe*, 85–115, 116–178.

41 Büschel, "In Afrika helfen," 350; Büschel, *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe*, 271–274.

42 Agneta Maria Jilek, "'Laßt uns pflügen, laßt uns bauen': Brigadebilder und Typenporträts in der DDR-Fotografie der frühen fünfziger Jahre," in *Die DDR im Blick II: Ein zeithistorisches Lesebuch*, ed. Anja Hertel, Franziska Kuschel, and Markus Böick (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), 151.

43 Jilek, "'Laßt uns pflügen, laßt uns bauen,'" 146.

implementation of socialism, whose role now was to pass on the achievements to Africans. Mozambique's first president Samora Machel was eager to adapt this model since he himself believed that the country needed a fresh start by shaking off the shackles of colonialism and focusing on the future and the community to rebuild the country. The internationally deployed friendship brigades—who exported the GDR's socialist worker—were therefore a favored image motif in the representation of the personified development work; their work was not expressed as a contribution of the individual, but as a representation of the collective.⁴⁴

Images of men at work served not only as a statement of productivity, but also as a representation of international solidarity. The East German specialists depicted in official photographs embodied this international solidarity and assistance themselves and served as a personification of development cooperation in a way that GDR citizens “back home,” who donated money for the cause, could identify with. Personal stories and experiences were rarely reported in the East German press, and if so, only in smaller local newspapers.⁴⁵ The photographs in newspapers and journals usually served as the visual background to report on the merits of the GDR in the development of cooperation.⁴⁶ It was important to show the East German donors that GDR specialists utilized their money in a useful and monitored way.⁴⁷

Authenticity also became an indicator for the definition and representation of the “other”. As already mentioned, in addition to the motif of the work, which shows the achievements of the GDR, images of the local population also appeared in these newspapers and magazines. The camera captured everything that might be of interest to those at home who supported the solidarity efforts. Those photographs depict the local population in their everyday activities, sometimes staged with people standing in front of their huts, children presenting self-made toys, or children sitting around a table playing with donated toys they received from the Solidarity Committee. For the most part, the photographs also meant to show the cultural differences, for instance children dancing in their traditional costumes. It was the GDR that defined how Mozambique and its citizens would be represented and, moreover, what needed to be seen. The cultural dif-

⁴⁴ See Immanuel R. Harisch and Eric Burton, “Sozialistische Globalisierung: Tagebücher der DDR-Freundschaftsbrigaden in Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika,” forthcoming in *Zeithistorische Forschungen / Studies in Contemporary History*.

⁴⁵ Interview with a former ADN journalist in Mozambique 1987–1990, conducted on June 15, 2016 in Berlin.

⁴⁶ See *Junge Generation*, a theoretical magazine of the FDJ, 3–88, 50 and *NBI* 7/82, 29.

⁴⁷ See *Für Dich*, 10/84, 12, 19.

ferences as presented in those photographs continued to create a picture of colonizer and colonized.⁴⁸

The Power of Images: Everyday Life Abroad

Most of the official state photographs were taken by professionals who were sent to Mozambique by the ADN to document the GDR's projects abroad. Their job assignments were precisely defined, with usually one place and one project to be visited during that time. In contrast, private photographs took on a completely new meaning, as they not only allowed amateur photographers to be their own narrators, but also illustrated how those amateur photographers positioned themselves and others in the context of the political, social, and cultural environment in Mozambique. This "other view" moved away from the state propaganda image towards the portrayal of the everyday life of the individual. In this context, the presented themes, the origin of the photograph, the time when the photograph was taken, and the historical background played decisive roles in narrating these photographs.

Based on the owners of the photographs I received and the subjects depicted in these photographs, one can assume that it was usually the East German men who had their cameras with them at work or when traveling through the country. The main reason for this was the number of East German men deployed abroad, which exceeded the number of women working.⁴⁹ However, an interesting question that deserves further research is the question of the male and female gaze and if there was a difference in the pictures taken by women compared with those taken by men. Most of these private photographs were taken as souvenirs to document the workplace and surroundings in Mozambique, and later shared with friends, family or relatives in the GDR. Some of the photographers also showed their pictures in presentations at school or at work after they had re-

⁴⁸ Homi Bhabha. "Framing Fanon, Foreword," in *The Wretched of the Earth*, ed. Frantz Fanon et al. (New York: Grove Press, 2004 [1961]), ix.

⁴⁹ In 1989, 342 East Germans were deployed in Mozambique, 194 of them were men, 135 women, and 13 children. Looking at the positions occupied by East Germans, it becomes clear that the number of working women was below 100. For a specific example see Maputo with the largest group of specialists in the country: APO I (embassy and advisors/65), APO II (Council of Ministers Working Group/47), APO III (department of trade policy/30), APO IV (advisors and specialists/35), APO V (national education/28), APO VI (university/12), Informationen über das Kollektiv der DDR-Bürger in der VRM, Botschaft der DDR in der VRM, Maputo 5.7.1989, SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/14095.

turned. For this purpose, the photos were usually developed as slides to facilitate projection.⁵⁰ Although color films were expensive, most of the photos displayed appeared in color. Usually, the film rolls were brought home undeveloped during vacation in the GDR or were given to other East Germans who went home for vacation or whose time abroad had come to an end. This procedure bypassed the formal requirement of the state to have all correspondence (for security reasons) sent through the dispatch of the embassy, as well as random checks for material that the GDR state might find inappropriate and counterproductive for its display of solidarity.⁵¹

The photographs I analyze span over a period of ten years and show recurring similarities in themes that reflect everyday life of East Germans in Mozambique. Based on those similarities, photographs can be roughly divided into the following categories: family life, work and labor, leisure activities, work collective, nature, and representation of the local population. For this contribution, I focus on the themes of family life, work and labor, leisure activities, and representation of the local population. I argue that these photographs must be viewed in the context of the place and time of the deployment, the profession of the East Germans, and above all, the interest behind the motifs. Due to their work assignments, some East Germans traveled more frequently than others throughout the country, and thus had more opportunities to capture their varying impressions with the camera. As the internationally supported civil war in Mozambique spread in the mid-1980s, excursions into the countryside consequently diminished. These trips came to a complete halt with the vicious attack on nine GDR agriculture specialists on December 6, 1984, in which eight of them died.⁵² They had worked at one of the state farms in Lichinga and were ambushed while leaving their homes to drive to the nearby farm they worked at. After this event, the fear for the safety of the East Germans increased. As a result, the photographs that depicted travels of East Germans in the country decreased and photographs of the private sphere came more to the fore. What the photographs also show in that respect is how the safety mea-

⁵⁰ All of the photographs I received from my interview partners came as slides.

⁵¹ Interview with former specialist B. about the mailing of film material back to the GDR, conducted on June 2, 2016 in Berlin.

⁵² Monika Smardz, "Bis zu jenem Tag im Dezember – Eine Farm mitten in der Savanne," in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen! Die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005), 270–277; Ulrich van der Heyden, "Es darf nichts passieren! Entwicklungspolitisches Engagement der DDR in Mosambik zwischen Solidarität und Risiko," in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen! Die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005), 278–313.

tures⁵³ of the GDR impacted the everyday life of East Germans, especially when traveling or exploring the city. The photographs prove that East Germans always had to travel in groups, never alone. The existing tense political situation prohibited individual explorations. Therefore, East Germans not only photographed their workplaces, their homes or luxury goods—which they could purchase at the Intershop, a state-run retail store offering high-quality products made in GDR and western goods—but also the attacks or assaults on their workplaces. For example, there are numerous photographs of the Beira-Machipanda railway line, where the tracks and a bridge were constantly being destroyed. They also photographed gatherings and private parties with Mozambicans, contacts that they were not officially allowed to have.⁵⁴

The Photographer: The Moving Self

While official state photographs provide a very clear and defined portrayal of development work by depicting projects on site and their impact on the Mozambican society, private photographs offer personal insights into the lives of East German specialists and their relationships with their Mozambican colleagues. In some of these photographs, the viewers are presented with group shots in which they can learn about the working environment and which encourage them to reflect on stories of collaboration and friendship.

Figure 1 shows a group shot of 14 Mozambican students with their East German teacher Rainer Grajek posing in front of the *Centro de Formação dos Instrutores*, the Trainee Center for Teachers in Maputo. Grajek was sent to train the students to become teachers in history and Marxism-Leninism.⁵⁵ After a successful completion of the course, the students were then sent out to the countryside to teach their own classes. It is noticeable to the observer that most of the students are men. The photograph also shows two younger children, a baby resting on the

⁵³ Mitteilung der Abteilung Auslandsdienstreisen Nr. 02/1988, Schulungsmaterial zu den “Grundsätzen und Hinweisen für die Vorbereitung dienstlicher Reisen und für das Verhalten von dienstlich im Ausland weilenden Bürgern der DDR,” SAPMO-BArch, DC 20/11976.

⁵⁴ Mitteilung der Abteilung Auslandsdienstreisen Nr 02/1988, SAPMO-BArch, DC 20/11976.

⁵⁵ When Grajek first met the national director for the cadre training program in the Ministry of Education, the director explained to him that the country was in need of teachers. One of the requirements to train good teachers is the availability of qualified instructors. It was for this very reason that Grajek was sent to help train those cadres; Rainer Grajek, *Berichte aus dem Morgenrauen: Als Entwicklungshelfer der DDR in Mosambik* (Großbothen: Bücherwerkstadt & Verlag Ute Vallentin, 2005), 64. For further details on Grajek’s deployment in Mozambique see also Piepiorka and Buanaisa in this volume.



Figure 1: Rainer Grajek with his students in front of the Centro de Formação dos Instrutores (Training Center for Teachers) in Maputo. Source: Private Archive R.G.

arm of the East German instructor and a young girl standing in front of her mother. The woman is also the mother of the baby as can be inferred from the fact that she looks to the side to check on her child. She smiles comfortably as she looks at the East German holding her baby. In his memoir *Berichte aus dem Morgenrauen*, we learn about the special relationship between Grajek and that woman, Madalena Lhomulo. Growing up in the countryside, Lhomulo decided to attend missionary school in Lourenço Marques (today Maputo) where she finished the fourth grade in 1972. Due to racial discrimination, she only finished the introductory course in the secondary school she attended. She soon got married and gave birth to her first child. In 1976, she decided to go back to school while pregnant with her second child. After the birth of her third daughter in the 1980s, her husband decided to separate since she had not born him a son. While they were still living together, she gave birth to another child in 1982, this time a boy. However, the husband abandoned the family shortly after which left her alone to take care of their children. To make ends meet, she picked up evening courses and taught in several schools in Maputo. It was also in 1982 when she decided to join a training program to become an official teacher. During this time, she also gave birth to the baby featured in the photograph. Grajek and Lhomulo be-

came very close during the time of the training. Both had children of the same age—a commonality that served as a starting point beyond the regular conversation of homework and work material. She started to take her newborn with her to classes, sometimes accompanied by her younger daughter who looked after her son while she was in class. Grajek and his wife visited Lhomulo several times at the boarding school where she stayed since she was not able to go back to her house in the Maputo suburbs due to war conflict. Grajek was impressed by her energy to juggle the many responsibilities she had to endure, which might have been the reason that he reached out to her. He was aware of her struggle and described it as such in his memoir: “It seemed like she was carrying an invisible weight on her slender, always bent, shoulders. [...] When she spoke one recognized optimism and confidence. When you looked into her eyes, you could also see fear.”⁵⁶ Because women were expected to fulfill the traditional role of caretakers, it is not surprising to see so few women participating in such courses. Grajek wanted her to be successful because he saw her potential. The group pictures, however, allow us to reflect on another aspect of representation; they are never meant to be for the Mozambicans, but rather for the East Germans to draw attention to their students and apprentices. Those photographs not only validated their work abroad but also depicted the “other” again in the binaries of teacher and student, and therefore played an important role in the portrayal of the relationships between the subjects.

Occasionally, the East Germans also had portraits taken of themselves. For the majority of the East Germans, the impressions and experiences they captured in photographs contrasted with their lives in the GDR. Being aware that their work and travel abroad was a one-time opportunity from which most East Germans were excluded, the urge to document life abroad in all its details is understandable. With photographs, every important moment was captured as evidence and memory for later when they would have already returned home. Other photographs document the East Germans individually or with their families in their homes. While most of the East German specialists—who were deployed up to three years—were accompanied by their spouses with or without children, it also happened that the husband left for Mozambique first, followed by his family soon after. It was sometimes also the case that his wife and children had to stay behind during the time of his employment. In this situation, photographs added a visual element to the letters that were sent home. However, in the next photo-

56 “Sie schien eine unsichtbare Last auf ihren schmalen, stets etwas gebeugten Schultern zu tragen. [...] Wenn sie sprach, erkannte man ihre Zuversicht. Wer in ihre Augen blickte, sah, dass in ihnen auch Angst wohnte.” Grajek, *Berichte aus dem Morgengrauen*, 76.

graph, the East German who worked for the CFM (*Caminhos de Ferro*) in Beira, the Mozambican Ports and Railways authority, had to travel occasionally to various places in the hinterland to help with the installation of railroad tracks.



Figure 2: East German sitting at a table eating. Messica, 1983. Source: Private Archive T.B.

In Figure 2 we see the man sitting at the table and eating. The table is set for only one person. He is cautiously smiling into the camera, ready to dig into his food that was prepared for him by a Mozambican cook. The picture was taken in one of the houses in Ifloma, a woodwork factory in the small town of Messica in central Mozambique, which was turned into a guesthouse after the Swedish specialists—who had built those houses—unexpectedly left. It is a private moment, a portrait photograph, meant to serve as evidence that everything was going well abroad and that wife and family at home did not have to worry about their husband and father. Although those pictures mainly served a private purpose, they also show that the local supply in the northern and central region of Mozambique was more than sufficient with enough meat, fruits, and vegetables at hand. It was the coastal region neighboring Beira that did not receive supplies due to the destruction of the Moatize-Beira railroad and therefore failed to deliver the basic necessities.⁵⁷ While the East Germans wanted to support as many projects

⁵⁷ Jahresbericht 1980, Botschaft der DDR in der VRM, Maputo 5. Februar 1981, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Archiv des Ministeriums für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten der DDR, Berlin (henceforth PA AA), M 31 MfAA ZR 1658/83; Helmut Matthes, “Die Beziehungen der DDR-VR Mosambik zwischen Erwartungen und Wirklichkeit: Ein Gespräch,” in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen! Die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005), 12–33.

as possible, the attacks of the resistant movement *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (RENAMO), and the small number of specialists working at institutions like the CFM, rendered them unable to sufficiently fulfill the needs for help and assistance. In fact, the coal production in Moatize started to decrease in 1982, and the installation of the textile factory in Mocuba, as well as the railroad corridor Beira-Moatize, were never fully completed.⁵⁸

Where Are the Women? Between Absence and Presence

So far, studies of East Germans abroad have mainly been devoted to the labor of male specialists.⁵⁹ Even though women worked as doctors, nurses, and teachers in Africa, their voices remain silent in the portrayal of mostly male specialists in official state photographs.⁶⁰ This one-sided view of the male specialists in the workplace is challenged by private photographs. Although the photographers were primarily men, they made East German women in Mozambique visible—in their workplace, domestic environment, and with friends or at outings. One of the main privileges enjoyed by long-term East German specialists was the opportunity to bring their families with them. The prerequisite was that they met certain conditions, such as that they only brought children under or above a certain age, were loyal to the party and in good health. Women who accompanied their husbands on their work assignments were labeled as “accompanying spouses” (*mitreisende Ehepartner*). Although this term was theoretically for both men and women, it became apparent over the years that those co-travelling

58 Heide Künanz, “Das Steinkohleprojekt Moatize zwischen solidarischer Hilfeleistung und kommerziellem Anspruch,” in *Die DDR und Afrika: zwischen Klassenkampf und neuem Denken*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden, Ilona Schleicher, and Hans-Georg Schleicher (Münster: Lit, 1993), 174–191; Matthes, “Die Beziehungen der DDR zur Volksrepublik Mosambik in der Afrikapolitik der DDR,” 39–52.

59 Although material on women’s work as specialists abroad is rare, the women’s magazine *Für Dich* published on women working within the FDJ friendship brigades, for example a portrait of FDJ brigadier Margitta Bernstein who worked as a nurse in Angola, *Für Dich* 30/84, “Vom Glück helfen zu können,” 27–29.

60 In her 2014 book *Mocambique – Marcou-Nos Para A Vida. Grupo de Mulheres Internacionais 1980–1984*, Elisa Fuchs interviewed 15 women who worked in Mozambique as doctors, teachers, urban planners, lawyers, researchers, economists, and as professionals in ministries and public services. Not one of these women was from the former GDR. Fuchs is, however, so far, the only one writing about the deployment of women and their accomplishments in Mozambique.

family members remained mostly women. The photographs show that the accompanying wives shaped how East German men understood their experience in Mozambique. Photographs outside the home were usually connected to the work environments of the husbands. In contrast, photographs inside the home were limited to women and their roles as housewives and mothers. These photographs typically focused on raising children, cooking, or meeting with other women. Photographs of women taking care of their children at home or during outdoor activities are a symbol of all-round childcare, a distraction for women during the day while their husbands were at work. It was a rare occasion that women also worked as specialists if there were children in the household. This housewife existence (*Hausfrauendasein*) contrasted sharply with the situation in the GDR, where the state expected women to work, and where children attended public kindergartens.⁶¹ The photographs also created an image of an GDR idyll abroad including typical East German activities, customs, and traditions, with children playing with an imported toy shop (*Kaufmannsladen*), the documentation of the first day at school with a sugar cone (*Zuckertüte*) in hand, or an Easter egg hunt (*Ostereiersuche*) in springtime. They show the clear assignment of gender roles within the marriage and seemingly fail to show the way in which women also contributed to the success or preservation of the projects in place. Instead, the viewer gets the impression of a protective and patronizing environment, which is reinforced by the man as photographer and decision-maker of the image motifs. The photographs show how men wanted to document women in this way, not how women experienced their lives in Mozambique.

Despite the male gaze of the private photographs that presented women in a domestic role, a few photographs showed East German women's activism in the premise of solidarity. Figure 3 is a collection from a photo album with various photographs stacked together on one page. A detailed look reveals that this collection did not depict one event but rather shots taken at various solidarity bazaars and events organized by these women. The solidarity events were celebrations in which so-called "solidarity packages" sent by the DFD, the Democratic Women's League of the GDR, were officially handed over to the OMM, the Organization of Mozambican Women in the presence of members of the national sec-

61 While it is difficult to get an exact number of how many men and women worked in Mozambique, archival material from the Federal Archive in Berlin such as *Kaderakten* and minutes of party meetings show a predominantly male presence. Most of the specialists in consulting positions were men while women filled the jobs of secretaries, teachers, doctors, and nurses.

retariat of the OMM in Maputo and the FRELIMO party.⁶² Other events, such as those seen in Figure 3, were organized by East German women who had accompanied their husbands to Mozambique.



Figure 3: East German women organize a solidarity bazaar with other socialist countries in Maputo. Source: Private Archive K.L.

The above photograph depicts a group of East German women standing in front of the East German flag. They are participating in the annual solidarity bazaar at Maputo's main exhibition site. Every embassy had set up a booth to collect money. East German women sold clothing that they had brought back from the GDR while on vacation.⁶³ The women stand in what seems to be their booth, proudly peering into the camera. Another photograph, which was used as a postcard, gives further information about what these women did: "This was your mom in action at the solidarity bazaar of socialist and sympathizing countries while decorating and setting up the booth. The other person here is the director of Intercoop, who coordinated the whole thing as the advertising expert. We were sweating which, fortunately, you can't see. But what you can see is your mother

⁶² Zusammenarbeit des DFD mit der Organisation der Mocambiquanischen Frau (OMM), Delegationsaustausch – Solidaritätssendungen, 1986–1988, SAPMO-BArch, DY 31/1461.

⁶³ Interview with former accompanying wife L., conducted on April 27, 2016 in Petershagen.

aging (unfortunately).⁶⁴ This postcard was sent to one of the women's children who had stayed at home. Instead of sending a letter that would describe the day of the solidarity bazaar, she decided to illustrate the event in form of a photograph as a documentation of her being "in action." Informing the children about their mothers' work abroad showed that the East German women in Mozambique understood themselves as part of the political project of promoting socialism and did not see themselves as mere domestic caregivers.

Private Photographs and the "Other": Mozambique and Mozambicans

As mentioned previously, official photographs taken by photo agencies played into the GDR's concept of solidarity and willingness to donate to legitimize its expatriates' work abroad. Representations of Africa and Africans in photographs and texts gave the GDR an opportunity to have their citizens reflect upon their own privileged living conditions, especially in times of crises, when East Germans would disapprove the state's policies or travel restrictions. The interplay of inferiority and superiority became particularly important through the representation of the "Other."⁶⁵ Like the Soviet Union, the GDR struggled with its presence in Africa and the complex entanglements of race, exoticization, otherness, and stereotyping when the ideology—internationalism, solidarity, and humanist communism—clashed with realities on the ground.⁶⁶

So, how do the private photographs fit into the concept of "othering"? And how were Mozambique and Mozambicans portrayed in the photographs? In his 2011 book *Unter Moçambicanern: Arbeit – Leben – Abenteuer, 1979–1985*, Udo Heiland, an East German specialist who worked for the planning commission in Maputo, describes one of his encounters with Mozambican women as follows: "As I started to take pictures of them, they got cranky and I stopped. There would

64 "Das war Eure Mutter in Aktion beim Solibasar der sozialistischen und sympathisierenden Länder beim Ausgestalten und Aufbau des Standes. Der andere Akteur ist der Leiter Intercoop, der als Werbefachmann natürlich den Hut aufhatte. Wie wir dabei geschwitz haben, sieht man leider nicht, aber wie Eure Mutter eben auch älter wird (leider)." Postcard from L. to her children, date unknown, private archive. Author's own translation.

65 Stuart Hall, "Die zwei Paradigmen der Cultural Studies," in *Widerspenstige Kulturen: Cultural Studies als Herausforderung*, ed. Karl H. Hönring and Rainer Winter (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1999), 13–42.

66 Quinn Slobodian, "Introduction," in *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 3.

be another opportunity later. Some black people at the beach seemed to be more open-minded. They sat in the water up to their belly and chuckled like children. (...) One of those beauties even spoke a few words of German.”⁶⁷

As Heiland’s observation shows, there was no need for a visual representation to imagine the described scene. Above all, this statement clearly illustrates how many East German men chose their photo subjects and how they captured them. In that context, the photographs support Susan Sontag’s argument that the camera is a weapon that can “intrude, trespass, distort, and exploit.”⁶⁸ The East Germans’ photographs illustrate that taking pictures is more than just an innocent encounter. Instead, the encounter between the photographer—the GDR specialist on the one side and the Mozambican being photographed on the other—resembles a photographic assault, an invasion, in which the Mozambican women and men are at the photographer’s mercy. The general interest of getting to know the “Other” has not remained merely in silent observation, on walks, shopping in the city, or writing about what those specialists experienced. Instead, everything is documented in photographs. They show what the feminist and film scholar Ann Kaplan meant in distinguishing between two concepts of observing someone or something: the “look” and the “gaze”. While the former can be attributed to a process of seeing and observing in a way to understand one’s own surroundings and relations to people, the latter receives special attention in a postcolonial discourse. The gaze here describes a “one-way subjective vision.”⁶⁹ As an active process, the gaze consumes the subject’s own anxiety, whereby the object becomes a threat.⁷⁰ In particular, traveling promotes an awareness of one’s own national identity: “People’s identities when they are traveling are often more self-consciously national than when they stay home. In addition, travel provokes conscious attention to gender and racial difference.”⁷¹ In their travels and excursions to the countryside, East Germans participated in this kind of gaze.

67 “Als ich sie fotografieren wollte, hatten sie sich zickig, und ich ließ es sein. Es würde sich später noch Gelegenheit finden. Aufgeschlossener waren einige Schwarze am Strand. Sie saßen bis zum Bauch im Wasser und freuten sich wie Kinder, als wir ein Gespräch mit ihnen begannen. Eine der Schönen sprach sogar einige Brocken Deutsch.” Udo Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern: Arbeit – Leben – Abenteuer, 1979–1985* (Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2013), 40. Author’s own translation.

68 Sontag, *On Photography*, 13.

69 Anne E. Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* (New York: Routledge, 1997), xvi.

70 Kaplan, *Looking for the Other*, xviii.

71 Kaplan, *Looking for the Other*, 6.

Most of the photographs reveal the surprise or discomfort of Mozambicans. They are photographed from close up or far away, and it seems that most of the shots were taken without asking for permission. In his 2013 travel memoir *Als Auslandskader in Mosambik*, the East German specialist Günter Mosler, who worked in the coalmine in Moatize during the 1980s, includes a series of photographs portraying his Mozambican colleagues.⁷² Those workers are seemingly placed in front of huts, be it in front of their own homes or local shops. All of them are depicted in the narrative of a “simple lifestyle”. While Mosler refers to the house of one of his colleagues as *Hütte* (hut), another photograph showing Mosler’s wife, their poodle Buffy, and his friends in front of their house which he captions as *casa* (house). We then observe how their privileged lifestyle is interrupted by begging children. To visually underpin the situation, Mosler introduces us to a 14-year-old boy named Boa Tard[e], Portuguese for “Good Afternoon”. However, it is not only Boa Tard[e] begging for food, but he and his team, as Mosler captioned the picture he took of the group. The team refers to a situation that Mosler’s wife experienced when she gave two begging children some bread, only to return later to a group of 20 children screaming and asking for food. This seemingly terrifying moment is then reinforced through the detailed description of Boa Tard[e] dressed in rags, smelling miserably with his feet and hands covered in wounds.⁷³

Another method of taking authentic snapshots with the locals was to make use of one’s own children. The natural urge of children to play with other children, who, in contrast to their parents, did not have to worry about a communication ban with the Mozambican population, served as a perfect basis for snapshots of everyday life. While some East Germans had no problems with their children playing with Mozambican children, there were some incidents in which women complained about the lack of hygiene of Mozambican children and their fear of diseases.⁷⁴ However, the photographs that show East German children together with Mozambican children suggest that the separate housing arrangements of the East Germans in Mozambique did not impact the everyday relationships and contacts, at least when it came to children.

72 Günter Mosler, *Als DDR-Auslandskader in Mosambik, 1979–1982: Zwischen Dschungel, Taiga, Savanne, Wüste und Heimat* (Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2013), 48, 51, 53.

73 Mosler, *Als DDR-Auslandskader in Mosambik (1979–1982)*, 61.

74 Interview with accompanying wife G. about her life in Mozambique, conducted on November 29, 2015 in Riesa.



Figure 4: Two East German children with a Mozambican boy. Beira 1984. Source: Private archive T.B.

Often, the locals that were photographed were unknown to the photographer.⁷⁵ Instead, they served as a general representation of the country and its people. In Figure 4, two East German children seem to be looking confidently into the camera; in contrast, the Mozambican adolescent looks into the camera reluctantly and his body language seems to be more defensive and insecure. This appearance of reluctance and discomfort can be seen in many other pictures as well. Although colonialism had in practice vanished, the memories and the various practices of how colonialism was implemented were still very present—especially in Mozambique. This trauma is described by Frantz Fanon as a constant state of anxiety in which the colonized looks for signs that place him in the racially divided world.⁷⁶ In this vein, Mozambicans' encounters and interactions with white Europeans were still affected by the colonial past. While the GDR proudly looked upon its rhetoric of anti-colonialism and anti-racism, the East Germans' awareness of their place in the history of colonialism was largely ignored. For this very reason, the colonial gaze continued.⁷⁷ Compared to the photographs depicting labor, in which East Germans pose with their colleagues and apprentices, the above photograph appears staged because there is no apparent relationship

⁷⁵ My interview partners confirmed that photographs with Mozambican children taken at the beach or in the countryside were usually without any personal connection.

⁷⁶ Bhabha, "Framing Fanon," ix.

⁷⁷ Zeller and Weiss, *Weisse Blicke, schwarze Körper*, 7.

between the people being photographed. With staging attempts that imitated an anchoring in local life, the East Germans tried to show that they had found entries and moorings in Mozambican society.



Figure 5: East German adolescent boy in front of a group of Mozambican children in Maputo. Source: Private Archive G.K.

The boy in Figure 5 had just arrived in Mozambique to visit his parents. This is one of the cases in which children were not allowed to accompany their parents because they were too old. The composition of this shot is a reminder of the established binaries of colonial representation. The boy is placed in the center of the frame with a group of young children and young adults in the background. It seems that children played at this spot—an opportunity that the East German photographer seized upon by placing his child in front. The photograph suggests that there is no relation between the photographer and the children in the background. Most of the children pay little attention to the photographic setup and seem to be more interested in something going on in the distance. The photograph looks like a collage of two photographs, which is due to the fact that the East German boy is so far away from the group of Mozambican children. Sontag describes such a situation as a duel moment, which “of-

fers [...] both participation and alienation in our own lives and those of others—allowing us to participate, while confirming alienation.⁷⁸

Compared to the young woman's confidence and the other children's indifference in the background of the picture, the East German boy seems to feel uncomfortable, posing with one hand in his pocket. His eyes are focused on the camera, behind which we can imagine the photographer asking him to smile. Although some of the children look intrigued with one young woman posing for the camera, the overall impression is that such encounters with white Europeans were not a rare incident but rather part of their everyday life.⁷⁹ Under colonial rule, Mozambicans were consistently objectified due to their racial signifiers. The white gaze, an indicator for power, hegemony, and privilege, is what philosopher George Yancy calls a "historical achievement—a specific historical practice, socially collective and intersubjective, a process that is dutifully maintained."⁸⁰ Within this white power, objectification of the black body was normalized. Especially in bigger cities such as Maputo or Beira, or in joint projects such as the coalmine in Moatize the number of international specialists was higher than in the more remote areas in the hinterlands. Assuming that other international specialists took similar photographs, the children were not only used to being photographed but also exposed to the camera's intrusion.

Conclusion: The Use of Private Photographs in the Context of GDR Memory and Beyond

Private photographs reveal what the official GDR rhetoric did not dare to say and what did not fit into the socialist image of the GDR. In fact, private photographs taken by East Germans in Mozambique represent more than just a technology for documenting life; like most technologies, they are themselves powerful agents. The socialist encounters of East Germans with Mozambicans show a different part of the everyday life in the East German society, namely that beyond the state apparatus and enactment. Today, these private photographs are important documents for researchers and even more important for the biographical stories

⁷⁸ Sontag, *On Photography*, 167.

⁷⁹ There are some studies that focus on body language and how the "look" can be identified as part of resistance. See Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, *Ethnizität und Geschlecht: (Post-) Koloniale Verhandlungen in Geschichte, Kunst und Medien* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005).

⁸⁰ George Yancy, *Black Bodies, White Gaze: The Continuing Significance of Race in America* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 243.

of people whose lives have changed significantly since reunification. The visual portrayals of the work of East Germans abroad have yet to find access into the collective memory of the GDR.⁸¹ They show how East Germans saw themselves situated in the country among their Mozambican and international colleagues and apprentices, sometimes contrary to what the GDR had tried to implement.⁸² Furthermore, the framework of postcolonial theory I have used for analyzing some of the pictures reveals the enormous importance of photographs for investigating the East German relationships with Mozambique and Mozambicans then and now under the premise of Germany's colonial history.

Incorporating private photography into scholarly research challenges four underlying assumptions and opens further fields of research. Firstly, photographs facilitate the understanding of the work and life of East German citizens in the 1980s beyond the narrative of propaganda. This also includes different perspectives, such as that of East German women and their active engagement. Secondly, photographs place the perspectives of family, work, and travel in dialogue with different deployment locations and times that the East Germans spent in Mozambique. Furthermore, they help identify differences and similarities in studies of comparative systems such as those of the Federal Republic of Germany, the former Soviet Union, or other socialist and non-socialist countries that deployed their citizens on the African continent. Finally, an examination of photographs raises the question of how private pictures of East Germans fit into the representation of an "underdeveloped" Mozambique and how they contributed to—or challenged—that narrative. Private photographs can be interpreted as case studies into postcolonialism in their own right. Lastly, the private photographs serve as documentation of Mozambique's construction period as well as its wartime experiences during the 1980s. The photographs firmly place Mozambique within its own context of postcolonial history on the African continent.

81 The same can be said about the memory of Mozambican contract workers (*Vertragsarbeiter*) who returned to Mozambique after the unification of the two Germanys. For more information see Fernando Agostinho Machava's chapter in this volume, and Ibraimo Alberto and Marcia C. Schenck's chapter in this volume.

82 Including, for instance, travel restrictions, prohibited contacts to international, especially non-socialists colleagues, and individual explorations of a city or countryside.

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Magazines

Horizont
Für Dich
Junge Generation
NBI

Interviews

- Interview with former ADN journalist in Mozambique 1987–1990, conducted on June 15, 2016 in Berlin.
- Interview with former specialist B. about the mailing of film material back to the GDR, conducted on June 2, 2016 in Berlin.
- Interview with former accompanying wife L., conducted on April 27, 2016 in Petershagen.
- Interview with accompanying wife G. about her life in Mozambique, conducted on November 29, 2015 in Riesa.

In Conclusion: Post-socialist Memory Making

Alexandra Piepiorka and Eduardo F. Buanaissa

Introduction

In the socialist world, international contacts between national education systems usually developed in the context of bilateral agreements on cooperation and friendship. This was also the case for the People's Republic of Mozambique (PRM) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Nevertheless, in publications by contemporary actors, the starting point of East German and Mozambican cooperation in education is dated back to the years before Mozambican independence, when several GDR citizens began to work as teachers in underground schools run by the Mozambican liberation movement Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in the late 1960s.¹ In historiographic representation on behalf of the GDR, this early cooperation in education during the liberation struggle against Portugal is depicted as the cornerstone for further cooperation between the two countries after Mozambican independence in 1975.² In the 1970s and 1980s a rapidly growing number of East German educational advisors and educators departed to Maputo, with the mission to contribute to the reconstruction of a postcolonial and socialist education system in Mozambique.³ Like-

1 Herbert Graf, "Vor der Unabhängigkeitserklärung Mosambiks – Erinnerungen und Reflexionen," in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005), 62. Hans-Jochen Roos, "Unterricht unter Palmen: Als Biologielehrer an der FRELIMO-Schule in Bagamoyo," in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005).

2 For official self-representation see for instance Erich Honecker, *Aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: Dietz, 1981), 406. A similar argumentation can be traced in GDR documents with reference to Angola, see Immanuel Rafael Harisch, "Bartering Coffee, Cocoa and W50 Trucks: The Trade Relations of the GDR, Angola and São Tomé in a Comparative Perspective," *Global Histories* 3/2 (2017), 49, accessed November 7, 2019, doi:10.17169/GHSJ.2017.135.

3 Mathias Tullner, "Die Zusammenarbeit der DDR und Mosambiks auf dem Gebiet der Bildung und die Tätigkeit der Bildungsexperten der DDR in Mosambik," in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005).

4 Lutz R. Reuter and Annette Scheunpflug, *Die Schule der Freundschaft: Eine Fallstudie zur Bildungszusammenarbeit zwischen der DDR und Mosambik* (Münster: Waxmann, 2006).

wise, Mozambican students entered the GDR to continue their secondary education at the “School of Friendship”⁴ or to undergo vocational training,⁵ while other young Mozambicans merely hoped to receive vocational education in the framework of contract labor in East German enterprises.⁶

Although Mozambican and East German educational trajectories differed quite remarkably, the common experience to work through a foreign and socialist education system offers space for some *geteilte Erinnerungen* (“shared experiences”)⁷ from protagonists on both sides. In this context we assume the possibility of a small-scale Afro-European “memory space,”⁸ which would presumably lie in between the GDR and Mozambique, nestled in the common educational history of both. This memory space may seem relatively small, but nevertheless bears the potential of having conserved rich memories of the PRM and the GDR – two formerly socialist (education) systems, whose place in the overall memory culture in the respective countries is still being negotiated. Complementary to the overarching national debates, this article focuses on the written and personal memories of protagonists, who were engaged in cross-border educational endeavors and encounters between the PRM and the GDR. In search of such memories, we consulted publications that can be combined under the label of “memory literature.”⁹ Our analysis aims at catching a glimpse of (post)socialist worlds

5 Ilona Schleicher, “Berufsbildung und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen DDR – Mosambik,” in *Engagiert für Afrika: Die DDR und Afrika II*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden (Münster: Lit, 1994).

6 Ulrich van der Heyden, Wolfgang Semmler and Ralf Straßburg, *Mosambikanische Vertragsarbeiter in der DDR-Wirtschaft: Hintergrund – Verlauf – Folgen* (Münster: Lit, 2014); Marcia C. Schenck, “From Luanda and Maputo to Berlin: Uncovering Angolan and Mozambican migrants’ motives to move to the German Democratic Republic (1979–1990),” *African Economic History* 44 (2016).

7 The German term *geteilte Erinnerung* has a double meaning, containing a notion of shared and divided memory at the same time.

8 For the concept of memory spaces see Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1999).

9 Memory literature does encompass a variety of written sources, reaching from historically inspired and sometimes bestselling novels to self-published memoirs and autobiographical stories. In literature studies especially, but also in interdisciplinary research dealing with collective memory, researchers seem to favor historical novels as objects of analysis. However, for our analysis we selected autobiographically inspired books written by amateur authors and contemporary witnesses from the former GDR and Mozambique, that offer personal views on the socialist past in the respectively other country. For a discussion of German memory literature see Aleida Assmann, “Wem gehört Geschichte? Fakten und Fiktion in der neueren deutschen Erinnerungsliteratur,” *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 36 (2011). See also Friederike Eigler, *Gedächtnis und Geschichte in Generationenromanen seit der Wende* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2005). For Mozambican memory literature see Ana Margarida Fonseca, “(Re)Configurations of Identity: Memory and Creation in the Narrative of Mia Couto,” in *Mozambique on the Move: Challenges and Reflections*, ed. Sheila Pereira Khan, Maria Paula Meneses, and Bjørn Enge Bertelsen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018). Also consult

of memory, which might have emerged in the context of GDR-Mozambican cooperation in education. Our argument is that a collective memory concerned with state socialism does exist separately in both formerly socialist states. At the same time, personal memory of certain East Germans and Mozambicans transverse these national memory horizons by offering common as well as differing memories of the socialist past of both countries – resulting in a multiplicity of (post)socialist memory spaces. Accordingly, Millei et al. refer to “(post)socialist spaces” in the plural to “highlight this complexity of the time-spaces of historical socialism and what followed.”¹⁰

In the following, we first discuss the role of memory literature in the context of post-socialist and cross-national remembering processes. Secondly, we summarize memory debates on the socialist phase in reunited Germany and in post-socialist Mozambique. Thirdly, we present our interpretation of post-socialist memory literature, and finally we discuss the post-socialist memory space in between East Germany and Mozambique.

Theoretical Considerations on Post-socialist Memory Making

As a starting point, we want to raise the question whether or not memories of Mozambican and East German expatriates do play a part in (a) post-socialist “memory space” of both countries.¹¹ Picking up this point, we started wondering about the role of memory literature in the overall memory making in post-socialist spaces like East Germany and Mozambique. In Assmann’s considerations, memory literature constitutes a genre that combines personal experience, historic events, and elements of fiction into a literary text and eventually works out historical perspectives that hitherto did not make it into the collective memory of a given society.¹² Consequently, memory literature appears to offer a space for subliminal memories, situated somewhere in between the canonized cultural

Maria do Carmo Ferraz Tedesco, “Reconfiguração da Moçambicanidade nos romances de Mia Couto e Paulina Chiziane,” *Revista Mosaico* 3 (2010). For the role of testimony books in Mozambican memory discourse see João Paulo Borges Coelho, “Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes,” *Kronos* 39 (2013), 29.

¹⁰ Zsuzsa Millei, Iveta Silova, and Susanne Gannon, “Thinking Through Memories of Childhood in (Post)Socialist Spaces: Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times,” in *Children’s Geographies*, published online, August 1, 2019, doi:10.1080/14733285.2019.1648759.

¹¹ Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*.

¹² Assmann, “Wem gehört Geschichte,” 216–217.

memory of a given society and the inter-generational communicative memory of certain groups within this society.¹³ As memory literature may deliberately integrate autobiographical and fictional features into the storyline, such texts are less reliable in terms of historical accuracy.¹⁴ However, she states that memory literature offers a platform for a wide range of little stories that reflect the bigger history, but which remained previously untold and unheard and are not part of the official narrative.¹⁵ In line with Assmann's ideas, we consider memory literature as a valuable non-academic and personal contribution to collective memory making on socialist times in both Germany and Mozambique.¹⁶

As the memories under examination emerged in at least two national contexts and were (re)told by de facto migrants,¹⁷ we would like to address spatiality here. To our understanding, Assmann's notion of "memory spaces" refers to (subjective or collective) memories of specific places, and to (inanimate) spaces of remembrance like historical monuments, that transcend personal memory.¹⁸ This understanding of space in memory processes builds upon the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (translated to "realms of memory") as introduced by Pierre Nora. Nora and colleagues started to explore French history and collective identity through a constructivist analysis of concrete memory sites, like the Eiffel

13 For the different forms of individual and collective memory see Aleida Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," in *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, ed. Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 210–224. Also see Harald Welzer, *Das kommunikative Gedächtnis: Eine Theorie der Erinnerung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002).

14 Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," 223. According to Assmann, in memory literature a generous portion of "fiction" is added into the overall storyline – e.g. events are described rather from an aesthetic point of view, but with no reference to time or place; or fictional characters are added into the plot to make the text more consistent and to synthesize past events for the reader. Even though fiction or selective remembering often triumph over "accuracy" in historical novels and autobiographical memoirs, such literary products still serve as valuable sources for understanding past events or past emotions.

15 Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," 222.

16 Assmann discusses the function of collective memory as a unifying framework for groups or nations with reference to Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora. But she also reflects on the potential of latent and "dysfunctional memories" that may eventually delegitimize, correct or complement the official memory framework; see Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, 131–142. In a way, memory literature and autobiographical testimonies may serve as corresponding supplements to official memory making. Also consult Maurice Halbwachs, *Das kollektive Gedächtnis* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1967).

17 For migrant memory see an overview by Julia Creet, "Introduction: The Migration of Memory and Memories of Migration," in *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*, ed. Julia Creet and Andreas Kitzmann (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

18 Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*.

tower, but also through immaterial sites, like symbols or social divisions within the country.¹⁹ Although these *lieux* were highly relevant for France's national identity, Nora's initial selection was critiqued for overlooking transnational aspects of French identity, such as *lieux* connected to France's inglorious colonial past.²⁰ Nevertheless, Nora's concept proved useful for similar projects in other European countries.²¹ In addition to such national adaptations, Nora's concept of *lieux* fostered an international discussion on the possibility of collective memory making beyond the "national container" as a spatial unit.²² Over the years, scholars have reworked Assmann's "memory spaces" and Nora's *lieux de mémoire* by applying their concepts to the transnational level.²³

But how can one capture rather immaterial memory landscapes on socialist pasts that seem entangled in-between two countries (and continents)? For our purpose, we found the concept of "travelling memory"²⁴ and the corresponding discussion about transnationality in the field of memory studies helpful.²⁵ Within this framework memories rather emerge from cross-border movement of people and media²⁶ then from circumscribed places or national boundaries.²⁷ As we

19 Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzmann, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past, Vol. 1–3* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996–1998).

20 Etienne Achille, Charles Forsdick, Lydie Moudileno, *Postcolonial Realms of Memory: Sites and Symbols in Modern France* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020). This critique is especially true to Nora's publications on the French republic and nation, whereas the later volumes on "Les Frances" did also explore the historical role of migrants or religious minorities within French society. See relevant chapters in Nora and Kritzmann, *Realms of Memory*.

21 For Germany see Etienne François and Hagen Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte – Eine Auswahl* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005). Martin Sabrow, *Erinnerungsorte der DDR* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009).

22 See Indra Sengupta, "Introduction. Locating *lieux de mémoire*: A (Post)colonial Perspective," in *Memory, History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, ed. Indra Sengupta (London: German Historical Institute, 2009). Hans Henning Hahn, Robert Traba, and Peter Oliver Lowe, *Deutsch-Polnische Erinnerungsorte, Vol. 1–5* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2012–2015).

23 Pim den Boer, *Europäische Erinnerungsorte, Volume 3: Europa und die Welt* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012); Ulrike Schmieder, "Orte des Erinnerns und Vergessens: Denkmäler, Museen und historische Schauplätze von Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel," in *Comparativ* 22 (2012).

24 Astrid Erll, "Travelling Memory," *Parallax* 17 (2011).

25 Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney, *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen: Eine Einführung*, third edition (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2017), 123–126.

26 An impressive example of travelling memory items may be found in East German media products, like popular music or video cassettes that were brought to Maputo suburbs by Mozambican worker-trainees returning from the GDR. The long-lasting impact of this group of returnees and their souvenirs on urban culture in Maputo is documented in this volume (see Fernando

navigate within the context of global socialism and analyze written testimonies on binational exchanges in education, we find the perspective of travelling memories intriguing. Although plots connected to transnational identity building are highlighted in this strand of research, researchers rarely focus on the transnational, socialist experience in memory literature.²⁸ A remarkable contribution is the study of Gronenthal, who dived into a world of nostalgia in East German and Polish literature and worked out post-socialist nostalgia as a transnational phenomenon.²⁹ Furthermore, there is an interdisciplinary interest in what was labeled “Eastalgia”³⁰ or “post-communist nostalgia”³¹ within memory literature, but many contributions stay focused on the European memory space.³² So, how to examine the Afro-European experience of remembering socialism?

Agostinho Machava). See also Malte Wandel, *Einheit, Arbeit, Wachsamkeit: Die DDR in Mosambik* (Heidelberg, Berlin: Kehrer Verlag: 2012).

27 Erl, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 126.

28 Transnationality in memory literature is usually discussed with reference to diaspora and the experience of loss, as well as (forced) migration or collective trauma. For transnational melancholy see for instance Stephanie Siewert, “Die Topographie der Melancholie in transnationaler Perspektive,” in *Raum und Gefühl: Der Spatial Turn und die neue Emotionsforschung*, ed. Gertrud Lehnert (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011). For a discussion of transnational memory in the context of diaspora and migration, see the edited volume by De Cesari and Rigney, *Transnational Memory*. For collective trauma in memory literature consult Anja Tippner and Anna Artwińska, *Narrative of Annihilation, Confinement, and Survival: Camp Literature in a Transnational Perspective* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

29 Mariell C. Gronenthal, *Nostalgie und Sozialismus: Emotionale Erinnerung in der deutschen und polnischen Gegenwartsliteratur* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2018).

30 Thomas Kunze and Thomas Vogel, *Ostalgie international: Erinnerungen an die DDR von Nicaragua bis Vietnam* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2010); Marcia C. Schenck, “A Chronology of Nostalgia: Memories of Former Angolan and Mozambican Worker Trainees to East Germany,” in *Labor History* 59 (2018), doi:10.1080/0023656X.2018.1429187.

31 Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille, *Post-Communist Nostalgia* (Oxford: Berghahn 2010). See also Enzo Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia: Marxism, History, and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

32 Nevertheless, there is a strand of research on memories of foreign students in the former GDR; for instance, for Cuban students consult relevant chapters in Wolf-Dieter Vogel and Verona Wunderlich, *Abenteuer DDR: Kubanerinnen und Kubaner im deutschen Sozialismus* (Berlin: Karl Dietz, 2011); Susanne Ritschel, *Kubanische Studierende in der DDR: Ambivalentes Erinnern zwischen Zeitzeuge und Archiv* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2015). For Latin American students in the Soviet Union see Tobias Rupprecht, *Soviet Internationalism After Stalin: Interaction and Exchange Between the USSR and Latin America During the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 191–229.

In this regard we find the discussion connected to “post-socialism” in educational science inspiring,³³ because the authors do not stay within the European framework, but decisively transverse the global scale when researching socialist experiences of schooling, education, and childhood from all over the world.³⁴ The authors approach the socialist past through personal memories and contrast these memories with official narratives on childhood in socialist states, as well as evaluations on this past in scientific and public discourses. During their analysis, the researchers seek to “think with” memories while “thinking through” childhood and the everyday life in socialist education systems. In that framework, they give attention to collective negotiation processes of that socialist past in the post-socialist space and also examine their own role in such processes – both as memory holders and as scientists engaged in the generation of knowledge about the socialist past.³⁵ Before moving to our analysis of individual memories by formerly educational travelers, we wish to briefly explore the course of collective remembering in both post-socialist societies. For that purpose, we will dive into public debates on the socialist past in post-socialist Germany and Mozambique and compare remembrance in both local contexts.

33 Iveta Silova, *Post-Socialism Is Not Dead: (Re)Reading the Global in Comparative Education* (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2010); Iveta Silova et al., *Reimagining Utopias: Theory and Method for Educational Research in Post-Socialist Contexts* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2017).

34 Iveta Silova, Nelli Piattoeva, and Zsuzsa Millei, *Childhood and Schooling in (Post)Socialist Societies: Memories of Everyday Life* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018).

35 Millei, Silova, and Gannon, “Thinking Through,” 3. We fit into the category of researchers born in socialist systems (Poland and Mozambique), and to a certain extent we share the experience of childhood in socialism with the authors cited above. At the same time, we share this experience with the authors of the memory books we use for our analysis of cross-national remembering of socialism. Therefore, we agree with Millei et al. that writing about a socialist past that – in bits and pieces – seems related to one’s own biography can be a methodologically challenging venture, especially were “collective biography collapses the binary that separates the knowledge generating expert from the layperson remembering.” Ibid.

Remembering Socialism in Post-socialist Germany and Mozambique

In German and Central European memory debates, state socialism is considered a significant period for contemporary historiography.³⁶ Historians conducted research on state socialism from the 1990s onwards and results on socialist education in the former GDR were gradually woven into the overall German memory discourse. Studies on socialist education in the GDR examined political indoctrination in schools and mechanisms of sanction within the education system, among other rather unpleasant topics.³⁷ These negative aspects of GDR education were discussed publicly and received a prominent place in the collective memory making in unified Germany.³⁸

Nevertheless, the collective memory on the former GDR lived through considerable inner-German controversies in the post-1990s era and, interestingly enough, it remains a contested memory space up-to-date.³⁹ What lies at the core of such controversies? The German historian Martin Sabrow sums up that at least three narratives are concurring for hegemony in GDR historiography. The first focuses on totalitarianism and the malice of dictatorship (official mem-

36 Martin Sabrow, "Zeitgeschichte als Aufarbeitung: Der Fall DDR," in *Aufarbeitung der Aufarbeitung: Die DDR im geschichtskulturellen Diskurs*, ed. Saskia Handro (Schwalbach: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2011), 23.

37 Gert Geissler and Ulrich Wiegmann, *Schule und Erziehung in der DDR: Studien und Dokumente* (Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand, 1995); Tilman Grammes, Henning Schluß, and Hans-Joachim Vogler, *Staatsbürgerkunde in der DDR: Ein Dokumentenband* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2006); Andreas Gratzemann, *Die Erziehung zum "neuen" Menschen im Jugendwerkhof Torgau: Ein Beitrag zum kulturellen Gedächtnis* (Berlin: Lit, 2008).

38 Gronenthal, *Nostalgie und Sozialismus*, 38–41. Official GDR memorial sites, for instance, were placed in former special status prisons of the Ministry for State Security (MfS or Stasi), a "Berlin Wall" museum opened up in 1998, and former Stasi headquarters were turned into museums in Leipzig and Berlin. See Carola S. Rudnick, *Die andere Hälfte der Erinnerung: Die DDR in der deutschen Geschichtspolitik nach 1989* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011). A wider variety of memory perspectives was adapted in cinematographic productions on the GDR, which would address topics like persecution or monotony in state socialism, but also encompass comedic elements and Eastalgia; see Gerhard J. Lüdeker, *Kollektive Erinnerung und nationale Identität: Nationalsozialismus, DDR und Wiedervereinigung im deutschen Spielfilm nach 1989* (Munich: Ed. Text + Kritik, 2012), 206–272. On representations of everyday life in GDR museums see Regina Göschl, *DDR-Alltag im Museum: Geschichtskulturelle Diskurse, Funktionen und Fallbeispiele im vereinigten Deutschland* (Münster: Lit, 2019).

39 Sebastian Klinge, *1989 und wir: Geschichtspolitik und Erinnerungskultur nach dem Mauerfall* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015).

ory politics), the second praises the fruits of socialist progress (former GDR functionaries and supporters of the system), and the third paints a picture of adjustment and “coming to terms” with the GDR system (“*Arrangementgedächtnis*” of average GDR citizens).⁴⁰ Although in 1998 the Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship was initiated to deal with the various aspects of life in the GDR and a common German memory discourse,⁴¹ critics observe that in public debate the SED state’s surveillance apparatus and the one-party dictatorship of the SED prevailed as a major topic. With this emphasis, public attention was rightly paid to the victims of the SED state, but the memory horizon of a probably large majority of GDR citizens was disregarded. Many of the less spectacular tales on everyday life in the GDR ended up being less visible in the collective memory of unified Germany, but stayed conserved in the communicative memory of East Germans. This may be exemplified by the diverging perceptions of GDR history as expressed by school pupils from East and West.⁴² West German pupils tend to associate the GDR with repression, as told in school, and horrifying stories about “passing the inner-German border,” as told by Western family members. East German pupils, on the other hand, rather blend personal “remiscences of original history” and local patriotism into the historical narrative, while they tend to trivialize the context of the dictatorship.⁴³ Such memory disparities point towards a still ongoing process of German re-unification and identity building, in which memory making does play a prominent part. Accordingly, the memory discourse on the socialist past of Eastern Germany continues to be a worthwhile research agenda in unified Germany.⁴⁴

40 Sabrow, “Zeitgeschichte als Aufarbeitung,” 28–29.

41 For further information see <https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/>.

42 The corresponding study was based on more than 200 interviews with school pupils from Lower Saxony, as well as Western and Eastern Berlin; see Sabine Moller, “Diktatur im Familiengedächtnis: Anmerkungen zu Widersprüchen im Geschichtsbewusstsein von Schülern,” in *Aufarbeitung der Aufarbeitung: Die DDR im geschichtskulturellen Diskurs*, ed. Saskia Handro (Schwalbach: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2011), 140–141.

43 Moller, “Diktatur,” 149.

44 This agenda may be exemplified by studies on the emergence and maintaining of East German identities even after 1990 and its representation in memory literature; for instance see Bernd Blaschke, “Erzählte Gefühle und Emotionen des Erinnerns: Ostdeutsche Identitätsliteratur der in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren Geborenen,” in *Ostdeutsche Erinnerungsdiskurse nach 1989: Narrative kultureller Identität*, ed. Elisa Goudin-Steinmann and Carola Hähnel-Mesnard (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013). See also Regine Criser, “Zwischen Anpassung und Instrumentalisierung: Hybride Lebensnarrative in der Literatur nach 1989,” in *ibid.* For an overview of GDR-related research, see Ulrich Mählert, *Die DDR als Chance: Neue Perspektive auf ein altes Thema* (Berlin: Metropolis, 2016).

In the case of Mozambique, colonialism and the post-independence transition to state socialism have an outstanding relevance for the country's history and, accordingly, also its educational development. Still it seems that state socialism as a postcolonial development phase (around 1975–1990) tends to be overlooked in current memorial debates and in research on Mozambican history of education.⁴⁵ Instead, remembering the struggle for independence and an education system in the FRELIMO-run “liberated zones” during the 1960s are points of interest in the country's current politics of remembrance.⁴⁶ Thus, expectations on how to deal with the socialist past are quite different in post-socialist Mozambique and Germany.

The prerogative of interpreting the Mozambican past until today remained with FRELIMO. Since independence, FRELIMO continues to exercise control over the “mechanisms of engaging with the past and writing the national narrative of the war” as ruling party.⁴⁷ This would also include muzzling unwanted memories. However, sporadic explosions of remembrance in public debates accompany FRELIMO's channeled politics of forgetting. For example, the former warring factions FRELIMO and RENAMO would maintain general silence on the civil war on most occasions, and thereby follow the “the imperative for attaining peace and political stability.”⁴⁸ Still, both parties occasionally use public memory debates to reinvigorate old rivalries with their former war opponents. Election campaigns are used to accuse the other side of respective war crimes, and regular “interruptions of silence” in the Mozambican parliament occur during these periods.⁴⁹ But outside of the public space, an unspoken silence agree-

⁴⁵ Many Mozambican and international publications on the socialist period came out during exactly that time and were marked by “sentiments of solidarity and sympathy;” see Michael Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise: Transforming Schools in Mozambique* (Addis Ababa: OSSREA 2011), 12. More recent publications discuss education during state socialism on few pages only, e.g. Mouzinho Mário et al., *Higher Education in Mozambique: A Case Study* (Oxford: James Currey, Maputo: Imprensa & Livraria Universitária UEM, 2003), 7–10. Also Patricio Vitorino Langa, *Higher Education in Portuguese Speaking African Countries: A Five Country Baseline Study* (Cape Town: African Minds 2013), 63, accessed January 5, 2020, www.africanminds.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/AM-HE-in-Lusophone-Africa-Text-and-Cover-web.pdf.

⁴⁶ See for instance Salvador André Zawangoni, *A FRELIMO e a Formação do Homem Novo (1964–1974 e 1975–1982)* (Maputo: CIEDIMA, 2007); Joel das Neves Tembe, *História da Luta de Libertação Nacional* (Maputo: Ministério dos Combatentes, Direcção Nacional de História, 2014). The corresponding “liberation script” in public memory debates was analyzed in Coelho, “Politics,” 21.

⁴⁷ Victor Igreja, “Memories as Weapons: The Politics of Peace and Silence in Post-Civil War Mozambique,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34 (2008): 544.

⁴⁸ Igreja, “Memories as Weapons,” 540.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 545–550.

ment seems to prevail, as explained by a parliamentary deputy of RENAMO: “the people that insult one another in the parliament, when they meet in a *barraca* [a hut where alcohol is sold] they don’t talk about the bad things of the past.”⁵⁰

Did the educational history marked by socialism in Mozambique fall into oblivion, because the same time period was overshadowed by civil war, or was it simply no longer important? It seems that FRELIMO nowadays has little interest to dwell on memories of the socialist past.⁵¹ Although street names such as Karl Marx Avenue or Mao Tse Tung Avenue shape Maputo’s urban landscape and are clear reminders of the socialist past, this same past seems to have no positive or negative place in official memory.⁵² Pitcher considers in this regard that “[w]ith the implementation of structural adjustment in 1987 and major constitutional changes since 1990, the government has dropped most reference to socialism.”⁵³ At the same time, the scientific interpretation of Mozambique’s socialist phase seems to move within “narratives of triumph and failure”⁵⁴: while post-independence literature tended to glorify the socialist development, the same phase was generally declared as failure in writings after the system change. Contrary to both extremes, Pitcher demands that “scholars need to come to terms with the socialist period in Mozambique”⁵⁵ and eventually move away from both antithetical interpretations.

50 Ibid, 551. Such attempts to break the collective amnesia have been the subject of academic debates in Mozambique, for instance, in the “Philosophical Ateliers” organized by the prominent Mozambican philosopher Severino Ngoenha. These ateliers take place in the “Garden of the Madgermanes” (a term referring to the former Mozambican workers returned from the GDR in Maputo; see Machava, this volume). In this context, discussions have often been associated with the theme of revisiting the past to construct national reconciliation and to activate citizenship. Meetings are announced via social media channels like Facebook in a group named “Atelier Filosófico”; see group content on Facebook Inc., accessed July 26, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/Atelier-Filos%C3%B3fico-2217100891889370/>.

51 Igreja, “Memories as Weapons,” 554; Anne M. Pitcher, “Forgetting from Above and Memory from Below: Strategies of Legitimation and Struggle in Postsocialist Mozambique,” *Journal of the International African Institute* 76 (2006).

52 Igreja, “Memories as Weapons,” 545.

53 Pitcher, “Forgetting from Above,” 95.

54 Pitcher, “Forgetting from Above,” 106.

55 Pitcher, “Forgetting from Above,” 106.

Remembering Each Other: Mozambican Memory and “Remembering Mozambique” in (East) German Memory Literature

After briefly recapitalizing the collective memory making on the socialist era in both countries, we would like to focus on the personal memories of Mozambicans and East Germans about each other. From the preceding section we conclude that neither Mozambique plays a central role in German historiography, nor does East Germany appear to be central to Mozambican memory debates. Nevertheless, we found pieces of common memories of socialist times in German as well as Mozambican memory literature. Such memories were recollected by East Germans and published with a focus on “remembering Mozambique” and the authors’ mission in Africa, as well as by Mozambicans who published personal testimonies about their lives in the GDR.⁵⁶

Although the chosen memory sources are written from the perspective of temporary migrants and therefore “outsiders” to the given society, they may be of complementary relevance for each other, for at least two reasons. First, we would maintain that memory literature published by Mozambicans contributes to include non-German perspectives into memory spaces connected to the GDR.⁵⁷ Remarkably enough, non-German remembering of the GDR occasionally results to be rather benevolent when compared to the inner-German debates.⁵⁸ From time to time even a breeze of nostalgia seems to fly through Mozambican memories of the GDR.⁵⁹ The bitter sweetness of remembering an adolescence as worker trainees in East Germany can be traced by the rousing stories of Mozambican returnees popularly known as “Madjermanes.”⁶⁰ Second, we hold that selected East German memory books preserved a wide range of memories of the People’s Republic of Mozambique. Associated memories of socialist Mozambi-

⁵⁶ All consulted memory sources are listed in the bibliography section.

⁵⁷ For further reading on non-German perspectives consult Kunze and Vogel, *Ostalgie international*.

⁵⁸ West-German novelists, for instance, tend to present a “negative portrayal of the GDR.” Stuart Parkes, “Literary Portrayals of the GDR by Non-GDR citizens,” in *The GDR Remembered: Representations of the East German State Since 1989*, ed. Nick Hodgkin and Caroline Pearce (Camden House: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 66.

⁵⁹ Tanja Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity: East-Germany in Mozambique* (London: Lexington, 2014); Marcia C. Schenck, “Ostalgie in Mosambik: Erinnerungen ehemaliger mosambikanischer Vertragsarbeiter in der DDR,” *Südlink* 172 (2015).

⁶⁰ See contributions of Machava, and Alberto and Schenck, this volume.

que mostly emerged in the context of East German working visits. Such visits were rather rare and only designated GDR citizens were allowed to travel to foreign countries in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶¹ The same is true for most Mozambican citizens at that time. It seems though that especially that exceptionality of Afro-European contacts between nominally socialist partners contributed to the intensity of emotional memories on such encounters.⁶² In this regard, we found the cooperation in education between the GDR and PRM to be a productive ground for recollecting common as well as unique memories of such encounters. What we found were memories of former colleagues, teachers or students, memories of educational institutions, memories of pedagogic settings, and, most remarkably, of the everyday life in a socialist world – a world that for both Mozambican and East German memory bearers disappeared in the early 1990s.

Interpretation of Memory Literature and Memories of Cooperation in Education

While reviewing the available memory literature by Mozambicans on socialist Germany and by East Germans on socialist Mozambique, it became apparent that publications connected to educational cooperation are few in number, but still rich in content.⁶³ The following section is devoted to the multifold memories of everyday life in both countries as represented in published memoirs of former expatriates or students in their respective professional and private settings.⁶⁴

61 Jens Niederhut, *Die Reisekader: Auswahl und Disziplinierung einer privilegierten Minderheit in der DDR* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005).

62 Gertrud Lehnert, “Raum und Gefühl,” in *Raum und Gefühl: Der Spatial Turn und die neue Emotionsforschung*, ed. Gertrud Lehnert (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011).

63 Further memory literature by international educators who have worked in Mozambique during the 1970s and 1980s is available in English: Chris Searle, *We’re Building the New School: Diary of a Teacher in Mozambique* (London: Zed Press, 1981); John S. Saul, *Revolutionary Traveller: Freeze-Frames from a Life* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2009).

64 Following our research interest, we identified 16 publications referring to contexts of educational exchange between the GDR and Mozambique. From that data corpus, we chose five memory books and five articles from edited volumes for in-depth analysis and used them as textual framework for carving out traces of common memory on both countries. Although almost all texts were published in German, four narrators are of Mozambican origin. To counterbalance this perspectival distortion in favor of written testimonies in the German language, we would like to recommend the relevant chapters in this volume that primarily rely on oral history sources from former Mozambican worker trainees and were actually conducted in Portuguese (see Machava; Alberto and Schenck, this volume).

Packing Bags and Imagining “the Other”

To begin with, it is worth mentioning that both Mozambican and East German memory texts extensively comment on the other society from the perspective of a guest or migrant. The first impressions upon arrival were relatively dominant for the perception of the other country. But the phase before arrival is also often described, because authors started to imagine the country of destination in their home country already. Especially in the arrival context, authors realized that they had eventually deemed themselves somewhat closer to paradise than reality in the host country would allow. Although the term paradise seems a bit exaggerated, we read that for both Mozambicans and East Germans the respective other country offered a notion of paradise—or at least of adventure and escape—in the phase before their arrival. Nevertheless, there was a slightly different emphasis on what paradise might mean for East Germans compared to Mozambicans. We will elaborate on these nuances of paradise—or Promised Land—while following the memories of Frank and Ibraimo. The GDR citizen Frank is the protagonist of a German memory fiction book.⁶⁵ Mozambican-born Ibraimo is the author of his own autobiography.⁶⁶ While Frank travelled southwards to work as educational advisor for the Mozambican government and being a professionally experienced adult,⁶⁷ the young man Ibraimo traveled northwards to pursue further education, but found himself as a contract worker in the GDR.

65 The novel’s author himself has worked in Mozambique in the education sector; Helmut Dora, *Kokos und bitterer Tee: Tage und Nächte in Mosambik* (Rostock: BS-Verlag, 2009). We categorized this novel as a memory fiction book, because it combines elements of Mr. Dora’s autobiographical experience of working in Mozambique with fictional elements, like the use of alter egos for the characters in the book. The use of alter egos certainly was meant to protect his former colleagues’ identities and their private life, but also gave the author more freedom for interpreting his own past – with all its delicate details, like a love affair or other drama. The novel’s protagonist, for instance, was renamed to “Frank”, but the main storyline of the books is actually built around Mr. Dora’s own experience in Mozambique. We were able to reconstruct this insight, because Mr. Dora was willing to recall parts of his life story to one of the authors during an interview in 2014.

66 Ibraimo Alberto, *Ich wollte leben wie die Götter: Was in Deutschland aus meinen afrikanischen Träumen wurde* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2014).

67 We were shocked to discover that Dora uses the n-word in his book. It seems that the author uses the racist terminology more often when it comes to the description of people from rural Mozambique. This selectivity is worth noticing, because then the racialized imagery not only encompasses a black and white dualism, but also employs categories like rural and urban, educated and uneducated, or colleague and stranger, when it comes to racist terminology. Nevertheless, in at least one story he refers to a colleague and friend of his as “the strong n****.” Dora, *Kokos*, 69. Having this in mind, one could argue that title and subtitle also refer to

For Frank, like for most East Germans at that time, working in Mozambique offered the opportunity to work and travel abroad, which was a great privilege at a time when cross-border movement was strongly regulated or even impossible for most GRD citizens. The East German imaginary world of faraway lands can be exemplified by the daydreaming of Frank. Although Frank was not sure where to locate Mozambique on a globe, his thoughts started traveling there as soon as the employment offer was announced to him by a GDR ministry.⁶⁸ His daydreaming was harshly criticized by his wife Rita:

Well. So, you have already accepted the job? [...] Without even knowing anything about this country, your thoughts are already there. We have our kids here. What should we do with them? [...] Maybe there is racism, or maybe people are shooting there. Probably it's also very hot. We know nothing – and then, such adventures!⁶⁹

Yet, despite her concerns about their children, her discomfort to leave her “interesting job,” and the worries concerning the overall situation in Mozambique, she decides to join Frank on his mission, as she did years before when both migrated to Cuba.⁷⁰ Both protagonists mention their sense of solidarity as an important motive to participate in Mozambique’s post-socialist reconstruction, meaning the idea of building a socialist utopia abroad may also have played a part in their vision of faraway Mozambique.

A similar adventure spirit may be observed in the storyline of young Mozambicans, who preponderantly were not able to travel to Europe due to economic stratification in the post-independence period. Therefore, educational and vocational programs abroad were embraced as an opportunity to travel. The notion of the GDR as the Promised Land for foreign students is vividly described by the former Mozambican contract worker Ibraimo, who in his autobiographical record

these dichotomies. However, a literal interpretation is possible as well. “Coconut and Bitter Tea” might then refer to Dora’s work with university students on coconut and tea plantations, which is described at length. Besides, we interpret that the main story behind the “bitter tea” was that usually staff and students got black tea with sugar for breakfast in the canteen, but in times when the civil war was getting worse there was a lack of sugar, even in Maputo. Thus, the coconut could stand for the exotic part of his teaching experience and the “notion of paradise” that many Easterners associated with the deployment in the Global South, while the bitter tea could represent the hardship of the situation. The subtitle “Days and Nights in Mozambique” seems to point towards the intensity of the experience.

⁶⁸ Dora, *Kokos*, 12

⁶⁹ Dora, *Kokos*, 14. All quotations from memory sources were translated by Piepiorka and Bunaissa.

⁷⁰ Dora, *Kokos*, 15.

remembers that one day he and his fellow students found a scholarship announcement at school. The youngsters quickly decide to take their chance to go abroad and register on the application list:

We conferred with each other for a few minutes, but the dice have been cast. [...] I couldn't imagine becoming a teacher [in Mozambique]. We wanted to get out, get away from the civil war. And then there was one more thing: In the GDR white people were living. The Gods. I took a pencil out of my pocket. [...] We were ready to travel to the land of Gods.⁷¹

Interestingly enough the initially positive notions on “the other” were based upon very little actual knowledge. In some narratives the main characters initially even had difficulties to locate the respectively other country on a map.⁷² Preparations to fill in such knowledge gaps were organized by official authorities before embarkment, but a comparative glance suggests that training contents varied immensely in East Germany and Mozambique. Furthermore, students, teachers, blue-collar, and white-collar professionals from both countries reported that the content of their training courses did not necessarily meet the learners' needs. This can be illustrated in the recollections of Rita and Frank, who during preparatory training in the GDR were astonished that most of their Portuguese language teachers had never visited Mozambique themselves. Only one of them—upon request from the East German participants—shared some knowledge about colonial Mozambique. But his knowledge was limited to topics like architecture or general orientation in the capital city and did not cover cultural insights, which was registered by the participants with slight disappointment.⁷³

Likewise, the Mozambican Ibraimo remembers that the training he and his fellows received did not really prepare them for what awaited them in the GDR, because it rather appeared to be a military camp than a preparations course for future workers and students. Instead of learning German vocabulary or intercultural habits, for instance, the prospective workers had to march about 40 kilometers per day. Ibraimo found this confusing, but accepted the military drill as he was convinced that it was for the sake of his future education.⁷⁴ An

71 Alberto, *Ich wollte leben*, 77. Ibraimo's image of white people was strongly related to Portuguese colonialism. In his memory, white Portuguese acted like “Gods” who commanded over live and death in colonial Mozambique.

72 This was also the case for Frank and Ibraimo: Dora, *Kokos*, 13–14; Alberto, *Ich wollte leben*, 77.

73 Dora, *Kokos*, 17.

74 Alberto, *Ich wollte leben*, 80–81.

East German physician confirmed to him during the application procedure that they were to study and even get interpreters until they learned German, so Ibraimo had no reason to wonder about the lack of language classes.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Mozambican instructor in the military-like camp explained that the adolescents must exercise well in order to keep up with the GDR citizens, who in his account were working from dawn to night. According to Ibraimo, “the man was serious about that, and we believed him. The foreign GDR expanded into a myth. The people living there drudged from morning to night and put themselves in the service of communism.”⁷⁶

Apart from this, many participants in preparatory camps did not learn anything about cultural standards. They did not read books about the GDR, and received little further orientation concerning the GDR.⁷⁷ The adolescents and young adults thus discussed unverified stories “about a phenomenon called snow.”⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the impending departure to unknown lands filled them with great expectations and excitement. It is striking that both Mozambican and East German narrators extensively describe their travel adventures, which were accompanied by stopovers in non-socialist countries,⁷⁹ or first-time flight experiences, as in the case of Ibraimo.⁸⁰

Unpacking Reality and Meeting “the Other”

Another noteworthy aspect in Mozambican and East German memory texts is the way in which authors deal with realities shortly after arrival. In sections devoted to arrival, narrators deliberately integrate positive, ambivalent, and negative experiences made upon arrival into their overall storytelling. Mozambican narrators, for instance, reflected on the imbalances between their prior imaginaries and the irritating East German realities found upon arrival. East German narrators, on the other hand, rather focused on the exotic nature of the land and the

⁷⁵ Alberto, *Ich wollte leben*, 86.

⁷⁶ Alberto, *Ich wollte leben*, 80–81.

⁷⁷ In biographical interviews, many Mozambican worker trainees stated that information on the GDR was “gathered through hearsay and rumors.” Furthermore, prospective migrants rather relied on the “experiences of friends and family members” than on official written sources while planning their stay in the GDR; see Marcia C. Schenck, “From Luanda and Maputo to Berlin,” 209.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Dora, *Kokos*, 19–21.

⁸⁰ Alberto, *Ich wollte leben*, 100.

overall “newness” of the arrival situation, while postponing critical thoughts to later sections of their narrative.

To illustrate some critical moments of arrival in the GDR, we borrow memories from António, a Mozambican student of economy in der GDR. António remembers the adjustment to the new climate and food customs but considers such adjustments as minor problem. What really discomforted him though was the lack of contact to German locals. As he has previously got to know GDR citizens in Mozambique, he hoped to find “the same sort of people” in the GDR itself. But to his disappointment the East German residents were not as “open and sociable” as their compatriots working in Mozambique. António describes a “certain distance” that GDR citizens displayed in social interactions, which deeply puzzled him.⁸¹ Gabriel, a Mozambican teacher at the School of Friendship in Staßfurt, even remembers false allegations against Mozambicans and shares a memory that reveals racist prejudice and a notion of envy for material goods on part of East German locals: “In a youth fashion store there were merely 100 pairs of jeans on offer. Five Mozambican pupils were also queueing there, and maybe two of them bought jeans. But as we were black, we attracted attention, so in the end people would say ‘The blacks again bought out everything’. And this again led to tensions.”⁸² In search for explanation, Gabriel concludes that probably the local people were overwhelmed with receiving 900 foreigners at once in a small place like Staßfurt.⁸³

On the other hand, many books contain positive memories of first encounters with GDR citizens. The Mozambican adolescent Eusébio, for instance, was delegated to the GDR in the 1980s to work as a translator in East German engine plants, where Mozambican citizens received vocational training or were employed as contract workers.⁸⁴ Eusébio recalls some “sympathetic Germans” willing to take care of newly arrived Mozambicans. In his view, “some of them hung out with us out of curiosity to meet a black person for the first time; others wished to find out more about our culture.”⁸⁵ Eusébio arrived in the GDR in Decem-

81 Renate Gudat and Abdul Ilal, “Erfahrungen von mosambikanischen Studenten in der DDR: Interviews,” in *Engagiert für Afrika: Die DDR und Afrika II*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden, Ilona Schleicher, and Hans-Georg Schleicher (Münster: Lit, 1994), 222, 224.

82 Gudat and Ilal, “Erfahrungen,” 217.

83 For discussion of racism against non-white East German citizens, see Anna Ransiek, “Anders-Sein in der DDR – Narrative Bezüge nach der Transformation,” in *Ostdeutsche Erinnerungsdiskurse nach 1989: Narrative kultureller Identität*, ed. Elisa Goudin-Steinmann and Carola Hähnel-Mesnard (Berlin: Frank & Timme Verlag, 2013).

84 Eusébio João Dembe, “Os privilegiados da década 80,” in *Moçambique-Alemanha, Ida e volta / Mosambik-Deutschland, Hin und zurück*, ed. ICMA (Maputo: ICMA, 2005).

85 Dembe, “Os privilegiados,” 65.

ber, and while playing in the snow, he made his first contacts with fellow East German teenagers, who taught him how to ride a sledge. In return he taught a German friend to dance “a dance from Africa.”⁸⁶

A generally positive memory landscape was outlined by Dieter, an East German exchange student at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. Dieter’s narrative stresses a high spirit of camaraderie on the part of his Mozambican fellow students, who helped him to integrate in the academic life after arrival. Dieter recalls that together they organized excursions to nearby beaches and various parties. In Dieter’s memory, everyone enjoyed the pleasures of the weekend and only occasional quarrels disturbed the overall friendly atmosphere in the Mozambican student dorm. However, not all GDR citizens in Mozambique had this kind of contact with locals, and Dieter even remembers notions of envy from fellow GDR citizens in this regard.⁸⁷

The arrival situation was rather different for East German cooperators who traveled to Mozambique as contracted personnel. On arrival at Eduardo Mondlane University, Frank and Rita were welcomed to the university’s guesthouse, where they spend three months, before receiving an apartment for the rest of their stay in Mozambique. In their remembrance, the basic conditions such as water, light, and necessary utensils for everyday life were minimally provided.⁸⁸ But what seemed more exciting for them was meeting their neighbors from the Netherlands, France, Russia, or Portugal, who also worked as international cooperators at the university and shared the guesthouse with them.⁸⁹ Therefore, the first sensation of meeting “the other” in the case of Frank was rather related to observing other international cooperators than to meeting his Mozambican colleagues.⁹⁰ It is interesting, for instance, that Frank’s description tends to exoticize his French neighbors in terms of sensuality.⁹¹ Beyond the university’s guesthouse, the environment of Maputo is described at length as being beautiful and exotic. First contacts with the local population occurred during a long walk

86 Dembe, “Os privilegiados,” 65.

87 Dieter Hebestreit, “Als DDR-Student in Mosambik,” in *Engagiert für Afrika: Die DDR und Afrika II*, ed. Ulrich von der Heyden, Ilona Schleicher, and Hans-Georg Schleicher (Münster: Lit, 1994), 227–228.

88 Dora, *Kokos*, 23.

89 International cooperators from various countries were contracted in the Mozambican education sector in the 1970s and 1980s. FRELIMO’s international recruitment strategy, in the first place, served to substitute the Portuguese professionals who left Mozambique shortly after independence, but also aimed at a quick qualification of national cadres by these international cooperators.

90 Dora, *Kokos*, 29, 34–35.

91 Dora, *Kokos*, 35.

through the city, while Frank and his wife explored the streets of Maputo and constantly got lost. Since after independence most street names had been changed, they needed to ask locals for directions, because their city map proved to be outdated. Indeed, Maputo's streets were renamed after prominent figures of socialism such as Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, or Mao Tse Tung. Such personalities should have sounded familiar to Frank and Rita. In practice, however, they needed a while to get used to the Mozambican pronunciation of Friedrich Engels as "Federico Ensches," until they understood which path to follow.⁹²

Overall it seems that former GDR cooperators' expectations were exceeded during their first weeks in Mozambique, because all East German narrators describe the beauty of nature and friendliness of people at length. An impressive example is delivered by Hans, a GDR advisor who worked at the teacher training institute in Maputo during the 1980s. Hans devotes a generous amount of text to his non-work activities in Mozambique and personal highlights like seeing a turtle, a dolphin, or a shark for the first time in his life (interestingly enough, Hans was responsible for the training of Mozambican biology teachers, amongst other duties).⁹³ His first encounter with the Indian Ocean in particular "seemed like paradise" to him and his wife.⁹⁴

Solidarity as Motive in International Cooperation in Education

Solidarity was the official motive for cooperation in education between the GDR and the PRM in the 1970s and 1980s.⁹⁵ But how did this somewhat overused term manifest in the practice of everyday cooperation? In the memory books we found a rather high spirit of solidarity in travelers from both sides. But it seems that East Germans interpreted their stay in Mozambique in connection to tasks like an "internationalist duty"⁹⁶ or spreading Marxist ideals, while Mozambicans re-

92 Dora, *Kokos*, 26–27.

93 Hans Bruchsteiner, "Vom Lernen und Lehren – als Berater in der mosambikanischen Volksbildung," in *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen! Die DDR in Mosambik: Erlebnisse, Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse aus drei Jahrzehnten*, ed. Matthias Voß (Münster: Lit, 2005), 444–448.

94 Bruchsteiner, "Vom Lernen," 445.

95 Alexandra Piepiorka, "Exploring 'Socialist Solidarity' in Higher Education: East German Advisors in Post-Independence Mozambique (1975–1992)," in *Education and Development in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa: Policies, Paradigms, and Entanglements, 1980s–1980s*, ed. Damiano Matasci et al. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), doi:10.1007/978-3-030-27801-4_11.

96 Rainer Grajek, *Berichte aus dem Morgengrauen: Als Entwicklungshelfer der DDR in Mosambik* (Grimma: Ute Vallentin, 2005), 51. For further information on Grajek's deployment in Mozambique see also Katrin Bahr in this volume.

ferred to goals like building the nation state when explicating their educational missions in the GDR. Besides the slight difference in the long-term goal formulation, it seems that solidarity in practical terms was understood as loyalty and friendship. This may be exemplified by the narrative of East German journalist Peter Spaček,⁹⁷ who accompanied a FRELIMO commander on a rally to a village in Central Mozambique shortly after independence. Although the villagers never experienced contact to FRELIMO members before, Peter recalls that thousands had gathered to hear the announcements. The journalist intended to observe the meeting from the background, but the FRELIMO commander asked him to come on stage and included the foreigner into his speech:

‘This comrade fought for us,’ he said. Some of the listeners laughed. A white person? The audience busted out laughing as he grabbed and raised my pen. ‘And this is his weapon.’ But then he raised a Kalashnikov and pointed towards a nearby tree. ‘With this weapon I can shoot as far as there. But with this one,’ now again pointing at the pen, ‘this comrade can reach out to the world.’⁹⁸

In his further speech, the FRELIMO commander established a connection between the author’s pen and the solidarity services of socialist countries to Mozambique, stressing the education of Mozambicans in the GDR, amongst others.

Over time, this heroic notion of solidarity, which was connected with the liberation struggle and also with the general reputation of the GDR, diminished in Mozambique. This, in part, happened due to rather bureaucratic shortcomings during the actual post-independence collaboration between the two countries. This may be demonstrated using the example of the East German cooperator Udo, who was delegated to the statistical office of Mozambique in 1979, where he helped organizing countrywide censuses and supported his counterparts and trainees in statistical planning and evaluation. His supervisor did express his satisfaction with Udo’s work on several occasions and wished to prolong the cooperator’s contract. Nevertheless, it seems that GDR authorities were not

⁹⁷ Peter Spaček was the first East German press correspondent, who visited the FRELIMO during the struggle for Mozambican independence. Already in 1970 he accompanied FRELIMO-troops into “the bush” and interviewed Samora Machel as well as other high-ranking FRELIMO-members. He published a positive report on his voyage to the FRELIMO-run “liberated areas” of Northern Mozambique in the international press and made FRELIMO’s struggle known to a wider public; Peter Spaček, *War ich wirklich in Moçambique? Als DDR-Korrespondent auf vier Kontinenten* (Berlin: Edition Weisse Seiten, 2005), 100 – 103. For medial representation of Mozambique and FRELIMO in the GDR see also Bodie in this volume.

⁹⁸ Spaček, *War ich wirklich*, 123 – 124.

willing to let Udo go for any longer than a few months.⁹⁹ Due to his only short-term contracts, Udo used to travel back and forth between the GDR and Mozambique for five years, very much to the dismay of his Mozambican supervisor Rodrigues. After writing several requests for prolonging Udo's contract, Rodrigues eventually received a negative or only partly approving response from GDR authorities. Instead of Udo another East German cooperator was chosen to take over the job – a person who, in Rodrigues' view, did not possess the necessary skills to support the bureau's work during the next census. Resignedly, he turned to Udo: "Alas! No one makes life as hard for us as the countries we are friends with!"¹⁰⁰ And further he complained: "From other countries [...] people come voluntarily, with goodwill and ready to help us. With you we do have a friendship agreement, but every time there is a huge struggle to receive the requested support."¹⁰¹ Such dialogues between the protagonist Udo and his Mozambican counterparts point towards a trust-based communication style between the colleagues. At the same time, the practical limits of state-organized socialist solidarity are addressed quite frankly here.

Learning to Understand Each Other

Intercultural or local learning can be traced back by small episodes told in the memory books of East German *cooperantes* (cooperators) in Mozambique. One such episode is recalled by Rainer, a history and arts teacher who worked as advisor in the department for teacher training for the Mozambican Ministry of Education between 1981 and 1986. On one occasion, Rainer is invited by a Mozambican colleague to meet some local artists and to visit the *Núcleo de Arte*, Mozambique's first art association. Among other works they discuss a painting showing a *curandeira* (healer), a traditional medicine woman performing a healing ritual. While examining the painting, Rainer wonders why the persons lying at the feet of the *curandeira* opened their mouths. The artist Mankeu explains that "their illness had made them sad. Sadness seals the mouth. The open mouth therefore symbolizes that sadness has escaped."¹⁰² Deeply impressed by the African artwork, Rainer concludes in his book that this artist was like an embodiment of the Mozambican people.

99 Udo Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern: Arbeit – Leben – Abenteuer 1979 bis 1985* (Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2011), 320.

100 Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern*, 309.

101 Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern*, 349.

102 Grajek, *Berichte*, 257.

But intercultural learning also occurred in the context of work – sometimes even in a classroom setting. During a practical lesson, one of Rainer’s pupils, a future instructor of Marxism-Leninism named Senhor V., covered the October Revolution in Russia. Apparently, the term Bolsheviks was not familiar to all of his audience, so upon request Senhor V. explained: “You know, here in the South [of Mozambique] we have the Ronga tribe. Many Ronga are workers, peasants, or soldiers. Likewise, back then in Russia there was a tribe called Bolsheviks; many of them were also workers, peasants, soldiers.”¹⁰³ We strongly assume that the East German instructors of Marxism-Leninism must have disagreed with this interpretation. Despite the misinterpretation of the historical role of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the topic was not discussed further in Rainer’s recollection. Nevertheless, it seems surprising that Senhor V. relied on the tribe as a figurative example to illustrate the role of the Bolsheviks in Russia, because the example contradicted FRELIMO’s discourse against tribalism in Mozambican society to a large extent. Apparently, while FRELIMO’s politics aimed at overcoming tribal bonds on the national level, in a small teacher training institute in Nampula the tribe served as useful reference to interpret the role of Marxist-Leninist parties in revolutionary processes, by simply picturing them as leading tribes with many workers, peasants, and soldiers. This rather creative interpretation of “a tribe called Bolsheviks” by a future Mozambican instructor of Marxism-Leninism may serve as a good example of the ideological entanglements between Africa and the East, as it shows how local actors reclaimed the historiography of socialism by adapting it to local meanings.

Learning to Deal with Contradictions and Disappointments in State Socialism

Mozambicans who lived in the GDR often express mixed feelings when they reflect on East German state socialism in their narratives. Apparently, the self-representation of the country did not resonate with everyday life as experienced by foreigners. All Mozambican narrators did experience xenophobia or racism at some point, although the GDR government claimed that the East German society was guided by anti-racist ideals. Thus, racism rarely occurred in the workplace of the Mozambican migrants, but racist assaults often occurred in spheres where state control tended to be absent, namely in bars or discotheques.¹⁰⁴ In order

¹⁰³ Grajek, *Berichte*, 80.

¹⁰⁴ See Machava, this volume.

not to hurt the comfort of the GDR population and its leadership, the Mozambican teacher Gabriel learned to control what should and should not be said. In other words, he learned to control and manage his silence. He further mentioned that in the beginning his motivation for maintaining silence was not to hurt his East German hosts. But with time he learned that “the things that were not being said, turned out to be the most important ones, in a way.”¹⁰⁵ Regarding the issue of freedom of expression in East German state socialism, Gabriel recollects that after a while he understood the informal rules of political communication: “There were things that you would say in a private setting. There you could express your opinion, discuss with people and express criticism. And then, there were official settings, where you would say the things which were expected to be said.”¹⁰⁶ In this example, Mozambican narrators clearly work out the contradiction between the democratic self-representation of the GDR and the rather undemocratic practice of silencing political debates among citizens – or in this case foreigners. At the same time, Gabriel’s memory demonstrates how foreigners adopted certain cultural practices that were common among GDR citizens.

East German observers also take up the topic of contradictions with state socialism when narrating about their experience in Mozambique. On the one hand, they recall situations in which they disagreed with the behavior of fellow GDR cooperators in Mozambique, and on the other hand, they observe contradictions in Mozambican state socialism as another noteworthy phenomenon. This may be illustrated by the autobiography of Udo, who was contracted by the Mozambican government to work on the population census and to qualify Mozambican statisticians. He and his intern from Eduardo Mondlane University were analyzing statistical data on Mozambique’s industry sector from the years 1979 and 1980. A German cooperator called Micha shared the office with them, but did not show very much passion for this work. In Udo’s recollections Micha affirmed that his contract was only valid for two years and that he would not stay in Mozambique for a single day longer, a stance that differed greatly from the official motive of internationalist solidarity as propagated in the GDR. Apart from that, this colleague used to speak German with Udo on all occasions, although it was obvious that none of their Mozambican colleagues would understand any German. As Udo recalled, this behavior was at least impolite if not highly offensive to their Mozambican colleagues, and Micha’s attitude embarrassed him. Udo re-

105 Gudat and Ilal, “Erfahrungen,” 218.

106 Gudat and Ilal, “Erfahrungen,” 219.

counts that many other cooperators from the GDR behaved likewise and that the Mozambican partners repeatedly complained about such behavior.¹⁰⁷

On the other hand, GDR citizens were sometimes overwhelmed by the challenges that awaited them at their workplace. The East German educational advisor Rainer, for instance, was delegated to contribute to the history curriculum for the teacher training institutes in the country. The “expert group” in charge of curriculum planning consisted of international educators, amongst others from Brazil and Portugal,¹⁰⁸ which led Rainer to speculate about their unwillingness to collaborate with him. Although “good sounding terms like ‘socialist Mozambique’, ‘scientificity’, and ‘historical materialism’” were dropped by his international colleagues during team meetings, Rainer’s version of socialist awareness was rather ignored in the curriculum planning process itself¹⁰⁹: “You know, Mr. Grajek, we are all from different countries – we all have very different perceptions of the term awareness.”¹¹⁰ Facing such statements Rainer had to leave the final decision to their Mozambican supervisor, who—in this case—chose to opt in favor of Rainer’s concept of “socialist awareness.”¹¹¹

What astonished East German authors was the contrast between the official appraisal of the Soviet Union as the mother state of socialism, and a seemingly minor popularity of Soviet cooperators among the Mozambican population. The East German statistician Udo remembers that during a visit to a fishermen’s village at the Niassa Lake local women were uncertain if he would like to join them for lunch. Puzzled about their uncertainty, Udo asks for the reason of the women’s concern and gets an upfront answer: a few weeks before his visit some “*soviéticos*” (Soviets) passed by the place to evaluate if a village cooperative could be founded there. The Soviet visitors chose to bring cans of tinned food instead of enjoying local food and did not cook together with the villagers. The latter concluded from this behavior that the *soviéticos* might have feared for their health, because they even brought water with them. Udo retrospectively regards such behavior as highly counterproductive to socialist goals like solidarity and friendship: “You cannot convince people with propaganda and beautiful

107 Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern*, 74.

108 It was not unusual that international cooperators from Western countries and the Eastern bloc had to work together within the Mozambican education system. As a common language facilitated communication with Portuguese and Brazilian citizens, the Mozambican government frequently employed educational experts from both countries. See Piepiorka, “Exploring Socialist Solidarity,” 290, 297.

109 Grajek, *Berichte*, 70.

110 *Ibid.*

111 Grajek, *Berichte*, 71.

speeches alone. How do they want to agitate for friendship, when they isolate themselves like that? It's a mystery to me."¹¹²

In addition to critically observing the behavior of Soviet cooperators, Mozambicans frequently mentioned national problems when talking to their East German colleagues and friends. Independence has raised great hopes among the Mozambican population and socialism was officially praised as the sure road to national development. But with the growing economic crisis and an ongoing civil war during the 1980s a severe lack of goods and services became manifest. In spite of this dramatic setting, East German cooperators occasionally observed a rather elitist or even selfish behavior on part of some FRELIMO party cadres, which did not correspond to the official agenda of socialism for the ordinary people. One of such unpleasant memories is mentioned by young journalist Peter Spaček, who recounts a meeting with an old FRELIMO friend "from the bush" (meaning the armed struggle).¹¹³ Meanwhile his friend turned governor in the province capital of Tete invited Spaček for an opulent dinner. To Spaček's astonishment the new governor had taken over the former Portuguese governor's estate, including the butler. But what really caught the journalist's attention were the delicious prawns on his old friend's dining table. Such fancy foods were almost unavailable on the coast itself, but the dinner took place 400 kilometers inland and the governor apparently did not mind flying them in. He even boasted of the "solidarity" between governors that allowed him to organize such extravagances.¹¹⁴ Downhearted Spaček came to the conclusion that it was not worth appealing to his old friend's socialist ideals from the guerilla times: "As the idea failed in our own homes in Europe, why should it work exactly here, in faraway Africa?"¹¹⁵

When it came to consumer goods, some East German cooperators also observed a comparable decline in socialist ideals in the ranks of their own higher-ranking SED cadres. For instance, the biochemistry lecturer Holger, who worked at Eduardo Mondlane University, recalls an opulent reception in Maputo organized for a high-ranking SED delegation during their visit to the fifth FRELIMO Congress in 1989. What caught his attention at this reception were the boring speeches as well as the Western drinks, namely bottles of Evian water and the

112 Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern*, 277.

113 Spaček has visited FRELIMO-controlled areas during the independence struggle and got to know many FRELIMO-leaders, who at that time were guerilla fighters and lived in rather spartan conditions. Thus, the post-independence luxurious lifestyle of former comrades "from the bush" may have strongly contrasted with his earlier experience with FRELIMO-officials.

114 Spaček, *War ich wirklich*, 153.

115 *Ibid.*

soft drink Fanta on the tables. Later he learned from a colleague that these and many other Western products had been flown in especially for this government delegation and that the official airline of the GDR, *Interflug*, was responsible for the transport.¹¹⁶ Although such memory details may seem insignificant, they show very well the awareness of privilege in both socialist societies, because the privileged access to scarce or exceptional goods was often tied to higher ranks in the state apparatus. Thus, while Mozambican governors and East German government representatives may have enjoyed fancy drinks and prawns every now and then, the ordinary people (including the authors of the memory sources) were rather used to queuing for basic goods like meat or even water¹¹⁷ in times of shortage.

Such contradictions within state-socialist societies may be summed up in a political joke told by Mozambicans to their East German colleague during an annual works outing. The joke reads as follows: two Mozambicans want to eat fish. In the whole city they cannot get any, so they decide to go fishing at the river. After a while they catch a fair-sized fish and get out a pan to fry it. “I don’t have oil,” says one of them. “Well, me neither,” comments the other, “so, let’s fry it without oil! But I don’t have any matches.” The first is disappointed: “I also don’t have any. Man, let’s just throw the fish back into the water.” In this moment the fish turn up his head and shouts: “Viva a FRELIMO!” – Long live FRELIMO.¹¹⁸ In the 1980s, disillusionment about the ongoing economic crisis and the connected lack of consumer goods became widespread even among party cadres, who indeed found themselves in a relatively privileged situation within the distribution system of the FRELIMO-led state. Among the less privileged parts of the Mozambican population the “popular jokes in Maputo became increasingly bitter about the deteriorating situation.”¹¹⁹

Although the joke blatantly made fun of the government’s failure to provide the Mozambican population with basic supplies, all those present join in a hearty laugh.¹²⁰ The fact that this political joke was told in front of the East German colleague points to a relationship of trust, because the state censorship did

116 Holger Hegewald, “Berlin, Maputo, und zurück – Dozent an der Eduardo-Mondlane-Universität 1989–1990,” in *Engagiert für Afrika: Die DDR und Afrika II*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden, Illona Schleicher, and Hans-Georg Schleicher (Münster: Lit, 1994), 472–473.

117 Dora, *Kokos*, 34, 54–55, also 158–159. In Dora’s novel Frank’s wife Rita used to queue for meat and other groceries in line with other inhabitants of Maputo city.

118 Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern*, 305.

119 Jason Sumich, *The Middle Class in Mozambique: The State and the Politics of Transformation in Southern Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 86.

120 Heiland, *Unter Moçambicanern*, 305.

not joke with unpleasant anecdotists – neither in the GDR nor in Mozambique.¹²¹ At the same time, it is remarkable that all the protagonists on site immediately understood the joke and the underlying humor, which points to a common understanding of the poor condition in party-led economies. Jokes with a similar undertone were also popular in the GDR and other Eastern bloc countries.¹²² Such anecdotes served as an outlet for annoyed or disappointed citizens in socialist societies around the globe who were promised prosperous socialist development but who at the same time regularly experienced a shortage of basic consumer goods. The circumstance that ordinary people—living in nominally people-led economies—suffered from the lack of basic supplies like matches or oil found expression in a particular genre of humor, the “communist joke”.¹²³ These jokes illustrate a common horizon of dealing with scarcity in socialist societies and the experience of addressing it ironically or subversively.

Concluding Remarks

After recapitulating selected aspects of East German and Mozambican memory literature, we wonder whether it is reasonable to speak about a transnational memory space between these two formerly socialist populations. Although memories on overall socialist realities seem to coincide in Mozambican and East German narrations about “the other”, the personal realities of the narrators and their memories vary considerably. Generally speaking, East German realities seem somewhat privileged as compared to the Mozambican storytelling. This may result from the positions narrators occupied in the overall system of educational exchange between the GDR and the PRM. Most East German narrators came to Mozambique as educators or advisors. Only one East German narrator

121 For the surveillance of political jokes within the GDR see Bodo Müller, *Lachen gegen die Ohnmacht: DDR-Witze im Visier der Stasi* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2016). For the context of Mozambique see Richard D. Lewis, *Humor Across Frontiers, Or, Round the World in 80 Jokes* (Warnford: Transcreen Publishing, 2005), 100.

122 For instance, in the GDR, the lack of certain goods manifested itself in the form of long queues that formed in front of shops that were said to have the desired goods. Nevertheless, the supply of goods often did not meet the needs of East German consumers or ran out before everyone in the queue was served. A joke dealing with the routine of rumors about queuing for consumer goods reads as follows: One housewife says to another: “I hear there’ll be snow tomorrow!”; to which the other one replies: “Well, I’m not queuing for that”; see Ben Lewis, *Hammer And Tickle: A History of Communism Told Through Communist Jokes* (London: Phoenix, 2009), 132.

123 See Lewis, *Hammer And Tickle*, 11–21.

came to Maputo for study purposes, namely to learn the Portuguese language. On the other hand, most Mozambican narrators came to the GDR as prospective students or trainees. This implies that the divergent positions of the East Germans and Mozambicans in their destination countries may have resulted in very different memories, and a rather divided memory space.

At the same time, it seems that regardless of their position within the system, all narrators picture themselves as learners in a very broad sense. Both Mozambican and East German authors tell stories about encounters with new habits, new rules, new socialist realities abroad. And many passages are devoted to the intercultural understanding of one another, resulting in new socialist entanglements. Furthermore, socialist ideals seem to be valued in both Mozambican and East German memory texts. A common tone is also palpable in passages that criticize the negative aspects of state socialism in the respectively other country. In sum, a nostalgic but ambivalent consensus on the socialist project in both countries seems to manifest in the written testimonies of its former protagonists. In that sense, we found a notion of “sharedness” in post-socialist memories that originated in very different geographical and temporal spaces, expressed through temporary moorings. As a result, we see a delightful mosaic of Euro-African storytelling on educational exchange under socialist conditions, assembled by “Mozambican-Ossis”¹²⁴ (Mozambican “Easterners”) and *muzungu*-Mozambicans (foreign Mozambicans). This post-socialist memory mosaic naturally remains open to further interpretation.¹²⁵

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¹²⁴ Grajek, *Berichte*, 268. Depending on the context, “Ossi” may be a colloquial or pejorative term for a person originating from Eastern Germany (or the former GDR).

¹²⁵ We want to send a cordial *obrigado* and *Danke* to Anne Dietrich and Marcia C. Schenck, who accompanied us in our journey through post-socialist memory landscapes with incredible patience and invaluable advice in the process of writing.

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