Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East'

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Matthias Middell

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Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East'

Transnational Activism 1960–1990

Edited by
Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders
and Helder Adegar Fonseca

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Preface

Ever since the 1990s, "globalization" has been a dominant idea and, indeed, ideology. The metanarratives of Cold War victory by the West, the expansion of the market economy, and the boost in productivity through internationalization, digitalization, and the increasing dominance of the finance industry became associated with the promise of a global trickle-down effect that would lead to greater prosperity for ever more people worldwide. Any criticism of this viewpoint was countered with the argument that there was no alternative; globalization was too powerful and thus irreversible. Today, the ideology of "globalization" meets with growing scepticism. An era of exaggerated optimism for global integration has been replaced by an era of doubt and a quest for a return to particularistic sovereignty. However, processes of global integration have not dissipated and the rejection of "globalization" as ideology has not diminished the need to make sense both of the actually existing high level of interdependence and the ideology that gave meaning and justification to it.

The following three dialectics of the global are in the focus of this series:

Multiplicity and Co-Presence: "Globalization" is neither a natural occurrence nor a singular process; on the contrary, there are competing projects of globalization, which must be explained in their own right and compared in order to examine their layering and their interactive composition.

Integration and Fragmentation: Global processes result in de- as well as reterritorialization. They go hand in hand with the dissolution of boundaries, while also producing a respatialization of the world.

Universalism and Particularism: Globalization projects are justified and legitimized through universal claims of validity; however, at the same time they reflect the worldview and/or interest of particular actors.

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List of Abbreviations

AAPSO	Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation
AASC	Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee
AJ	Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archives of Yugoslavia, Serbia)
ANC	African National Congress (of South Africa)
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (National Archive of Torre do Tombo)
BAA	Bureau of African Affairs
CC CPSU	Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CGTA	Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores de Angola (Confederation of the Workers of Angola)
CIMADE	Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprès des Évacués (Committee for the Movement of the Refugees)
CIR	Centro de Instrução Revolucionária (Revolutionary Instruction Center)
CK SKJ	Centralni komitet Saveza komunista Jugoslavije (Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia)
CNL	Comité National de Libération (National Committee of Liberation)
ČSSR	Czech Socialist Republic
CONCP	Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies)
DA MSP	Diplomatski arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Republike Srbije (Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia)
ELNA	Exército de Libertação Nacional de Angola (FNLA's Army for the National Liberation of Angola)
EPLA	Exército Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Army for the Liberation of Angola)
FAPLA	Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (People's Armed Forces of Liberation of Angola)
FDGB	Freier Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (Free Federation of German Trade Unions)
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)
FROLINAT	Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad (National Liberation Front of Chad)
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GRAE	Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio (Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile)
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
KPR	Kabinet Predsednika Republike (Cabinet of the President of the Republic)
MINA	Movimento para a Independência Nacional de Angola (National Movement for the Independence of Angola)
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe Spear of the Nation [armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC)]
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NSA	National Security Adviser

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OAU	Organization of African Unity
PA	Politicka arhiva (Political archive)
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
PAIGC	Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde)
PIDE/DGS	Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado / Direcção-Geral de Segurança (Portuguese Security Intelligence)
PLAN	Peoples's Liberation Army of Namibia
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SCCIA	Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações de Angola (Angola Information Centralization and Coordination Services [Portuguese Military Intelligence])
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)
SSNO	Savezni sekretarijat za narodnu odbranu (Federal Secretariat for People's Defence)
SSRNJ	Socijalisticki savez radnog naroda Jugoslavije (Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia)
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UAR	United Arab Republic
UDENAMO	União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (National Democratic Union of Mozambique)
UGEAN	União Geral das Estudantes da Africa Negra sob dominação colonial portuguesa (1st General Union of Students from Black Africa under Portuguese Colonial Domination)
ULIPAMO	União de Libertação Partazana de Moçambique (Liberation Partazana of Mozambique)
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UPA	União das Populações de Angola (Union of Angolan Peoples)
UPC	Union of the Peoples of Cameroon
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZAMTES	Zavod za međunarodnu tehničku saradnju (Institute for International Technical Cooperation)
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZNP	Zanzibar Nationalist Party

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Ulf Engel

Foreword

In more than one respect, this edited collection covers important ground and opens new perspectives for the study of the Southern African liberation movements and their global networks. It develops a history of the manifold entanglements of these liberation movements with Eastern Europe, with an interest in the actual networks and connections these movements shaped with their individual movements and ideas. This is done from a global history perspective and with a view to firmly embed Southern Africa in the field of scholarship that has become known as Cold War Studies.

The many entangled and contradictory histories of Southern Africa during the Cold War, say between 1947 and 1989, have been recollected a number of times. Early writing was informed by the geopolitics of the times that pitched the United States against the Soviet Union in regions that had not previously been considered central to their foreign policy interests.[1] One can suggest that the Cold War started to come to an end in Southern Africa, as settlements took Namibia to independence and ended the wars fought in Angola and Mozambique.[2] Post-mortems were then produced that were concerned about the region's future place in a post-Cold War order still to emerge.[3] More recently, new perspectives on the past and new sources were introduced.[4] However, as a re-

1 See T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid, Colonialism and the Cold War: The United States and Southern Africa, 1945–1952*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990; F. Marte, *Political Cycles in International Relations: The Cold War and Africa 1945–1990*, Amsterdam: VU Univ. Press, 1994.

2 Cf. K. O'Neill and B. Munslow, "Ending the Cold War in Southern Africa", *Third World Quarterly* 12 (1990/91) 3–4, pp. 81–96; S. Onslow (ed.), *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation*, London: Routledge, 2009.

3 Cf. J.S. Saul, "From Thaw to Flood: The End of the Cold War in Southern Africa", *Review of African Political Economy* (1991) 50, pp. 145–158; S.M. Rugumamu, *Post-Cold War Peace and Security Prospects in Southern Africa*, Harare: SAPES Books, 1993.

4 Cf. G. Baines (ed.), *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late-Cold War Conflicts*, Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2008; I. Filatova and A. Davidson, *The Hidden Thread. Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era*, Roggebai: Jonathan Ball, 2013; H. Sapire and C. Saunders (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles. New Local, Regional and Global Perspectives*, Cape Town: UCT Press, 2013; V. Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa*, London: Pluto Press, 2008.

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gion, Southern Africa has yet to become a central part of the growing field of post-Cold War studies.[5]

What is new in this edited collection is its transregional scope and content, as well as the discovery and use of interesting sources to narrate these stories of entanglement and encounter. Previous scholarship has of course already sketched the main lines of the Cold War in the Southern African region (often-times taken as the countries on the continent that nowadays make up the Southern African Development Community (SADC), though that terrain has shifted over time). These accounts looked at apartheid in South Africa, white settler minority rule in Angola, Mozambique, and Southern Rhodesia as well as what came to be considered to be the illegal South African occupation of Namibia, and the way "the international system" responded to these issues. This scholarship has also addressed how the struggles against white settler rule have unfolded, produced their own contradictions, and entered various alliances with regional, continental and global players to further their course – Eastern Europe being one of these.[6] While some of these aspects have been noted by scholars (think of Willetts' history of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), or the work of Reed on the international relations of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe, to name but two),[7] this volume goes beyond this research tradition.

The intellectual perspective developed in this edited collection is embedded in a global history perspective. The interest is on the manifold entanglements and transnational, and in this case often transregional, encounters. The editors promote an approach that is actor-centred, with an interest in the actual networks and connections that individual actors shaped with their movements and ideas, both at leadership and grass-roots levels. This volume focuses on the interplay between local contexts and global processes, including personal agendas and internal conflicts. The dynamics described in this collection are characterized by the multiplicity of connections of national liberation movements to each other, but also to the outside world and the complex geographies

5 See O.A. Westad, "Rethinking Revolutions: The Cold War in the Third World", *Journal of Peace Research* 29 (1992) 4, pp. 455–464; O.A. Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War. Approaches, Interpretations, Theory*, London: Frank Cass, 2000; R. Van Dijk et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Cold War*, 2 vols., New York: Routledge, 2008; M. Graham, "Cold War in Southern Africa: Review Article", *Africa Spectrum* 45 (2010) 1, pp. 131–139.

6 On East Germany see, for instance, H.-G. Schleicher and I. Schleicher (eds.), *Special Flights to Southern Africa*, Harare: SAPES Books, 1998; H.-G. Schleicher and I. Schleicher (eds.), *Die DDR im südlichen Afrika: Solidarität und kalter Krieg*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1998.

7 P. Willetts, *The Non-Aligned Movement. The Origins of a Third World Alliance*, New York, NY: Frances Pinter, 1978; W.C. Reed, *From Liberation Movement to Government: ZANU and the Formation of the Foreign Policy of Zimbabwe*, Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1990.

of connections and multipolarity emerging from their transactions in the search of various forms of support – diplomatic, financial, social, and by way of military training. None of these relations remained stable over time. Rather fluidity and various repositionings became characteristic of the relationship of Southern African liberation movements and Eastern European countries. Including Yugoslavia in this collection adds an important dimension to deconstructing "Eastern Europe", as this country was a founding member of the NAM that, for instance, supported ZANU PF rather than ZAPU. By introducing a wide range of unconventional sources, this volume's perspective on sites of diplomatic struggle or exile is innovative, as is its concentration on the lived experiences in exile and its reporting from sites of struggle in Southern Africa. And, finally, the contributors to this volume emphasize the way that lessons, practices, and, languages that were derived from often contradictory encounters were critically reflected by the various actors involved.

All in all, this is a highly relevant contribution to a number of academic fields. It is also relevant to today's relations between the various liberation movements now in power in Southern Africa and their previous supporters, in what today is a very different political landscape of "Eastern Europe".

Chris Saunders, Helder Adegar Fonseca, and Lena Dallywater

Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War "East": Transnational Activism 1960 – 1990

Introduction

This volume explores ways in which the liberation movements of Southern Africa were connected to people and organisations in countries that were regarded as part of the "East" in the Cold War decades of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.[1] The many different forms such connections took have been little investigated. The chapters that follow showcase studies of such interactions, at both leadership

We would like to thank the many colleagues who stimulated and inspired this edited volume, especially the members of the panel "Southern African Liberation Movements: Transnational Connections in Southern Africa and with Countries in the 'East' (1960 – 1994)" at the conference of the African Studies Association in Germany (VAD e.V.), 27 – 30 June 2018, namely Andrew Ivaska, Sebastian Pampuch, Elizabeth Banks, Christian Williams and our discussants Constantin Katzakioris and Steffi Marung. We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Leibniz Science Campus "Eastern Europe – Global Area" (EEGA) which made the publication project possible. Furthermore, we thank the editor of the series, Matthias Middell, and the helpful EEGA student assistants and internees, Martin Richter, Christoph Bornemann and Paula Zücker, for their watchful eyes when editing this volume.

1 We use "East" for countries that were considered in the Cold War decades not to be part of the "West", but do not include socialist Cuba, located in the Western hemisphere (for its relations to Southern African liberation movements see, say, P. Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013). There was no single Eastern bloc. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China were at daggers drawn by the 1970s in what is usually termed the Sino-Soviet split (on which see in particular J.S. Friedman, *Shadow Cold War: the Sino-Soviet Competition for the Third World*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Yugoslavia, seen from the West as belonging to the "East", was not a Soviet satellite. Even countries in the Warsaw Pact such as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) had a complex relationship with Moscow, which changed over time. Cf. also S. Marung, U. Müller and S. Troebst, "Monolith or experiment? The Bloc as a spatial format", in: M. Middell and S. Marung (eds.), *Re-spatializations under the Global Condition. Towards a typology of spatial formats*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019. Alongside the debate on denomination and definition of Cold War spatial constructs the authors put forward the idea that "a multitude of infrastructures, institutionalizations, and networks emerged as the result of the activities of a wide spectrum of actors – both inside and outside the bloc" (ibid., pp. 9 and 23). We interpret this as the design of an imagined "space" consisting of multiple spatial layers where differentiated actors operate.

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and grass-roots levels, seeking to explain why they took the form they did. Members of liberation movements not only worked together in various exile settings but travelled to Eastern Europe and elsewhere for military and political training or to receive vocational, secondary and university education. Little is known about the networks that were shaped through the movement of individuals and ideas from Southern Africa to the "East" and from the "East" to Southern Africa. In the studies included here some of these connections are teased out. This introduction attempts to bring some of the threads together and to provide general context.

Until recently, writings on Southern African liberation movements tended to focus on the history of particular movements and to ignore the connections between them. In the last few years some scholarship has been concerned with transnational connections between the different liberation movements.[2] But this often ignores or plays down the many and varied connections between these movements and the "outside world".[3] Our main concern here is not with connections between Southern African liberation movements themselves but with their links to third parties in the Global East. We hope that another volume will in time consider such links with those in the Global West.

Many different actors outside Africa supported the liberation struggles, ranging from non-governmental organisations, the United Nations, country governments, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity, and liberation movements in other parts of the globe. The aim of the Southern African liberation movements to keep open connections to all supporters, be it in the West, East, North or South, entangled their various agendas. Not committing to any one ideological line allowed for a range of cooperation. The wide spectrum of help for the goal of independence included scholarships, financial aid, humanitarian help as well as military hardware. Types, forms, and intensity of support varied not only from actor to actor, but also from country to country. In the global context of the Cold War, the relationship between liberation movements and the countries of the "East" was far from static. Forms of material aid and ideological encouragement underwent major changes over time. These

2 See especially J. Alexander, J.-A. McGregor and B.-M. Tendi, "The Transnational Histories of Southern African Liberation Movements: An Introduction", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, pp. 1–12.

3 There are of course exceptions to this. See esp. H. Sapire, "Liberation Movements: Exile and International Solidarity: An Introduction", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35 (2009) 2, pp. 271–286, and some of the chapters in H. Sapire and C. Saunders (eds.), *Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa: New Local, Regional and Global Perspectives*, Claremont: University of Cape Town Press, 2013.

chapters show that the traditional Cold War geography of bi-polar competition with the United States is inadequate to fully grasp these transformations. The question of which side of the ideological divide between the superpowers in the Cold War was more successful (or lucky) in impacting actors and societies in the Global South is still relevant, yet a Cold War perspective falls short in unfolding the complex geographies of connections and the multipolarity of actions and transactions, some of which continue to influence relationships today.

Acknowledging the complexities of liberation movements in globalization processes, the authors of these chapters argue that their actions need to be understood in local contexts, including personal agendas and internal conflicts, as well as through the traditional frame of Cold War competition. They point to the agency of individual activists in both "Africa" and the "East" and the lessons, practices, and languages that were derived from often contradictory encounters. Scholars from South Africa, Portugal-Angola, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Austria, and Germany ask: What role did actors in both Southern Africa and the "Eastern" countries play? What can we learn by looking at biographies of such actors, in a context of increasing racial and international conflict? What kinds of "creative solutions" were found to combine the efforts of actors from different ideological camps?

Notions and Concepts

Recent scholarship has emphasized the complexity of the concept of the Cold War, which cannot be seen in bipolar terms, as "West" against "East". It is much too simple to think of the "West" as supporting the apartheid regime and colonialism in Southern Africa, and the "East" as sole supporters of the Southern African liberation movements. Sweden in particular was one of the most important supporters of those movements.[4] In the last 15 years, scholars have increasingly emphasized that the Cold War in Africa needs to be understood as a history of many regional struggles, involving a wide variety of actors.[5] Studies have highlighted the role of international organisations, non-governmental organisations, state-actors and their interplay, within African countries (and in relation to the superpowers). Other actors, mediators, and supporters, as well

4 See in particular T. Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, 2 vols., Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 1999 and 2001.

5 O.A. Westad, *The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; B. Greiner, C.T. Müller, and D. Walter (eds.), *Heiße Kriege im Kalten Krieg*, Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006.

as the many connections and networks of liberation movements on a global scale, have tended to remain under the radar of academic attention. While this volume builds on recent research trends,[6] it aims to go beyond them by looking at the "unexpected comrades"[7] and third-party involvements in the Global East.

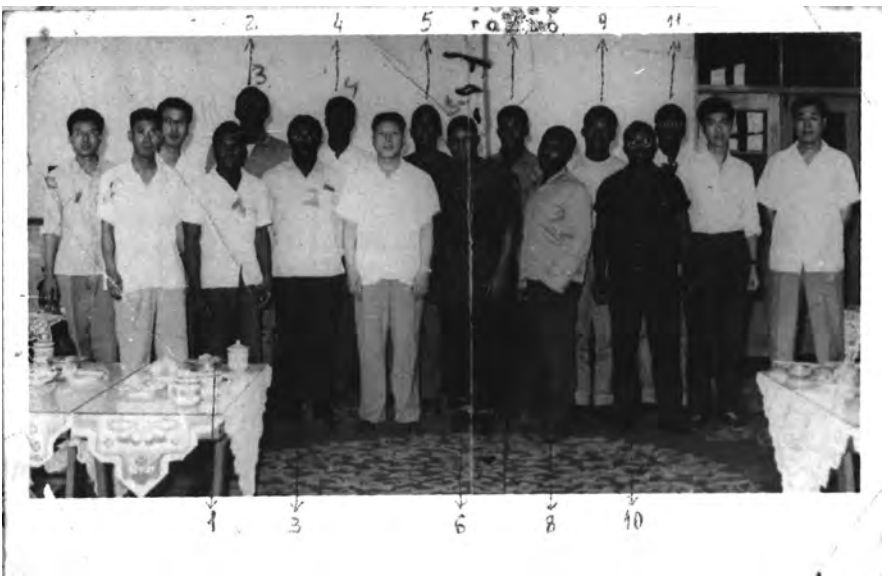

Fig. 1: Chinese political and military instructors and some of the first J.M. Savimbi' disciples (the UNITA founders) in Peking, 1965, showing: 1. Isaias Massumba, 2. Samuel Chiwale, 3. José Kalundungo, 4. Francisco Mateus [Bandua], 5. Nicolau [Biago Tchiuka] (arrested), 6. Jeremias [Kussia] (arrested), 7. David [Jonatão] Chingungi, 8. Moisés Paulo [Paulino Moisés], 9. Jacob Inácio (arrested), 10. Manuel "O Keniata" [or Tiago Sachilombo], 11. Samuel Chivala [Chilimbo, Muanangola] [sources: ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del A, Bases no Estrangeiro, p. 14, fl. 160 (NT 7372) and C.1. UNITA, Vol. 1, fl. 427–428 (NT 9093); S. Chiwale, *Cruzei-me com a História. Autobiografia*, Lisboa: Sextante Editora, 2008, p. 192]

6 E. g. J. Alexander and J.A. McGregor, "African Soldiers in the USSR: Oral Histories of ZAPU Intelligence Cadres' Soviet Training, 1964–1979", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 91, pp. 49–66. On Dar es Salaam as a "hub of decolonization" see G. Roberts, "Politics, decolonisation, and the Cold War in Dar es Salaam, c. 1965–72", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 2016, and "The assassination of Eduardo Mondlane: FRELIMO, Tanzania, and the politics of exile in Dar es Salaam", *Cold War History* 17 (2017) 1, pp. 1–19.

7 A. Moledo, "Unexpected comrades in the struggle for liberation. The transregional solidarity networks of Lusophone African anticolonial activists (1950s–1970s)", Ph.D. thesis, Leipzig University, forthcoming.

As "East" must be broken down into its component parts, so "Southern Africa" was not a single entity, and its liberation movements represented a wide range of countries. The very meaning of "Southern Africa" has changed over time, with Julius Nyerere of Tanzania speaking of that region as including his country, for he was a keen supporter of the liberation movements fighting for the independence of the countries to the south of Tanzania.[8] On the other hand, the liberation movements in Angola, a country now very much part of Southern Africa, sometimes saw themselves as belonging to Central Africa when they were based in the two Congos, Kinshasa and Brazzaville, though after 1964 their links with Zambia and Tanzania progressively increased.[9] In her chapter in this volume, Natalia Telepneva writes of the Lusophone ties that linked both the Angolan and Mozambican liberation movements with Guinea-Bissau in West Africa.

The chapters that follow focus mainly on the late 1960s and early 1970s, before the Carnation Revolution in Portugal transformed the situation in southern Africa, leading to the independence of Angola and Mozambique. The focus on that period in part reflects the fact that new sources have recently become available for that decade. Some of the chapters have a wider chronological vision and take the story to the end of the 1980s. Though the liberation movements them-

8 Consider Julius Nyerere's statement from 1984: "Long before the armed struggle for Zimbabwe and Namibia started, the only frontline states were Tanzania and Zambia. President Kaunda and I decided that we should invite the representatives of the liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola. The two of us should not be discussing Angola and Mozambique without the leaders of Angola and Mozambique. This is how we began to invite the leaders of Angola and Mozambique to our meetings. I used to advocate at the time that after their independence these countries would have to follow different tactics from those of Tanzania and Zambia. At that stage Tanzania and Zambia provided the guerrilla camps. We would receive the recruits, train them, and equip them with arms to go out and fight. This is what we did in the case of Zimbabwe also. We had huge training camps. But we agreed that after independence the other frontline states, i.e., Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Botswana, could not establish guerrilla camps in their territory to receive young people from South Africa and train them to fight in South Africa. They had to carry on the struggle quite differently after independence. Their primary aim should be to consolidate their states politically and economically so that they could reduce their economic dependence upon South Africa. Once we had these economically independent countries stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, that would be a really powerful challenge and deterrent to South Africa. We all agreed on this." J. Nyerere, "North-South Dialogue", *Third World Quarterly* 6 (1984) 4, pp. 835–836. Various versions of this quote have been handed down.

9 See H.A. Fonseca, "Ideas of Southern Africanism: Portugal and the Movements of Liberation (1961–1974)", paper presented at the 24th biennial conference of the Southern African Historical Society, Gaborone: University of Botswana, June 2013.

selves have different histories, with South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) tracing its roots back as far as 1912, it was in the 1950s that the ANC became a mass movement for the first time and that elsewhere in the region other liberation movements began to be formed. From the early 1960s they began to embark on armed struggles. The decades we are concerned with, then, are the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. As the latter decade came to an end, the Cold War, which began to thaw after 1985, approached its end as well.

Regional Scope and Range of Case Studies

These chapters do not only range over a number of decades, but also consider a spectrum of spatial units, from the nation state to the camps of liberation movements or the training facilities in countries of the "East". Using an actor-centred approach, the case-studies in this volume consider the endeavours of Namibian, Angolan, South African, and Mozambican liberation movements and activists to reach out to counterparts in China, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and the GDR. When studying transnational actors in the global Cold War decades, two apparently contradicting facets of encounters and entanglements become obvious: the transnational movements of individual actors, and the hindrances and obstacles to these border-crossings. Activists moved in different contexts and their activities were hindered or limited or, say, jeopardized by personal constraints or other interest groups.

Though the connections highlighted in these chapters include states, they are by no means limited to states. Recent scholarship has convincingly begun to question the concept of "national liberation".[10] Connecting to this line of enquiry, either

10 E. g. S. Pampuch, "African Students and the Politics of Race and Gender in the German Democratic Republic" in: Q. Slobodian (ed.), *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, New York: Berghahn, 2015, pp. 131–156; S. Pampuch, "Afrikanische Migrationserfahrungen mit zwei deutschen Staaten", in: S. Zloch, L. Müller, and S. Lässig (eds.), *Wissen in Bewegung: Migration und globale Verflechtungen in der Zeitgeschichte seit 1945*, De Gruyter: Berlin and Boston, 2018, pp. 247–246.; S. Pampuch, "Struggling against 'the exilic condition of the postcolonial world': The Socialist League of Malawi", in: F. Blum (ed.), *Socialisme africains/Socialismes en Afrique* [conference volume, 7–9 April 2016, Paris], Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, forthcoming; M.C. Schenck, "Socialist Solidarities and Their Afterlives: Histories and Memories of Angolan and Mozambican Migrants in the German Democratic Republic, 1975–2015", unpublished Ph.D., Princeton University, and "A chronology of nostalgia: memories of former Angolan and Mozambican worker trainees to East Germany", *Labor History* 59 (2018) 3, pp. 352–374; L. White and M. Larmer, "Introduction: Mobile Soldiers and Un-National Liberation of Southern Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40 (2014) 6, pp. 1271–1274.

Eric Burton, by the lens of the Hubs of Decolonization, or Nedžad Kuč, in his study on educational experiences of Southern African studies in early 1960s Yugoslavia, recover the discussion on the ultimately "un-national" character of that national liberation. Other chapters in this volume address and revisit the question, teasing out entanglements between liberation movements and particular states, while pointing to a variety of cooperative channels (e. g. Eric Burton, Natalia Telepneva). These chapters show that transnational connections can include different kinds of geographical and social organisations, transcending and questioning the confines of "nation". They highlight the importance of connections that transcend previous geo-political framings and show the open-ended and fragmented processes of units and histories in the making. As a concept, "nation" features throughout and serves as an anchor for individual positionings and argumentations.

Attention to particular historical contexts is required to understand, transnationally, active members of liberation movements and the entanglements they found themselves in. The studies in this volume exemplify how an actor-centred approach, and situating the study of liberation movements in a global history perspective, can help us understand the dynamics and mechanisms of cross-border connections and the mutual constitution of practices and organisations. These studies also depict the different notions and meanings of "staying abroad", "home", or "exile" for individual actors, who manoeuvred between a multiplicity of transnational fields of activity and spaces of belonging. The chapter by Anja Schade and Ulrich van der Heyden tackles the issue of "exile" specifically for ANC students in the GDR.

Methods and Disciplines

The complexity of networks and relationships, and the contradictory and changing nature of alliances and individual mobilities that have been outlined above, pose a challenge for researchers aiming to grasp the actual details of interactions. To encounter this challenging complexity of different voices and multiple actors, a portfolio of methods is necessary. This volume comprises contributions from the fields of social and cultural history, political history, anthropology, ethnology, and political studies. Chapters draw upon the subfields of the global history of anti-colonialisms, Cold War histories of national liberation in the Global South, and new studies on international solidarity with liberation movements in Southern Africa. These chapters relate to global narratives of migration and movements of people from the colonies to the metropolis, include research on transregional networks of people and ideas, consider accounts of global processes of decolonization, and build on existing studies of particular liberation par-

ties and movements. In addition to the explicit interdisciplinary approach of contributions, a number of the studies that follow attempt to look at aspects of the liberation movements from below, using an approach that highlights the networks and connections that individual actors shaped with their movements and ideas, both at leadership and grass-roots levels. The actor-centred methods employed range from micro-level analysis and biographical studies to prosopographical approaches.

A biographical approach allows us to take the multiplicity of concepts and ideologies, practices, and languages, and their interplay into consideration. It helps to reveal the fuzziness of interactions and influences at the micro-level that shape individual pathways and experiences. While experiences at the micro-level often mirror broader trends and contradictions, individual encounters and agendas can offer a better understanding of the unexpected twists, connections and conflicts, the positioning and re-positioning that may appear to be contradictory on a broader scale. Turning the focus away from high politics and governmental interactions does not challenge the insightful and extensive exploration in this field, but adds a new dimension to the scenario of Cold War rivalries and competing interests in a decolonizing world.

The individuals depicted in this volume were activists or supporters (e. g. chapter by Milorad Lazic) and mediators between liberation movements and actors in the "East" (e. g. journalists in Natalia Telepneva's study).[11] They were rank-and-file members, refugees, fugitives, freedom fighters, guerrillas, students, instructors, and trainees. They became "radical political activists", "spies" or "harmless scholarship holders",[12] depending on the situation and the person classifying them. Shedding light on the different types of actors who fought and supported the struggle challenges these "labels". Seemingly unambiguous roles are questioned (e. g. the case of Eduardo Mondlane, in the chapter by Natalia Telepneva) and individual motivations uncovered.

Motivations for being active within liberation movements differ significantly, as for example shown in Kuč's study on individual trajectories and ambitions (and success-rates) of the first generation of Southern African students. Considering the sometimes successful, sometimes conflictual, endeavours of students,

11 Intriguing insights on the role of mediators, such as members of religious groups and embassy staff have recently been provided, in papers presented at the German African Studies conference, Leipzig 2018, by Christian A. Williams on the history of the chaplaincy to Namibians and Andrew Ivaska on the exchanges and connections of employees of the American embassy in Dar es Salaam with FRELIMO staff.

12 PAAA, B 130/2277 A, Reichhold (FRG embassy) to Federal Foreign Office, Accra, 7 December 1963, see N. Telepneva, "Letters from Angola" in this volume.

journalists, political leaders, and grassroots members leads to the question of what this means on the level of collective identities and experiences. A prosopographical approach investigates the common characteristics of a group where it may not be possible to trace a number of individual biographies. By considering the collective experiences of a group, similarities and differences become more visible. The prosopographical approach used in the chapter of Helder Adegar Fonseca gives us a more substantial knowledge of a number of key aspects of the relations of the liberation movements to the countries of the Global East: the movement of activists to those countries; the dynamics of the (ideological) openness and closedness of the assisted liberation movements in the competitive "East" and other progressive countries; the range of training and education that was provided to the activists, and the cultural factors that hindered that training and education; the social conditions of the reception of the activists; and the functional and social opportunities for the trainees who were directly involved in the various external experiences.

These chapters use individual examples and biographies as entry point and lens to bring relations into view. Both top-down and bottom-up connections are investigated. An entangled history approach emphasizes transnational and transcultural connections and entanglements. The benefits of employing a comparative framework are visible in the chapters by Eric Burton and Chris Saunders.

Sources

While the complexity of networks and interactions is one major challenge when researching Southern African liberation movements and their connections to the Global Cold War "East", another methodological challenge is the availability of sources. Most of the liberation movements were (also) exile movements which operated on a transnational scale. Archives are fragmented, dispersed and often not easily accessible, and the existing literature is limited in scope and timeframe. These studies link often scarce sources and creatively combine material from archives, private collections and interviews from various regions in different languages. Not only do the individual chapters create this dialogue of methods and sources: they make it possible for us to consider the rapidly growing body of archival materials, secondary literature, published interviews, unpublished dissertations, correspondence, interrogation reports, different types of records, and personal narratives, in English, German, Russian, Portuguese, Afrikaans, and Yugoslavian. Bringing them into conversation with each other may add valuable insights into the research that has been achieved in this field thus far.

So these studies serve a threefold purpose. Bringing materials from different regions and languages into conversation creates a dialogue between research traditions and existing findings. This dialogue of methods and sources helps to create a broader and comparative perspective. And, through combining efforts it is possible to overcome the lack of a coherent "state of the art" and to give answers to the many open questions regarding Southern African liberation movements and their connections to the "East".

In the Angolan case, where there are few accessible records of the liberation movements themselves, Helder Adegar Fonseca uses what is now accessible, the complex archives of the intelligence services of the Portuguese State (PIDE/DGS) and its army. The archives of the PIDE/DGS Angola Department in ANTT (Lisbon, Portugal), not only contain files generated by its vast spy network but also much extensive documentation provided by the security police and intelligence services of the different "White African" countries – including South Africa and white-ruled Rhodesia – and the police and other state bodies in independent African countries or obtained secretly from international organisations, such as the Organisation of African Unity (Addis Ababa) and its Liberation Committee (Dar es Salaam and Lusaka centres). In these archives there is an abundant, varied supply of documents produced by the liberation movements and their activists, sometimes captured in battle or raids on bases and other guerrilla facilities, inside and outside Angolan territory. These spoils included operational reports, strategic and tactical documents, personal and organisational correspondence, political and technical training manuals, memoirs and diaries, "individual notes", "commander's documents", "notebooks", and "journals". Statements from imprisoned or captured guerrillas and members of the public and reports from agents in the field were extremely important in the preparation of Fonseca's study. Such evidence will repay additional attention, and similar work needs to be done on the archives of intelligence and assistance services of those in the "East" who supported the liberation movements, in order to construct a narrative that draws upon sources that originated in Africa and Europe, as well as in other parts of "West" and "East".

Key Aspects and Recurring Topics

The interplay of local contexts and global processes, the multiplicity and multipolarity of connections, the fluidity and re-positioning of actors and ideas, and the languages and lessons learned through the encounters of Southern African liberation movements with the global Cold War "East" are key topics in this volume.

The **interplay of local contexts and global processes** is shown through a focus on local contexts, including personal agendas and internal conflicts. The many layers of interaction complicate and exceed Cold War frames. These chapters provide a glimpse of features less often noted. This is, for example, done with regard to the impact of local contexts by Chris Saunders, who shows that there was no one-way development but multiple, partially contradictory trajectories. Urban centres, both on the African continent and in the "East", served as hubs of decolonisation; centres of condensed action, they formed a nexus for connection. The chapter by Eric Burton provides insights into the role of such hubs in managing connections and mobilities and depicts the multiplicity of sites for activism in the Cold War decades. He also discusses the facilitation and regulation of mobilities and the hindrances and obstacles to movement and connection, for mobilities were facilitated, directed, blocked, and delayed. The global nature of networks of support also becomes clear in the study by Helder Adegar Fonseca, whose contribution highlights the openness and closedness of connections, for not all liberation movements could participate in them. Natalia Telepneva highlights the crucial role of communication and international publicity, an aspect that Eric Burton's chapter also touches upon. These authors show that global media enabled African revolutionaries to engage local and capture international audiences.

When talking about **multiplicity and multipolarity**, we think of the multiplicity of connections of national liberation movements to each other and to the "outside world". These chapters consider the complex geographies of connections and multipolarity of actions and transactions and the multiple roles of individuals. It is too simple to regard the relationship between the liberation movements and the countries of the "East" as one-way. Though those countries provided essential aid to the liberation movements, the movements were not merely passive recipients of that aid, but active in helping to shape the relationship, in part through refusing to adopt, beyond the occasional rhetorical flourish, the ideological positions of the "Eastern" countries. Building on the literature on trans-regional ties of Southern African liberation struggles and connections to the global Anti-Apartheid Movement as a cornerstone of international solidarity, these contributions shed light on the diverse routes of solidarity and alliance beyond nationalist identifications. They pluralize our understanding of Southern African liberation movements and their relations to the global Cold War "East", and point to the role of intermediary countries and unexpected sites of exchange.

Notions of **fluidity and re-positioning** allow us to address the types, forms, and intensity of support and cooperation between individual actors and groups of actors, as well as changes in support over time. Activists both position them-

selves and are positioned in the global context of the Cold War. As the study by Natalia Telepneva shows, individuals could be journalists and members of the intelligence community at the same time. Allegiances were changing and pragmatic, and politics often messy and obtuse, with people aiming to keep open connections to different potential supporters. Individuals and groups of actors not only positioned themselves ideologically in debates, but also physically and geographically located themselves in new contexts, as Nedžad Kuč's research exemplifies. Repositioning in this physical, embodied sense is also relevant for Milorad Lazic and the ANC members in "exile" discussed in the chapter by Anja Schade and Ulrich van der Heyden. These chapters address the challenges that came with being positioned or re-positioned abroad.

The volume also addresses **lessons, practices, and languages** derived from often contradictory encounters. Languages spoken at the various sites of encounters facilitated as well as hindered exchange, and notions and concepts were developed in different contexts of interactions. Notions like "refugee", "activist", "socialist", "exile", and "home" were strategically employed and negated, debated, and developed. Concepts were politicized and actors from the various camps found themselves in a process of ongoing defining and re-defining, of positioning and negotiating positions. These chapters tackle the kaleidoscope of labels and classifications, attributed from outside and intentionally chosen from within. They also deal with strategies to counter official narratives, for example the Portuguese position that the liberation movements were little more than a bunch of "armed bandits", controlled by Moscow (cf. Natalia Telepneva's chapter in this volume).

Conceptually, there are intriguing comparisons to be made. The initial SWAPO members who went to the People's Republic of China (PRC) for military training were known as the Chinamen on their return to Africa. Similarly, those in the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) who had been trained by the Chinese were known as Black Chinese.[13] Lessons are derived from these processes of learning and negotiating both on an individual and on a structural level. A positive view of socialist assistance sometimes clashed wish personal experiences; imaginations were disappointed by the reality on the ground.[14] And lessons also point to legacies, when we reflect upon the signifi-

13 Chapter by C. Saunders below and F. Bridgland, *Jonas Savimbi: A Key to Africa*, New York: Paragon House, 1987, pp. 92–94, citing the Austrian journalist Fritz Sitte, 1971.

14 E. Burton, "Hubs of decolonization", this volume. Activists like Shafi for example imagined Cairo as their gate to Europe. Similarly, ANC students had visions of the GDR based on what they had heard at home, see U. van der Heyden and A. Schade, *GDR Solidarity*, this volume.

cance and consequence of liberation movements and their connections to the global Cold War "East".

Contributions and Gaps

The case studies provided here are in many respects illustrative; they are inevitably far from comprehensive and we need far more such studies before we can get a rounded picture of the relationship between the liberation movements and the "East". Few scholars are working in this area,[15] and the relevant sources are often difficult, or impossible, to access. The authors of these chapters had to rely on the accessibility of sources for their studies. Further research will be undertaken as new sources become available. It is to be hoped that this will include a study of, say, the Zimbabwean liberation movements, and that this will connect to the research being done for, say, South Africa and Angola. This is an ambition for further volumes and monographs to come.

The limitation in this volume to a few cases can be a strength. Actors in and from Yugoslavia and Angola for example feature in a number of chapters, and their historical analyses speak to each other in a complementary way. Joining two studies from different angles may provide new insights and create a dialogue. Secondly, these examples can serve as an entry point to understand the broader dynamics and structures of interaction. Struggles and positionings from students, activists, leaders, and members of liberation movements in, for example, Angola mirror what has happened in other contexts. The individual and local differences teased out in this volume should be considered in the light of patterns of movements and engagements on a larger scale. Following this logic of a broader connexion that needs to be studied in local settings and regarding individuals and groups of actors and their multiple engagements, the first two chapters enter the dialogue by giving a broad overview. Guiding the reader into the situation of liberation movements in times of the global Cold War, they introduce urban hubs as sites and "portals" of exchange and depict patterns and instances of support in a comparative way. Other chapters enter into the detailed analyses of local developments and global entanglements in a vari-

15 In the social sciences and humanities, we can think of e. g. Andrew Ivaska, Christian Williams, Godwin Kornes, George Robertson, James Mark, Justin Pearce, Elizabeth Banks, Sebastian Pampuch, Konstantinos Katzakioris, Steffi Marung, Bence Kocsev, Ana Moledo, and others, who have recently conducted studies in this field. We wish to thank all colleagues who were involved in discussions and who have inspired this publication with their work.

ety of contexts. First, actors in and from Africa come into view, as chapters move to settings further in the "East".

Eric Burton introduces the different local contexts of liberation movements in selected settings on the African continent. His chapter deals with the role of hubs between Africa and Eastern Europe. It exemplifies mobility, and its regulation, in African urban centres such as Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam. He sheds light on the local circumstances the activists found themselves in, the mobility of people and the circulation of ideas, and the fluidity between categories such as liberation fighter, student, and refugee. Months of waiting until destinations were decided and travel arrangements finalized challenged both local infrastructures as well as the emotional capacities of those in the "waiting loop". Local encounters and exchanges also left an imprint in the imaginaries and ideas that individuals had about post-colonial societies.[16]

Chris Saunders then focusses on the activities and involvements of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which led Namibia's liberation struggle. SWAPO received support of many different kinds from a wide variety of countries and organisations. Among the most important countries to give it support were four that were, in Cold War terms, seen as "Eastern": the PRC, North Korea, the Soviet Union (USSR), and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Only some aspects of SWAPO's connections with these countries have been explored, and then mainly from a perspective shaped at least in part by the authors' involvement in the politics of the Cold War. This chapter draws heavily upon the work of Vladimir Shubin for the USSR and of Hans-Georg Schleicher for the GDR. SWAPO's changing connections with the socialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union were influenced by its relations with other countries, such as Cuba and Sweden.

The chapter by Anja Schade and Ulrich van der Heyden connects to that by Chris Saunders. Starting in the 1950s, the ANC received assistance from the Socialist Bloc, particularly from the GDR. Their study depicts how contacts were established between the East-German ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), as well as between the East-German Free Federation of German Trade Unions (FDGB) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). East German media accompanied those growing bonds

16 Cf. unpublished Ph.D. thesis by A. Moledo, forthcoming; J. Neves, "Marxismo, Anticolonialismo e Nacionalismo: Amílcar Cabral, A Imaginação 'A Partir de Baixo'", paper presented at 4º Congresso Marx/Engels, Campinas, CEMARX/Unicamp, 2005, pp. 1–11; B. Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, New York: Times Books, Random House, 1992.

with critical reporting on the living conditions of the black majority within South Africa. Within a few years, solidarity structures to support the South African freedom struggle were strengthened and resulted not only in the training of ANC military personnel, but also in the provision of scholarships, in the medical treatment of wounded guerrilla fighters, and, last but not least, in the printing of *Sechaba*, the internationally-known official organ of the ANC. Whereas the first part of the chapter provides an overview on the multifaceted forms of solidarity, the second part engages with the experiences of ANC exiles in the GDR.

Helder Adegar Fonseca is concerned with the experiences of Angolan "freedom fighters" who underwent military training in socialist countries, and the impact of those experiences on the Angolan liberation struggle. Drawing on Portuguese Military and Policy Security Services interrogation reports covering the period 1961–1974, his prosopographical history of a small group of Angolan fighters and people from other liberation movements explores three aspects: the geography and types of military training outside Southern Africa; what happened to Angolan military trainees in what were often regarded as "progressive" and "socialist" sanctuaries; and, by comparison, the experience of the so-called "heaven" of the "Simferopol" military camp in Crimea. Fonseca develops three main arguments: the impact of "Eastern" and Russian socialist assistance on a specific group of liberation movements, including the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola or Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA); the positive vision of life experienced by the military trainees in socialist society; and military training in the socialist world as an opportunity for social promotion in the guerrilla army, and as legacy.

Natalia Telepneva is also concerned with individual actions and positionings in the context of the Angolan liberation struggle. Her chapter explores the content of print journalism on the liberation movements through major Soviet publications, as well as the many functions of Soviet international journalists as translators of revolution. While we know quite a lot about the role of Western journalists and their role in the popularisation of the anti-colonial struggle in former Portuguese Africa, we know little about their counterparts in the Soviet bloc, who produced large quantities of publications about the liberation struggles and about specific leaders, such as the leaders of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and MPLA, Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto, respectively.[17] Telepneva's study focuses on the career of the

17 One of the most well-known cases is that of the imaginative Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuściński (1932–2007), author of, among other works of literary journalism, *Another Day of Life* (Jeszcze dzień życia), London: Penguin Books, 2001 (orig. ed. 1976). See A. Domoslawski, *Ryszard Kapuściński.: A Life*, London: Verso, 2012.

Soviet journalist Oleg Konstantinovich Ignat'ev, who wrote prolifically about the anti-colonial struggles in Portuguese Africa. Her chapter highlights the many functions of Soviet journalists as they shaped dominant narratives of liberation struggles and liaised with African revolutionaries through informal channels at critical moments during the anti-colonial wars. Her chapter thus complicates the agency of Soviet internationalist journalists such as Ignat'ev, highlighting their role in the transnational solidarity networks that sustained anti-colonial movements in Southern Africa.

Milorad Lazic, who uses the Yugoslav archives, examines relations between liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and Yugoslavia during the 1960s and 1970s. In this period, Yugoslavia donated military equipment, money, and provided training and medical services to the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), the PAIGC, and the MPLA. Yugoslav aid to these movements was part of the broader Yugoslav military assistance efforts in Africa that spanned the entire period from the 1950s until the dissolution of the South Slav state in 1991. Yugoslav military aid was sometimes driven by pragmatic considerations related to the country's security or economic benefits, but was sometimes motivated by less tangible categories, such as ideology, psychological identification, or prestige, Lazic argues. Liberation movements perceived Yugoslavia as a desired partner because, unlike other socialist countries, Yugoslavia did not require ideological compatibility from aid recipients; support came without any attached political conditions. Yugoslavia's military internationalism in Africa has been addressed only sporadically in previous literature. Lazic's study builds upon these works to show – through an analysis of previously untapped Yugoslav sources – that Yugoslav military aid went beyond a single policy issue, simultaneously including questions about issues such as economic development, the acquisition and transfer of technology, relations with superpowers and regional powers, national security, ideology and politics, and prestige and status in global affairs.

Nedžad Kuč focusses on another group of actors: Southern African students in early 1960s Yugoslavia. His chapter analyses Yugoslav relations with liberation movements in Southern Africa with a focus on the educational aid provided by the Yugoslav state, which led to student mobility from Southern Africa to the Balkans during the Cold War. Based on archival documents consulted in Belgrade, the paper explores biographies, experiences and educational trajectories of students from Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Rhodesia, and Namibia in Yugoslavia. The widespread failure of the scholarship recipients suggests that, with many students fleeing to the West, educational aid had more political relevance in terms of international solidarity than benefit to those who received it.

New Perspectives

This edited volume points to the agency of individual activists in both "Africa" and the "East" in the decades of the global Cold War. Through detailed studies on the micro-level we can better understand the roles these actors played in the struggle for liberation on the African continent and their connections to the "outside world". Shedding light on the lessons, practices, and languages that were derived from the multiple interactions and bringing sources, archives and disciplinary approaches into a conversation with one another, is one of our main aims. These chapters show that, in the study of Southern African liberation movements, we cannot continue to think of the "East" as a uniform "bloc", but should pay more attention to the differentiation and multi-polarity of contexts, ideologies, and personal agendas – on both "sides" of the Cold War. This volume also points to the mechanisms that are developing and changing in this multi-polar web of personal journeys and agendas. Contributions depict the role of mediators and translators for orientation and navigation, they exemplify the importance of infra-structures for communication, like radio stations and publishing houses, to connect and to reach out, and they reveal the unexpected meeting points and platforms that emerged alongside political programmes and positions (e. g. church groups in the GDR).

The dynamics and structures of support were not stable or exclusive. At decisive moments conditions changed both for liberation movements and for actors in the "East". From the chapter by Milorad Lazic, for example, we learn that there was one specific moment when Yugoslavian support became relevant; and times when opportunities were not taken, by both sides. Developments and levels of support are neither determined, nor predictable, these chapters show. Individuals see opportunities, choose ways and changing situations lead to ever new decisions and ways of cooperation (or non-cooperation). The action of individuals is located in a very complex process; they are not always sure what they should do and what will come out of it. Bringing their biographies, roles, and networks – within liberation movements and outside – into view makes the unexpected or seemingly contradictory positionings and re-positionings more intelligible. Focusing on individual journeys and experiences helps to reveal the gendered and racialized structures of mobilities and educational opportunities and the relevance of political and social capital for establishing relations and gaining support (e. g. Natalia Telepneva on the composition of a group of internationalist journalists, Eric Burton on every-day experiences in training camps).

The interactions between Southern African liberation movements and the global Cold War "East" were not uniformly succesful. While SWAPO was successful as a liberation movement in part through the military means it obtained from the Soviet Union and the GDR, personal failures, disappointments, and frustrations at the human level were also part of this process. Those who encountered a negative atmosphere in training camps expressed their feelings in songs of ridicule, complaints about conditions, and expressions of disappointment with unpopular instructors. Being supported could go hand in hand with feeling humiliated, as revealed in personal accounts (e. g. the chapter by Eric Burton). At some moments, strategies worked, as Milorad Lazic shows, while at others adaptation to frustrating conditions was a necessary consequence (e. g. the chapter by Helder Adegar Fonseca).[18] These studies point to the need for a deeper exploration of the way the liberation movements were shaped by specific connections with the "outside world". The roles of Southern African children, intellectuals, and activists, whether labelled as Chinamen, Black Chinese, Black Czechs, "Namibian Czechs", or "GDR-Children of Namibia", draw our attention to the little that we still know about the place of the "East" as a constitutive part of the contemporary African diaspora.[19] Demystifying the role of the "West" and the "East" in Cold War terms enables us to focus on these imaginations and revisit links with struggles against imperialism and colonialism from new perspectives.

This volume also shines historical light on issues of contemporary importance, such as the relationships between Africa and Europe and Africa and East Asia. In current historical writing, academic and non-academic narratives are found that romanticize or condemn either of the perceived "sides". Through its research-based approach, this publication can help to counter those ahistorical depictions and bring to the present this entangled past, from a more substantive and objective standpoint. Today, when African migrants are not welcomed in Eastern Europe, and European solidarity is viewed with suspicion in some African circles, the past forms of interaction discussed in this book should not be forgotten. This volume offers more substantive historical knowledge on dynamics, complexities and contingencies of liberation struggles and their connections to a global public space that is

18 Cf. also E. Banks, New York University, Ph.D. thesis in progess on relations between Mozambique and the Soviet Union, 1962–1991.

19 See M. Popescu, "On the Margin of the Black Atlantic. Angola, the Eastern Bloc, and the Cold War", *Research in African Literatures* 45 (2014) 3, pp. 91–109; K. Mildnerová, "'I feel like two in one': Complex Belongings among Namibian Czecks", *Modern Africa: Politics, History and Society* 6 (2018) 2, pp. 55–94; M. Scatassa "Cold War migration: Mozambican workers, students and troopers in East Germany", Tesi di Laurea, Padova: Università degli Studi di Padova, 2018.

finding itself in processes of heightened polarization and incitement. Whilst new superpowers emerge, migration and mobilities from and to Africa and Eastern Europe challenge understandings of "self" and "other" in societies in North, East, West and South. Islamophobia, xenophobia, increasing nationalism, and populism are only a few of the social consequences.[20] As these new trends develop, this volume stimulates a re-evaluation of popular understandings of solidarities between Global South and Global East and points to new framings and cooperations: new forms of interactions are being opened between African countries and the PRC in particular. Though Global East is used here in a particular sense, this volume is, hence, a contribution to thinking about the meaning of the Global East more widely, as a grouping of countries that do not belong to the Global North or the Global South.[21] It is hoped that it may contribute to a re-framing of transnational solidarities in times of increasing nationalism and populism.

20 Cf. A. Yendell (ed.), *Understanding and Explaining Islamophobia in Eastern Europe*, EEGA Special Issue, Leipzig, 2018, https://www.leibniz-eega.de/open-access/special-issue-islamophobia/ (accessed 8 April 2019). See also J.G. Carew, "Black in the USSR. African diasporan pilgrims, expatriates and students in Russia, from the 1920s to the first decade of the Twenty-First Century", *African Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 8 (2015) 2, pp. 202–215; M. Matusevich, "Probing the Limits of Internationalism: African Students Confront Soviet Ritual", *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 27 (2009) 2, pp. 19–32; H. Whitfield and B. Ibhawoh, "Problems, Perspectives, and Paradigms. Colonial Africanist Historiography and the Question of Audience", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39 (2005) 3, pp. 582–600.

21 Cf. e.g. M. Müller, "In Search of the 'Global East': Thinking between North and South (April 4, 2018)". published as: M. Müller, "In Search of the 'Global East': Thinking between North and South", *Geopolitics* (2018), pp. 1–22, SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2881296 (accessed 8 April 2019) or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2881296. Müller uses "East" "not so much for a geographical region, but for an epistemic space – a liminal space in-between North and South".

Eric Burton

Hubs of Decolonization. African Liberation Movements and "Eastern" Connections in Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam

Introduction

In the interwar period, London and Paris were the primary hubs of anti-colonial activism. The Pan-African circles and transnational communist networks that were knit in the imperial metropoles during the interwar or early post-war years were crucial for the rise of post-war liberation struggles and Third Worldism.[1] In the late 1950s and 1960s, when the dynamics of the Cold War and African decolonisation became closely entangled, the centre of gravity of the struggles moved southwards. New hubs emerged on the African continent in countries that had achieved independence and made decolonisation a pillar of their foreign policy.[2] From the late 1950s onwards, the capitals of several African countries – some of which had had little international significance earlier –

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1 Though Lisbon evolved from a parochial small town into a more cosmopolitan city in the early 1950s, it still felt stifling due to censorship and the omnipresence of state security. See M.R. Sanches, "(Black) Cosmopolitanism, Transnational Consciousness and Dreams of Liberation", in: M. Nash (ed.) *Red Africa: Affective communities and the Cold War*, London: Black Dog Publishing, 2016, pp. 69 – 79; H. Adi, *West Africans in Britain, 1900 – 1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and communism*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998; J.A. Boittin, *Colonial metropolis: The urban grounds of anti-imperialism and feminism in interwar Paris*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010; M. Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015; M. Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century,* Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015.

2 There were exchanges on the African continent during the interwar period; northern Morocco was an early hub of anticolonial circuits: D. Stenner, "Centring the periphery: northern Morocco as a hub of transnational anti-colonial activism, 1930 – 43", *Journal of Global History* 11 (2016) 3, pp. 430 – 450. For a new late 1950s hub in Europe see also West Germany as an involuntary "sanctuary" and operating base of the FLN: M. von Bülow, *West Germany, Cold War Europe and the Algerian War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

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evolved as nodal points of transnational anti-colonial networks that were particularly diverse and dense. These countries hosted liberation movements in exile, yet this was but one part of this increasing connectivity. Cold War diplomats, anti-colonial activists, guerrillas, students, and refugees flocked to Cairo, Accra, and Conakry in the late 1950s as well as Dar es Salaam, Brazzaville, and Algiers in the 1960s. New encounters turned these cities into "epicentres of the political friction between the dual forces of decolonisation and the Cold War", as George Roberts put it.[3] It is these epicentres that I refer to as "hubs of decolonization."

Accounts by the leaders of liberation movements are filled with references to African cities that enabled a new form of "extra-metropolitan cosmopolitanism".[4] Anticolonial activists and politicians used these hubs to establish connections to the wider world. Amílcar Cabral, the leader of the Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e do Cabo Verde (PAIGC), idolized late 1960s Algiers as the "Mecca of Revolution".[5] In his autobiography, Nelson Mandela recalls arriving in Morocco's capital Rabat in 1962 and encountering it as a "crossroads of virtually every liberation movement on the continent." Here, as a leader of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), he could exchange experiences and visions with other freedom fighters from Algeria, Mozambique, Angola, and, Cape Verde and debate the merits of guerrilla strategies in different settings. In Cairo, Mandela discovered Egypt[6] as "an important model for us", as many of President Gamal Abdel Nasser's socialist reforms were "precisely the sort of things that we in the ANC someday hoped to enact".[7]

As countries of the socialist camp took a more active role in supporting liberation struggles and building relations with non-aligned states in the late 1950s, some of these cities also enabled new connections to the "East". Responding to

3 G. Roberts, "The assassination of Eduardo Mondlane: FRELIMO, Tanzania, and the politics of exile in Dar es Salaam", *Cold War History* 17 (2017) 1, pp. 1–19, at 2.

4 J.S. Ahlman, "Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa", *Kronos* 37 (2011), pp. 23–40, at 39; cf. also M. Terretta, "Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global: From Forest Maquis to a Pan-African Accra", *The Journal of African History* 51 (2010) 2, pp. 189–212.

5 Cited in J.J. Byrne, *Mecca of revolution: Algeria, decolonization, and the Third World order,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 443.

6 In 1958, Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic (UAR) which was dissolved in 1961. Though the official designation UAR was retained until 1971, Egypt is used in most of the primary sources I draw on.

7 N. Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, New York: Back Bay Books, 1995, pp. 408–409; cf. A. Drew, "Visions of liberation: The Algerian war of independence and its South African reverberations", *Review of African Political Economy* 42 (2015) 143, pp. 22–43.

the question how the relations between Moscow and the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) had originally evolved, the former MPLA officer Manuel Santos Lima stated in an interview that from "1960, the axis of the liberation struggle in Africa ran between Rabat, Cairo, Accra, and Conakry. These four countries competed for the primacy of the support [for] the liberation struggles in Angola and the Portuguese colonies."[8]

Beyond influential leaders, long-standing or freshly recruited rank-and-file members of liberation movements, students and refugees also moved in and through these hubs and assumed new roles and identities. Their experiences point to shifting practices of labelling and self-perception in these hubs, exemplifying "the fluidity of seemingly self-contained and clear-cut categories such as 'student,' 'guerrilla,' or 'trade unionist,' and the transformation of subjectivities and politicized understandings along the way."[9] When the young Zanzibari Adam Shafi arrived in Cairo after an odyssey through Uganda and the Sudan in 1960, he wanted to move on to study at a European university. During his stay, he experienced Cairo as a "bastion of freedom fighters" (*Ngome ya Wapigania Uhuru*) – and was promptly enrolled to take part in military training to join his country's struggle for independence.[10] One year later, Shafi was sent to East Germany for trade unionist training – thanks to a connection that Zanzibari leaders had established in Cairo. Shafi had imagined Cairo as the gate to university studies Europe, but it became a destination in itself (for his guerrilla training) and also was the site where contacts between Zanzibari and East German representatives prepared his later journey to courses at the trade union high school in the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

This article considers the emergence and functions of three hubs of decolonisation in North, West and East Africa – Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam – in relation to the global Cold War "East". Here, freedom fighters in exile were offered shelter, could open branch offices and headquarters for their organisations and oversee the establishment of refugee and guerrilla training camps, get access to foreign supporters and broader communicative networks as well as political arenas and receive financial and material resources. I will sketch the emergence

8 Interview with Manuel Santos Lima, cited in F.A. Guimarães, "The Origins of the Angolan Civil War: International Politics and Domestic Political Conflict 1961–1979", Ph.D. thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1992, p. 473. Thanks to Immanuel Harisch for pointing me to this quote.

9 E. Burton, "Introduction: Journeys of education and struggle: African mobility in times of decolonization and the Cold War", *Stichproben. Vienna Journal of African Studies* 18 (2018) 34, pp. 1–17.

10 A. Shafi, *Mbali na nyumbani*, Nairobi: Longhorn Publishers, 2013, p. 374.

of these hubs and show how institutions and actors shaped – enabled, managed, and constrained – mobilities between liberation movements and the Cold War "East". Though mobility may encompass tracing phenomena from Maoist concepts of guerrilla struggles to deliveries of canned food, I will be mostly concerned with the physical mobility (and immobility) of persons, pathways of military equipment and communications infrastructure.

In fleshing out the characteristics of each hub, I build on the global history concept of "portals of globalization" as elaborated by Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann.[11] They define portals of globalization as sites of intense transnational connectivity "where institutions and practices for dealing with global connectedness have been developed."[12] In this vein, I will discuss which institutions emerged to facilitate the support of liberation movements and manage associated mobilities. Through its focus on a particular space, concrete actors and their practices, the concept developed by Middell and Naumann allows us to investigate broader global connections (such as the "East"-"South" relations under review in the present volume) both top-down and bottom-up. To do so requires drawing on a number of different sources. This article is based on secondary literature and unpublished dissertations, a limited amount of materials from archives (mostly from the East and West German foreign affairs ministries) as well as retrospective accounts of Africans involved in liberation struggles in various capacities.

Comparing Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam allows for a number of insights that are harder to gain from a non-comparative framework. First, it becomes possible to discern the importance of chronology and geography for the emergence of hubs.[13] A city's function as hub relied on a variety of institutions, transport infrastructures, and communication channels that heightened the site's connectivity, yet it is necessary to specify these. Second, comparison adds to an understanding of the role that different concepts of Pan-Africanism played for extending solidarity and managing mobilities. Third, looking at several sites reveals the entanglements – in terms of cooperation and competition – between these loca-

11 M. Middell and K. Naumann, "Global history and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalization", *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010) 1, pp. 149–170. See also the special issue *Portals of Globalization in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* of *Comparativ* 27 (2017) 3/4.

12 Middell and Naumann, "Global history", p. 162.

13 I talk about "hubs" rather than "portals" because the term "hub" seems more fitting for the present focus on mobility and because Middell and Naumann mention a number of other historical criteria for a full-fledged "portal" that require further investigation, particularly in the cases of Accra and Cairo.

tions and shows what the radicalization and militarization of the liberation struggles owed to these inter-African exchanges and their wider connections to the Cold War "East". Looking at the hubs serves to elucidate rivalries between movements and competing models of African futures. Taken together, infrastructures, institutions, services, and routes enabled mobility – though disciplinary mechanisms and a lack of opportunities also imposed immobility on actors, especially exiles with low levels of education.

In the case of liberation movements more generally, the power to regulate mobilities does not only rest with host governments or institutions abroad that offered material aid, scholarships and military training: The authority to enable or constrain mobility was contested between and within liberation movements, often from very different sites. In that sense, hubs of decolonization were not necessarily significant as centres of decision-making. They derived their significance from their role in broader historical and geographical settings. A focus on these hubs and related mobilities adds to the transnational literature of liberation struggles which has recently substantiated the argument, against the claims of nationalist historiographies of liberation, that the struggles were in many ways "un-national", fractured, and contradictory.[14] It is in hubs of decolonization that "African uses of the Cold War",[15] i. e. the mobilization of symbolic, material and financial resources for own ends by making use of Cold War rivalries and idioms, can best be observed.

Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam were important "gatekeepers" between liberation movements and the wider world.[16] It was in hubs such as Cairo, Accra and Dar es Salaam that, on the one hand, new connections and channels for mobility could be forged, maintained, and managed, while, on the other, the encounters led to the entanglement of ideological Cold War rivalries with struggles for decolonization and exacerbated tensions with liberation movements. The relations of liberation movements to communist countries were particularly dependent on these hubs in intermediary countries because colonial measures of control sought to prevent contacts with the socialist camp. Colonial authorities

14 L. White and M. Larmer, "Introduction: Mobile Soldiers and the Un-National Liberation of Southern Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40 (2014) 6, pp. 1271–1274. Regarding the "un-national" character of African liberation struggles see also Nedžad Kuč's contribution to this volume.

15 J. Alexander, J. McGregor and B.-M. Tendi, "The Transnational Histories of Southern African Liberation Movements: An Introduction", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, pp. 1–12, at 5.

16 Cf. Frederick Cooper's concept of the gatekeeper state: F. Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

refused entry of representatives from Eastern Europe, sometimes confiscated Marxist literature and withheld the passports of colonial subjects who wanted to travel to communist states. Consequently, the links between Southern African liberation movements and the global Cold War "East" had to rely on Pan-African cooperation which preceded or complemented connections to the communist countries.

Cairo: Forging connections

In the late 1950s, Suleiman Malik served as anchor man at the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) Office in Cairo. He had gone to Cairo as a university student with a scholarship in 1955. The ZNP Office was among the first offices which liberation movements from the continent opened in Cairo, and Malik became politicized. Turning from student into "student politician", as he called his new role in a retrospective interview, he subscribed to his double function as political activist and organiser of the ZNP. According to Malik it was Cairo, not Accra or Dar es Salaam, where "the origin of all these matters of liberation movements" lay.[17]

Hosting the headquarters of the League of Arab States, established in 1945, and providing a base for Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan nationalists, Cairo was firmly established as the leading anticolonial location in the region by the early 1950s. The city's subsequent transformation into a hub of continental and global importance was spurred by a combination of geopolitical conflict and ideological projects for uniting various anti-imperialist forces in the mid-1950s. The July 1952 coup of the Egyptian Free Officers and Gamal Abdel Nasser's rise to power paved the way for this development. In his 1954 treatise *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, Nasser (or, more precisely, his ghost-writer, Muhammad Heikal) envisioned Egypt's historical mission in terms not only of an Arab and Islamic, but also an African circle. The linking of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism, also characteristic of Algeria under Ben Bella and Libya under Muammar al-Gaddafi, was a projection of Egypt's role onto the continent and part of the push against Israel's diplomatic of-

17 The original citation reads: "Pale ilikuwa ndo shina la [...] mambo ya Liberation Movement zote kuliko zilizokuwa Ghana kuliko zilizokuwa Dar es Salaam." Cited in S.A. Barwani et al. (eds.), *Unser Leben vor der Revolution und danach – Maisha yetu kabla ya mapinduzi na baadaye: Autobiographische Dokumentartexte sansibarischer Zeitzeugen*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2003, p. 32. Malik's claim that Cairo trumped Accra or Dar es Salaam was informed by his sympathy for Gamal Abdel Nasser's government and close relations between Egypt and the ZNP.

fense in Africa.[18] The language of *The Philosophy of the Revolution* revealed a sense of paternalist mission: being located in Africa, Egyptians could not "stand aside, from the sanguinary and dreadful struggle now raging in the heart of Africa between five million whites and two hundred million Africans. [...] The people of Africa will continue to look up to us, who guard the northern gate of the continent and who are its connecting link with the world outside."[19]

Following his participation in the Bandung Conference in April 1955, Nasser's intensified his push for Afro-Asian unity and non-alignment. Growing tensions with Israel and decreasing trust in Western support led Nasser to recalibrate his foreign policy towards "Eastern" powers. In 1955, Nasser and Czechoslovakia finally sealed an arms deal that had been initiated in 1951. The US promptly stopped their food aid programme and cancelled funding for the Aswan Dam. In 1956, more arms deals were signed with Eastern Bloc countries, while China opened its first embassy on the continent in Cairo.[20] The decisive moment that elevated Egypt to the status of a global icon of anti-imperialist struggles was the 1956 Suez Crisis. Nasser's triumph over Western powers in the showdown following the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 imbued Egypt with fresh symbolic capital that put it onto the map of activists elsewhere on the continent. The diplomatic ruptures with the colonial powers France and Great Britain resulting from the Suez Crisis were followed by a reorientation towards the socialist camp and the Global South. The loosened ties towards the West gave additional leverage for supporting liberation struggles: Having little reason to fear worsening relations with France, Nasser's government allowed Algeria's Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) to establish its government-in-exile in Cairo. One of the anticolonial movements that was pushed into exile at the time, in 1957, was the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC). When leaders of the UPC were deported by the British administration and had to pick a destination for exile, they "imagined that after his gesture of nationalizing the Suez Canal for the good of Egypt [...] Nasser was well placed to understand our struggle and promote our activities."[21]

What was new and particularly valuable about Cairo, in contrast to other sites on the continent and European metropoles, was that it facilitated both ex-

18 R. Ginat, *Egypt's incomplete revolution: Lutfi al-Khuli and Nasser's socialism in the 1960s*, London: Cass, 1997, pp. 93–94.

19 G.A. Nasser, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, Cairo: Mondiale Press, 1963 [1954], p. 69.

20 P.E. Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa. 1945–1968*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 93.

21 M. Moumié, *Victime du colonialisme français: Mon mari Félix Moumié*, Paris: Editions Dubois, 2006, p. 98, author's translation. See also J. Veloso, *Memories at low altitude: The autobiography of a Mozambican security chief*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2012, chapter 1.

tensive inter-African exchanges and access to representatives from Asia and the socialist camp. Egypt's African Association, established in 1957, served as an unbureaucratic clearinghouse for support to liberation movements. Vusumzi Make, the representative of the South African Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), praised the African Association because it enabled him "to publish and disseminate different writings, assign broadcast directed to South Africa, make friendships, and gain scholarships for many South African students."[22] Another central institution for gaining recognition and mobilizing resources was the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, established following the created after the 1957 Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference (AAPSO). Fuelled by Soviet efforts to both support and influence anti-colonial liberation struggles and financed chiefly by the USSR, China, and Egypt, the AAPSO was special because it allowed liberation movements from colonial territories to participate as equal members. From 1960/61 the AAPSO's Solidarity Fund channelled material and financial aid as well as scholarships and provisions for medical care to liberation movements.[23] Apart from the AAPSO secretariat, Cairo also hosted the Afro-Asian Economic Conference in Cairo in December 1958 and the third AAPSO conference in 1961. Revolutionary Cuba's first diplomatic link to Africa in 1959 was a legation in Cairo; the first high-ranking government delegation, led by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, went to Egypt.[24] All of this opened up ample opportunities for facilitating and directing mobilities that were connected to liberation movements, especially as China and Eastern European states were also reaching out towards Africa. As R. C. Kamanga, UNIP's Deputy National Secretary, wrote to the East German representative in Cairo, the city provided "an opportunity for contact with peace and freedom loving people and countries, who it is difficult to contact in [the] African and world capitals".[25]

The offices were concentrated in Cairo's quarter of Zamalek, a posh and cosmopolitan area situated on Gezira Island in the Nile River. Most offices were opened in a villa located at Ahmed Hishmat Street that had been abandoned

22 Cited in M. Abul-Enein, "The Contribution of North Africa in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa", in A.J. Temu and J. das Neves Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents 1960–1994*, *Vol. 8*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014, pp. 105–181, at 122. The name is misspelled "Fose Maki" in Abul-Enein's account.

23 A.N. Altorfer-Ong, "East Asian Support to the Southern African Liberation Struggle, 1960s to 1994", in: Temu and das Neves Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 8*, pp. 267–375, at 271–272.

24 P. Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, pp. 31, 91.

25 PAAA, MfAA, A 1187, R.C. Kamanga (UNIP) to GDR ambasssador, Cairo, 9 August 1960.

by an English businessman after the nationalization of the Suez Canal.[26] Those representatives who were granted political asylum received pensions (depending on the source, forty to one hundred pounds per month) as well as free air travel from the government.[27] While colonial (and, in the case of opposition movements, postcolonial) regimes restricted where activists could go and what they could publish, Nasser's regime enabled physical mobility – e. g. the attendance of conferences – and propaganda.[28]

Some organisations which established offices in Cairo until 1960 eventually turned into ruling parties, including Northern Rhodesia's United National Independence Party (UNIP). Several movements from South Africa and Namibia as well as the National Democratic Party (NDP) from Southern Rhodesia also established offices in Cairo.[29] Even when exiles succeeded in mobilizing resources, other factors – such as failures to gain a following in the domestic political scene or illegitimacy due to lacking contribution to action in war theatres – sometimes marginalized individuals or even whole factions and movements. In 1962, independence movements and opposition parties from at least fifteen African countries maintained a presence in Cairo, with some offices, such as those of Mozambican splinter groups, opened in 1962 or even later.

Given its high concentration and diversity of representatives, Cairo was the site for a couple of "first contacts" between representatives of African liberation movements and communist states.[30] Several offices received additional assistance from abroad, especially Eastern Europe. The Kenya Office run by the Kenya African National Union (KANU), for instance, partially relied on financial and material assistance from Czechoslovakia, which also provided scholar-

26 J. Stevenson, "The Union des Populations du Cameroun and Third World Internationalism: Solidarity, Cooperation and Abandonment, 1955 – 1970", unpublished research paper, Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection 573, International Studies, Vassar College, 2008, pp. 1 – 55, at 21, https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/573/ (accessed 30 December 2018).

27 Moumié, *Victime du colonialisme français*, pp. 96 – 100. Asylum was apparently granted ad hoc by political decision rather than through a bureaucratic process. See also Veloso, *Memories at low altitude,* chapter 1.

28 I. Milford, "'Shining vistas' and false passports: recipes for an anticolonial hub", *Afro-Asian Visions* (2017), https://medium.com/afro-asian-visions/shining-vistas-and-false-passports-recipes-for-an-anticolonial-hub-f631e19b1046 (accessed 3 January 2019).

29 PAAA, AV Neues Amt, KAIR 18938, Weber to Foreign Office, Cairo, 6 December 1960.

30 This applied, for instance, to contacts between Czechoslovakia and Northern Rhodesia's UNIP as well as Southern Rhodesia's National Democratic Party, and contacts of several liberation movements with the USSR. Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, p. 110; V. Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa*, London, Scottsville: Pluto Press, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008, pp. 152 – 153, 195.

ships.[31] Only those representatives who made a favourable impression – seen as possible allies and with sufficient leverage in their movements, as opposed to appearing as splinter groups or dissident faction – on Eastern bloc diplomats could hope for such material support and invitations. Following a positive evaluation of such "first contacts", representatives of liberation movements received invitations to Prague, Moscow or East Berlin that opened up further possibilities.[32] Impressed by the ANC representative in charge of the Cairo office, Mzwai Piliso, the GDR extended its relations which had initially been confined to the South African Communist Party (SACP) and its affiliated trade union, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), to the ANC. In 1962, a first batch of ANC students went to East Germany, soon followed by a group of vocational trainees.[33] Doors remained closed for representatives found to be acting on their own accord or seeding discord. This was the case, for instance, with the leaders of Mozambique's União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (UDENAMO), Adelino Gwambe and Fanuel Mahlayeye, who couched their requests in the dichotomous rhetoric of the Cold War but still failed to convince Czechoslovak representatives in 1962 in Cairo that FRELIMO's newly elected president Eduardo Mondlane was a "pro-American agent".[34] The Soviets, who had invited Gwambe to Moscow in September 1961, concluded that he was a "petty political adventurer" who had received handouts from the United States but despite this critical judgment, they still allocated US$ 3,000 to UDENAMO.[35]

Being based in Cairo, leaders of liberation movements could profit from the city's connectivity and Egypt's military capacity. The city was excellently connected in terms of transport infrastructure, especially air travel. Many international routes between Europe, Asia, and the US passed through Cairo and made it a central node of Afro-Asian as well as Afro-European links. Connectivity improved further from the mid-1950s onwards. The Czechoslovak State Airline (ČSA), for instance, established its first route to Africa with Cairo the destination in 1958.[36] Egypt's attractiveness for liberation movements was further bolstered

31 Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, p. 42.

32 Ibid., p. 110.

33 H.-G. Schleicher, "The German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa", in: Temu and das Neves Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 8,* pp. 449–561, at 534. See also the contribution by U. van der Heyden and A. Schade to this volume.

34 N. Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty: The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War, 1961–1975", Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics, 2014, p. 101. See also her contribution to this volume.

35 Cited in Shubin, *The Hot "Cold" War*, p. 120.

36 Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, p. 132.

by its military capacity. "We knew that the African states, generally speaking, were too weak," Joe Matthews of South Africa's ANC remembered: "They didn't have military resources to support such a plan [...] Egypt had bigger resources than other states, a bigger army."[37] In 1962, Egypt was given the mandate to lead the military command for African liberation that a group of progressive African states – the Casablanca group – had established.[38]

Egypt fostered the militarization of anticolonial struggles by shipping weapons, including both the channelling of arms from Communist countries as well as the provision of the Egyptian-manufactured submachine gun *Port Said* used by FRELIMO and other movements.[39] Exchanges with the ČSR and USSR had partially laid the groundwork for this. Nasser's spectacular arms deal with the ČSR in 1955 – in which Czechoslovakia has often been misrepresented as a mere front for Soviet interests – was followed by an influx of Czech and Slovak military instructors as well as the training of Egyptian (and other African) soldiers at the Antonín Zápotocký Military Academy of Technology in Brno. The ČSR also helped to found the Military Technical College (MTC) in Cairo, the first of its kind in Egypt. It was initially fully staffed by Czechoslovak nationals, the last of whom left in 1968.[40]

Cairo also provided infrastructures to reach audiences back home and abroad through print publications and radio. Many movements issued periodicals, such as *Freedom – Voice of the Oppressed*, put together by the South Rhodesia's National Democratic Party, which bore the address of the villa in Ahmed Hishmat Street on their back. Egypt's already powerful radio infrastructure also received a boost through "Eastern" connections. In the mid-1950s, the ČSR provided medium-wave transmitters that were then used to disseminate radical anti-colonial propaganda across Africa through the "Voice of the Arabs" radio station.[41] Radio Cairo, reputed for its inflammatory anti-imperialism, provided liberation movements with the opportunity to broadcast anti-colonial messages to their home territories in Arab as well

37 Interview with Joe Matthews, cited in S.M. Ndlovu, "The ANC and the world", in: SADET (ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol. 1, 1960–1970*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004, pp. 541–571, at 547.

38 G.C. Mazarire, "ZANU's External Networks 1963–1979: An Appraisal", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, pp. 83–106, at 88.

39 Abul-Enein, "The Contribution of North Africa", pp. 111, 117.

40 Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, pp. 13, 23–26, as well as all of chapter 3, particularly p. 114. On military training, see also H. Sharawy, "Memories on African liberation (1956–1975): A personal experience from Egypt, Part 1", *Pambazuka News*, 19 May 2011, p. 2, https://www.pambazuka.org/printpdf/71536 (accessed 30 December 2018).

41 Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, pp. 25–26.

as Hausa, Swahili, Somali, Zulu, Ndebele, Shona, and other vernacular languages.[42] As James Brennan has argued, these "vernacular broadcasts to Sub-Saharan Africa were surprisingly independent of state controls, even despite the generous state salaries the announcers received. At times, the right hand of Egypt's vernacular propaganda did not know what the left hand was doing."[43]

Another resource that Egypt and liberation movements alike drew on was a growing international student body. Cairo already had a student population of Africans, mostly in Islamic studies, by the mid-1950s. A number of Africans who attended festivals in the Soviet Union in 1957 and 1958 were probably drawn from that student population, given that direct travel from colonial territories was difficult under colonial restrictions.[44] The students also helped as mediators because unlike most representatives of liberation movements who arrived in Cairo, they spoke Arabic. The late 1950s also saw Egyptian authorities translating articles from African newspapers or the works of Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta.[45]

Following the establishment of the first offices in 1958 and more intensive radio propaganda, Cairo became the destination and pathway for youths from East and Southern Africa travelling via the Sudan (having attained independence in 1956) and Egypt to the Eastern bloc.[46] While new opportunities for mobility emerged, these were still bound to the passing of selection processes and bureaucratic procedures – or the skilful elusion of controls and restrictions.[47] KANU's Oginga Odinga and his associates in Cairo's Kenya Office (a couple of students) facilitated what Odinga pompously mythologized as the "historic trek of Kenya students" to socialist countries: "It was not easy for the students to leave Kenya to take up the scholarships because if the authorities had

42 J.R. Brennan, "Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa, 1953–1964", in: C.J. Lee (ed.), *Making a world after empire: The Bandung moment and its political afterlives*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010, pp. 173–195, at 178; Abul-Enein, "The Contribution of North Africa", p. 124.

43 Brennan, "Radio Cairo", p. 178.

44 Sharawy, "Memories, Part 1", p. 3. Sharaway mentions the "Youth Festival in Tashkent", probably lumping together the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival and the 1958 Festival of African and Asian Cinema.

45 Sharawy, "Memories, Part 1", p. 4.

46 C. Katsakioris, "Leçons soviétiques: la formation des étudiants africains et arabes en URSS pendant la guerre froide", Ph.D. thesis, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2015, p. 151.

47 A whole repertoire of such tactics, as well as successes and failures in applying them, is vividly portrayed in Shafi, *Mbali na Nyumbani*.

known their destinations were in socialist countries, the students would have had their passports impounded, and they might also have faced arrest. Someone had to organize these surreptitious journeys out of the country."[48] Colonial authorities often withheld passports from applicants who were known or suspected subversives. Colonial power to regulate mobility was undermined further when Soviet, Hungarian, or Egyptian travel documents became available to anticolonial activists and students in hubs of decolonization. These young men – very few, if any, women – were not all members of liberation movements, but when they arrived in Cairo they usually got in touch with "their" offices to benefit from scholarship arrangements with solidarity committees and other institutions from the Global East. These might encourage the overland journey from East Africa to North Africa. Being unable to pay for airlifts from Dar es Salaam, the GDR advised Southern African liberation movements to facilitate overland journeys to Cairo where students could be picked up by East German freighters calling at a local port.[49] ANC representative Mzwai Piliso, for instance, organized a route for cadres of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK): "from Dar es Salaam to Nairobi they went by plane; from Nairobi to Juba by hired taxis on poor roads; from Juba to Khartoum by ship down the Nile; from Khartoum to Cairo by train", and the remainder of the journey by plane.[50] In this way, Dar es Salaam's emergence of a hub temporarily reinforced Cairo's function as a gateway to sites of military training in North Africa and the Global East.

For intermediaries such as Mzwai Piliso or KANU's Odinga, managing mobilities was a means of patronage and securing a political following. The mobilities reflected factional struggles that were informed (rather than guided by) ideological sympathies. While Odinga steered students (mostly) towards Eastern Europe, his party rival Tom Mboya organized airlifts to North America. In the case of UDENAMO, a forerunner of FRELIMO supported by Ghana, Adelino Gwambe tried to establish routes to socialist countries, while his opponent Eduardo Mondlane arranged scholarships towards the US, although both also pragmatically sought opportunities elsewhere.[51]

48 O. Odinga, *Not Yet Uhuru: The Autobiography of Oginga Odinga with a Foreword by Kwame Nkrumah*, London: Heinemann, 1967, pp. 186–188.

49 Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin (henceforth PAAA), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten (henceforth MfAA), Kern to GDR representative in Cairo, Berlin, 18 October 1961. Thanks to Sebastian Pampuch for directing me towards this information.

50 V. Shubin, "Comrade Mzwai", in: A. Lissoni (ed.), *One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories Today*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2012, pp. 255–274, at 259.

51 J.A. Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 31.

Staying in or passing through hubs of decolonization such as Cairo meant assuming new roles, allegiances, and identities. In this and other ways, the resulting mobilities demonstrate the limits of control from above. In the case of rivalling organisations, individuals could also change sides. The Zimbabwe African People's Union's (ZAPU) first batch of military cadres was trained in Egypt in 1962. When the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) split from ZAPU in 1963, both movements maintained an office in Cairo throughout the 1960s. During their sojourns and journeys, several ZAPU members defected to ZANU. Among them was Zimbabwe's current president, Emmerson Mnangagwa, who escaped the death sentence of a ZAPU court martial in Iringa (Tanzania). Sent to Egypt and, from there, to China, he quickly became one of ZANU's most influential cadres.[52] Mnangagwa's case illustrates the general tendency of the early 1960s when militarization and radicalization through political training increasingly marked individual trajectories, not least because, in contrast to the 1950s, these trajectories more frequently included sojourns in the Communist world. Mozambique's FRELIMO sent its first batch of soldiers for training in Egypt from Dar Es Salaam to Cairo in December 1962, some of whom proceeded to the Soviet Union after having completed combat training there.[53]

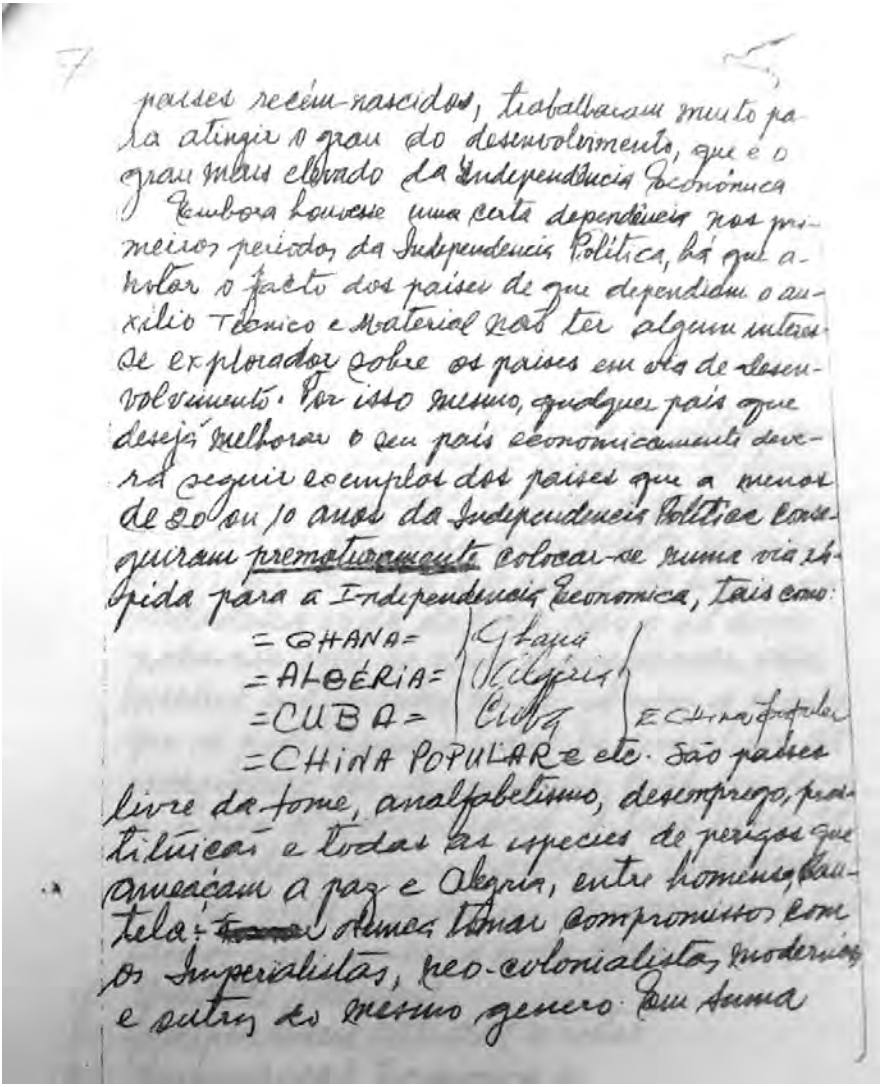
While the Zanzibari Malik Suleiman turned from student into student-politician, his compatriot Adam Shafi, arriving in Cairo five years after Suleiman, turned from aspiring student to guerrilla. Embarking on his journey to *ulaya* (Europe), Shafi and his two fellow Zanzibari travel companions had not perceived themselves as "freedom fighters", but were convinced by Ali Sultan Issa, the leader of Cairo's Zanzibar Office, that their individualistic wishes for education should be put aside until their country was liberated. All of them underwent combat training and remained involved in anti-colonial networks in differing roles, undergoing further transformations during stays in Cuba and East Germany.[54]

By the 1960s, Egypt's anti-imperialist prestige crumbled. Although the AAPSO's secretariat and its geographical location ensured that Cairo remained

52 Mazarire, "ZANU's External Networks", p. 88. On military and ideological training in China, see A.N. Altorfer-Ong, "Old Comrades and New Brothers: A Historical Re-Examination of the Sino-Zanzibari and Sino-Tanzanian Bilateral Relationships", Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics, 2014, p. 155.

53 A.D. Zengazenga, *Memórias de um rebelde: Uma vida pela independência e democracia em Moçambique*, San Bernardino, CA: Edição de autor/Amazon-CreateSpace, 2013. Thanks to Constantin Katsakioris for a hint on this book.

54 Shafi, *Mbali na nyumbani*, p. 388.



países recém-nascidos, trabalharam muito para atingir o grau do desenvolvimento, que é o grau mais elevado da Independência Económica. Embora houvesse uma certa dependência nos primeiros períodos da Independência Política, há que atender o facto dos países de que dependiam o auxílio Técnico e Material não ter algum interesse explorador sobre os países em vias de desenvolvimento. Por isso mesmo, qualquer país que deseje melhorar o seu país economicamente deverá seguir os exemplos dos países que a menos de 20 ou 10 anos da Independência Política conseguiram prematuramente colocar-se numa via rápida para a Independência Económica, tais como:

= GHANA = Ghana
= ARGÉRIA = Argélia
= CUBA = Cuba
= CHINA POPULAR e etc. são países E China Popular

livre da fome, analfabetismo, desemprego, problemas políticos e todas as espécies de perigos que ameaçam a paz e alegria, entre homens, bastando-lhe tomar compromissos com os Imperialistas, neo-colonialistas, modernos e outros do mesmo género. Em suma

Fig. 2: FRELIMO Guerrilla Handbook Extract, Livro II, fl. 7 (1964) [source: ADN: SGDN: Cx 5309: P2, Curso de Guerrilha, Livro II, fl. 7 (FRELIMO, 1964)]

significant conduit for "East"-"South" connections,[55] Nasser's support for sub-Saharan Africa's struggles was now lukewarm, with his attention focussing on

55 The GDR, for instance, posted its first liaison officer as late as 1964. Also, thanks to Nasser's

escalating conflicts in the Middle East. Several leaders in sub-Saharan Africa had come to question Nasser's Pan-Africanism, or were confirmed in their presumption that it was never more than a sideshow to his grand investments in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Arab projects.[56] Already in the late 1950s, convinced Pan-Africanists who were suspicious of Afro-Asian alliances had turned to Accra rather than Cairo.

Accra: Failing fronts

Ghana's concrete commitment to and organisation of support for anticolonial movements was rooted in the "Manchester tradition" of Pan-Africanism in which the country's Prime Minister and later President Kwame Nkrumah as well as George Padmore, one of his most influential advisors, were important figures. Both ensured that the support of freedom fighters became a central pillar of Ghanaian foreign policy. Padmore ran his own office with the intention of both supporting African liberation struggles and providing a guiding Pan-African ideology, also to woo anti-colonial activists away from the Soviet Union.[57] In some ways similar to Cairo's African Association, it both supported and controlled the activities of the organisations in exile. The office was established informally with Ghana's independence in 1957 and christened the Bureau of African Affairs (BAA) after Padmore's death in October 1959, when Aloysius K. Barden, the retired sergeant who had been Padmore's secretary, took over. The office extended Ghana's networks within and beyond Africa and spearheaded the establishment of secret guerrilla training camps in 1961.

One year after independence, Ghana set the stage for a new era of state-sponsored Pan-African activity by hosting a gathering of liberation movements and political parties to trade unions and other non-state actors: the All-African People's Conference (AAPC) in December 1958. With a close overlap between their ambitious political visions, the relationship between Nasser and Nkrumah

embrace of Cuba's mission to assist the Lumumbist Simbas in the Congo in 1965, Cuban combatants and weapons passed through Cairo before proceeding to Dar es Salaam. Schleicher, "The German Democratic Republic", p. 471; Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions*, p. 91.

56 K. van Walraven, *The Yearning for Relief: A History of the Sawaba Movement in Niger*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 438–439; Brennan, "Radio Cairo", p. 187.

57 M. Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana and the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa (1961–1966)", *South African Historical Journal* 70 (2018) 1, pp. 56–81, at 62.

has been described as one of both alliance and rivalry.[58] While both leaders agreed that the decolonization of the continent was a central goal, their strategies and geographical outlook differed: Nkrumah was suspicious of communist influence in Egypt as well as of Nasser's Pan-Arab and Afro-Asian connections. At the First Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) held in Accra in April 1958, Egypt promoted armed struggle while Ghana held on to an emphasis on "Positive Action" and non-violent resistance.[59] By 1960, Nkrumah and Nasser had developed a fairly productive relationship, however.[60]

While Ghana's connective function in regional and Western circuits was steeped in longer traditions, ties to the East grew from mid-1959. Trying to counter-balance the excessive reliance on Western aid and trade, Nkrumah intensified relations with communist states, including Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union and China, until the end of 1960.[61] China's propaganda mouthpiece, the New China News Agency (NCNA), opened branches in Accra as well as Dar es Salaam, Cairo, and Algiers. The NCNA provided a point of contact for liberation movements and an outlet for stories about the liberation struggle that were also being publicized via Radio Beijing.[62] A beneficiary of these contacts was the Angolan leader Jonas Savimbi. As a leading member of the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA), he had met a NCNA agent in Accra and undergone training at Nanjing Military Academy in 1964; he later secured Chinese support for his newly established União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA).[63]

Given that Conakry or Brazzaville were closer to theatres of armed conflict, Accra did not turn into a major hub for arms shipments. For Angola's MPLA and FNLA – which had their headquarters, depending on the time, in Conakry, Léopoldville, and Brazzaville – Cairo served only for occasional diplomatic contacts.[64] Nkrumah planned to turn Ghana into an arms producer, however: he

58 W.S. Thompson, *Ghana's foreign policy, 1957–1966*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969, pp. 50–51.

59 L.E. James, "What we put in black and white: George Padmore and the practice of anti-imperial politics", Ph.D. thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2012, pp. 226–227.

60 Personal ties may have helped as well: Nkrumah married the Coptic Egyptian Fathia Halim Ritzk 1957 and his first son, born in 1959, was given the first name Gamal, after the Egyptian president who had also helped in arranging the marriage. H. Fuller, *Building the Ghanaian Nation-State: Kwame Nkrumah's Symbolic Nationalism*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 138.

61 Thompson, *Ghana's foreign policy*, p. 102.

62 Altorfer-Ong, "East Asian Support", p. 273.

63 Ibid., pp. 285–286.

64 Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, pp. 107–109.

signed agreements with the ČSSR in 1963 and 1964 to establish factories that would produce 18 million rounds of ammunition and 10,000 small arms per year. These projects remained uncompleted due to the 1966 coup.[65]

Ghana's Pan-African policy of uniting all African independent states and liberation movements relied on attracting, and convincing, as many liberation movements as possible. The most important institution to tackle this task on an operational level, following the contacts established by the BAA, was the African Affairs Centre (AAC). Established in the run-up to the 1958 All-African People's Conference, the AAC came to serve as both a hostel and stop-over to military camps, as well as a political training institution. It was managed by Padmore's close associate, the Guyanese-born Pan-Africanist T. Ras Makonnen who claimed Ethiopian ancestry and had organized welfare work in Manchester and Liverpool since the 1930s.[66] One of the first high-profile political refugees to be hosted at the Centre was the Angolan Holden Roberto, co-founder of the União dos Povos de Angola (UPA) and later founder of the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA), who stayed on after the closing of the conference, at which he made the acquaintance of Patrice Lumumba, Tom Mboya, and Kenneth Kaunda.[67]

The AAC accommodated not only movements' leaders, but hundreds of refugees, most of whom initially came from French Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Belgian Congo, Angola, Nyasaland, and Mauretania. In terms of mobility towards the Eastern bloc, Accra was less important for Southern African liberation movements but a central destination and gateway for students from adjacent West African countries who sought to bypass the efforts of both colonial and postcolonial governments to control students' outbound journeys. Joseph Akouété, a member of the Sawabist movement from Niger, but of Togolese origin, was a crucial person in "assembling recruits and dispatching them for training to the Eastern Bloc", providing passports and tickets for their educational journeys.[68] The AAC also contributed to the militarization of cadres, functioning as "a processing point for activists on their way to military camps" in central Ghana or abroad.[69] While recruits without formal education were required to attend basic courses or

65 Ibid., p. 104.

66 M. Grilli, "African Liberation and Unity in Nkrumah's Ghana: A Study of the role of 'Pan-African Institutions' in the Making of Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957–1966", Ph.D. thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 2015, pp. 44–49; R. Makonnen and K. King, *Pan-Africanism from within*, New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 1973, p. 212; Terretta, "Cameroonian Nationalists", p. 198.

67 Grilli, "African Liberation", p. 55.

68 van Walraven, *The Yearning for Relief*, pp. 431–432; cf. also p. 481.

69 Ibid., p. 428.

military training, there were youths who had the credentials to attend higher education but preferred learning about armed combat instead.[70]

While political allegiance and nationality were central parameters in the regulation of mobilities, the connectivity provided through Ghana's Pan-Africanist institutions was also socially uneven. Unsympathetic observers of anticolonial exchanges in Accra highlighted the inequalities that marked the centre's activities. Reporting to Bonn, the West German ambassador evoked an image of the AAC buildings, which were close to the airport, as a heavily controlled site where hierarchies translated into a system of involuntary immobility and ideological education. He described an "extensive barrack camp surrounded by barbed wire in which the 'hotel residents' do not only reside but are also indoctrinated". According to him, there were various "emigrant groups in the centre", including a spectrum from radical political activists to "harmless scholarship holders" (e. g., from Gambia) who were "subject to various degrees of freedom restrictions".[71] Candidates eligible for studies abroad sometimes had to stay put in Accra for several months – often lodged at the AAC – until all arrangements were finalized.

While the BAA and the AAC were important relay points between West African movements and the socialist camp, their primary activity was directed towards African integration, seeking to translate the thought of African unity into a forceful alliance that threatened both colonialism and conservative (or, in late-Nkrumahist parlance, "neo-colonial") postcolonial regimes. The political training was provided with the resources of the centre itself as well as Ghana's ruling party, the Convention People's Party (CPP). A concrete effort in 1962 to unify opposition groups and liberation movements from West and Southern Africa including Niger, Cameroon, North Rhodesia (Zambia), Basutoland (Lesotho), Côte d'Ivoire, and Togo in a common front never got off the ground.[72] It was not the only ill-fated vision of political alliance that should have crossed astonishing geographical distances: In 1961, Kanyama Chiume from the ANC of Nyasaland promised to bring his country, once it would have achieved independence, into the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union that existed at the time.[73]

Another of the Bureau's responsibilities in mitigating the risks of Ghana's role as a hub of decolonization was sorting out and neutralizing supposedly subversive elements. In some cases, expulsions were voluntary and in line with rev-

70 Ibid., pp. 397–398, 414, 418.

71 PAAA, B 130/2277 A, Reichhold (FRG embassy) to Federal Foreign Office, Accra, 7 December 1963.

72 van Walraven, *The Yearning for Relief*, p. 426.

73 Thompson, *Ghana's foreign policy*, p. 204.

olutionary objectives: several individuals were identified as Portuguese or South African spies and deported.[74] In other cases, they were not: International pressure in the mid-1960s led Ghana to cede hosting opposition movements from other independent states.

Tensions had marked the relations with South African movements already in the early 1960s, despite a promising beginning. Shortly after the Sharpeville Massacre and the imposition of the state of emergency in South Africa, the BAA director Barden went on a fact-finding mission to Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland where he pledged further support – tied to the condition that both PAC and ANC remained focussed on fighting within South Africa.[75] Nkrumah established himself as "the chief supporter of the refugees from South Africa by mid-1960," many of whom travelled on Ghanaian passports. South Africans, however, also quickly became frustrated with Ghanaian support. As in the case of movements from other territories, Nkrumah exerted pressure to establish a common front of South African exiles and follow his general line. Partially as a result of Nkrumah's efforts, the South African United Front (SAUF) was formed as an alliance of South Africa's ANC and PAC as well as the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the South West Africa National Union (SWANU). The front opened offices in Accra, Cairo, and London and was fairly successful in raising international awareness and building up pressure to oust the apartheid state from the Commonwealth.[76] In the view of most South Africans exiles, however, Nkrumah did little for their cause in the Commonwealth; also, the preference of Ghanaian key actors for the PAC, given its Pan-Africanist ideology, estranged the ANC, which ultimately contributed to the disintegration of the SAUF.[77] The desire for control by the Ghanaian authorities extended beyond ideological and political spoon-feeding, as they tried to exert control, for instance, over the Front's funds.[78]

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74 Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana", p. 64.

75 Ibid., p. 63.

76 For the argument that Nkrumah was not responsible for the alliance – going against the grain of most scholarship on the subject – see M. Graham, "Campaigning Against Apartheid: The Rise, Fall and Legacies of the South Africa United Front 1960–1962", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46 (2018) 6, pp. 1148–1170, at 1152–1153.

77 Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy*, pp. 97–98, 224; Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana", p. 67. For a discussion of Nkrumah's dual approach including calls for unity as well as favouritism in the case of Mozambican and Angolan movements, see M. Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism: Ghana's Pan-African Foreign Policy in the Age of Decolonization*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 69–70.

78 Shubin, "Comrade Mzwai", p. 259.

These frustrations were not confined to South Africans. In 1963, UNIP's Accra representative Humphrey Mulemba reported to Kenneth Kaunda, the leader in North Rhodesia, that BAA director Barden in particular and Ghana in general was "humiliating" exiles and constantly inserting Nkrumaist propaganda into the organisations' press releases: "Ghana's attitude towards emerging countries is that of PATERNALISM. That is people from dependent countries are not intelligent and therefore they cannot do without Ghana's guidance and leadership."[79] While Nasser gave ample opportunity for liberation movements to publish and broadcast with support but without interference, Ghana's support came with a larger degree of surveillance and intervention.

While the aggressive emphasis on African unity disrupted some relations, it helped building others. Staying at the BAA, ZAPU leader (and later ZANU co-founder) Ndabaningi Sithole came to embrace Nkrumah's Pan-African philosophy and frequently contributed to its printed organ *The Voice of Africa*.[80] Some of the articles published in Accra formed the basis for Sithole's widely circulating book *African Nationalism*, published by Oxford University Press in 1959. Couched in a vivid language of radical anti-colonial non-alignment on the basis of overcoming racial hierarchies, it contained a section on Africa and Communism. Sithole claimed that Africans had nothing to gain if they embraced "Russian Communism" or "European imperialism", arguing that both were different forms of foreign rule and white supremacy, and that Russians were "just as white as the French, the Belgians and the English," and strove for communist hegemony in the world, which implied the renewed subjection of Africans.[81] Sithole's views did not sit well, for instance, with East German representatives in Cairo.[82] Following the split of Zimbabwe's movements in 1963, orchestrated by Sithole, they continued to prefer Edward Ndlovu, the leader of the ZAPU office established in 1961 in Cairo and former chargé d'affaires of ZAPU's Accra office.[83] In 1962, the GDR had invited Ndlovu to Berlin and offered scholarships to ZAPU; by 1963, ZAPU was one of the preferred movements of the

79 Cited in Grilli, *Nkrumaism*, p. 306.

80 Mazarire, "ZANU's External Networks", p. 87.

81 N. Sithole, *African Nationalism*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 137.

82 PAAA, MfAA, A 15038, Annex to Schüßler, "Einschätzung der Spaltung der Befreiungsbewegung in Zimbabwe (Südrhodesien)", Cairo, 10 October 1963, fol. 13–18.

83 PAAA, MfAA, A 15038, "Direktive zum Besuch Ndlovus", Berlin, 31 October 1962, fol. 26; ibid., "Abschlußbericht über den Besuch des Leiters des Auslandsbüros der ZAPU in Kairo", Berlin, 5 December 1962, fol. 76.

East German solidarity committee.[84] Ghana, however, supported ZANU, which also posted officials to Accra.[85]

As Accra emerged as the preferred destination of Pan-Africanists, also became – similar to Cairo – a base for the militarization of the liberation struggles. This turn was connected to warming relations towards communist countries. Following the Congo Crisis and the assassination of Patrice Lumumba as well as the Sharpeville Massacre, Nkrumah shifted from his earlier belief in the efficacy of the strategy of non-violence. This shift was helped by the fact that Barden, a stern supporter of armed struggles, had taken over the BAA from Padmore, who had come to favour non-violent "positive action" after World War II. Arrangements were made for guerrilla training on Ghanaian soil, primarily for Southern African liberation movements, several of which turned to the armed struggle in 1961. Nkrumah counted on the assistance of the communist world. Before leaving for his ambitious three-month tour of the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgarian, Albania, and China from July to September in the same year, he consulted leaders of liberation movements on how to accelerate African liberation.[86] Czechoslovakia agreed to help him finance and build a guerrilla training centre in Ghana.[87]

Directly after Nkrumah's return, the first training camp was established in Mankrong, a remote location some seventy kilometres from Accra. Courses began on 3 December 1961 with Soviet instructors and weapons. Trainees included cadres from Mozambique's UDENAMO, Zambia's UNIP, Guinea-Bissau's and Cape Verde's PAIGC as well as South Africa's PAC, but also Nigerians, among others. Intra-Angolan feuds and some Angolans singing ridiculing songs about Nkrumah as well as complaints about conditions in the course marred the atmosphere.

"East"-"South" relations proved even less successful. The Soviet instructors proved unpopular for their patronizing attitude towards Ghanaians and were asked to leave on completion of the first course. Their departure marked the end of direct Soviet involvement in Ghanaian training camps, from which Moscow withdrew all support in July 1962, at a time when Soviet-Ghanaian relations

84 H.-G. Schleicher, "Befreiungskampf Zimbabwes: Höhen und Tiefen der DDR-Afrikapolitik", in: U. van der Heyden, I. Schleicher, and H.-G. Schleicher (eds.), *Engagiert für Afrika: Die DDR und Afrika II*, Münster: LIT, 1994, pp. 49–72.

85 Mazarire, "ZANU's External Networks", p. 87.

86 Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana", p. 65.

87 Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia*, p. 103. Muehlenbeck seems to suggest that the support was used for the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winnebah rather than Mankrong.

more generally were souring.[88] As relations with China improved, Nkrumah became more fascinated with Maoist approaches to guerrilla warfare (as evident in his *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* published in 1969). In 1964, Chinese instructors came to teach at newly established camps in Ghana, while six Ghanaians were sent to Beijing to become instructors.[89]

The toppling of Nkrumah's government in 1966 illustrated how quickly a hub of decolonization could disintegrate due to a regime change, and how crucial government backing was for liberation movements. Directly after the coup, freedom fighters from the PAC, ZANU, and other movements were arrested and expelled as the post-coup military regime sought re-build its diplomatic relations with Britain and the United States.[90] With the fall of Pan-African Accra, exiles were forced to move on. While some were sent to London and other destinations in Europe, depending on the organization in question, others were sent to the South and contributed to the growing importance of hubs in Southern and East Africa. The earliest and longest-lasting of these was Dar es Salaam. As Matteo Grilli has argued, "while Ghana was arguably the most important initial supporter of the anti-colonial struggle, by the time of the coup in 1966 it had become a secondary actor, overshadowed by the growing importance of other countries, *in primis* Tanzania."[91]

Dar es Salaam: Managing connectivity

Visitors were struck by the tangible anti-imperialist atmosphere in 1960s Dar es Salaam. Passing through the capital of Tanganyika (and, following the 1964 union with Zanzibar, Tanzania), the Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuściński observed in 1964 that "all of Africa" conspired in this coastal city: "Here gather the fugitives, refugees, and emigrants from various parts of the continent. One can spot sitting at one table Mondlane from Mozambique, Kaunda from Zambia, Mugabe from Rhodesia. At another – Karume from Zanzibar, Chisiza from Malawi, Nujoma from Namibia, etc."[92] Not everybody was impressed by the city, how-

88 Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy*, p. 226; Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana", pp. 67–68. Thompson and Grilli both mainly rely on the famous pamphlet published shortly directly the coup d'état, *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa*.

89 Grilli, *Nkrumaism*, p. 289.

90 Ahlman, "Road to Ghana", p. 39.

91 Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana", p. 59.

92 R. Kapuściński, *The shadow of the sun: My African life*, London: Allen Lane, 2001, p. 78, cited in Roberts, "Assassination", p. 3.

ever. As Hilda Bernstein noted, many of the South African refugees, who hailed from urban industrial centres such as Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth or Cape Town, "were shocked by free Africa". They "arrived in 'liberated' towns like Dar es Salaam and suffered culture-shock, comparing the dusty, pot-holed, tin-roofed, decrepit capital of Tanzania [...] with 'their' cities."[93] Dar es Salaam could be a disappointment in terms of physical appearance, but the government's readiness to provide shelter in trying times was a valuable act of solidarity and welcome: South African activist Ronald Segal remembered how his exile experience began in Tanganyika, "and Julius Nyerere was there with his arms outstretched, flung them around me".[94]

Dar es Salaam's role as a hub of liberation[95] went back to the commitment of the nationalist party led by Nyerere, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), in the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central, and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA), an organisation that promoted a concerted approach to decolonization in the region. Founded in 1958 as PAFMECA, initially without Southern African members, it largely relied on organizational leadership support and financial infusions from TANU.[96] PAFMECA promoted inter-African links, brought together almost all of the region's anticolonial leaders, and widened their diplomatic range of activity. It facilitated Mandela's and other ANC leaders' "whirlwind tour of recently decolonized African states", which helped to attract funding and get permissions to establish guerrilla training camps.[97] PAFMECSA was dissolved with the founding of the OAU.

As the first country to gain independence in East Africa, Tanganyika quickly attracted diplomats from around the world – also because it hosted liberation movements. Refugees from Southern Africa flowed in and liberation movements quickly seized the opportunity to follow Nyerere's invitation to set up camps and

93 H. Bernstein, *The Rift: The Exile Experience of South Africans,* London: Jonathan Cape, 1994, p. xx.

94 Interview with Ronald Segal, cited in ibid., p. 9.

95 A.M. Ivaska, "Movement Youth in a Global Sixties Hub: The Everyday Lives of Transnational Activists in Postcolonial Dar es Salaam", in: R.I. Jobs and D.M. Pomfret (eds.), *Transnational histories of youth in the Twentieth Century*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 188 – 210; S.M. Markle, *A Motorcycle on Hell Run: Tanzania, Black Power, and the Uncertain Future of Pan-Africanism, 1964 – 1974*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2017; M. Bedasse, *Jah kingdom: Rastafarians, Tanzania, and Pan-Africanism in the Age of Decolonization*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

96 R. Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice. PAFMESCA 1958 – 1964*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

97 S.R. Davis, *The ANC's War against Apartheid: Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Liberation of South Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018, p. 5.

offices in Tanzania. As a gate to both the region and liberation movements, East Germans, Soviets, and Czechoslovaks all wanted to establish good relations with Tanganyika despite their suspicion of the "bourgeois" Nyerere and his "collaboration" with Western countries.[98] The new connections were quickly inscribed into the city's geography. In Dar es Salaam's north, "the communist embassies, plus a smattering of representations from radical non-aligned states like Algeria and Indonesia, were scattered along Upanga Road, earning it the nom de guerre 'Red Boulevard'."[99] The offices of ANC, ZAPU, ZANU, FRELIMO, and other organisations were concentrated along Nkrumah Street, close to a Chinese restaurant which was popular with leaders of liberation movements and rumoured to serve as a front for unofficial Chinese operations in East Africa.[100]

Dar es Salaam also hosted educational institutions run by, or for, Southern African liberation movements. In addition to the African American Institute's Kurasini International Education Centre, a special school for refugees from Southern African countries under white minority rule, there were also the Mozambique Institute and a secondary school – for which FRELIMO's leadership acquired the support of the Ford Foundation (until 1963) and the World Council of Churches (from the early 1970s onwards).[101] This signalled a shift in the character of liberation movements: with institutions, the liberation movements had more power to govern people. Running educational institutions as well as camps and health services, they assumed proto-state functions, usually by relying heavily on external assistance from increasingly diverse sources.

While Cairo and Accra had profited from the chronology of independence in attracting Southern African liberation movements, Dar es Salaam also had many advantages due to its geographical location. In addition to its port in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika bordered Portuguese-ruled Mozambique and was fairly close to Southern Africa's white settler states. Nyerere's moderate policies were an advantage rather than disadvantage at a time when Pan-Africanism became institutionalized in the form of the OAU, founded in 1963. As Nkrumah had isolated himself with his radical approach to African unity and faced considerable

98 SAPMO BArch Berlin, DY 30 / IV 2/20/53, Plan für die Entwicklung der Beziehungen der DDR zu afrikanischen Ländern südlich der Sahara für 1962, 13 September 1961, fol. 194; J. Dvorácek, L. Piknerová, and J. Záhorík, *A history of Czechoslovak involvement in Africa. Studies from the colonial through the Soviet eras*, Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press, 2014, p. 91; K. Lüders, *Tansania in der Sicht der Sowjetunion. Eine Studie zur sowjetischen Schwarzafrika-Politik*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1978, pp. 33 – 35; Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia*, p. 41.

99 Roberts, "Politics", p. 64.

100 Ibid., p. 11.

101 Panzer, "A nation in name", p. 61.

resistance from conservative governments, Dar es Salaam was chosen as an agreeable site for the African Liberation Committee of the OAU which had the task of channelling the support of African governments for recognized anticolonial movements. It was a decision repeatedly condemned by Nkrumah, best visible in his scathing indictment against Nyerere at the 1964 OAU conference that the training of freedom fighters had been put "into the hands of an imperialist agent".[102]

Consequently, in contrast to Egypt and Ghana, Tanzania supported liberation movements not only on its own accord but also on behest of the OAU's liberation committee. Organisations active on Tanzanian soil had to organize their mobilities while adhering to both Tanzanian and OAU regulations and preferences. As more and more liberation movements turned towards the new ideal of the armed struggle and weapons from Chinese mortars to Czechoslovak rocket launchers were dispatched, Dar es Salaam "became the main port of entry for Eastern bloc arms, replacing the traditional hubs of Algiers and Cairo".[103] For Czechoslovakia and other states of the Eastern bloc, Tanzania provided "the logistical opportunity and political cover necessary to send material and military assistance" to the MPLA, ZAPU, ANC and other liberation movements.[104]

In some ways, Dar es Salaam reflected the international, diverse and chaotic scene of the early 1960s more than Cairo or Accra. The city hosted representatives from all parts of the Cold War world who intensified their efforts to win the hearts and minds of liberation fighters and other exiles from territories under colonial and white minority rule. Due to the almost reflex-like mechanisms of Cold War politics in the early 1960s, increasing connectivity towards the "East" also opened up new opportunities to study in the West – for the PAC and ANC as well as SWAPO and other movements. Already in 1962 and 1963, China, the United States, and the Soviet Union scrambled for the brightest mind among refugees from Southern Africa who gathered in a camp in Dar es Salaam, including dozens of students who had been expelled from South African universities due to political activities.[105] Nomsa Gertz-Mketo, who came to Tanzania as a PAC supporter in 1963 and proceeded to study in Hamburg, remembered that West Germans in Dar es Salaam "were doing everything to get us to come,"

102 K. Nkrumah, *Revolutionary path*, London: Panaf Books, 1973, p. 280.

103 Altorfer-Ong, "Old Comrades", p. 151.

104 Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, p. 116.

105 BArch Koblenz, B 212/26037, Hauck (DAAD) to FRG-Rep Dar es Salaam, 16 April 1963; ibid., Götz (FRG-Rep Dar es Salaam) to Scheibe (DAAD), Dar es Salaam, 2 November 1962; Joanna T. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, Milton: Routledge, 2019, pp. 16 – 21.

even if, she argued, only for snatching away the most talented from the communists and not as a matter of supporting the anti-Apartheid struggle.[106] "East"-"West" system competition informed the agency of anticolonial and civil rights groups that operated across the Sahara, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Indian Ocean.

One of the "rules" the OAU introduced to avoid splits and adverse effects of Cold War politicking, was that only one movement per territory should be recognized as legitimate representative and receive support; where this was not practicable, the committee should at least promote unification or cooperation between the rivalling movements.[107] The authoritative role of the Liberation Committee provided a lever for African governments, and Tanzania in particular, to regulate liberation movements' access to resources. This was part of a broader process which "fragmented older, looser networks of transcontinental cooperation by outsourcing aid distribution to regional powers like Tanzania".[108]

Given its proximity to colonial and minority rule territories that were (or were supposed to) become theatres of anticolonial liberation wars, Dar es Salaam served a central gateway for arms and material aid to liberation movements. This kind of regional and global connectivity posed enormous risks that had to be mitigated with new institutions and rules. In a period of army mutinies (in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania in 1964), coup attempts, and imperialist interventions fuelled by Cold War superpower competition (evident, for instance in the Congo crisis) politicians were careful to put in place mechanisms with which to monitor and regulate the mobility of exiles and arms. More than in Cairo or Accra, these mechanisms became formalized, at times in a fairly bureaucratic manner. In 1964, the government required all liberation movements to scale down their offices, permitting only four representatives per movement in Dar es Salaam. While liberation movements administered material and humanitarian goods provided by anti-imperialist support networks directly, military equipment and arms were registered and transported by the Tanzanian military.[109] Military training camps were established in remote rural areas, physically separating armed cadres from urban centre diplomats.

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106 Interview with Nomsa Gertz-Mketo, cited in Bernstein, *The Rift*, p. 392.

107 C. Saunders, "SWAPO, Namibia's Liberation Struggle and the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee", *South African Historical Journal* 70 (2018) 1, pp. 152–167.

108 R.M. Irwin, *Gordian Knot: Apartheid and the Unmaking of the Liberal World Order*, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 130.

109 C.A. Williams, *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa: An Historical Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 75–76.

Tanzanian military officers were put charge to serve as liaison officers between the camp administrations and the Tanzanian government, bolstering the authority of liberation movement leaders vis-à-vis the rank-and-file (e. g. in the case of detaining dissidents), but also holding the right to intervene if Tanzanian interests were at stake.[110] The most dramatic solution to crises host governments could impose, and the one most feared by liberation movement leaders, was expulsion. This happened in 1969 in the wake of a coup attempt against Nyerere. For his planned coup, the Tanzanian politician-in-exile Oscar Kambona, Nyerere's greatest rival, had approached both the PAC and the ANC to enlist their armed cadres in the undertaking. Although ANC leader Tambo declined (and acting PAC President Potlako Leballo agreed), the ANC bore the brunt when the plot was uncovered: because Tambo, fearing repercussions for the case of Kambona's success, had failed to inform Nyerere, all MK cadres were expulsed from Tanzania. Due to Zambia's reticence to have insurgents operating from its soil, they were temporarily relocated to the Soviet Union.[111] The expulsion was informed by Cold War allegiances: while Tanzania entertained close relations with China, the ANC had pledged allegiance to Moscow.

The first ANC members had arrived in Dar es Salaam in the months prior to independence.[112] Most of the ANC members who went into exile between 1962 and 1964 joined its armed wing. Not all these cadres had taken the route to and via Dar es Salaam, but the growing importance of Tanganyika led the ANC leadership to relocate its exile headquarters from London to Dar es Salaam in 1961 (as in Accra and Cairo, initially as part of the United Front) and open training camps in the country.[113] The training for these men and women – figures given in the literature range between 500 and 800 – initially took place in other African states, including Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Morocco. Training then

110 Ibid., p. 74.

111 S. Ellis and T. Sechaba, *Comrades Against Apartheid: The ANC & the South African Communist Party in Exile*, London: J. Currey, 1992, p. 54; V. Shubin, *ANC: A view from Moscow*, Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009, pp. 96–99.

112 A.J. Temu, N.Z. Reuben and S.N. Seme, "Tanzania and the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa, 1961–1994", in: A.J. Temu and J. das Neves Tembe, *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents 1960–1994, Vol. 6 (Continued)*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014, pp. 1–78, at 10.

113 C. Bundy, "South Africa's African National Congress in Exile", in: T. Spear (ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2018, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.81 (accessed 30 December 2018); S. Davis, "Cosmopolitans in Close Quarters: Everyday Life in the Ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe (1961–present)", Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida, 2010, p. 32; Interview with Oliver Tambo, cited in Bernstein, *The Rift*, p. 4.

increasingly shifted to the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, as well as, prior to the open Sino-Soviet split, China.

Hierarchies, ideological considerations, and educational perspectives informed who went where. Experienced cadres assumed key posts in the evolving international structure, while the less experienced exiles were sent to undergo guerrilla training or complete school education. The SACP hand-picked the most promising candidates to send for specialisations to Eastern bloc countries.[114] Some ANC senior cadres considered the new arrivals from South Africa adventurist and ideologically unstable. The ANC's experienced organiser Thomas Titus Nkobi, who arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1963, remembered that these "young people who had no political experience or understanding" followed the credo "Liberation first! Education afterwards."[115] This posed a double challenge. First, the strong personal identification with and self-gratification through armed struggles in the early 1960s conflicted with the dual approach of investing in both military and civil education. Groups of new arrivals had to be convinced that mathematicians and machine engineers could be "soldiers" as heroic as those who engaged in the armed struggle. Secondly, the condition of exile produced a state of paralysing wait-hood, making the leadership realize that they were "creating people who will be completely useless for the revolution."[116]

In terms of enthusiasm for joining the armed struggle, other liberation movements provide both similar and contrasting examples. In the publications of FRELIMO, such as *Mozambique Revolution*, both men and women were depicted as "refugees-turned-soldiers", and many refugees embraced a role as liberators – regardless of whether they were trained in Tanzania, Algeria or the Soviet Union.[117] A large share of SWAPO cadres, in contrast, went through a process of militarization rather reluctantly. As Christian Williams has shown, Namibian contract workers recruited by SWAPO were often surprised to find out that they were required to join the armed struggle (which, during the early 1960s, was still at planning stage among SWAPO leaders) as guerrillas. Many contract workers who had been recruited by SWAPO officials in Namibia or Bechuanaland with promises of studying "abroad" were unwilling to undergo the hardships of camp life and military training, seeing that other emigrants went to overseas destinations or completed their secondary education at the Kurasini International

114 Davis, "Cosmopolitans in Close Quarters", p. 32.

115 Interview with Thomas Titus Nkobi, cited in Bernstein, *The Rift*, p. 17.

116 Ibid.

117 M. Panzer, "A nation in name, a 'state' in exile: The FRELIMO proto-state, youth, gender, and the liberation of Mozambique, 1962–1975", Ph.D. thesis, University of Albany, 2013, p. 95.

Education Centre in Dar es Salaam, established by the African-American Institute.[118]

Social hierarchies and unequal access to opportunities abroad were a constant source of tensions between SWAPO leaders and the rank-and-file. Age and educational qualification often determined (through specific tests) who would get the chance to attend civil education and who would undergo military training. Dar es Salaam was, thus, a crossroads where some went down a path of education, while others were enlisted for the armed struggle. Viewed through a Cold War lens, tensions between those who attained higher education and those who underwent military training reflected "Global East"-"West" rivalries, as for instance in the case of SWAPO and its armed wing, SWALA. SWALA commanders condemned Kurasini as an "American school" serving colonial interests.[119] The Sino-Soviet split also began to inform affiliations and factional struggles of liberation movements. MK returnees from the Soviet Union and China had acquired different kinds of combat skills fitting different strategies. Ideological affinities brought about new tensions or exacerbated existing ones. Trying to regain control, the MK leadership decided to withdraw trainees from China and ban Maoist literature in the camps in 1964.[120]

At least in the case of Mozambique's rival liberation movements, Nyerere's efforts of unification were more successful than Nkrumah's. FRELIMO, which entered into open military conflict with Portugal in 1964, had good relations to institutions in the West, but quickly established ties to the communist world. FRELIMO's initially good relations with China were established in Cairo in 1962 and paved the way for the sending of Chinese military instructors to FRELIMO camps in Zanzibar and on the Tanzanian mainland.[121] Relations gradually soured as FRELIMO increasingly met with Soviet and East German approval and successfully struck deals for aid and arms shipments in the years up to 1967, up to the point that the Chinese, now openly anti-Soviet, began supporting the rival Revolutionary Committee (Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique, COREMO) based in Zambia instead.[122]

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118 C.A. Williams, "Education in Exile: International Scholarships, Cold War Politics, and Conflicts among SWAPO Members in Tanzania, 1961–1968", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, pp. 125–141.

119 Ibid., pp. 133–134.

120 A. Lissoni, "The South African liberation movements in exile, c. 1945–1970", Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2008, p. 283; S. Ellis, "The ANC in Exile", *African Affairs* 90 (1991) 360, pp. 439–447, at 440.

121 Altorfer-Ong, "Old Comrades", p. 150.

122 Roberts, "The assassination", p. 7.

By the late 1960s, inter-African solidarities and ties to the socialist world were reflected in many individual trajectories. The Mozambican Salésio Teodoro Nalyambipano, for instance, came to Dar es Salaam in 1963 and was sent on for combat training in Algeria. In the mid-1960s, he served as a military instructor in Tanzanian FRELIMO camps at Dakawa and Nachingwea, where he received additional qualifications from Chinese instructors. Thereafter, Nalyamipano was directly involved in fighting against the Portuguese, but also underwent an additional six-month security training in the Soviet Union. Following Mozambique's independence in 1975, he became a politician in a country that continued to provide assistance to Zimbabwean freedom fighters – at a time when the centre of liberation struggles had shifted once again, and the influence and global connectivity of Dar es Salaam slowly waned.[123]

Conclusion

State-sponsored anti-colonialism in Egypt, Ghana, and Tanzania provided fertile ground for relations between Southern African liberation movements and the global Cold War "East". It would be difficult to conceive of the ties between Southern African liberation movements and the wider world, the "East" in particular, without these intermediary countries on the continent. In the context of their anti-imperialist and socialist political projects, their capitals emerged as "hubs of decolonization" which facilitated mobilities and exchanges through connectivity provided by existing or evolving infrastructures, institutions and networks based on political support and a favourable geographical location. In many ways, this was a dialectical relationship. Increasing Pan-African solidarity and connectivity within Africa paved the way for more diverse and intense connections to the communist world, and vice versa. On the one hand, some of the infrastructures and institutions were established with assistance from the socialist camp in the mid- and late 1950s. Leaders of liberation movements and other activists were attracted to Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam not only to seek the patronage of African postcolonial states, but also to tap into the resources of the communist countries, negotiating the tensions between competing versions of Pan-Africanism, between "East" and "West", and between rival socialisms. On the other hand, the presence of liberation movements increased the

123 Oral account of Salésio Teodoro Nalyamipano, cited in: A.J. Temu and J. das Neves Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents 1960 – 1994, Vol. 2*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014, p. 468.

attractiveness of the cities for anti-colonial forces, as in the case of China's growing interest for Tanzania or the presence of Afro-American activists in Accra and Dar es Salaam.

Hubs of decolonization served to diversify and internationalize the connections of liberation movements and brought about new mobilities of people, weapons and ideas – not in fully unregulated ways, however. Institutions such as the AAPSO Secretariat and African Association in Cairo, Accra's BAA and AAC, and the OAU's Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam were conduits for such mobilities and also ensured that the hosting government kept regulatory power over the activities of liberation movements in their countries by channelling resource flows and bestowing legitimacy on selected groups. A variety of gatekeepers used these hubs to control, steer, monitor, influence, and constrain the activities of liberation movements.

In general, the Pan-African solidarities which were played out in these hubs and the links to the Cold War "East" fostered the further radicalization and militarization of liberation struggles. While all three cities were conduits for military training in and beyond the host countries, Cairo and Dar es Salaam were also important gateways for weapons, which Accra was not. The scramble for recognition, material resources, diplomatic support and training opportunities also exacerbated tensions between rival liberation movements and rival factions within organisations. Nkrumah kept a much tighter watch over movements' propaganda and political activities than the more moderate Nyerere, while Nasser fully shifted his focus towards the Arab world again in the mid-1960s. Also, the political projects were rooted in different regional and ideological traditions, which influenced their longevity and attractiveness to a variety of actors, including refugees, students, guerrillas, and other activists, who moved in and through these hubs, and assumed new roles. Their paths were shaped, albeit never fully determined by new institutions and regulations that had evolved in these African hubs of decolonization. In this way, looking at hubs of decolonization not only allows us to trace the entanglements between the Cold War and decolonisation, but also the divergent trajectories and agency of individuals related to these larger processes.

Chris Saunders

SWAPO's "Eastern" Connections, 1966 – 1989

The main Namibian liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), received various forms of support, from a wide range of different sources, during its long struggle for Namibian independence. Assistance came from non-governmental organisations, such as the Namibia Support Committee and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the UK; from governments of neutral and non-aligned countries in the Cold War, of which Sweden was the most important, providing SWAPO with financial and humanitarian aid amounting to 671 million Swedish Krona;[1] and from international organisations including the organs of the United Nations (UN) – the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretariat – the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and its Liberation Committee. Tanganyika, Zambia, and then Angola gave SWAPO essential support in exile, while help also came from other African countries and liberation movements, including South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), the main military camps of which were, like SWAPO's, in Angola in the late 1970s and 1980s.[2]

Forms of support ranged across a spectrum. At one end were, say, the campaigns that publicized SWAPO's struggle in Western countries that had governments that were unsympathetic to that struggle.[3] At the other end, governments provided military hardware and trained SWAPO's cadres. SWAPO's founding president, Sam Nujoma, tried to keep open connections with all who would aid SWAPO's struggle, in whatever form, whether "West" or "East", Global North or Global South. In this chapter I use "Eastern" in a broad sense, to include the countries of the Soviet bloc in the Cold War as well as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

1 T. Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa, Vol. 2*, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2002, p. 393.

2 See, e. g., C. Saunders, "Activism in Britain for Namibia's Independence: the Namibia Support Committee", in: H. Sapire and C. Saunders (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles; New Local, Regional and Global Perspectives*, Cape Town: UCT Press, 2012; C. Saunders, "South Africa's War, and the Cuban Military, in Angola", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40 (2014) 6, pp. 1363 – 1368; C. Saunders, "The Non-Aligned Movement, the Neutral European Countries and the Issue of Namibian independence", in: S. Bott et al. (eds.), *Neutrality and Neutralism in the Global Cold War*, London: Routledge, 2016, pp. 144 – 160.

3 See Saunders, "Activism", for the prime example of this.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-007

(Cuba is in the Western hemisphere and its support to SWAPO was of a quite different kind; it was the only country outside Africa to send large numbers of combat troops to Angola.)[4] I focus on the four "Eastern" countries – North Korea, China, the Soviet Union, and East Germany – of most importance to SWAPO. All four, as we shall see, fell on the military end of the spectrum of support.

In assessing the forms of support given by these four countries during the Cold War decades, and how they changed over time, there is a problem of evidence, for these were closed and highly secretive regimes. I am able to draw on much less primary material for these four countries than for others that supported SWAPO, and there is little relevant secondary literature. Fortunately, however, one can use the writing of three people who, having themselves been active in supporting SWAPO, have written scholarly works on aspects of that support: Vladimir Shubin for the Soviet Union and Hans-Georg and Ilona Schleicher in the case of the GDR. Their assessments, based on personal sources and some archival research, must of course be used critically. Besides their extensive writings, this topic has not attracted significant academic scholarship, and few Namibians have recalled in print their interactions with "Eastern" countries in the days of exile. While there is very little evidence for, say, the nature and amount of military aid provided SWAPO by North Korea, China and the Soviet Union,[5] there is, as we shall see, fuller information about the aid given SWAPO by the GDR. That is why I give the GDR more detailed attention than the other three countries.

North Korea and China

Since Namibia's independence in 1990, two "Eastern" countries have played important roles there: North Korea and the PRC. The single most important construction company responsible for official buildings in Namibia is the state-owned North Korean company Mansudae Overseas Project. This has built,

4 See esp. P. Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria, and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976 – 1991*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. Cf. C. Hatzky, *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge, 1976 – 1991*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2015.

5 When she was looking for material on Russian support to the ANC in the Russian archives, Irina Filatova found two documents detailing the aid SWAPO sought from the Soviet Union: see below. For the Soviet Union there is not the detailed data that is available for the GDR, showing fluctuations over time. I am told that there is material in the Russian archives, recently declassified, on financial aid, military support, and numbers of people trained to 1975. This was not accessible in 2018 because the archive was being moved to a new building: Natalia Telepneva to the author, email, 5 April 2018.

among other things, Namibia's Heroes Acre, the Presidential Palace in Windhoek and, most recently, the Independence Memorial Museum in the centre of Namibia's capital.[6] In 2017, Namibia was criticized by the United Nations for its continued ties with the DPRK despite the UN sanctions imposed on the DPRK because of its nuclear programme, but Namibian President Hage Geingob in March 2018 reiterated Namibia's friendship with North Korea.[7] Though North Korea has also built monuments in other African countries, and notoriously assisted the Zimbabwean army suppress opposition in Matabeleland in Zimbabwe in the early 1980s, it has in recent years had closer relations with Namibia than with any other African country. This is undoubtedly in part a consequence of the ties between the two countries that began to be forged during the years of the Namibian liberation struggle. San Nujoma, SWAPO's founding President, mentions in his autobiography that North Korea trained some SWAPO guerrillas during the struggle decades, but goes into no detail.[8] We know from other sources that Nujoma visited Pyongyang twice in the 1980s, one of them being a state visit, and that he requested military assistance from the North Korean government.[9] Though there is evidence of North Korean military advisers being present in SWAPO's camps in Angola in the 1980s, it has not been possible to ascertain whether North Korea ever supplied SWAPO with any military hardware.[10]

More is known about SWAPO's connections with the PRC, the "Eastern" country that today has most connections to Namibia. (By contrast, Namibia's connections with Russia, which mainly concern minerals and energy, are

6 M.L.E. Kirkwood, "Postcolonial Architecture Through North Korean Modes: Namibian Commissions of the Mansudae Overseas Project", M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 2011, https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/10702/Kirkwood_ku_0099M_11463_DATA_1.pdf;sequence=1 (accessed 4 April 2019); T. van der Hoog, "North Korean Monuments in southern Africa: Legitimizing Party Rule Through the National Heroes' Acres in Zimbabwe and Namibia", M.A. thesis, Leiden University, https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/52194 (accessed 4 April 2019); T. van der Hoog, "In Search of Recognition: The Forgotten alliance between North Korea and Southern African Liberation Movements", unpublished paper presented to conference on Challenging the Liberal World Order, Leiden University, May 2018.

7 "We are friends with North Korea – Geingob", https://www.newera.com.na/2018/03/28/video-we-are-friends-with-north-korea-geingob/ (accessed 4 April 2019).

8 S. Nujoma, *Where Others Wavered*, London: Panaf Books, 2001.

9 G. Kornes, "The Mansudae Enigma", *Insight Namibia*, April 2016, pp. 12–14, and cf. B.R. Young, "Guerrilla Internationalism: North Korea's Relations with the Third World, 1957–89", Ph.D. thesis, George Washington University, 2018, pp. 257–258.

10 Based on interviews he conducted with Namibians, Kornes writes that North Korean advisers were "a common sight" in SWAPO's exile camps in the 1980s: "Mansudae Enigma", p. 13.

much less significant.)[11] Considerable numbers of Chinese – thought to number up to 40,000 at the peak a decade or so ago – have arrived in Namibia to work on Chinese projects and to set up businesses, leading to talk of a "Chinese invasion". In recent decades China has been the largest foreign investor in Namibia.[12] In March 2018 President Geingob made a high-profile visit to China, during which he received an honorary doctorate from a Beijing university. The official website of the Chinese embassy in Namibia claims that the origins of today's ties between the two countries lie in the support given by the PRC to SWAPO during the liberation struggle.[13] It is implied that that support was considerable, and important to the success of SWAPO's struggle. In reality, support from China, like that from North Korea, was much less important than that provided by the other two "Eastern" countries I shall consider, the Soviet Union and the GDR.[14]

After Nujoma visited Beijing in 1964, seven SWAPO men were sent to the PRC for military training. When they returned to SWAPO's first military camp at Kongwa in Tanzania these seven were collectively known as the "Chinamen" and they remained a discrete group, which in 1968 protested openly against the way in which the exiled SWAPO was operating. They wanted to be sent back to Namibia to fight. Instead they were detained, in very harsh conditions, at Dar es Salaam.[15]

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11 In October 2018 Russia was in the news in Windhoek because a Russian billionaire had been granted four farms to lease: see S. Immanuel, "Russian Buys Four Farms", *Namibian*, 18 October 2018: https://www.namibian.com.na/182402/archive-read/Russian-buys-four-farms (accessed 14 March 2019).

12 F. Xoagub, "Namibia: Chinese 'Invasion' Gets Mixed Reaction", *New Era,* 17 February 2011. For a report that there were as many as 40,000 Chinese in Namibia see *Namibian*, 21 November 2006. Cf. also e. g. V.P. de Ruiter, "China in Africa? The Namibian Example"; I. Taylor, "China and Swapo: The role of the People's Republic in Namibia's Liberation and Post-independence relations", *South African Journal of International Affairs* 5 (1997) 1, pp. 110 – 122; G. Dobler, "China and Namibia, 1990 to 2015: How a new actor changes the dynamics of political economy", *Review of African Political Economy* 44 (2017) 153.

13 "A Briefing on Sino-Namibian Relations", Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Namibia, na.china-embassy.org/eng/zngx/t144075.htm (accessed 4 April 2019).

14 J. Friedman, "Soviet Policy in the Developing World and the Chinese Challenge in the 1960s", *Cold War History* 10 (2010) 2, pp. 247 – 272; J. Friedman, *Shadow Cold War. The Sino-Soviet Competition for the Third World*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. On Chinese sources see C. Kraus, "Researching the History of the People's Republic of China", Working Paper, Cold War International History Project (2016) 79, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/researching-the-history-the-peoples-republic-china (accessed 4 April 2019).

15 C.A. Williams, *National Liberation in Post-Colonial Southern Africa. A Historical Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 67, note 3. The Chinamen eventually escaped to Kenya. Cf. E. Torreguitar, *National Liberation Movements in Office: Forging Democracy with African Adjectives in Namibia*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 25 – 26.

With the SWAPO leadership probably associating their training in China with their opposition, no further guerrillas appear to have been sent to the PRC for military training. Yet at its conference held at Tanga in Tanzania in 1969, SWAPO thanked China for moral and material support, and renamed its army the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), taking the name from the Chinese People's Liberation Army.[16]

For a decade from 1966 China was convulsed by the Cultural Revolution, but before it came to an end Nujoma had begun a series of further visits – seven in all – to Beijing.[17] SWAPO tried to maintain good relations with both sides after the Sino-Soviet split, despite being asked to "make a stand". When Nujoma visited in July 1973 he was reported as saying "The Chinese believe that we are pro-Soviet, we don't know why. We told them that we want to have friendly relations with both China and the USSR [...]", and when a Chinese ambassador told a leading SWAPO official that SWAPO should side with China, the official replied: "We're not a communist party, so we have no right to comment on the battle between Chinese communism and Russian communism. We're only [sic] fighting for our liberation."[18]

Nujoma's visits to China continued from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s,[19] despite China's support for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) at the time of the South African invasion of Angola in late 1975. Though SWAPO itself had close relations with UNITA before 1975, it was the rival, pro-Moscow Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) that came to power in Angola and allowed SWAPO to have bases on its territory. The PRC's support for UNITA damaged its credibility in most of Africa and meant the MPLA government in Angola would not allow the Chinese to visit SWAPO's camps in Angola.[20]

Meanwhile, by the early 1970s what had in the 1960s been a rival to SWAPO, the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), had suffered from various splits and personality clashes that rendered it ineffectual, while its refusal to endorse

16 A. du Pisani, "Namibia and China: Profile and Appraisal of a Relationship", in: A. Bosl et al. (eds.), *Namibia's Foreign Relations*, Windhoek: Macmillan Education, 2012, pp. 111–134, at 115.
17 Ibid.
18 V. Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War". The USSR in Southern Africa*, London: Pluto Press, 2008, p. 209, and "Soviet Union", in: A. Temu and J. das Neves Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles. Contemporaneous Documents 1960–1994, Vol. 8*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota, 2014, pp. 41–112, at 94; S. Armstrong, *In Search of Freedom. The Andreas Shipanga Story as Told to Sue Armstrong*, Gibraltar: Ashanti Publishing, 1989, p. 82.
19 He led a large delegation in 1975: I. Taylor, *China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise*, London: Routledge, 2007, p. 123.
20 Taylor, "China and Swapo", p. 112.

the idea of armed struggle had led the OAU and its influential Liberation Committee to recognize SWAPO as "the sole representative of the Namibian people".[21] With the UN General Assembly in 1976 recognizing SWAPO as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", there was no alternative nationalist movement for China to support, unlike in the cases of the Angolan and Zimbabwean movements. While the PRC gave SWAPO diplomatic support at the UN, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council,[22] it retained a certain wariness of SWAPO because of its close ties with the Soviet Union.[23] As with North Korea, there is no evidence that China supplied SWAPO with significant military hardware.[24] Taylor is right to say that China "remained on the periphery of the liberation struggle in Namibia, though its presence on the Security Council meant that China was able to punch far above its weight on issues such as Namibian independence [...]."[25]

The Soviet Union and the GDR

Turning to the two most important "Eastern" countries in providing aid to SWAPO during its liberation struggle, for both of which we have more information than for North Korea and China, let us first consider the Soviet Union. SWANU, not SWAPO, was the first Namibian nationalist organisation to establish ties with the Soviet Union. SWANU became a member of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), in which the Soviet Union's Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (AASC) played an important role as a semi-official foreign policy organ, working closely with the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In the early 1960s SWAPO had closer ties

21 C. Saunders, "SWAPO and the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee", *South African Historical Journal*, March 2018, pp. 152–167.

22 As Taylor says, "China always remained on the periphery of the liberation struggle in Namibia, though its presence on the Security Council meant that China was able to punch far above its weight on issues such as Namibian independence or the anti-apartheid struggle." Taylor, "China and Swapo", p. 112.

23 At an Extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the UN Council for Namibia in Tanzania in 1982, Beijing joined other delegates in offering full support for SWAPO and its armed struggle but added that "the Soviet Union is attempting to penetrate Southern Africa under the pretext of 'supporting the national-liberation movement' through its 'military aid'." Taylor, "China and Swapo", p. 114, quoting from the *Beijing Review*.

24 "Throughout the liberation period [...] the PRC provided material assistance in the form of military hardware and political support" is inaccurate: Du Pisani, "Namibia and China", p. 115.

25 Taylor, "China and Swapo", p. 112.

with the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa than with the ANC, in part because of the ANC's links to the South African Communist Party and to the Soviet Union.[26] After a leading SWAPO official tried to establish contacts with Moscow in the early 1960s, he came under suspicion for disloyalty and was expelled from the organisation in 1964.[27] Though the AASC allocated academic scholarships to both SWANU and SWAPO from 1963, by the mid-1960s SWANU in exile had begun to fall apart, and the year after SWAPO began its armed struggle, against the backdrop of the competition between China and the Soviet Union for influence in the Third World, SWANU was expelled from an AAPSO congress that was boycotted by the PRC. SWAPO was admitted in its place, with Soviet support. From then, ties between SWAPO and the Soviet Union grew much closer.[28]

The AASC provided food, clothes and vehicles, received Namibians in need of medical treatment, arranged for them to stay at Soviet hospitals, and coordinated activities for South African students in the Soviet Union. When Nujoma led a delegation to Moscow in October 1969, he told the Russians that the OAU's Liberation Committee had failed to provide the supplies SWAPO wanted, adding: "We can't rely on African countries."[29] Soon after his visit the Solidarity Committee recommended to the CPSU's Central Committee that funds be allocated to SWAPO. Nujoma and other SWAPO officials then made frequent visits to the Soviet Union, and large sums were donated to SWAPO, in particular for the armed struggle it had launched in 1966.

In the 1970s and 1980s the Soviet Union was the main supplier of military assistance to SWAPO for its armed struggle. Though the Soviet Union did not send combat troops to Angola, as Cuba did, it did send a few thousand military advisers, some of whom helped train SWAPO's armed wing, PLAN. Some of the Soviet advisers were caught up in fighting, especially in the battle at Cuito Cuanavale in 1987–1988.[30] On his frequent visits to Moscow, Nujoma reiterated

26 In a book she published in 1963, the activist Ruth First saw SWANU as more radical than SWAPO: R. First, *South West Africa*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

27 Fortune wrote to Moscow in 1961 asking if he could visit to discuss military training. Two years later he requested arms and ammunition. With the SWAPO Vice-President, Louis Nelengani, he went to Moscow to take courses in the Central Komsomol School. Shubin, "Soviet Union", pp. 91–92. There is a notice of Fortune's expulsion in the archive of the Zambian United National Independence Party: British Library, Endangered Archives Project, file EAP121/2/5/4/24.

28 Shubin, *Hot "Cold War"*, "Soviet Union", cf. V. Shubin , "Unsung Heroes: The Soviet Military and the Liberation of Southern Africa", *Cold War History* 7 (2007) 2, pp. 251–262.

29 Shubin, *Hot "Cold War"*, pp. 198–206.

30 G. Shubin et al. (eds.), *Cuito Cuanavale: Frontline Accounts by Soviet Soldiers*, Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2014.

that because the OAU was failing to supply arms, SWAPO looked to the Soviet Union to do so. Two of many SWAPO requests for aid have been found among the declassified materials in the Russian archives. In one dated 1979, SWAPO asked Moscow to supply a range of goods, including over 5,000 AK-47s, 2,000 carbines, and uniforms and other equipment for 10,000 men. The other, dated July 1985 and called an additional [sic] request, is a 80-page document, asking, inter alia, for ten tanks, trucks, amphibious armoured personnel carriers, 2,800 AK-47s and a vast array of civilian goods, from underwear and other clothes to watches, sports equipment and shower cabins.[31]

Not all the military hardware that SWAPO asked for was provided,[32] and what was given was insufficient for SWAPO to fight a conventional war against the South African army. Soviet military aid was nevertheless crucial to SWAPO's armed struggle and made it possible for SWAPO to continue engaging the South African forces. (Soviet-made weaponry supplied to the Cubans for use in Angola was also key, along with, say, the Soviet-made MIG-23s that Cuban pilots flew in Southern Angola in early 1988, winning air superiority there over the South African Airforce.)[33] In late 1988 the Soviets supported the agreement, made under United States mediation, to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435, and by then the Chinese too had come to favour a negotiated transition to independence for Namibia. China and the Soviet Union then both disappointed SWAPO in early 1989 by joining the Western countries on the UN Security Council in approving a reduction in the size of the UN mission sent to Namibia to supervise the country's first democratic election.[34]

The Soviets supplied SWAPO with much else besides military hardware, from education for its cadres to funds that allowed the leadership to travel extensively to international conferences, but it was the extensive military aid that it supplied that was crucial to SWAPO's success, for without it SWAPO could not have pursued its armed struggle.

In the 1960s those who supplied SWAPO with weaponry included Yugoslavia: Nujoma was invited to visit Belgrade in 1961 and established good relations with President Tito, who immediately offered scholarships for Namibians and to provide small arms.[35] But Yugoslav assistance fell away by the 1970s and though

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31 I. Filatova and A. Davidson, *The Hidden Thread*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2013, pp. 332. These documents are in the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History, Moscow.

32 Information to the author from V. Shubin.

33 On this see e. g. L. Scholtz, *The SADF in the Border War*, Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2015.

34 See esp. C.J. Tsokodayi, *Namibia's Independence Struggle: The Role of the United Nations*, n.p.: Xlibris, 2015.

35 Nujoma, *Where Others Wavered*, p. 115.

Nujoma subsequently also visited and requested assistance from a number of other countries in the Soviet Bloc, including Romania, none gave the substantial support to SWAPO that the GDR did from the mid-1970s.[36] The GDR was second only to the Soviet Union in supplying military hardware and training to SWAPO in the late 1970s and the 1980s.[37]

From the mid-1960s the GDR's Solidarity Committee began to provide some humanitarian aid to SWAPO and to offer scholarships, with funds drawn mainly from private and civil sources.[38] After the Soweto Uprising of 1976, the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) took on a co-ordination role, which included establishing direct party relations with liberation movements,[39] while the Ministry of State Security (MfS) began to offer training to intelligence and military personnel from those movements, including SWAPO.[40] At the UN and in other international fora the GDR supported SWAPO as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", and in 1977 the GDR joined other socialist and Third World countries in criticizing the attempt by the so-called Western Contact Group to weaken the effect of the relevant UN Security Council Resolution on the way in which Namibia should move to independence.[41]

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36 No support for SWAPO is mentioned in, e. g., P. Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa, 1945 – 1968*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. Bulgaria and Hungry provided training of various kinds to a few SWAPO cadres: one who went from Angola to both countries was Oiva Angula: see O. Angula, *SWAPO Captive. A Comrade's Experience of Betrayal and Torture*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2018, pp. 64 – 65, 80 – 82.

37 For some of what follows on the GDR cf. C. Saunders, "The GDR, SWAPO, and Namibia: Economic and other interactions in the 1970s and 1980s", in: A. Calori et al. (eds.), *The Other Globalisation. Spaces of Interaction between the Socialist Camp and the "global South" in the Cold War Economy*, Leipzig, 2019, forthcoming.

38 U. van der Heyden, *GDR Development Policy Involvement. Doctrine and Strategies Between Illusions and Reality 1960 – 1990*, Berlin: LIT, 2013, p. 73; I. Schleicher and H.-G. Schleicher, *Die DDR im Sudlichen Afrika: Solidaritat und Kalter Krieg*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrikakunde, 2006, p. 53.

39 H.-G. Schleicher, "GDR Solidarity: The German Democratic Republic and the South African Liberation Struggle", in: SADET (ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: International Solidarity, Vol. 3*, Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008, pp. 1069 – 1154, at 1092.

40 H.-G. Schleicher and U. Engel, "A Classified Affair: GDR policy on Africa and the MfS", *Aussenpolitik, Zeitschrift für Internationale Fragen* 47 (1996) 4, (I thank Ulf Engel for sending me this). Similar support for the ANC followed the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

41 E. g. the joint communique issued by SED and SWAPO in 1977 which condemned "the intrigues and manoeuvres engineered by international imperialism and its new strategy", quoted H.-G. Schleicher. "The German Democratic Republic in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa", in: Temu and Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 8*, p. 523. How individual decision-making took place in both the GDR and in SWAPO remains difficult to trace from the accessible documentation. The SWAPO archive in Windhoek remains closed. For references to

Following a visit by Nujoma in December 1977, the GDR began to supply SWAPO with light arms and ammunition; in 1978 SWAPO received 135 tons of military hardware.[42] After Nujoma met Erich Honecker in February 1979 the GDR supplied vehicles, which SWAPO used both to transport supplies to refugee camps and soldiers to the front-lines and uniforms for 10,000 SWAPO guerrillas.[43] The value of the GDR's material assistance to SWAPO increased from one million East German marks (DDM) in 1975 to over six million in 1979.[44] Nujoma made 13 visits to East Berlin between 1975 and 1988,[45] and he and other SWAPO officials met the few leading GDR politicians who visited Southern Africa.[46] Some GDR teachers and health workers worked in SWAPO's camps in Angola. SWAPO opened an office, funded by the Solidarity Committee, at Schoenholzerweg 20 in East Berlin in October 1978. SWAPO publications, most notably the monthly *Namibia Today*, which called itself SWAPO's "official organ", were printed in Erfurt for worldwide distribution. The rebellion in SWAPO that led some of the dissidents in the organisation to form a separate SWAPO-D party in 1978 did not weaken the close ties that had developed by then between the SWAPO leadership under Nujoma and the GDR.[47]

After South African troops perpetrated the massacre of Namibians at SWAPO's Cassinga camp in Southern Angola in May 1978, 80 Namibian refugee children were flown to the GDR and provided with education in Mecklenburg.[48]

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the relevant Bundesarchiv material see T. Kern, "West Germany and Namibia's Path to Independence, 1969 – 1990: Foreign Policy and Rivalry with East Germany", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 2016.

42 In that year the value of this weaponry was 1.15 million East German marks. Cf. B.H. Schulz, *Development Policy in the Cold War era: The Two Germanies and Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960 – 1985*, Muenster: LIT, 1995.

43 Schleicher, "The GDR", p. 526.

44 Ibid., p. 527.

45 Nujoma first visited the GDR in January 1962 to talk to officials in the Solidarity Committee. He visited again in 1966 and then in May 1975. He made 13 official visits to GDR between 1975 and 1988: *Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 3*, p. 183.

46 Nujoma met Werner Lamberz, the SED Secretary for Agitation, at a FRELIMO congress in Maputo and then in Luanda in 1977: G. Winrow, *The Foreign Policy of the GDR in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 91 – 92, 101; Schleicher, "The GDR", p. 524. He met Erich Honecker in Luanda in February 1979. Ibid., p. 526.

47 This even though the leader of the rebellion, Andreas Shipanga, had visited the GDR not long beforehand.

48 C. Kenna (ed.), *Homecoming: The GDR Kids of Namibia*, Windhoek: New Namibia Books, 1999; K. Berndt, "Shared Paradoxes in Namibian and German history", in: E. Bekers, S. Helff and D. Merolla (eds.), *Transcultural Modernities: Narrating Africa in Europe*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009.

Other Namibians were given technical training, or granted scholarships at universities in the GDR, while places at the SED party school in Rostock were allocated to SWAPO cadres. Members of PLAN wounded in the course of the war received medical treatment at hospitals in the GDR, and medical supplies were sent from the GDR to Angola.[49] SWAPO personnel received specialist training in security and intelligence from the MfS, especially after a visit to the GDR by Peter Nanyemba, SWAPO's Secretary of Defence, in April 1979.[50] The Nationale Volksarmee (NVA) trained SWAPO cadres at a number of its military academies.[51]

Most of the connections that had developed between the GDR and SWAPO by 1980 continued in the 1980s. Though the GDR backed the wrong party in Zimbabwe before that country became independent in 1980, it soon abandoned its ties to the Zimbabwe African People's Union and developed close ties instead with the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front. In the Namibian struggle, there was from the 1970s, as we have noted, no serious rival to SWAPO, and the GDR continued to give the SWAPO leadership under Nujoma its full support, ignoring the internal feuds within SWAPO which both in the mid-1970s and then again in the early 1980s threatened to weaken its capacity to wage effective military campaigns.[52]

Despite the GDR's increasing economic difficulties, the value of the material aid it supplied to SWAPO remained relatively steady through the 1980s.[53] In 1981 Nujoma asked East Berlin to provide further food aid and weapons urgently, and to take in further refugee children. Although the GDR's economy was struggling, Honecker personally ensured that SWAPO received increased aid. The GDR, for

49 Van der Heyden, *GDR Development Policy*, pp. 174 – 175; Schleicher and Schleicher, *Special Flights*.

50 In: Temu and das Neves Tembe, *Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 3*, p. 183. While Markus Wolf, the head of the foreign intelligence service of the MfS, does not mention such training, he does describe the similar training given ANC men. M. Wolf, *Man Without a Face: The Autobiography of Communism's Greatest Spymaster*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1997, pp. 280 – 281.

51 This despite the lack of international tolerance for German military activities after the Second World War. See, for example, Winrow, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 121 – 150; Van der Heyden, *GDR International Development*, pp. 121 – 148; Schleicher, "GDR Solidarity", pp. 1104, 1130 – 1132. See also S. Lorenzini, "East-South relations in the 1970s and the GDR involvement in Africa", in: M. Guderzo and B. Bagnato (eds.), *The Globalization of the Cold War: Diplomacy and Local Confrontation, 1975 – 85,* New York: Routledge, 2010, p. 111.

52 On SWAPO's treatment of its own members, including detentions and executions, see esp. Williams, *National Liberation.*

53 It fluctuated, reaching a peak of 10.5 million marks in 1982 but never falling below the 1977 level; in 1989 it was over 9 million marks. This did not include military supplies and assistance from churches.

example, helped fund and build a nursery school in the main SWAPO refugee camp at Kwanza Sul in central Angola that was opened in 1985. Each year SWAPO sent about 30 of its members on political education courses in the GDR, which ran other courses on economic and financial policy for SWAPO officials. Hifikepunye Pohamba, who was to succeed Nujoma as President of Namibia, attended a two-month course on economic policy in 1983, which, he remembers, was "tailored to correspond to prospective conditions in an independent Namibia".[54] More Namibian children were flown to the GDR to receive primary education in the 1980s, 340 in all.[55] And in the first half of that decade the quantity and sophistication of the weaponry that the GDR supplied to SWAPO significantly increased. Though the population of Namibia was minute compared to that of South Africa, which was a much more important country economically, SWAPO received between one and three million DDM annually in military aid in the early 1980s, more than the ANC received for its struggle against apartheid in South Africa.[56]

Though the Soviet Union and the GDR maintained their military assistance into the second half of the 1980s, the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev to the leadership in the Soviet Union and the beginning of the winding down of the Cold War, led to major changes in the connections between both countries and SWAPO.[57] Both countries were keen to reduce their spending in Southern Africa, and supported the diplomatic activity that led to the agreements of 1988 signed between South Africa, Angola, and Cuba, providing for the implementation of the UN plan for the transition to Namibia's independence.[58] GDR officials now began covertly to explore the possibility of supplying goods to the apartheid regime in South Africa, despite its continued occupation of Namibia.[59] From 1986 the

54 Schleicher, "The GDR", pp. 528 – 529. Pohamba was also one of those Namibians who received military training in the Soviet Union.

55 They were housed at Bellin Castle. Some Namibian trade unionists were trained at the Free German Trade Union Federation school.

56 Van der Heyden, *GDR Development Policy*, pp. 174 – 175.

57 For the Cold War background see C. Saunders and S. Onslow, "The Cold War and southern Africa, 1976 – 1990", in: M.P. Leffler and O.A. Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. 3, Endings*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 222 – 243.

58 For the close involvement of the Soviets in that process see especially A. Adamishin, *White Sun of Angola*, Moscow: Vagrius, 2014, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-white-sun-angola (accessed 4 April 2019).

59 For the claim that the GDR state firm Robotron sold embargoed computer technology to South Africa via a Harare-based company, ZCT, see H. van Vuuren, *Apartheid, Guns and Money*, Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2017, and Open Secrets, "Declassified: Apartheid Profits – Behind the Iron Curtain", *Daily Maverick*, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/

GDR stationed an advisor to SWAPO in the GDR embassy in Luanda "to prepare", in his words, "the GDR's relation with Namibia for the times after the achievement of independence, so that the GDR would be politically present, on an equal footing with the Federal Republic of Germany" (FRG).[60] He told the SWAPO leadership "that SWAPO ought to develop its own ideas and should not blindly copy the GDR, since a socialist development for Namibia after independence was out of the question under the prevailing circumstances [...]".[61] In 1988 a large group from PLAN received training in the GDR as bodyguards in preparation for SWAPO's return to Namibia. From mid-1989 they helped guard the SWAPO officials who arrived back in the country, in an operation the details of which were worked out, in part, with GDR officials.[62] Immediately after he had paid a longer than usual visit to the GDR, Nujoma himself returned to Namibia, in September 1989. That year the GDR's Solidarity Committee organized special flights to repatriate Namibians from East Germany, at a cost of 1.2 million Mark.[63]

In 1989 the GDR for the first time became involved directly in Namibia itself when it joined the UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) mission to the territory. By the time the UN sought personnel for that mission, the GDR's ideological rivalry with the FRG had dissipated and the GDR leadership had accepted the idea of co-operating with the FRG if it seemed to be in its interests. The GDR therefore agreed to supply UNTAG with monitors as part of a joint team. It did this, according to the GDR Foreign Ministry, "to counter attempts by imperialist quarters to gain influence through broad involvement of their nations in the military and civil components [of UNTAG]".[64] Thirty GDR police monitors went first, and they were followed by twenty-five election monitors. Even in 1989 the GDR was concerned to try to enhance its international status, and participation in the joint mission was a way to do that, while still competing economically with the FRG, for both sought access to Namibia's rich mineral and fishing resources. In late 1989 it remained unclear whether, when SWAPO

2017-09-26-declassified-apartheid-profits-behind-the-iron-curtain/?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Picks%20of%20the%20week&utm_content=Picks%20of%20the%20week+CID_54452358402bcc4a499faf9d05aa88f2&utm_source=TouchBasePro&utm_term=Declassified%20Apartheid%20Profits%20%20Behind%20the%20Iron%20Curtain#.WdAEX5Og-GQ (accessed 4 April 2019). For the suggestion that the GDR continued to trade with South Africa into the early 1980s see van der Heyden, *Zwischen Solidaritaet*, pp. 108 – 109.

60 Professor Johannes Pilz, the GDR advisor, quoted in Schleicher, "The GDR", p. 528.

61 Schleicher, "The GDR", quoting interviews with Namibians, 1996.

62 Ibid., p. 530.

63 Ibid., pp. 531 – 532, citing *Neues Deutschland*, 19 and 25 July 1989.

64 Quoted Schleicher, "The GDR", pp. 529 – 530. D. Lange, "The GDR's UNTAG involvement 1989/90", *Journal of Namibian Studies* 12 (2012), pp. 47 – 70.

came to power in Namibia, the GDR's history of unwavering solidarity with SWAPO would count for more than the FRG's economic power. The end of the GDR and then the unification of Germany rendered this question moot.

Both the Soviet Union and the GDR sent officials to Namibia on the eve of the election of November 1989. The GDR appointed an ambassador to run a GDR embassy in Windhoek as soon as Namibia became independent, and the embassy opened its doors, the last ever established by the GDR.[65] The ambassador, however, the last such appointee the GDR made, was never officially accredited, for as SWAPO came to power in an independent Namibia, the old GDR leadership was swept away and soon the country itself disappeared. Further special flights were organized later in 1990 to take over 400 of those who would be called, in Namibia, "GDR Kids", from East Germany to Namibia.[66] Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet minister of foreign affairs, was a high-profile guest at Namibia's independence celebrations. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Soviet embassy in Windhoek was transformed into a Russian one.

The increased interactions between the GDR and the Soviet Union and SWAPO from the late 1970 followed SWAPO's adoption in 1976 of a political programme that talked of "scientific socialism" as the goal of the struggle, but that mainly reflected SWAPO's new relationship with the ruling party in Angola, which called itself Marxist-Leninist. There was no major ideological shift in SWAPO itself.[67] Despite the many visits and the fraternal relations that developed between the SWAPO leadership and both the Soviet Union and the GDR, that leadership was little influenced ideologically by Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union and the GDR came to accept that SWAPO was above all a nationalist movement seeking Namibia's independence, and was not concerned primarily with social transformation. While they hoped that the political education provided to Namibians would help shape their thinking and feed into SWAPO's policies, there is little evidence that this happened to any significant extent.

Because South Africa refused until 1988 to allow Resolution 435 to be implemented, those trained in the Soviet Union and the GDR before then returned to Southern Africa either to engage in military struggle or to some other exile existence. How they used the training they received when back in Southern Africa is difficult to establish. SWAPO personnel trained by the Stasi learned how to run an efficient operation and then employed harsh interrogation methods in the

65 Ibid., p. 530.

66 Schleicher and Schleicher, *Special Flights*.

67 L. Dobell, *Swapo's Straggle for Namibia*, Basel: P. Schlettwein Publishers, 1998.

SWAPO camps in Angola from 1979.[68] When those trained and educated in the Soviet Union and GDR were eventually able to return to Namibia in 1989/90, the socialist regimes of Eastern Europe were collapsing, and the political education they had received does not seem to have influenced Namibia's post-independence policies in any significant way.[69] Some of the Namibian children taken from Angola to the GDR for education, whom the GDR saw as potential future leaders of Namibia, were critical of the GDR for keeping them separate from the local population and restricting their movements, and complained of experiencing racism.[70] There was at least some awareness among them that they were being fed propaganda,[71] and after they settled in Namibia, where they continued to cohere as a group and remembered their upbringing in the GDR with some nostalgia, they were not noticeably committed to socialist ideas.[72]

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68 These methods included torture. See esp. Williams, *National Liberation*. Stephen Ellis looked at Stasi files in Berlin for evidence of such influences on the ANC in Angola. S. Ellis, *External Mission. The ANC in Exile*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2012, chapter 5.

69 Much more significant was the UN Institute for Namibia (UNIN) founded in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1976 to train Namibians and plan for independence, and headed by a man educated in the United States (the present Namibian President, Hage Geingob). UNIN produced the major plan for Namibia's future. UNIN, *Namibia. Perspectives for National Reconstruction and Development*, Lusaka: UNIN, 1986.

70 J. Owens and M. Nambelela, "Can't Namibia's ex-GDR kids be called adults", in: C. Limpricht and M. Biesele (eds.), *Heritage and Culture in Modern Namibia*, Goettingen: Klaus Hess, 2008; Berndt, "Shared Paradoxes", pp. 347 – 361; M.D. Witte, K. Klein-Zimmer and C. Schmitt, "Growing Up Transnationally between SWAPO and GDR – A Biographical Ethnographic Study on Namibian Refugee Children", *Transnational Social Review* 3 (2013) 2, pp. M-28–M-33; C. Schmitt, M.D. Witte and S. Polat, "International solidarity in the GDR and transnationality: an analysis of primary school materials for Namibian child refugees", *Transnational Social Review* 4 (2014) 2 – 3, pp. 242 – 258; S. Pugach, "African Students and the Politics of Rae and Gender in the German Democratic Republic", in: Q. Slobodian (ed.), *Comrades of Colour: East Germany in the Cold War*, New York: Berghahn, 2015; C. Schmitt and M.D. Witte, "'You are special': othering in biographies of 'GDR children from Namibia'", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (2018) 7, pp. 1352 – 1369. The daughter of SWAPO's Secretary of Labour, John Ya-Otto, recalled that "[m]ost of the time, life took place away from the wider GDR population. Outings with SWAPO parents, who were also educated in the GDR, and older students in general did not involve the wider GDR population, only the relevant government officials." Kern interview with Winnie Ya-Otto, Berlin, 15 January 2015.

71 Berndt, "Shared Paradoxes", pp. 359 – 360.

72 Speaking at the launch of J. Krause and B. Kaplan, *Children in Exile. A Pictorial Record*, Windhoek: Kuiseb Publishers, 2017, one of the GDR children, Iipumbu Sakaria, said he remembered "how it was instilled in us, and expected of us, to be the next generation of Plan combatants", *The Namibian*, 30 June 2017. Cf. "Boek oor GDR kinders bekend gestel", *Die Republikein*, 29 June 2017. Nujoma, giving the book his imprimatur, recalled how Honecker had welcomed the children in the GDR.

For the socialist countries, solidarity with Southern African liberation movements in struggles against imperialism and racism, seen as part of a world-wide proletarian struggle against capitalist exploitation, aided their self-perception that they were "on the right side of history" in the Cold War.[73] There were particular reasons for the GDR to develop ties with SWAPO besides its concern to break out of international isolation. Despite the contradiction between support for national independence and self-determination elsewhere and dictatorial rule at home, and, though there was no grass-roots solidarity movement of the kind that emerged in some Western countries, people in the GDR, more than in the Soviet Union, did identify with the state's solidarity with Southern African liberation struggles, in part for ideological reasons, but also because the rival FRG maintained close relations with the apartheid regime.[74] GDR support for SWAPO must also be seen in the context of Namibia having been a former colony of Germany. The GDR was keen to distance itself both from the 30,000 Germans who remained in Namibia and from the German role in colonizing Namibia,[75] and to challenge the role that West Germany played vis a vis Namibia, but that German remained one of the main languages of Namibia, spoken by some in SWAPO, meant there were cultural ties, despite the negative legacy of German rule of Namibia and the influence that the German-speaking minority still had in the territory. And West Germany's improving diplomatic relations with SWAPO from 1977, when the FRG became a member of the Western Contact Group, were seen as a threat to the GDR's relationship with SWAPO. The GDR sought to try to counter this by increasing its own links with SWAPO.[76] By the late 1980s, however, the GDR had come to accept that Western interests would

73 T. Weiss, "Shaping the Discourse on Africa. The Concept of 'Solidarity' in East German Relations with SWAPO", M.A. thesis, University of Oxford, 2008, pp. 36–40, and "The Concept of 'Solidarity' in East German Relations with SWAPO", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37 (2011) 2, 2011, pp. 351–367; German Propaganda Archive, Calvin College, Honecker speech: "Party and Revolutionary Young Guard Firmly Allied (1984)", Calvin College, German Propaganda Archive, http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/fdj.htm (accessed 4 April 2019). B.H. Schulz, "The politics of East-South relations: The GDR and Southern Africa", in: T.A. Baylis et al. (eds.), *East Germany in Comparative Perspective*, London: Routledge, 1989, pp. 158–160. See also Schleicher, "GDR Solidarity", pp. 1083–1084. The 1974 GDR constitution referred to support for those fighting against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

74 Cf. e. g. Schleicher, "GDR Solidarity", pp. 1097–1102.

75 While the GDR prided itself on its anti-fascist legacy and anti-colonialism, some Namibian Germans retained affection for Hitler's Reich.

76 The SPD-led government began to seek improved relations with SWAPO even before the FRG became a member of the Western Contact Group, which engaged in negotiations with SWAPO from 1977.

remain strong in an independent Namibia and by then it was prepared to work together with the FRG on the UNTAG mission, which it hoped would strengthen its position within the UN.

SWAPO was ready to accept aid from anyone to achieve its goal of Namibian independence. Though SWAPO officials sometimes used militant Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, especially when negotiations stalled and Namibia's independence seemed unattainable, their prime goal was always the liberation of the Namibian people from foreign rule. SWAPO believed, correctly in the event, that it could maintain its friendship with the socialist counties and gain important benefits from the relationship with them without becoming overly committed to them. Whereas in, say, independent Mozambique advisers could hope to exert influence on state policy, the most the socialist countries could do in respect of Namibia was to try to influence its future leaders, whether the Namibian children the GDR educated or the SWAPO officials who took courses in the Soviet Union, or through supplying military and other aid.[77] When Namibia did eventually become independent, the Washington consensus was dominant and the knowledge then transferred was technical, not the Marxist socialism that the Soviet Union and the GDR had tried to inculcate in the SWAPO cadres who spent time in those countries.[78] Though the socialist countries wanted their visitors to return to Southern Africa as soldiers or leading members of society who would, hopefully share their ideals and have a strong affinity with Marxism-Leninism,[79] both the GDR and Soviet Union came to accept that those it supported in southern Africa would engage economically with the West. By the time Namibia became independent, the Berlin Wall had fallen.

In Conclusion

SWAPO's "Eastern" connections varied from country to country, and over time, but there were similarities. All four countries had relatively closed political systems and connections were mainly at the official level, with relatively few personnel involved and little involvement from civil society. There were never

77 Wolf writes that though "some basic instruction on the principles of Marxism-Leninism was included [...] our student guests politely made it plain that this was not what they had come for" and that the GDR learnt "that it was unwise to force our worldview on our partners". Wolf, *Man Without a Face*, p. 281. Schleicher claims that cadres of liberation movements were eager to study the ideological theories of Marxism-Leninism.

78 Cf. Schleicher, "GDR Solidarity", p. 1087.

79 Thorsten Kern interviews with "GDR kids" Ndamona Ya-Otto and Selma Kamati, Berlin, 18 January 2015, and with H.-G. Schleicher, Berlin, 20 February 2016.

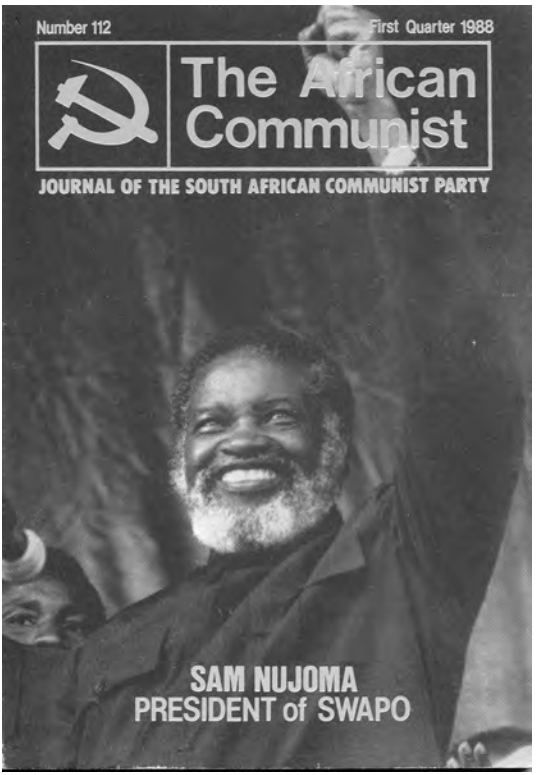

Fig. 3: Cover of "The African Communist. Journal of the South African Communist Party" printed in Leipzig [published in: South African Communist Party (eds.), *The African Communist. Journal of the South African Communist Party* (first quarter 1988) 112, Lusaka; source: Ulrich van der Heyden, private archive]

more than a few hundred Namibians in the GDR or the Soviet Union at any one time, or Soviet or GDR personnel working in Angola with SWAPO. While both countries provided a wide range of support, from scholarships to financial and humanitarian aid to military hardware, the Soviet Union was the main supplier of such hardware and the GDR did not send large numbers of military advisers to SWAPO in Angola, as the Soviets did. As we have noted, neither country sent combat troops, as Cuba did, to fight alongside SWAPO units in Angola.

The ideological instruction provided by the Soviet Union and the GDR appears not to have left lasting or dominant influences on those who received it, while the technical expertise that Namibians gained was mainly used in exile, because it took so long for independence to be achieved. In 1989, for the first time, a few Soviet and GDR personnel visited Namibia, but the GDR and then

the Soviet Union collapsed, meaning that the social capital built through the decades of the evolving relationship between the two countries largely disappeared.

Both the PRC and North Korea were able to maintain links with SWAPO during the decades of the liberation struggle, despite the much more important ties that existed between SWAPO and the Soviet Union. Not only was SWAPO able to benefit from the way in which competing countries sought ties with it, but the links forged during the decades of struggle fed into post-independence ties. In the North Korean case, this meant that country being asked by the government of independent Namibia to construct major monuments and buildings.

For much of the Cold War Western countries believed that the Soviet Union had geopolitical ambitions in Southern Africa – to gain control over the strategically important Cape sea-route and the region's natural resources and raw materials – and that it, and the GDR, which was viewed as a Soviet puppet, provided support to SWAPO in furtherance of this objective.[80] Soviet support to Southern African liberation movements was not as purely altruistic as Shubin suggests, and must be seen in terms of Cold War competition with the United States. With the United States supporting apartheid South Africa in the Cold War era, the Soviet Union could see a potential SWAPO government as a Cold War ally. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the GDR believed in the rightness of SWAPO's cause, and saw its liberation struggle as part of a wider campaign to bring apartheid in South Africa to an end.[81] Among other, less important reasons for providing such extensive support was a concern to establish the basis for future co-operation with an independent Namibia and perhaps gain privileged access to natural resources. It was assumed that Namibian independence was inevitable and anticipated that it would come much sooner than it did. As we have noted, the GDR had its own reasons: it sought to advance its international standing as a sovereign state and equal member of the community of nations, and its position within the Eastern bloc countries and against the FRG. While the GDR saw itself as acting in parallel with the Soviet Union, its patron, it acted independently, hoping that it would benefit, economically and otherwise, when the liberation movements it supported came to power.[82] And while

80 Cf. e. g. the Denton hearings on "The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa" (Sub-committee on Security and Terrorism, United States Senate, March 1982).

81 Though the chief of the foreign intelligence service of the MfS did not think the ANC would come to power in South Africa: Wolf, *Man Without a Face*, p. 279.

82 V. Shubin to this author, email, 8 August 2017. The GDR needed the Kremlin's support on the German question and remained dependent on its economic relations with the Soviet Union, but

military support from the Soviet Union and the GDR continued, a significant change occurred from the mid-1980s, as the Cold War began to thaw. By 1988 both China and the Soviet Union were in favour of the negotiations that began that year under the mediation of Chester Crocker, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

A broad church ideologically, SWAPO welcomed support for its goal of independence from anyone. It was not willing to alienate potential supporters by committing to any one ideological line. When Namibia became independent, with a liberal democratic constitution, it sought Western foreign investment and few of the ideas propagated by the Soviets and the GDR found resonance. Today few legacies remain from the connections forged with the Soviet Union and the GDR in the decades of the liberation struggle, despite the importance of those ties for assisting SWAPO to reach its goal of independence. There are no streets in Windhoek named after GDR figures, no monument to the GDR in Namibia, and in 2018 relations between Namibia and Germany are dominated by the issue of whether Germany should pay reparations for the genocide of the Herero and Nama in the early twentieth century. Similarly, the role of the Soviet Union in the liberation struggle is largely forgotten, though, speaking in Windhoek in June 2018 on Russia's national day, the Russian ambassador did say that Russia was "proud of its ties with Namibia that date back decades to the time of Namibi's struggle for independence".[83] The irony is that the support given by the two "Eastern" countries that aided SWAPO most (besides Cuba, not considered here), the GDR and Soviet Union, is now little remembered in Namibia, whereas the much more limited support given by North Korea and the PRC is often mentioned in the context of present-day relations.

did not take orders from its Big Brother, though in 1975 Honecker signed a "Treaty of Friendship" with the Soviet Union, underlining East Berlin's alignment with Moscow: Winrow, *Foreign Policy*, p. 121.

83 K. Tjitemisa, "Russia, Namibia Enjoy Excellent Relations", *New Era*, 15 June 2018, https://allafrica.com/stories/201606160565.html (accessed 4 April 2019).

Ulrich van der Heyden and Anja Schade

GDR Solidarity with the ANC of South Africa

Solidarity was a cornerstone of the ideology of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Starting already in the 1950s, the ANC received assistance from the Socialist Bloc, particularly from the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Within a few years, solidarity structures to support the South African freedom struggle were strengthened and directly linked with the ANC. To understand the way solidarity was practised by and within the GDR, it is necessary to understand the Cold War setting in which GDR's solidarity actions took place. For this reason, the first chapter gives basic information on GDR solidarity-structures and the GDR's solidarity efforts towards Southern Africa in general and the ANC in particular. The second part engages with experiences of ANC exiles in the GDR and how they perceived the GDR. Among ANC-members, socialism was seen as a possible model for the post-apartheid development of South Africa. Nevertheless, in interviews conducted with ANC-members critical points of view also became visible. We will highlight challenges exiles were confronted with during their time in the GDR. Despite all criticism, it becomes very clear that for many of them the GDR's solidarity is not forgotten.

Many countries on the African continent played an important, if not decisive, role in the foreign policy of the GDR over the 40 years of its existence (1949 – 1990). The content, intensity, objectives and functions of the GDR's relations with the young nation states and national liberation movements in Africa were subject to various internal, economic, and regional influences, as well as those relating to alliance policy and world politics. While in the 1950s, Africa was of marginal importance in the foreign policy of the GDR, this changed abruptly in 1960, when most of the former colonies in tropical Africa gained independence from their Western European colonial rulers. Up to the early 1970s the objective of the GDR's foreign policy was, above all, to bring about worldwide diplomatic recognition by states of the so-called Third World, as the GDR had, until then, only been recognized as a sovereign state by the socialist countries. However, the hopes that GDR politicians had for diplomatic recognition from the young nation states in the Third World, especially those in Africa that had gained their independence in the early 1960s, proved difficult to put into practice.

The GDR faced competition from the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), which had much greater economic and political power. In order to confirm its

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legitimacy under international law, the GDR placed state equality at the centre of its foreign policy activities. As Brigitte H. Schulz points out, both states were looking for an opportunity to gain recognition in Africa: "In doing so, the GDR, which was widely regarded in the West as the illegitimate product of Soviet expansion aspirations, sought to gain legitimacy in the South by referencing the revolutionary and anti-imperialist traditions of Marxism-Leninism. The Federal Republic, for its part, appeared in the guise of Western democracy and freedom. Its claim to be the sole representative of all Germans – even those who were now citizens of the GDR – became a cornerstone of its policy toward the South."[1]

The international recognition of the GDR by non-socialist countries was obstructed by the Bonn government's diplomatic prevention strategy, generally referred to as the Hallstein Doctrine.[2] This threatened any third country that diplomatic relations with the GDR would be regarded as a "hostile act" and a broad spectrum of economic sanctions would be applied, ranging from measures such as the curtailing or cessation of development aid to the severance of diplomatic relations with the state concerned. Placed under this kind of pressure, many young nation states shied away from an official recognition of the GDR.[3] The FRG's attempts to prevent the GDR from gaining international recognition was only successful until both German states were admitted to the UN in 1973, when the Hallstein Doctrine fell away.

The first two decades of the GDR's foreign policy were pervaded by the motivation to defy the Federal Republic's "claim to sole representation", propagated by the government in Bonn. Initially there was, however, not much it could do to counter the worldwide actions of Bonn's foreign policymakers.[4] The GDR nevertheless felt a close connection to the young nation states on the African conti-

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1 B.H. Schulz, "Die zwei deutschen Staaten und das subsaharische Afrika", in: B. Greiner, C.T. Müller, and C. Weber (eds.), *Ökonomie im Kalten Krieg*, Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2008 [Lizenzausgabe für die Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn 2010], pp. 163–180.

2 W. Kilian, "Die Hallstein-Doktrin. Der diplomatische Krieg zwischen der BRD und der DDR 1955–1973, Akten der beiden deutschen Außenministerien", Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001; R.M. Booz, *"Hallsteinzeit". Deutsche Außenpolitik 1955–1972*, Bonn: Bouvier, 1995; W.G. Gray, *Germany's Cold War. The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany 1949–1969*, Chapter Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. On the African perspective of the Hallstein doctrine cf. B.M. Eyinla: *The Foreign Policy of West Germany towards Africa*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1996.

3 Cf. G.M. Winrow, *The Foreign Policy of the GDR in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, esp. p. 62–64. Directly to the point, cf. C. Eberspächer and G. Wiechmann, "Systemkonflikt in Afrika. Deutsch-deutsche Auseinandersetzungen am Beispiel Guineas 1969–1972", *Zeitschrift des Forschungsverbundes SED-Staat* 23 (2008) 23, pp. 30–41.

4 Cf. William, *Germany's Cold War.*

nent after their liberation from European colonial rule. This applied even more to the political movements that had as yet not achieved national independence. These included especially those who fought against the yoke of Portuguese colonial rule, as well as those who were committed to the elimination of apartheid in Southern Africa. Current ideological, economic, and political reasons played a crucial part in this regard. Thus, by way of consistent action against every form of colonialism and racism, the support for those states and liberation movements that had developed in the still existing colonies became a hallmark of GDR foreign policy. The traditions that had been developed in the 1950s were thereby continued and strengthened.[5] In doing so, the GDR gave preferential support to the liberation movements in Southern Africa who were fighting for their independence.[6] The strategy and, for the most part, also the tactics of the GDR's foreign policy regarding a number of international issues largely corresponded with the views and ideas of the liberation organisations' representatives, as well as the leaders of the young national states. The GDR acted, as the long-serving East German diplomat Hans-Georg Schleicher noted, "as their pronounced political partner and ally".[7]

In the mid-1970s, Africa's importance in East Berlin's foreign policy rose again when the colonial empire of Portugal collapsed, and its former colonies of Angola and Mozambique became independent states after a long, high-casualty struggle for liberation. This success provided fresh inspiration to the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) to intensify their bitter liberation struggles to overcome apartheid. This provided the GDR politicians with a substantial reason to increase their focus on this region. Southern Africa henceforth enjoyed particular attention from the party- and state leadership of the GDR, not least from its supreme leader, Erich Honecker. For the most part he personally promoted and supervised the anti-colonialist and anti-racist efforts of the GDR institutions. He accepted the not inconsiderable costs of the GDR's solidarity support for the liberation move-

5 Cf. H.-G. Schleicher, "Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und Außenpolitik der DDR. Das Beispiel Afrika", in: H.J. Bücking (ed.), *Entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der DDR*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998, pp. 95–110, esp. at 97–98.

6 Cf. in this regard and in greater detail Schleicher, I. Schleicher and H.-G. Schleicher, *Die DDR im südlichen Afrika. Solidarität und Kalter Krieg*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1997; U. van der Heyden, *GDR International Development Policy Involvement. Doctrine and Strategies between Illusions and Reality 1960–1990. The example (South) Africa*, Berlin: LIT, 2013.

7 H.-G. Schleicher, "Spurensuche im Süden Afrikas. Die Zusammenarbeit mit den Befreiungsbewegungen wirkt nach", in: T. Kunze and T. Vogel (eds.), *Ostalgie international. Erinnerungen an die DDR von Nicaragua bis Vietnam*, Berlin: Ch. Links, 2010, pp. 47–48, at 48: "[...] trat prononciert als deren politischer Partner und Verbündeter auf."

ments, and development aid in Africa as a whole. He only had a closer look at financial aspects when creditors defaulted on the repayments of the low-interest loans granted to them,[8] which in turn necessitated additional onerous debt rescheduling negotiations for the GDR economy.[9]

The participation of the GDR regime in the political events of Southern Africa was kindled not least by its foreign intelligence service. This said that, notwithstanding the competitive nature of their interactions amongst each other, the leading powers of the West, i.e. the USA, Great Britain, France, and the FRG, would "not tolerate any further setbacks on the African continent" after the independence of Angola and Mozambique.[10] The Ministry for State Security (MfS), informed the GDR state and party leadership that, although the Western states verbally disapproved of the racist policies of the regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, they were nonetheless not prepared to support the liberation struggles.[11] The MfS also established that in the 1960s the FRG had, outside of NATO, delivered large quantities of weapons and military equipment to 33 states, 16 in Africa, 7 in Asia, and 2 in South America. The recipients were said to be mostly "fascist or military political regimes"[12]. Whenever the GDR ascertained that the colonial regimes were supported by the FRG, it felt even more justified in rendering assistance to the oppressed peoples. The West's support for the colonial regime of Portugal in Africa and the apartheid regime in Pretoria provoked solidarity from the GDR and the majority of its population.

8 Cf. H. Eberle, *Anmerkungen zu Honecker*, Berlin: Schwarzkopf & Schwarzkopf, 2000, p. 89.
9 With regard to debt rescheduling negotiations with, for example, Mozambique, see the "Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv" (in future SAPMO): DY 30/7235: "Vorlage für das Politbüro des Zentralkomitees der SED", Autumn 1989, o.p., as well as further documents stored at that site.
10 Cf. also the overview in this regard by U. van der Heyden, "Dekolonisierungsprozesse. Wie Staaten entstehen. Prozesse und Argumente der Dekolonisierung", in: D. Kollmer, T. Konopka and M. Rink (eds.), *Zentrales Afrika*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2014, pp. 99–105.
11 Cf. *Bundesbeauftragter für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (in future BStU – Federal Commissioner for the Files of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic): MfS, HVA, no. 65: "Auskunft über Aktivitäten der imperialistischen Länder zur Beeinflussung der Entwicklung im südlichen Afrika", 15 June 1977, fl. 188.
12 BStU: MfS, HA IX/11, FV 2/71, vol. 25, part 1. Cf. ibid.: FV 2/71, vol. 25: "Waffen aus Westdeutschland an Putschisten in Afrika und Asien".

Forms and Structures of the GDR's Solidarity with Southern Africa

The trade union congress – the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund = FDGB) – and the ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), derived their fundamental anti-colonialist, anti-racist positions from the traditions of solidarity held by the international, but especially German labour movement.[13] It was the general understanding of functionaries and other opinion-forming individuals within trade unions, as well as the state and the SED, that solidarity with national liberation movements and young nation states that had liberated themselves from colonialism formed part of proletarian internationalism. In keeping with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of class struggle and an epochal understanding which saw the world in transition from capitalism to socialism, the national liberation movements were deemed to be natural allies of the socialist state community and should therefore be supported.[14]

The nationwide so-called solidarity work in the GDR was chiefly organized by its own institution, the Solidarity Committee of the GDR, partly also via corresponding initiatives of the FDGB and other mass organisations and party institutions. Even though traditional development aid was provided locally, the primary focus of the GDR's developmental engagement was concentrated on training specialized staff in the GDR itself. States received political and diplomatic assistance, while goods and financial aid were supplied. Interested circles in the West were aware of this. As early as 1972, the news magazine *Der Spiegel* wrote: "For the SED, the humanitarian and political contacts between GDR citizens who are true to party principles and young cadres in the national liberation movements carry more weight than monetary benefits anyway. Connections of this kind are usually established through training scholarships – for example

13 Cf. in this regard U. van der Heyden, "Wider den Kolonialismus! Antikoloniale Haltungen in der deutschen Geschichte von Mitte der 1880er Jahre bis zum Beginn der 1930er Jahre", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 70 (2018) 3, pp. 1–30.

14 Cf. in this regard and in greater detail I. Schleicher, *DDR-Solidarität im südlichen Afrika. Auseinandersetzungen mit einem ambivalenten Erbe*, Berlin: Solidaritätsdienst-International e.V., 1999, p. 7. Cf. also I. Schleicher, "Elemente entwicklungspolitischer Zusammenarbeit in der Tätigkeit von FDGB und FDJ", in: H.J. Bücking (ed.), *Entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der DDR*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998, pp. 95–110.

from the East German universities or education institutions [...]".[15] That this was not the only form of solidarity, however, was pointed out with unusual candour in an English book published by the SED Party College in 1985: "The GDR has realized more than 800 projects in developing countries since 1970. Some 55,000 working people have received technical training in production with the assistance of the GDR in their homelands. Some 60,500 foreigners have received vocational training and qualifications in the GDR since 1970. Some 39,000 young people have studied at institutions of higher and technical education in the GDR."[16]

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, despite the economic difficulties in which the GDR found itself at that time, the people of that country were already engaging in solidarity work with concrete actions. In the early 1960s, for example, the individual trade unions belonging to the FDGB handed over solidarity contributions to the value of around five million GDR-Marks[17] – a substantial amount, given the problems the GDR citizens faced at the time. The financial proceeds from voluntary work, too, which were credited to the account of the Solidarity Committee, may be added to that amount. However, the idea of solidarity was not only relatively firmly anchored among the "ordinary people" in the population, but the GDR leaders, too, were sincerely committed to it. The military historian Klaus Storkmann stated, after having extensively studied the relevant sources and holding interviews with contemporary witnesses: "The idea of solidarity obviously also informed the thinking and actions of many decision-makers in the SED and NVA. It would therefore be absurd to disregard it as a motive. The surviving records and contemporary witnesses paint a consistent picture: The decision-makers of the GDR actually felt obliged to show solidarity with the nations of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, not only for ideological reasons, but also due to personal political convictions."[18]

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15 "Auch schon Verräter", *Der Spiegel*, 31 July 1972, p. 32: "Größeres Gewicht als Geldleistungen haben für die SED ohnehin die menschlich-politischen Kontakte zwischen linientreuen DDR-Bürgern und jungen Kadern der nationalen Befreiungsbewegungen. Verbindungen dieser Art werden meist über Ausbildungsstipendien geknüpft – etwa für die ostdeutschen Universitäten oder für Bildungseinrichtungen [...]."

16 "Karl Marx" Party College attached to the CC of the SED (ed.), *Experiences of the SED in socialist Revolution*, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985, p. 343.

17 Cf. Bundesverband des FDGB (ed.), *Geschichte des Freien Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes*, Berlin: Tribüne, 1982, p. 502.

18 K. Storkmann, "Solidarität und Interessenpolitik. Militärhilfen der DDR für die Dritte Welt", in: O. Bange and B. Lemke (eds.), *Wege zur Wiedervereinigung. Die beiden deutschen Staaten in ihren Bündnissen 1970 bis 1990*, München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013, pp. 357–376, at 368.

Due to the SED's dominance in all areas of policy – including its Africa policy – some politicians and historians from the FRG, after 1990, spoke of a "prescribed solidarity" enforced by the state party, which was apparently not supported by the population. That this assertion is not true[19] did not escape the notice of journalists in the Federal Republic either. As early as 1980, an article in the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*, dealing with the GDR's solidarity efforts in the Third World, stated that solidarity constituted a "daily bread for GDR citizens".[20] The feeling of solidarity was, as recent studies have shown,[21] widespread among large sections of the GDR population and characterized by genuine feelings, as has been portrayed by some of today's authors. As the West German journalist Marlies Menge from the news magazine *Der Spiegel* put it in 1980: "The GDR's solidarity with Third World countries goes beyond mere quotable lip service. Last year alone, the Solidarity Committee of the GDR provided aid to countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to the amount of 300 million Marks. The largest portion of this aid is paid for by the population."[22]

As proof of an alleged "prescribed solidarity", the ritualized sale of so-called "Soli-Marken" (solidarity stamps) is often cited, i. e. the payment by workers of a monthly financial donation for solidarity through the purchase of stamps from the GDR's Solidarity Committee in addition to the membership fee for the trade union, for example. The historian Ilona Schleicher clarifies the situation as follows: "Current popular assessments make the assumption that this was mass coercion of trade union members from above to show solidarity – a view that reveals a lack of knowledge about real life in the GDR. One could perhaps speak of moral pressure and of overzealous agitation, and most certainly of a centralistic mechanism from the top down, which, like almost everything else in the GDR, also applied to solidarity work."[23] Ultimately, the verifiable results of the solidarity donations of GDR citizens as well as the still-noticeable grati-

19 For a discussion of this hypothesis, see the chapter: "Die Geschichte der ostdeutschen Solidaritätsbewegung", in: C. Olejniczak, *Die Dritte-Welt-Bewegung in Deutschland. Konzeptionelle und organisatorische Strukturmerkmale einer neuen sozialen Bewegung,* Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts Verlag, 1998, pp. 195 – 261.

20 M. Menge, "Beat und Borschtsch. Entwicklungshilfe der DDR", *Die Zeit*, 22 February 1980.

21 Cf. Schleicher, *DDR-Solidarität*.

22 Menge, *Beat und Borschtsch:* "Die Solidarität der DDR mit Ländern der Dritten Welt ist mehr als ein zitierfähiges Lippenbekenntnis. Allein im letzten Jahr half das Solidaritätskomitee der DDR mit 300 Millionen Mark Ländern in Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika. Bezahlt wird diese Hilfe vor allem von der Bevölkerung."

23 I. Schleicher, "FDGB-Offensive in Westafrika. Der Gewerkschaftsbund im Jahr Afrikas", in: U. van der Heyden, I. Schleicher, and H.-G. Schleicher (eds.), *Engagiert für Afrika. Die DDR und Afrika II*, Münster: LIT, 1994, pp. 82 – 93, at 88.

tude of many people in various Third World countries speak an unequivocal language about the aid and support provided by the GDR.[24]

The GDR's fundamental and official anti-colonial stance towards the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America produced widespread support for solidarity among the East German population, a support that the SED was hardly able to achieve in any other area. The idea of solidarity was, however, not as pronounced and indelibly ingrained in every GDR citizen as the official GDR propaganda liked to proclaim. Nevertheless, relevant surveys immediately after German unification showed that foreigners were "warmly welcomed", especially in the 1960s and 1970s. The researchers summarize this survey as follows: Undoubtedly, "the propaganda geared towards 'international understanding' and the awareness of the crimes of German fascism, as well as the historical guilt of the Germans towards other peoples were significant contributing factors."[25]

Statements that are in contradiction to all research results are particularly incomprehensible, as those claiming that decolonisation in itself was not "of significant interest" for the GDR. The actual aim of this policy – according to an unproven accusation – was said to be the hoped-for diplomatic recognition of the SED state and gaining new partners in foreign relations.[26] Such post-factual, ideologically informed views often determine the present-day picture of the solidarity efforts of the GDR population. During a conference at the beginning of the new millennium, the well-known GDR civil rights activist Friedrich Schorlemmer emphasized the fact that, in the GDR, the practice of solidarity was often intermingled with political interests, i. e. with competition between the two global political blocs. "But between all that there was genuine feeling [...] Be that as it may, there was, alongside the bombastic evocation of political solidarity, also the genuine one."[27] Against voices that continue to speak of a prescribed institu-

24 Cf. Kunze and Vogel (eds.), *Ostalgie international*.

25 S. Grundmann, S. Müller-Hartmann and I. Schmidt, "Ausländer in Ostdeutschland", *BISS public. Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus dem Berliner Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien* 1 (1991) 3, pp. 5–75, at 55.

26 Cf. P.G. Poutrus, "‚Teure Genossen'. Die ‚politischen Emigranten' als ‚Fremde' im Alltag der DDR-Gesellschaft", in: C. Müller and P.G. Poutrus (eds.), *Ankunft – Alltag – Ausreise. Migration und interkulturelle Begegnung in der DDR-Gesellschaft*, Köln: Böhlau, 2005, pp. 221–266, at 248, 253.

27 F. Schorlemmer, "Vom Schlüsselwert der Solidarität oder ‚Vorwärts und nie vergessen ...'", in: U. Döring and H.J. Rüchel (eds.), *Freundschaftsbande und Beziehungskisten. Die Afrikapolitik der DDR und der BRD gegenüber Mosambik*, Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2005, pp. 23–28, at 27.

tional solidarity of the citizens of the GDR,[28] the journalist and former diplomat Ingrid Muth stated in an interview: "Anti-imperialist solidarity was one of the areas in which the congruence between political goals and personal interests was very great. Naturally, the feeling of anti-imperialist solidarity increased among the population, the process was certainly also promoted very deliberately; it has, however, played a determining role over a relatively long period of time."[29] As was repeatedly expressed at relevant conferences and workshops after the two German states were abolished, the majority of the GDR population understood which people were in need of their solidarity and why. It did not require a "prescribed solidarity",[30] and there was no need to indoctrinate GDR citizens or coerce them into solidarity actions.[31]

The willingness of the GDR citizens to help people in the developing countries was recognized by those receiving solidarity at the time. In 1986, for example, a South African living in exile in the GDR said: "In the GDR it is impressive to see the extent of solidarity that is practised by all strata of the population, from young pioneers to the elderly."[32] When asked about aid from the GDR, the then General Secretary of the ANC, Alfred Nzo, replied: "It goes without saying that solidarity has a home especially in the socialist countries. And this does not only apply to the GDR, which is really the homeland of anti-imperialist solidarity."[33] On another occasion he shared his experiences of the GDR with its former diplomatic representative Hans-Georg Schleicher, who had worked closely with representatives of the exiled ANC: "The GDR, what was impressive about it was [...] when you discussed with somebody from the GDR, you discussed

28 Cf. for instance M.G. Meyer, "Solidarität. Vom knappen Gut und einem inflationär gebrauchten Begriff", in: verdi (ed.), *Publik*, (2013) 7, pp. 20 – 21; A. Eckert, "Hoch die ...", *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 16 May 2013; C. Heinemann, ‚Brot für die Welt' hat in Mecklenburg keinen leichten Stand", *Der Überblick. Zeitschrift für ökumenische Begegnung und internationale Zusammenarbeit* (2005) 3, p. 136.

29 I. Muth, "Meinungsäußerung zu Hans-Georg Schleicher: Die Interessenlage der Afrikapolitik der DDR", in: S. Bock, I. Muth and H. Schwiesau (eds.), *DDR-Außenpolitik im Rückspiegel. Diplomaten im Gespräch*, Münster: LIT, 2004, pp. 263 – 264, at 263.

30 An exhibition in Chemnitz popularised this myth. Cf. PM, "‚Verordnete Solidarität.' BStU Leipzig zeigt Umgang mit ‚Fremden' in DDR", *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, 1 March 2017.

31 P. Jettke, *Wenn das Amt die Feder führt*, *Neues Deutschland*, 7 March 2017.

32 Interview by U. van der Heyden with Ignacio-Tilly Torres, *Neue Deutsche Bauernzeitung*, 6 June 1986.

33 A. Babing and H.-D. Bräuer, "Der Antikommunismus hat keine Chance. Interview mit ANC-Generalsekretär Alfred Nzo", in: A. Babing and H.-D. Bräuer (eds.), *Fanal am Kap. Ein Report*, Berlin: Berlin Verlag der Nation, 1982, pp. 378 – 385, at 381: "Selbstverständlich hat die Solidarität vor allem in den sozialistischen Ländern ein Zuhause. Und das betrifft nicht nur die DDR, die wirklich ein Heimatland der antiimperialistischen Solidarität ist."

with real friends."[34] Denis Goldberg, the only white anti-apartheid activist convicted together with Nelson Mandela at the 1964 Rivonia trial, spoke in more general terms when he said: "The international solidarity work done by Eastern Europe differed from that in the West. The Soviet Union and GDR directly promoted the ANC financially, diplomatically, and militarily, and without this assistance our struggle would have been much less effective."[35]

Solidarity in the face of scarce economic resources

Vigour, enthusiasm, and political will alone were not everything. The material resources that were needed for effective solidarity depended heavily on the state's economic performance. Due to its relatively weak and inefficient economy, the GDR was only able to provide a limited amount of material goods to the anti-colonial liberation struggle and towards the material support of young nation states. Apart from providing diplomatic support, the GDR therefore increasingly focused its solidarity-based assistance on the training and further education of people from the Third World in the GDR. This was not only a characteristic of civilian engagement; a similar situation in military and security support by the GDR existed with countries and liberation organisations from the Third World.[36] From the African side, the specific solidarity achievements of the GDR continue to be appreciated to this day.[37]

The GDR had, not least because of its limited economic capacities, concentrated on areas of support that were of strategic and, in some cases, existential importance to its partners. Apart from its involvement in establishing a state with its own administration, this included diverse political support, as well as education and training of teachers and medical staff, engineers and specialists, care of

34 Cited in H.-G. Schleicher, *German Democratic Republic (GDR) support for Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Solidarity or "rooi gevaar" (communist threat)?*, Johannesburg: International Politics/ History, 02/2015, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Southern Africa, Johannesburg 2015, p. 3.

35 D. Goldberg, *Der Auftrag. Ein Leben für die Freiheit in Südafrika*, Berlin: Assoziation A, 2010, p. 236.

36 Cf. U. van der Heyden and K. Storkmann, "L'aide militaire accordée par la République démocratique allemande aux mouvements de libération dans le sud de l'Afrique", *Outre-Mers. Revue d'Histoire* 98 (2011) 372–373, pp. 107–140.

37 Cf. Schleicher, *Spurensuche*, pp. 47–48.

the sick and wounded,[38] as well as military aid.[39] The leaders of the liberation movements and young nation states requested and greatly appreciated these efforts.

Even though military support for the liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America was of great importance to the GDR, it did not hold a unique or prominent position in the overall scenario of its policy of development involvement. Between 1975 and 1989, the ANC received around 52 million Marks from the GDR, SWAPO almost 110 million, Angola 238 million, and Mozambique 277 million in solidary relief supplies and services.[40] Since this included the supply of "non-civilian goods" and, in some cases, light weapons, this has repeatedly given rise to speculation, especially since German reunification.

The most audacious allegation is that the GDR's secret service assisted the ANC with the torturing of individuals in the so-called ANC camps. Even though there is no evidence for this,[41] namely that there was no evidence of torture by GDR secret service employees, this rumour is unwaveringly carried forward.[42]

It remains difficult to compile an exact overview of all of the GDR's solidarity efforts. It has hitherto been impossible to fully capture the diverse activities of the GDR. When studying the sources, one repeatedly stumbles upon hidden references, which have not been taken up into the official statistics and general overviews. Apart from the GDR's military and material aid to the ANC and SWAPO, for which – despite all remaining gaps – more or less exact figures are available, there were many other solidarity-based actions. These ranged from diplomatic support and education policy assistance, to the GDR's readiness

38 Cf. A. Reichardt, *Nie vergessen. Solidarität üben!,* Berlin: Kai Homilius Verlag, 2006, esp. p. 77. A West German observer noted that "the treatment of hundreds of wounded in the civil war in GDR hospitals represents a great financial help for the young state and [...] its extent can hardly be appreciated from the outside". ["[...] die Behandlung Hunderter von Bürgerkriegsverwundeten in Krankenhäusern der DDR (stellt) eine große finanzielle Hilfe für den jungen Staat dar und [ist] [...] ihrem Umfang nach kaum von außen zu erfassen".] J. Kuppe, "Investitionen, die sich lohnen. Zur Reise Honeckers nach Afrika", *Deutschland Archiv. Zeitschrift für Fragen der DDR und der Deutschlandpolitik* (1979) 4, pp. 347–352, at 350.

39 Cf. in this regard and greater detail K. Storkmann, *Geheime Solidarität. Militärbeziehungen und Militärhilfen der DDR in die "Dritte Welt",* Berlin: Ch. Links, 2012.

40 Expenditure for 1989 is only recorded statistically as projected payments. For a detailed overview, cf. I. Schleicher, "Statistische Angaben zur Solidarität mit Befreiungsbewegungen und Staaten im südlichen Afrika", in: Van der Heyden, Schleicher, and Schleicher (eds.), *Engagiert für Afrika*, p. 152.

41 Cf. S. Ellis, *External Mission. The ANC in Exile, 1960–1990*, London: Hurst & Company, 2012, p. 157.

42 Cf. among others C. Saunders, "Namibia's Liberation Struggle. The Mbita Version", *South Africa Historical Journal* 70 (2018) 1, pp. 281–290, at 285, footnote 13.

to cease economic relations with South Africa in the early 1960s and to join the extensive international boycott,[43] to exposing and popularizing West Germany's nuclear cooperation with the apartheid regime.[44] The willingness, too, of the GDR to accept tens of thousands of young people from some Third World countries, especially Vietnam and Mozambique, and to offer them skilled-labour training, forms part of the solidarity shown by GDR citizens – notwithstanding literature that attempts to slander and discredit this commitment to development aid.[45] A not insignificant contribution of solidarity was made by the GDR when it took over the printing of the official publication of the ANC, the magazine *Sechaba*, which was subsequently illegally smuggled into the apartheid state.[46]

As early as the beginning of the 1970s, the GDR could proclaim with some justification that "the Afro-Asian states [...] can, judging by the behaviour of the two German states towards the anti-imperialistic struggle of the national liberation movement, above all recognize their fundamentally different policies."[47] Between 1981 and 1988 alone, the GDR – which ultimately means through the efforts of its population – provided solidarity and assistance to the people of the Third World to a value of 15.4 billion GDR Marks. According to official figures, this civilian assistance accounted for 0.8 per cent of generated national income. These funds were specifically used to implement hundreds of projects of development cooperation (even though the word "solidarity" was used instead of this term), first and foremost in the industry, agriculture, transport, and health care of so-called developing countries, but also for the training of local specialists and for liberation movements.

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43 Cf. U. van der Heyden, *Zwischen Solidarität und Wirtschaftsinteressen. Die "geheimen" Beziehungen der DDR zum südafrikanischen Apartheidregime,* Münster: LIT, 2005; U. van der Heyden, "Sanktionen oder Vorteilsuche? Die Handelsbeziehungen der DDR zum südafrikanischen Apartheidregime", in: K. Hardach (ed.), *Internationale Studien zur Geschichte von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Teil 1*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012, pp. 351–377.

44 Cf. Afro-Asiatisches Solidaritätskomitee der DDR (ed.), *Denkschrift über die militärische Zusammenarbeit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Republik Südafrika*, Berlin: Solidaritätskomitee der DDR, 1964.

45 Cf. U. van der Heyden, *Das gescheiterte Experiment – Vertragsarbeiter aus Mosambik in der DDR-Wirtschaft. Die Realität eines entwicklungspolitischen Experiments und dessen Widerspiegelung in der Literatur*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019 (in print).

46 Cf. in this regard E. Singh, "‚Sechaba' – ANC-Zeitschrift printed in the GDR", in: Van der Heyden, Schleicher, and Schleicher, *Engagiert für Afrika,* pp. 129–140.

47 *Die Staaten Afrikas und Asiens. Innere Entwicklung – Außenpolitik*, Berlin: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1971, p. 58: "[...] [können] die afro-asiatischen Staaten [...] vor allem aus dem Verhalten der beiden deutschen Staaten zum antiimperialistischen Kampf der nationalen Befreiungsbewegung ihre grundsätzlich unterschiedliche Politik erkennen."

Roughly 9,600 fighters from national liberation movements of the young nation states that had to fight for their independence received free medical treatment in GDR health care facilities. In addition, between 1970 and 1988, a total of 94,900 citizens from developing countries received professional vocational training and further education in GDR institutions. Emergency humanitarian aid following natural disasters was also acknowledged by the affected countries.[48] In the 1970s and 1980s, 25,700 students from the Third World, including students and vocational trainees from liberation movements such as the ANC and SWAPO, obtained a university degree or technical college diploma in the GDR.[49] And, from 1970 onwards, some 26,600 economists, medical specialists, mid-level medical staff, engineers, teachers, educators, scientists, and other specialists were deployed to longer-term assignments in developing countries, including the ANC refugee camps. These included the Friendship Brigades provided by the youth organisation FDJ.[50] Thus, throughout the years of the GDR's existence, about one thousand so-called *cooperandos*, i.e. development aid workers from the GDR, were deployed in Mozambique.[51]

GDR development support was not restricted to solidarity services in these areas. Many of the aid services provided cannot be measured and expressed in money spent. Human contact was forged between GDR citizens in the refugee camps of the ANC and SWAPO, in the Friendship Brigades,[52] at conferences and functions, during meetings with exiled liberation fighters abroad and in the GDR itself. For those who had experienced solidarity in the GDR on a personal level, this resulted not least in an inner connection: "The East European country that gave the greatest aid to African Liberation Movements, as well as to Angola and

48 Cf. the facts mentioned here are taken from the book Zentralkomitee des SED and Staatliche Zentralverwaltung für Statistik (eds.), *40 Jahre DDR*, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1989, p. 125, which probably did not quite make it to full distribution.

49 Cf. specifically for support purposes in the field of technical and higher education, R. Wiedemann, "Strukturen des Ausländerstudiums in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik", in: H.F. Ily and W. Schmidt-Streckenbach (eds.), *Studenten aus der Dritten Welt in beiden deutschen Staaten*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987, pp. 67–99; R. Wiedmann, "Probleme bei der Studienfinanzierung in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik", in: ibid., pp. 149–157. For a more personal perspective, cf. S. Naumann, *Zum Studium in der DDR. Zwischen Solidaritätsbasar und Kaderschmiede*, Hamburg: diplomica, 2008.

50 Cf. in this regard U. van der Heyden, "FDJ-Brigaden der Freundschaft aus der DDR – die *Peace Corps* des Ostens?", in: B. Unfried and E. Himmelstoss (eds.), *Die eine Welt schaffen. Praktiken von "Internationaler Solidarität" und "Internationaler Entwicklung"*, Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 2012, pp. 99–122.

51 Cf. G. Schumann, "Damals, in der Bipolarität", *Junge Welt*, 11/12 June 2015.

52 Cf. van der Heyden, *FDJ-Brigaden der Freundschaft*.

Mozambique, was the GDR."[53] A South African confirmed: "At the level of government, there was no doubt that the GDR was in the forefront of support for the liberation movements in terms of material support, political, moral support, material, and so forth [...] The GDR government was in the frontline."[54] In many cases the actions of the GDR government were largely supported or at least endorsed by most GDR citizens, as the solidarity with exiled South Africans who temporarily resided in the GDR shows. The exploration of this subject matter has only begun.[55]

The views of ANC members of the GDR

Many ANC members saw socialism as an alternative future social model for a South Africa that was free from racial segregation. In their eyes, the West and with it the capitalist economic system had discredited itself, due to its support of apartheid. This stood in contrast to the socialist-oriented African states that were supporting the ANC, such as Tanzania, Zambia, and Angola, and the Eastern bloc itself.

Contact limited at first, existed between South African liberation struggle activists and the GDR from the mid-1950s, especially between the FDGB and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), as well as the SED and the South African Communist Party (SACP). These contacts were successively and continuously expanded. With an almost 30-year long support of the ANC by the GDR state and its citizens, many publications on ANC history, autobiographies of former exiles and ANC activists, as well as South African exile-related oral history, make references to the GDR.[56]

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53 P. Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom. Havana, Washington, Pretoria, and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976–1991*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013, p. 545, footnote 126.
54 Interview with Jeremiah Kingsley Mamabolo, Harare, 30 October 1995, cited in H.-G. Schleicher, "GDR solidarity 'The German Democratic Republic and the South African Liberation Struggle'", in: SADET (ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: International Solidarity, Vol. 3*, Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008, pp. 1069–1154, at 1143.
55 Cf. A. Schade, *Das Exil des African National Congress in der DDR*, doctoral thesis, Free University Berlin (in progress).
56 See i.a. T. Scott, *The Diplomacy of Liberation. The foreign Relations of the ANC since 1960*, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996; R. Kasrils, Steckbrieflich gesucht. Undercover gegen Apartheid, Essen: Neue Impulse, 1997 [English-language edition: R. Kasrils, Armed and Dangerous. My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid, München: Heinemann, 1993]; I. Naidoo, Robben Island. Insel in Ketten, Göttingen: Lamuv Taschenbuch 2003 [English-language edition: I. Naidoo, Is-

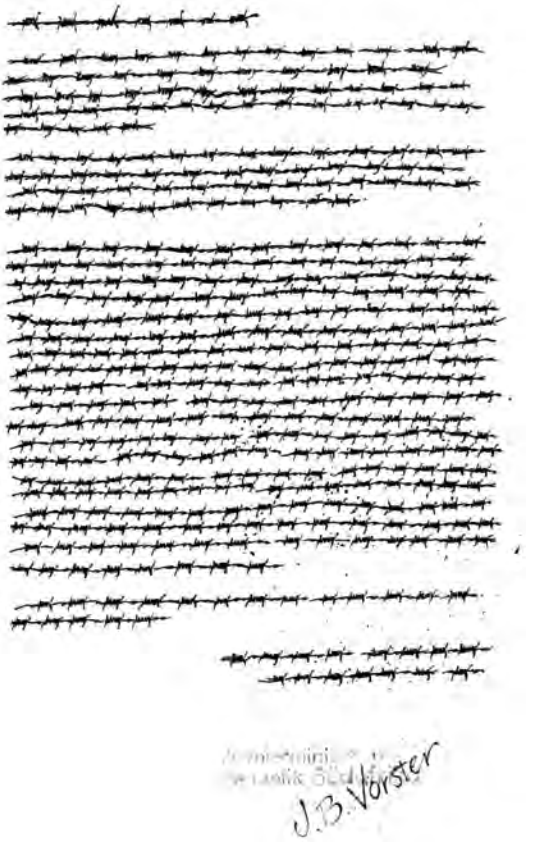

Fig. 4: Poster against Apartheid, printed and published by the Solidarity Committee of the GDR, year unknown [source: SODI, Solidaritätsdienst International e.V.]

How did ANC exiles, as recipients of support and actors within the society of a socialist country, perceive the GDR? Preliminary research results show that ANC members' memory of the GDR must primarily be understood in the context of the geopolitical configuration of the Cold War and the exile situation in which the organisation found itself.[57] ANC members, in the interviews we conducted,

land in Chains – Ten Years on Robben Island, Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 1982]; P. O'Malley, *Shades of Difference. Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa*, New York: Viking, 2007.

57 A detailed analysis of a large number of interviews conducted with South Africans who previously fled to exile in the GDR can be found in Anja Schade's dissertation in progress, see footnote 55.

Fig. 5: OR Tambo at the occasion of receiving a honorary doctorate on behalf of Nelson Mandela at Karl-Marx-University Leipzig [source: archive of Leipzig University]

use the term "exile" and what connects them all is a long period (up to 30 years in some instances) of living outside of South Africa, often with shorter periods in several African countries and/or in "overseas" countries. For various reasons, some of the interviewees still live in reunified Germany. For them, being in exile meant being removed from their homeland and far away from their families for an indefinite period, often longer than they had initially envisioned and, in many cases, under an assumed name. What they shared was their constant assessment of the situation back home, their political commitment in their country of exile to spread knowledge about the apartheid regime, as well as their desire to play a part in shaping the developments for a new South Africa and to return home. Hilda Bernstein, who conducted interviews as a South African exile herself, summed up the status of being an exile as follows: "Exiles are those with the intention of returning. They have not chosen to emigrate. They don't regard themselves as refugees although they were so classified by organisations such as the UNHCR and others. Sometimes refugees become exiles. And, sometimes exiles, losing the intention of returning and abandoning political involvement, be-

come émigrés. But even these often remain involved with the passion of apartheid politics, however peripherally."[58]

Exiles found themselves fighting against apartheid outside their country and without contact with their family, so the feeling of solidarity extended by others towards one's own objectives constituted an important form of support in a foreign country. When South African exiles remember the GDR, this experienced solidarity does admittedly represent only one – albeit very decisive – criterion in their judgement of their host country: the geo-political situation of the ANC in the context of the Cold War, the date of entry into the GDR, the age of the exile and his/her affiliation to the first or second exile generation are also relevant.[59]

Hans-Georg Schleicher identifies four waves of South African exiles: (1.) after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 and the ban of the ANC and PAC, (2.) in connection with the Rivonia trial in 1963/64, (3.) after the Soweto uprising in 1976, and (4.) in the mid-1980s in connection with the township uprising.[60] While, for the most part, mainly active members and operatives of the SACP, the ANC and the PAC went into exile in the first two waves, the two following waves in 1976 and the mid-1980s saw mostly younger, radicalized up-and-coming activists go into exile, often still of student age.

It is not possible to quantify the exact number of individuals who fled into exile[61] from South Africa. Estimates vary widely. In 1999 Tom Lodge put the number

58 Quoted from: H. Bernstein, *The Rift. The Exile Experience of South Africans*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1994, p. xii. An in-depth study of the use of various terms such as diaspora, exile, emigration and fleeing, some of which can also be applied to the South African situation, is published in A. Schade: "Auswanderer – Geflüchtete – Migrant_innen? Eine problemzentrierte Auseinandersetzung mit der Terminologie zum Thema ‚Exil' und der Frage ihrer wissenschaftlichen Verortung", in: S. Schulte and C. Zech (eds.), *Exil interdisziplinär II*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2018, pp. 21–40.

59 Concrete examples of the interviews, from which the conclusions mentioned here were drawn, can be found in: A. Schade, "Solidarität und Alltag der DDR aus Sicht exilierter Mitglieder des African National Congress", in: F. Bösch, C. Moine, and S. Senger (eds.), *Internationale Solidarität. Globales Engagement in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018, pp. 186–208.

60 H.-G. Schleicher, *Südafrikas neue Elite. Die Prägung der ANC-Führung im Exil*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 2004, pp. 31–33.

61 In the German-language literature on (South African) exile, the terms refugee and exile in particular are not clearly defined and used synonymously. Cf. H.-G. Schleicher, *Die Bedeutung des Exils für die Herausbildung der politischen Elite des neuen Südafrika*, Leipzig: Institut für Afrikanistik, 2001, p. 18. As there exists no research on the self-conception of those who were situated in the ANC camps in the frontline states, the neutral term *refugee* is adopted in places where there exists a description of the overall situation.

of ANC exiles at 15,000, in 1989 the ANC estimated the number of exiles in the camps and settlements of the Frontline States[62] to be 10,000, and Mark Israel estimated the number of South Africans living in Great Britain in 1991 to be 68,000 – a figure which included not only exiles but all South Africans, regardless of their political orientation or reasons for migration.[63] Many of the ANC members who fled abroad spent all or part of their political exile in the Soviet Union, Hungary or the GDR. Exact data has not yet been gathered. Ronnie Kasrils, an ANC member and instructor at Umkontho we Sizwe-training courses in the GDR, estimates that about 1,000 underwent military training in the GDR between 1976 and 1989.[64] Indres Naidoo, former deputy ANC representative in the GDR and in charge of students and vocational trainees, puts the number of scholarships made available in the GDR each year at 100.[65] Studies by Ilona Schleicher show that, during the period 1983/84 to 1987/88, the Solidarity Committee alone made an average of 46 places available at technical colleges and universities per academic year. From 1978 to 1990, an average of just under 20 places per year were offered to ANC members to be trained as skilled workers.[66] Added to this were training places and study grants provided by the FDGB and SED for example, or by other smaller social organisations.

"In the GDR we were called comrades"[67]

In the 1960s, the ANC fought for international recognition and tried to gain support for its armed struggle. The attempts by Oliver Tambo, the Secretary General and later President of the ANC, to find understanding or even support in the Western states were in vain.[68] Back then there was also little scope for the ANC to make its voice heard at the United Nations (UN) and to isolate South Africa internationally due to its apartheid policy. Attempt to institute economic

62 Frontline states included Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and, from 1980, Zimbabwe.

63 M. Israel, *South African Political Exile in the United Kingdom*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999. Cf. H.-G. Schleicher, *Südafrikas neue Elite*, p. 30.

64 U. Engel and H.-G. Schleicher, *Die beiden deutschen Staaten in Afrika. Zwischen Konkurrenz und Koexistenz 1949–1990*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1998, p. 375.

65 Cf. interview by Anja Schade with Indres Naidoo, 18 November 2006, Cape Town.

66 Cf. I. Schleicher, "Statistische Angaben zur Solidarität", pp. 155–157.

67 Telephone-Interview by Anja Schade with Indres Naidoo, 28 November 2003, Cape Town.

68 Cf. S.M. Ndlovu, "The ANC and the World", in: SEDAT (ed.), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol. 1, 1960–1970*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004, pp. 541–571, at 547.

sanctions against South Africa at UN level were unsuccessful.[69] Weakened by most of the political leadership and its military wing *Umkhonto we Sizwe* being sentenced to prison in June 1964, the ANC and its close ally, the SACP, were more dependent than ever on the support of the USSR and other Eastern bloc states.[70]

The ANC was a liberation movement that was openly supported by the GDR government, its parties, mass organisations as well as a large part of the population; its policies and goals were accorded a high profile in the diplomatic and public arena of the GDR. ANC representatives were given diverse platforms for appearing at various events to bring their concerns to the population. ANC President Oliver Tambo was a guest in the GDR on several occasions, including at the opening of the ANC office in East Berlin in 1978. He was invited to hold discussions with Erich Honecker, the chairman of the GDR Council of State, as well as other high-ranking politicians. The resulting synergy effect for the ANC members in exile was remarkable. From very early on, various GDR institutions, companies, church congregations, and social and political organisations invited several "ordinary" ANC members with the request to provide information about the situation in South Africa.

This positive effect is reflected in the statements of those who went into exile in the GDR and other socialist states shortly after the banning of the ANC on 8 April 1960 and those who maintained contact with these countries on a representative level. The Eastern bloc countries' recognition and legitimation of their struggle was already evident from the fact that, in those countries, they were classified as a "liberation movement", whereas the West labelled them a "terrorist organisation".[71] As early as the 1960s, high-ranking representatives of the South African resistance such as Yusuf Dadoo, Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo, and Moses Kotane were invited to the GDR.[72] These early ANC exiles passed on those impressions and memories from the 1960s and early 1970s to the next generation. Bartholomew La Guma, who came to the GDR in 1978 for educational purposes, had already been influenced by the stories told by his father, the jour-

69 Cf. T. Scott, *The Diplomacy of Liberation*, p. 150.

70 Cf. S. Ellis, *External Mission*, p. 44.

71 Telephone interview by Anja Schade with Indres Naidoo, 28 November 2003, Cape Town; cf. also C. Sydow, "Nelson Mandelas Gegner – ‚Dieser schwarze Terrorist'", *Spiegel online*, 6 December 2013, http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/nelson-mandela-war-bei-thatcher-strauss-und-reagan-verhasst-a-937612.html (accessed 20 November 2017). For a contemporary document, cf.: K. Campell, *Terrorismus in Südafrika. ANC-Handlanger der Sowjetunion?*, Bern: Schweizerisches Ost-Institut, 1988.

72 Cf. Schleicher and Schleicher, *Die DDR im südlichen Afrika*, pp. 242–249.

nalist Alex La Guma, who had travelled to the GDR as a member of the ANC and SACP and met with SED officials,[73] and whose publications were printed and distributed in the GDR.[74] He passed these positive experiences on to his son, so that an image of a "fantastic place [...], a kind of paradise for the working class" was created in Bartholomew's mind.[75]

The transfer of positive memories and images also played a role for other younger ANC exiles. The reputation that preceded the GDR was based on support for the South African liberation struggle dating back to the 1950s. Many ANC members who came to the GDR in the late 1970s and the 1980s as second generation exiles already had preconceived ideas about what it would be like in that country, or had at least heard about the GDR as being one of the countries that actively supported the anti-apartheid struggle, through conversations with early exiles and ANC students returning from the GDR, publications or direct contact with GDR citizens who were teachers or on active service with FDJ brigades in the ANC camps.[76] This induced several ANC members to express the explicit wish to travel to the GDR and to experience life in that country.[77]

For a person in exile from South Africa, even the friendliest reception in a European country still meant having to find his or her own way in a foreign environment, mostly without the family's knowledge of their whereabouts, and living with a foreign culture and language. Entering a country under these circumstances, a country whose reputation about its solidarity with one's own struggle preceded it, was of great importance to many cross-generational interviewees. Many ANC publications and interviews contain reports on the regular attendance of schools and events of mass organisations and of church groups making an ap-

73 He was invited by the SED Central Committee to attend the premiére of an opera in the Deutsche Staatsoper (German State Opera) cf. ANC Delegation in the GDR 12–18 November 1973: Letter to P. Markowski, Head of the Departmenat of International Relations of the Central Committee of the SED von Röhner, Solidarity Committee of the GDR on 8 October 1973 in: SAPMO BArch DZ/8/166.

74 Thus, a 1972 volume published by Alex La Guma contains the verification "Printed in GDR", cf. A. La Guma (ed.), *Apartheid. A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans*, New York: International Publishers, 1972.

75 Interview with Bartholomew La Guma in East Berlin, 1990, in: Mayibuye Archives, Bernstein-Collection MCA7–1546, vol. 5, pp. 47–59, Belleville/South Africa.

76 Cf. S. Morrow, B. Maaba and L. Pulumani, *Education in Exile. SOMAFCO, the ANC School in Tanzania, 1978 to 1992*, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2004, p. 19.

77 Cf. Interview by Anja Schade with Khulu ZMbatha, 11 November 2008, Pretoria; I. Schleicher, "Wir waren hier, weil es Solidarität gab. Interview mit Sacks Stuurman und Bartolomew LaGuma", in: I. Schleicher and A. Bohne, *Solidarität gegen Apartheid – für ein freies Südafrika. Reflektieren und Reflexionen über die DDR-Solidarität mit dem ANC*, Berlin: Solidaritätsdienst-International e.V., 2012, pp. 101–110, at 109.

pearance at information evenings. The GDR was perceived as a second home, even a place of refuge,[78] a country where one was welcomed as "comrade".[79] Both generations of ANC exiles attach great importance to the knowledgeability and helpfulness of the GDR population and have an extremely positive memory of the GDR for the solidarity they experienced, as well as for the level of awareness that was created among the population about the ANC and its struggle.

The support of the church

In addition to organisations such as the Solidarity Committee, the FDGB, and other professional and political organisations in the GDR, church groups and congregations, too, provided places for encounters where ANC exiles were met with great solidarity. Contacts of this nature had existed since the late 1960s.[80] Interviews show that – apart from visits of trade unions and party-political groups, schools, and factories – church groups and congregations were visited by ANC representatives and ANC students. Those visits were part of the ANC's political work in the GDR. Thus, church parishes held regular information meetings on the situation in South Africa, as well as weekend seminars at which ANC members participated by singing, praying, reading poetry, and exchanging views on the latest developments in South Africa. ANC representatives in East Berlin received invitations to church events lasting several days,[81] and from 1984 onwards the Gossner Mission provided two two-year scholarships for prospective theologians.[82] The church was, however, not only used by ANC members to in-

78 Cf. Interview by Anja Schade with Khulu ZMbatha, 11 November 2008, Pretoria; Interview with Eric Singh, 1990, in: Mayibuye Archives Bernstein-Collection MCA7–1698, vol. 15, pp. 66–71.

79 Telephone interview by Anja Schade with Indres Naidoo, 28 November 2003, Cape Town.

80 Karin Singh, for example, tells of her husband Eric Singh's meetings with church groups from the late 1960s onwards, cf. Interview by Anja Schade with Karin Singh, 18 December 2016, Berlin. Solidarity Committee documents attest meetings between ANC members and church groups from 1971 onwards: *Meetings, seminars and other gatherings organized either by South Africans or where South Africans spoke on the racial situation in South Africa,* origin and date unknown (probably late 1971 or 1972), in: SAPMO-BArch, DZ/8/33, unpaginated.

81 Cf. ANC representative file 1978–1980: *Brief Report of Work done since January 1979 ANC (SA) Berlin, GDR* by A. Mongalo, undated und unpaginated, in: SAPMO-BArch DZ/8/216; *Schreiben des Ökumenisch-Missionarischen Zentrums der DDR vom 23.12.1986 an den Repräsentanten des ANC in der DDR*, Sindiso Mfenyana, in: SAPMO-BArch DZ/8/548.

82 Cf. Letter of the Gossner Mission to ANC representatives in the GDR, *Projektbeschreibung für einen Stipendiaten des ANC bei der Gossner Mission in der DDR,* 24 October 1984, in: Archiv der Gossner Mission, Berlin; Interview by Anja Schade with Bernd Krause, 22 August 2018, Berlin.

form the population about apartheid and its consequences. This was demonstrated by a church wedding of a South African bride and groom that was held in September 1988 in Viernau near Suhl.[83]

The contact of ANC members with church representatives and church groups in the GDR does initially not strike one as being unique, since Western church groups in the fruit boycott movement had also supported the anti-apartheid struggle. However, due to the often-critical attitude of church representatives towards the GDR government, there certainly existed tensions between the SED government and the church. The ANC representatives in the Berlin ANC office were also aware of this. The relationship between the ANC and GDR church circles therefore appeared to be a terrain that required a sensitive approach. Information from the MfS makes it clearly evident that the ANC in the GDR was anxious to show loyalty towards its host and to limit the extent of its contacts with the church.[84]

The GDR as "a model of a socialist South Africa"[85]

Socialism was viewed by both the young and older exiles as an attractive alternative model to capitalism. The solidarity of the socialist states, the ideological competition in which the South African apartheid state propagated communism as the political enemy, the support of South Africa by most Western states – all these factors caused the South African exiles in the GDR to view the socialist countries as their "natural allies" and their social system as a political alternative.[86]

An explanatory approach in this regard is provided by looking at the background experiences of the two exile generations. For the first generation, support from the Eastern bloc was essential for survival in the struggle against apartheid. The social injustices that were already visible at that time were articulated with

83 Cf. *"Hochzeit in der DDR – Zwei Südafrikaner in Suhl"*, a television production by Galina Breitkreuz, 2013.

84 BStU, MfS – HA II, 42084: *Information. Haltung der Leiter des Büros des ANC und der SWAPO in der DDR zu Kontakten zu kirchlichen Einrichtungen der DDR*, 28 April 1987, fl. 14.

85 Interview with 'Mr P' in East Berlin, 1990, Mayibuye Archives, Bernstein-Collection, MCA7, vol. 15, pp. 118 – 125, Belleville/South Africa.

86 O'Malley, *Shades of Difference*, p. 92; R. Kasrils: *Steckbrieflich gesucht, Undercover gegen Aparheid*, Essen: Neue Impuse, 1997, pp. 51, 151; Interview by Anja Schade with Ashley Ally, 26 July 2006, Johannesburg.

corresponding restraint. Ronnie Kasrils, representing the first generation in exile, states that the ANC did not allow open criticism of contradictions within the Eastern European states. Dissenting voices in top leadership against these practices remained isolated.[87] The second generation, on the other hand, experienced a broader international alliance of support that went beyond the socialist states. The anti-apartheid struggle and support for the ANC had become a global concern. The so-called Soweto generation profited from this. Increasingly they were, as a matter of course, able to study in different states of the East and West. They encountered groups and boycott movements in Western states that supported their political concerns but contravened the policies of their governments. The advantages of the West, such as technological progress, greater freedom of speech, and more consumer choices, were in stark contrast to developments in the GDR. This raised their awareness of erroneous developments in the socialist system.

In the sources evaluated, it was most notably the second exile generation who had more reservations towards the GDR. While the first generation mentioned critics rather reluctantly, the generation that came in the late 1970s and especially the 1980s listed concrete deficiencies and ills in the GDR: an economy of scarcity, in which one could hardly buy tropical fruit, for instance, and was obliged to buy what was available rather than what one wanted;[88] a desolate coal industry and dilapidated old buildings[89] as well as the lack of freedom to travel wherever and say whatever one wanted.[90] Nevertheless, these observations did not lead to a fundamental rejection of the socialist model. Some things, such as the shortage of certain consumer goods, were found not to be essential to life, while ramshackle old buildings were sometimes excused by saying that it had not been possible to rebuild everything after the war.

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87 Cf. Kasrils, *Steckbrieflich gesucht*, pp. 134, 187. Critical remarks in this regard were also made by the long-time ANC activist Ruth First and by Joe Slovo, cf. Kasrils, *Steckbrieflich gesucht*, pp. 51, 187.

88 Cf. Interview by Anja Schade with Joan Oehme and Elisabeth Quart, 16 March 2012, Berlin, here: Joan Oehme; Interview by Anja Schade with Alun Samuels, 16 September 2013, Königs Wusterhausen; Interview by Anja Schade with Khulu ZMbatha, 11 November 2008, Pretoria.

89 Interview with Bartolomew La Guma and Sacks Stuurman in Berlin 2011, "Wir waren hier, weil es Solidarität gab", in: Schleicher and Bohne (eds.), *Solidarität gegen Apartheid*, p. 101–110. Here: B. La Guma pp. 107–108; "Memoirs of Jeanet Selby", in: A. Sachs, *The free Diary of Albie Sachs*, Johannesburg: Random House, 2004, p. 97.

90 "Memoirs of Jeanet Selby", in: Sachs, *The free Diary*, p. 96; Interview by Anja Schade with Khulu ZMbatha, 11 November 2008, Pretoria; Interview by Anja Schade with Tokologo Maleka, 31 July 2013, Wernigerode; Interview with "Mr Sa." In East Berlin, probably 1990, Mayibuye Archives, Bernstein-Collection, MCA7–1678, vol. 14, pp. 15–24, Belleville/South Africa.

The exiles mentioned and appreciated the positive achievements of the GDR, such as a free and good education and healthcare system, the absence of poor people on the streets, and equal living conditions for all, as compared to the large gap between rich and poor in the capitalist states – not least in South Africa itself. The failure of the system, despite their experience of its deficiencies and aberrations, was often received with regret.[91]

Conclusion

The longstanding relations of solidarity between the GDR and the ANC, the positive connotation and high profile of the South African liberation struggle in the GDR, and the acceptance of ANC exiles as "comrades", were all appreciated by the South African exiles. Against this background and that of the Cold War, it becomes apparent why, in the assessment of the GDR, solidarity with the liberation movements is so important. Despite the perceived shortcomings in the GDR political system, the ANC exiles appreciated not only the solidarity shown towards them, but also the advantages of socialism over the capitalist system. The multiple offers of assistance provided by the GDR, and the solidarity the ANC experienced from the socialist states in general and the GDR in particular, had a lasting influence on its members. That to this day this still results in loyalty is reflected in the following quote, one example of many: "Although I had my criticism of very much that was going on here, I will never forget what this country has done for me, for my struggle and for my people."[92]

91 The dissertation of Anja Schade discusses this topic at greater length.

92 Interview with Eric Singh in East-Berlin, probably 1990, Mayibuye Archives, Bernstein-Collection, MCA7–1698, vol. 15, pp. 66–71, Belleville/South Africa.

Fig. 6: Cover of "Sechaba. Official organ of the African National Congress South Africa", printed in Neubrandenburg [published in: African National Congress (eds.), *Sechaba. Official organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, July 1986; source: Ulrich van der Heyden, private archive]

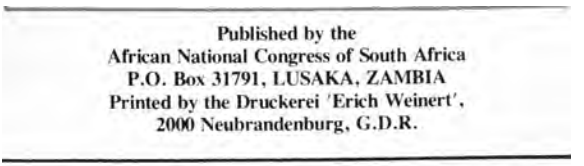
Published by the
African National Congress of South Africa
P.O. Box 31791, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
Printed by the Druckerei 'Erich Weinert',
2000 Neubrandenburg, G.D.R.

Fig. 7: Imprint of "Sechaba. Official organ of the African National Congress South Africa", printed in Neubrandenburg [published in: African National Congress (eds.), *Sechaba. Official organ of the African National Congress South Africa*, July 1986; source: Ulrich van der Heyden, private archive]

Helder Adegar Fonseca

The Military Training of Angolan Guerrillas in Socialist Countries: A Prosopographical Approach, 1961–1974

Recent historical research on exile in Southern Africa has provided a better understanding of the multiplicity of experiences of various social segments and individuals as members of liberation movements or refugees during the liberation struggles, and of connections between exiles.[1] Progress has also been made in our knowledge of international support provided to liberation movements, and of the experience of African students and worker trainees, particularly in the "East" (or "old Socialist World").[2] But the specific lived experience of Southern African "Freedom Fighters", as trainees in African and non-African supporter countries, remains marginal in the social history of Southern African liberation struggles.[3] In the interconnected global network of solidarity and active educational, political and military training support to those liberation movements, countries in the "East" played a very important, if non-exclusive role. Vladimir Shubin's assertion about the state of the historiography on Soviet relations with the Angolan liberation movements is relevant. The history of the first decades of assistance provided by African and non-Africans to Southern African

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1 See A. Lissoni, "The South African Liberation Movements in Exile, c. 1945–1970", Ph.D. thesis, *SOAS* University of London, 2008; H. Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in exile in Zambia, 1963 to 1994*, Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2013.

2 See J. Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution. Algeria Decolonization and the Third Word Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016; M. de Saint Martin, G. Ghellab, and K. Mellakh (eds.), *Étudier à L'Est. Expériences de Diplômés Africains*, Paris: Karthala, 2015; M.C. Schenck, "A chronology of nostalgia: memoires of former Angolan and Mozambican workers trainees to East Germany", *Labour History* 59 (2018) 3, pp. 352–374.

3 A recent historical study reconstructed the experience of seven Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) military trainees in the USSR: J. Alexander and J. McGregor, "War Stories: Guerrilla Narratives of Zimbabwe's Liberation War", *History Workshop Journal* 57 (2004), pp. 79–100.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-009

liberation movements remains notoriously "obscure", complex and not prone to easy generalizations.[4]

This chapter draws upon Portuguese Military Intelligence (SCCIA) and Security Intelligence Service (PIDE/DGS) Interrogation Reports of spontaneous "presented" or arrested, imprisoned, captured, and kidnapped guerrillas, as well as identical processes by Rhodesian and South African Intelligence Services. In addition, different types of individual daily records and notebooks captured in military operations – "apontamento diário", "apontamento individual", "livro de notas", and "agenda" – are considered, as well as personal narratives subsequently published. As a rule, the Interrogation Reports follow a script of topics, covering, first, individual identity data, that may contain age, marital status, places of birth, and residence, ethnicity and dialects, occupation, military situation, literacy, followed by the *personal history*,[5] including membership of liberation movements, training activities (when, where, and with whom), and other organizational and operational information. Only 9 per cent of 297 Angolan Freedom Fighters Interrogation Reports analysed make reference to military-guerrilla training outside the Southern African region. Together with 21 individual reports from people from other liberation movements[6] who shared such experience of military training outside Southern Africa, the prosopographical history of this small group allows us to explore the geography and types of military training in "progressive" and "socialist" "Meccas", the lived experience in Soviet military training camps, and concrete social and military effects in the liberation struggles.

In contrast to the openness of other socialist (Asia) and progressive (Africa) countries, USSR and Eastern Europe "socialist" military assistance tended to concentrate and to have relevance exclusively for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and other Southern African liberation movements that regarded themselves as "authentic liberators", member of the Khartoum Group.[7] The social profile of the MPLA trainees suggests, at least in this

4 See V. Shubin, "Unsung Heroes: The Soviet Military and the Liberation of Southern Africa", *Cold War History* 7 (2007) 2, pp. 251–262, at 251.

5 National Archives of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (ANTT): PIDE-DGS: SC, Proc. 1861/61, V. 4, RI nº 63/73 (24.07.1973), fls. 606–615 (NT3100–3102).

6 The sample (part of Kongwa Project Data), social data and sources are available at: http://home.uevora.pt/~haf/Kongwa_Project_Data/Proso_Data1_2018/KPD_ProsoData_1960 t1974_Sample1_1965 t1974_v1.xlsx (accessed 5 April 2019). On biographic approach as an "alternative platform" for re-telling Liberation Movement history see G.C. Mazarire, "ZANU's External Networks 1963–1979. An Appraisal", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, pp. 83–106, at 83–84.

7 Mazarire, "ZANU's External Networks 1963–1979", p. 86.

case, that the external training generated a body of middle and middle-low military classes that began to have a substantial weight in the operational areas, while the operational space depended more and more on Soviet assistance. While the views of military trainees about life experienced in the "developed socialist society" is rarely explicit and, though some criticism (control of movements) is implied, there was generally a positive assessment of matters such as reception and the treatment provided, regardless of the effectiveness of the training. For the majority such experience was an opportunity for social promotion.

Fig. 8: Dr. Popembisk Oleg, the first Soviet doctor providing assistance to MPLA Guerrilla (sent by the CPSU Solidarity Committee) in Matsendé (Congo Brazza, Dolisie CIR, 1965) [source: Lúcio Lara [Tchiweka], *Imagens de um Percurso. 80 Anos até à conquista da Independência,* Luanda: ATD, 2009, p. 74]

Geography and Types of Military Training

In 1973, the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) prepared an extensive report – *The International Communist Movement (MCI) and the Movements of*

Liberation of the Portuguese Overseas[8] – for a meeting of the NATO Expert Group on Africa. Claiming to have considered in their sources the information publicly made available by the liberation movements, the report included "the main elements" on organization – "those [fictional] intricate and confusing webs of hierarchized political, military and administrative bodies", and the "external support, particularly from socialist countries, to the anti-Portuguese African movements". The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), "formed in Zambia, on 15 March 1966" and headed by Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, a former leader of the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE, 1962), was presented as a "group of bandits", with 400 members, and was "the most geographically and politically isolated" of the Angolan movements, exclusively and modestly supported by the People's Republic of China in armaments and financing. A characterization that was similar to that elaborated for some Mozambican movements like the Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO).[9]

The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) formed in 1962, resulting from the fusion of the Union of the Populations of Angola (UPA, 1954, 1960) and the Democratic Party of Angola (PDA, 1957, 1962), led by Holden Roberto and Emmanuel Kunzika, had about 6,100 guerrillas on the three fronts of war, coercively recruited and mainly trained by members of the Army for the National Liberation of Angola (FLNA), the "undisciplined" armed wing of the movement, in camps situated in the Republic of Zaire. Only a few FLNA officers had "attended advanced military courses abroad, namely in Tunisia and India,[10] and by instructors from the Zairian Armed Forces". In addition to generous assistance provided by the Zairian government, "very important in regard

8 National Defense Archive, Lisbon (AND): SGDN: Cx. 5702, Pt. 4 "O Movimento Comunista Internacional [MCI] e os Movimentos de Libertação do Ultramar Português. Relatório elaborado pelo MNE para a Reunião, em Outubro de 1973, do Grupo de Peritos da NATO sobre África", 108 fls. (typewritten).

9 The report omitted some Mozambican Groups (ULIPAMO, MANC) or just mentioned others (PAPOMO, UNAMO, MOLIMO), some of them pro-"communist" China, which prepared its militants and supported activities with material and financial resources. The report did not refer to educational support of Poland to COREMO. See ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 417-SR/63, fls. 69 – 70 (NT3281); SC, PRI 15074, fls. 5 – 10 (NT7735); and SC, Pr. 4126, V. 3, fls. 260 – 263 (NT7321).

10 From at least 1971 India provided to GRAE 3-year placement grants for "military, police, nursing, and other training courses". At the beginning of 1972, 120 Angolans were "sent by GRAE". Following the Kinkuzu officers' uprising (December 1971/January 1972), the "Indian" military graduates increased positions in FLNA, and the fellowship programme continued, at least until 1973. See ANTT: SCCIA: Cx.253, PI 133, fls. 2 – 5; and Cx 235: PI 69, fls. 404 – 406.

to the supply of arms and ammunitions", FNLA, directly or through the GRAE, counted on the supply of arms and/or financing by African states like Nigeria, Tunisia, and Liberia, and by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).[11] The FNLA failed in its initial attempts to get assistance both from "the communist countries" and the "so-called progressive African countries."[12]

While the MFA report said the MPLA was "formed in 1956", we now know that from 1960 it was led by a "steering Committee", which was, from 1962, chaired by Agostinho Neto.[13] Its estimated 2500 "armed fighters", had become "since 1966 the most preponderant of the Anti-Portuguese 'Angolan' Movements", having at its disposal an extensive assistance from "European Communist countries, China and Cuba" as well as from "progressive" African countries, like Egypt, Congo, Algeria, Nigeria, Chana, Mali, Zambia, and Tanzania, and from the OAU. If the most important part of the assistance – arms and other supplies – came from the USSR, "that given by China has been increasing lately". This picture of institutional international assistance provided to the MPLA is similar to that reported for the other partners of the Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP): the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). Support for them included "training, which many of its more qualified members received in Russia (Rumania and Sudan), on the handling of arms and tactics of guerrilla warfare" and the regular presence of Cuban and Russian (PAIGC) or Cuban and Chinese (MPLA) or Russian and Chinese (FRELIMO) "military technicians" in liberation movements regional training camps located in countries bordering on Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique.[14]

The bias in this characterization of the assistance given to the mentioned liberation movements was intended. The rapporteurs sought to convey two basic ideas: that this assistance had a small non-African expression, and that this was reduced to the "communist countries". But the Portuguese governmental

11 This information coincides with that provided by an UPA military cadre (Fernando Coche) captured in 1972. See ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., PI 130.01.01, V.9, Ofício 1837 (03.07.1972), fls. 247–260 (NT2720–2724).

12 According to a "reliable" military informer, in December 1966, UPA received support from the governments of "Senegal, Morocco, Algeria, Congo-Kinshasa and Russia". See ANTT: SCCIA: Cx. 245: PI 89, fls. 1–12.

13 ADN: SGDN: Cx. 61. Pt 2. CCFAA-SUPINTREP nº 2 (25.11.1961), 63 fls.; J.-M. Mabeko-Tali, *Guerrilhas e Lutas Sociais. O MPLA perante si próprio. 1960–1977*, Lisboa: Mercado de Letras Editores, 2018, pp. 109–111.

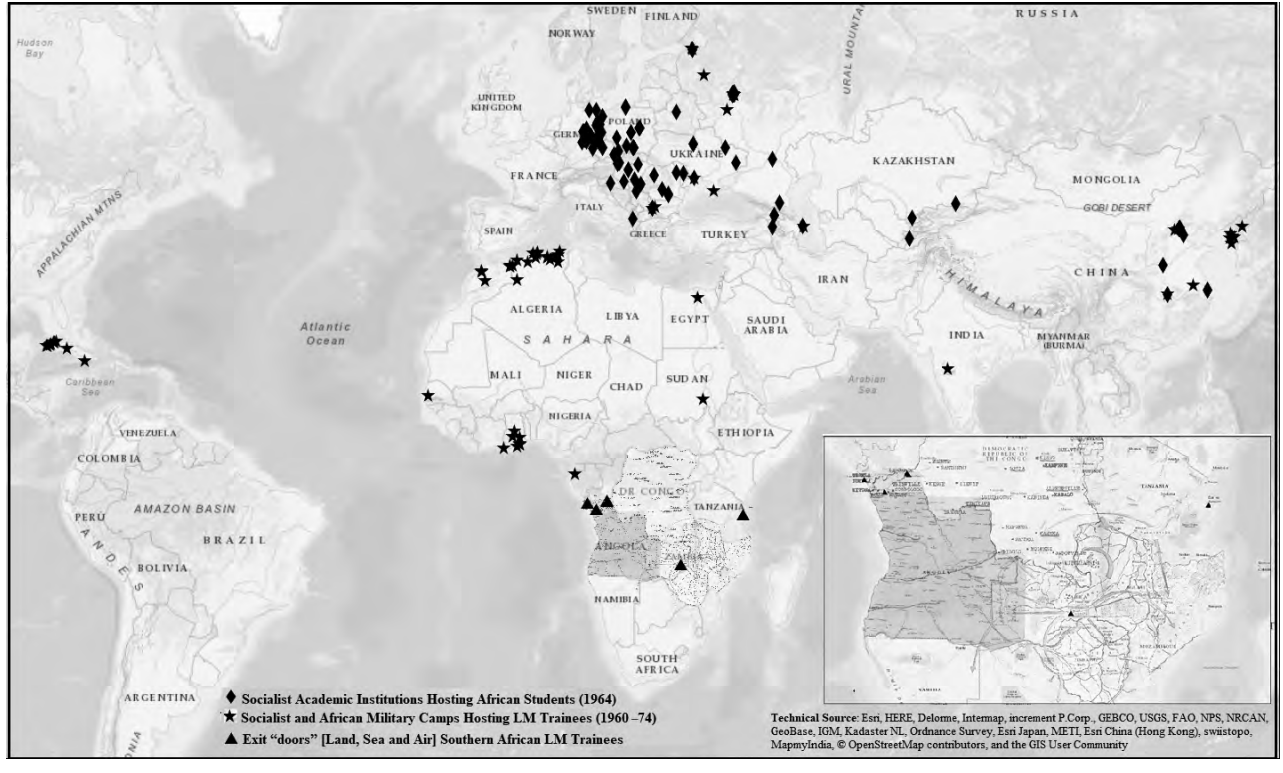
14 All quotes are taken from the report referred to in footnote 6.

and military agencies of Intelligence collected, processed and circulated extensive information on this subject and in early 1973, a report from PIDE/DGS dedicated to Zambia stressed that "guns, uniforms, medicines, teaching materials and vehicles are supplied by several countries, being transported to a General Deposit in Dar es Salaam, which is the responsibility of the Tanzanian army and from there it is distributed to the different movements in Southern Africa (MPLA, SA ANC, SWAPO, FRELIMO and ZAPU)". It was also noted that "the main suppliers of this material, money, and scholarships [were] USSR, PR China, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Algeria, India, Tanzania, Zambia, Israel, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Cuba, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, Switzerland."[15]

One of the dimensions of the assistance provided by the socialist countries to the liberation movements was the educational and military training courses. Mapping 110 institutions and organizations in "Soviet Bloc and Communist China" integrated in programmes for educating students from developing countries and about 66 military training centres and facilities, between 1960 – 1974, for the liberation movements allows to accentuate one of the general characteristics of these two types of support: uneven institutional distribution.[16] The progressive/socialist Africa-East Europe-USSR-China / North Korea institutions involved in educational assistance are much more widespread than camps of military training. Such training began in sub-Saharan Africa in Ghana in 1960 and was progressively extended to North Africa (from Morocco to United Arab Republic (UAR) in the period 1961–1965. From 1962 the USSR and from 1963 China began to participate. In the years until 1975, as we shall see, there was fragmentation-competition within the socialist camp, splits in the national liberation movements, and a preference for military training and more focused military specialization in the rear bases from the Congo to Tanzania.

15 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC-SR, Pr. 1861–61, V. 2, R. 90/73, fls. 55 – 63 (NT3100 – 3102)

16 MAP1 and Tables with Historical data are available at:
http://home.uevora.pt/~haf/Kongwa_Project_Data/Proso_Data1_2018/KPD_SocialistHostAcademicInstitutionsAndStudents_1964_v1.xlsx and
http://home.uevora.pt/~haf/Kongwa_Project_Data/Proso_Data1_2018/KPD_NonSouthernAfricanMilitaryTrainingCamps_1960 t1974_v1.xlsx and
http://home.uevora.pt/~haf/Kongwa_Project_Data/Proso_Data1_2018/KPD_Map1_TheGolbalWorldOfSALiberationsMovements(1960 – 1970)_EducationAndMilitaryHostCenters_V1.png (accessed 5 April 2019).



Map 1: The Global World of Southern African Liberations Movements (1960 – 1970): Education and Military Host Centres in the East [source: http://home.uevora.pt/~haf/Kongwa_Project_Data/Proso_Data1_2018/KPD_Map1_TheGolbalWorldOfSALiberationsMovements(1960 – 1970)_EducationAndMilitaryHostCenters_V1.png (accessed 5 April 2019); p. 108, footnote 16]

Angolan Military Trainees in "Progressive" and "Socialist" Revolutionary "Sanctuaries"

Angolan "freedom fighters" of different generations shared the experience of living in countries of "progressive" and "socialist" orientation and of "developed socialism". In Angola, the two first military generations of UPA and MPLA, the "Generation Uprising" (1959–1961) and the "Generation Kinkuzu" (1962–1964), mainly experienced the "Meccas" of African socialism/progressivism and Pan-Africanism, that in that era covered Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt (UAR), and mainly Algeria, described by Amílcar Cabral as the "Mecca of Revolution and Revolutionaries".[17]

Costa Sozinho da Fonseca, a former member of the MPLA Interim Operating Council in charge of the "Intendancy, Zone Commander and Weapons and Armor Head" in Léopoldville, November 1965, was imprisoned by the organization for 22 months in the context of the internal political crisis of 1963–1964. His account begins:

> I'm a member of the MPLA since 27 April 1961. On 20 November of the same year I left for the Republic of Ghana to follow a military training. After I went with other comrades to Guinea and then to Morocco for new training. I later left for Algeria, where I pursued a specialization in mines. In March of 1963, I returned to Léopoldville. In April 1963, I was integrated in People's Liberation Army of Angola under No. 18/12, I was appointed member of the Conselho Operacional Provisório (COP) in charge of the Intendancy.[18]

Two years later, the Mozambican J. Mucal, a recently licensed Portuguese soldier and "worker", had a similar experience in the FRELIMO camps of Bagamoyo and Ilala in Tanzania. His account of the Ain-Safra and Marnia Algerian Camps closes with his participation in the creation of Kongwa, the first OAU Camp in Tanzania (1964), shortly before he was arrested in Mozambique as a recruiter of FRELIMO.[19]

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17 See Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution*, pp. 3, 207; Mazarire, "ZANU's External Networks 1963–1979", pp. 85–86; D. Dabengwa, "Relations between ZAPU and the USSR, 1960s–1970s: A Personal View", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, p. 216. For the scheme of Angolan Guerilla Generations see H.A. Fonseca, "Southern African Transnational Lives? An Angolan 'Freedom Figthers' Prosopography (1961–1974)", Abstracts of Transnational Connections in Southern Africa (II), University of Évora, 12–14 October 2016, p. 22.

18 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., Pr. 537, "Revelações de um Membro do Conselho Operacional Provisório [...]" (23.11.1963), fls. 112–120 (N 8046).

19 See data file referenced in footnote 6.

Following this first North African phase, young elements integrated into the MPLA and other liberation movements could benefit from subsequent military training programmes in socialist countries. UPA and UNITA trainees continued to be welcomed in North Africa or sent to South and Eastern socialist Asia, while the two next "Guerrilla" (1965–1969) and "Moving for Interior" (1969–1974) MPLA generations, experienced Soviet and Cuban socialism.[20]

This was the case with Augusto "Mabiala". Born in 1941, in the Protestant circles of Ambriz, he moved to Luanda where he continued his studies at the Evangelical Mission (Primary School) and at the Colégio das Beiras (High School). According to his police testimony in 1970, when 19 years old, in 1959, he had become a militant in the National Movement for the Independence of Angola (MINA), headed by Domingos Bernardo, who moved to Ghana, and Manuel Pedro Pacavira. When Pacavira was arrested by colonial police in Luanda in 1960, several elements linked to him decided to flee to Congo. Thus, in June 1960, Augusto, Fernando Brica – "who died when he entered Angola in the detachment Cami" (1967) – and Francisco Mendes – "who in 1970 was in Czechoslovakia as a medical student, as a fellow MPLA, entered Congo-Léopoldville, "where they were received by the UPA (1961), [...] but [they] did not become part of this movement." While his parents and brothers, following the 1961 uprising, became important members of the UPA, Augusto's group joined to "Tomás Ferreira (killed by the UPA in early 1962), who worked under the orders of António Monteiro, responsible for MINA."[21] After the failed Tomboco sabotage operation in Angola the group went to Léopoldville (July 1961), where Augusto and the others joined the MPLA, which "assigned them to Czechoslovakia to attend vocational training". There Augusto became a practitioner of clinical analysis and Isac Sebastião studied to be a radiologist. In 1964, following the "expulsion of Kinshasa" and the "crisis of the cadres", the MPLA ordered the return of Augusto to Brazzaville and sent him to the newly created Revolutionary Instruction Center (CIR) of Dolisie, as a political activist. After visiting "several (European) socialist countries" (Russia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia) and representing the Youth of MPLA and the Angolan Students Union at the World Festival of Youth and Students (Sofia, August 1968), he attended a guerrilla course in the military barracks of Botevrad in September 1968, when 27 years old. This was the first military training course offered by Bulgaria, which, from 1963, received Angolan students and provided war material to the MPLA.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., nº 213.

Augusto and the other six comrades were trained as interpreters to welcome the second group of 41 Angolans, staying there from April 1868 to July 1969.[22]

An illuminating testimony of the progressive flux of external assistance provide to the MPLA between 1962 and 1964 is offered by "Comandante [José Rodrigues] Ferreira", a "mestiço", who was recruited when he was a student in Portugal in 1961. Supported by the Protestant Comité-Inter Mouvements Auprès des Évacués (CIMADE), he co-organized the escape of 19 students of Porto University (6 June 1961), via Paris and Basel, where the group split between Protestants (UPA) and Catholics (MPLA). The Catholics resisted the enticement and pressure of the Americans and went to territories where "African socialism" was being tried, including Guinée-Conakry and Ghana. Ferreira, after having been "a mason, a peasant and a servant", was sent to Rabat with the support of the Moroccan Embassy. There, as the representative of the "students of Angola", he attended the 1st General Union of Students from Black Africa under Portuguese Colonial Domination (UGEAN) Congress, where he was received by the CONCP. In September 1961, with Manuel Lima and Africano Neto, he started, in the Hassan II camp, a military broadband military instruction, "to prepare them to be able to serve as interpreters for future Angolan recruits, and prevent them from being in the good life". Thus began in Morocco, under Moroccan (Hassan II and Kasbatadla Camps) and Algerian (Kebdani Camp) orientation, the training (January 1962 to December 1963) of the first two groups that gave rise to the EPLA, the MPLA's military wing.

Before the "Crise of the Cadres" (1964), which led him to desert, Ferreira and others were involved in the constitution of the EPLA, having organized the first barracks in M'Binza, near Léopoldville. They also co-ordinated the unloading of "Moroccan trainees" and war material in Pointe Noire, which in 1963 included 16 tons of material of "Bulgarian origin".[23] Armindo Fortes, a young mestizo, had a similar path: passage through Accra, recruitment in higher education, military training, and arrival in Brazzaville (1966) from where he defected shortly thereafter (Banga base, 1967).[24]

Ferreira's way in the MPLA is similar to that of Antonio Muandazi, whose story was published in the *New York Times* in early 1964. 12 years old, illiterate, catholic, and son of a carpenter, he left the "remote village in the Canda mountains of Northern Angola" where he is born, to join his brother's family in Thysville (1944, Congo-

22 Ibid.

23 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., Pr. 537, RI 21/65 (9.03.1965), fls. 143 – 169 (NT8046).

24 ANTT: SCCIA: Cx 235, PI 69, RI. AA Fortes, fl. 45.

Léopoldville), because "the Belgians paid Africans better wages than the Portuguese" and to escape the usual colonial recruitment of "women and children" into work gangs on the roads. Endowed with basic French literacy, after a working life (1944–1960) as "house boy" and hotel waiter, and a failed enlistment in the post-independence new Congolese Force Publique, through the agency of Eduardo Pinoch he was voluntarily recruited to the UPA. Indoctrinated in Léopoldville (1960), he slipped across the Angola frontier as a UPA agent, for mobilization, collection of quotas and organization. After the uprising of 15 March, 1961 and a few months leading guerrillas in the Canda Sierra, then 29 years old, he and 22 other "veterans" were picked to go to Tunisia for "special training with the Algerian Liberation Army", to learn "what an army is really like". Training consumed 18 hours a day, seven days a week, for seven straight months. In lectures, the Angolans were taught the classic theories of guerrilla warfare; in real combat with Algerian units against the French, they learned "how to apply theory to reality". Upon their return, Muandazi and 17 comrades "were made officer" with the task of setting up the NLA's Army for the National Liberation of Angola (ELNA). The Congolese donated a site, 70 miles from the Angolan border, where the first and crucial Kinkuzu training base of UPA-FNLA was installed (1962) and later expanded, and where Muandazi was instructor and operational commander.[25] In Kinkuzu he lived under the military leadership of José Kalundungu, who had also undergone military training in Algeria and Tunisia (1962). Kalundungu, defecting in August 1964, joined Jonas Savimbi, who had already begun providing Algerian basic military training to some of his comrades, before military and political training, between March and June 1965, was given by the Nanjing Higher Military-Political Academy (PR China), and before the establishment of UNITA (early 1966). This Chinese academy received shortly after the first group of ZANU trainees (November 1965 to January 1966), some of them with basic military training in North Africa.[26]

These experiences emphasize the crucial role of "African socialism" in the first phase (1961–1964) of military training provided to Southern African liberation movements outside the region, and show both the common elitist condition of the trainees, as builders of the liberation armies, and the inclusive nature of such assistance that was open to all Southern African liberation movements, inspiring a certain Pan-Africanist combatant in which the FNLA commander recognizes himself.[27]

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25 L. Garrison, "Now Angola: Study of a Rebel", *New York Times*, 16 February 1964, pp. 12–13.
26 ANTT: PIDE-DGS:SC, CI(2), Pr. 6773, Academia Militar de Nanquim, fls. 61–62, 202–246 (NT7460).
27 Garrison, "Now Angola: Study of a Rebel", p. 14.

In his statement, Ferreira also mentions that in 1962 10 to 12 MPLA militants were sent to Czechoslovakia to attend a "Security course", which the local authorities decided not to give, after assessing the level of the trainees, and replaced it by a "Politicization Course".[28] Other Southern African guerrillas who passed through the training camps of the socialist world refer to the lower levels of education, experience of urban life, and political organization "of some cadres from Mozambique and Angola" to explain their "learning difficulties".[29]

The illiteracy rates in the whole population surveyed by the Portuguese Intelligence services are much lower (67 per cent) than those attributed to Angolan society at this time (85 per cent or less; 90 per cent adults).[30] However, the fundamental aspect is that the illiterate were very high (90 – 97 per cent) between those classified as "farmer", "fisherman", "guerrilla", or "combatant". Especially in eastern Angola, the issue of illiteracy was a serious matter both for political and military training. And this social attribute and difficulty was not overcome until the early 1970s, as is suggested by the refusal of the Bulgarians to provide military training to part of the MPLA Chinhama Joni' group (1969) precisely because they could not "read and write".[31]

The second relevant sociological aspect is the great social variety of the MPLA trainees, as well as the different levels of military training given them in socialist countries, after 1965. Recruitment included individuals from different academic backgrounds, not necessarily all literate, from different professional statutes, from topographers and nurses to craftsmen, cooks, and workers, from more urban and other deeply rural contexts. This may have turned the need to massify the guerrillas into a vigorous social promotion channel – military skills and performance competing with academic credentials.[32] The possibility of MPLA activists having experience of "real socialism" became more pronounced from 1971, with the establishment of mandatory two-year military service – with two-five or six-twelve months training, for soldiers or "officers and political com-

28 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A, Pr.537, RI 21/65 (9.03.1965), fl. 1155 (NT8046).

29 Alexander and McGregor, "African Soldiers in the USSR", p. 57.

30 V.A. Leite, "Educação em Angola. As Reformas Educativas implementadas a partir de 1975. Uma Perspectiva Histórica", M.A. thesis, ISCED Luanda, 2014; and ANTT: SCIIA: Cx 232 PI 18, fls. 449 – 462; and see data available at: http://home.uevora.pt/~haf/Kongwa_Project_Data/Proso_Data1_2018/KPD_ProsoData_1960 t1974_TABLES_T1_Educ_Occup_v1.xlsx (accessed 5 April 2019).

31 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., Pr. 7629, RIM 770/69, fls. 10 – 13 (NT8199); see also data base referenced in footnote 30.

32 See D. Matrosse, *Memórias, Vol. 1 (1961 – 1971)*, Lisboa: Texto Editores, 2014, pp. 56 – 62, 133 – 159, 243 – 251, 292 – 293, 455; L. Lara, *Um Amplo Movimento... Itinerário do MPLA através de documentos de Lúcio Lara, Vol. 3*, Luanda: W.P., 2008, p. 42.

missars" respectively, which sought to cover all young Angolan boys (18–30 years old) living in the people's Republic of the Congo. Such service was a precondition for access to three-year scholarships for higher education courses in friendly countries, like "USSR, Algeria, UAR, Poland and Hungary".[33]

Data on the military and educational training provided to or through the liberation movements of Southern Africa outside of the region, from 1965/66 to 1974, suggests that North African "progressive" countries lost their leading role and that the USSR welcomed many more military trainees than students (like Cuba?). East Europe hosted more students than military trainees, and China and Korea received far more limited but also more open contingents of military trainees and students.[34] East Europe appears to have had a marginal position in providing military training prior to 1974. This type of assistance is only documented in Bulgaria (1968) and Czechoslovakia (1972), although Romania was also subsequently involved, together with the German Democratic Republic.[35]

This military and educational assistance hosted by European East Socialist countries and outstandingly by the USSR, was reserved exclusively for the self-recognized and self-named "genuine" or "authentic" liberators of both colonialism – which included the members of the CONCP alliance (MPLA, FRELIMO, PAIGC) and ZAPU, SWAPO and SA ANC – and "neo-colonialism" (as UPC and CNL guerilla movements),[36] a recurrent self-qualification often found in personal testimonies about this past.[37] The detected exception occurred at the beginning of 1974, when an agreement was reached between Romania and FNLA (GRAE), which aimed to provide significant assistance to that movement, including local technical and military training.[38] China and North Korea were open to

33 Since early 1966, the established rules for granting scholarships to MPLA militants adopted as guideline that, for access, candidates should have two years of activism in the Movement, or a successful internship in a CIR; the effectiveness of this norm is unknown but the practice was contested in 1972. See ANTT: SCCIA: Cx. 235, PI 69, fls. 53–63, 207–208; ibid., Cx. 235, PI 69, ARE I–II Regiões (9–16/04/1972), fls. 304–314; A.S. Júlio (ed.), *History of MPLA, Vol. 1 (1940–1966)*, Luanda: CDIH MPLA, 2014, p. 299.

34 In mid-1971, according to several sources, were about 2000 terrorists from Latin America and Africa (Chad, Muni River, DR Congo, Rhodesia, South Africa) in ten military training camps of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. See ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, Inf. 1078 (13.09.1971), fls. 736–738 (NT3100–3102).

35 See data file referenced in footnote 6.

36 Ibid.

37 See A.J. Temu and J. das Neves Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents*, 1960–1994, Vols. 3–4, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014; S. Chiwale, *Cruzei-me com a História. Autobiografia*, Lisboa: Sextante Editora, 2008, p. 139.

38 See J.P. N'Ganga, *O Pai do Nacionalismo Angolano. As memórias de Holden Roberto, Vol. 1, 1923–1974*, São Paulo: Ed. Parma, 2008, p. 251.

host the founding and other members of UNITA, some military personnel of MPLA, UPA; and ZAPU; and elements of the supposed Chinese-oriented Communist Party of Mozambique (ULIPAMO).[39] It is likely that the Chinese, in line with what they did in Ghana (1965), were mostly present as technicians in training camps in Tanzania, Zambia, and the two Congos, preferring to move instructors and resources to African camps.[40] This illustrates the breadth of the diversity of socialist countries' assistance to the liberation movements of Southern Africa.

Experiencing "Heaven"[41]: "Simferopol" [Perevalnoye]

In guerrilla testimonies and in the Portuguese police and military registers, the Perevalnoye Training Camp or "165 Training Center for the Instruction of Foreign Servicemen",[42] is recognized as the "Training Camp of Simferopol", by the proximity of the cities of Simferopol and Sevastopol. Together with Odessa, also in the Crimean Peninsula, and the "Northern Training Center" in Moscow, they were the central axis of military training provided in Soviet territory to the guerrillas of Southern Africa.[43] A set of documents from PIDE/DGS covering the period from 1965 to 1974 allows a dynamic view of interconnections with "heaven", "the designation used by MPLA fighters to refer to the former USSR".[44]

In the "Personal Histories" published by the Mbita Project, the earliest dates for military training in the USSR were declared by ANC MK and ZAPU members

39 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 15074, fls. 10 – 11 (NT7735). See also Chiwale, *Cruzei-me com a História*, pp. 120, 123, 160. Following Chichava, ULIPAMO "actually never existed; it was a rumour which PIDE took for reality", but this was not substantiated. See S. Chichava, *Mozambique and China. From Politics to Business*, Maputo: Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (DP5), 2008, p. 5.

40 The "Abenamasi Training Camp" in Ghana (1965), where "improved training" was promoted, was funded and guided by the People's Republic of China. See data base referenced in footnote 6.

41 A. Domoslawski, *Kapuściński. Uma Vida*, p. 280.

42 N. Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty. The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War", Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2014, p. 141. In Portuguese historical sources this camp is sometimes written "Sinferompol", "Infrompol", "Sinferopolis", "Semferopol", "Sifilopel", "Sinfrope" or "Sevestope".

43 Shubin, "Unsung Heroes", pp. 253 – 254.

44 See Matrosse, *Memórias,* p. 216.

and go back to August 1963 (Moscow) and December 1964 (Odessa).[45] Portuguese Intelligence and Army knew of the existence of "Simferopol", at least by October 1967, through testimonies of captured FRELIMO and MPLA militants. This "secret training camp" constructed in Soviet Ukraine at the beginning of the Brezhnev era, received the first African guerrillas for training in April–June 1965. One of them was Zacarias Camboi, 27 years old and a cook. He joined the MPLA in early 1965 in Bulawayo (Rhodesia), along with other Angolans who came with him "from the mines of South Africa." After the journey to Lusaka and Dar es Salaam in April 1965, as part of a group of 50, they flew to Moscow and then to "Sifirope" where all underwent a nine month "guerrilla course".[46] Their entry into Simferopol coincided with the arrival of the first PAIGC trainees.[47] For the Camboi group of 45, the course, a six months' artillery specialty, was taught in Portuguese by two Russian instructors. When they finished the course, they spent "two months visiting various localities of the USSR including Moscow" before returning to Tanzania (Nachingwea Camp).[48]

After 1966, the number of training groups increased progressively and the congestion of the camp required increasing facilities and shortening the courses offered. Two main routes were followed by the guerrillas destined for Simferopol. One was from Conakry-Mali [PAIGC] or Brazzaville [MPLA Northern Front] to Bamako-Cairo-Moscow, returning by the same route. The other, the Dar es Salaam route, was adopted by elements of the MPLA as well as of other movements hosted in Zambia and Tanzania. The operation of both was ensured by a "monthly air bridge" progressively provided by Aeroflot.[49]

The capture in 1970 of the MPLA nurse, José António "Porcaria"/"Suvorof"/"Kessondo" (37 years old), allows us a more extensive view of this training camp in the period 1965–1966. António, after being expelled from a Catholic Higher Seminary in Nova Lisboa/Huambo, practised first as a nurse, at the Health Post Office (1960), and later as teacher (1962–1964), at the Catholic Mission,

45 See Temu and Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 3,* pp. 166, 685; Temu and Tembe (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 4*, pp. 207, 697; Dabengwa, "Relations between ZAPU and the USSR, 1960s–1970s", pp. 216–217.

46 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., PRI 120.00.20, V. 2, fls. 88–95 (NT2721); Pr. 7629, fls. 34–49 (NT8199); See also data file referenced in footnote 6.

47 See Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", p. 142.

48 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, Inf. 1010 (06.10.1967) and Inf. 1237 (11.11.1967), fls. 487–491 (NT3100–3102). For further details of the initial phase of Perevalnoye Training Camp see Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", pp. 141–146.

49 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, Inf. 575 (06.06.1868), fls. 431–432 (NT3100–3102). The Southern African LM trainees Exit doors appears on Map 1.

in Cando (Camacupa). He and his friend Chicale decided to look for better work in South African mines. In August 1965, when crossing Zambia they were arrested and recruited by the local section of MPLA, and integrated into a group of "40 Angolans". They were led to a camp on the outskirts of Lusaka, where there were already "180 Angolans, most of them kidnapped by the MPLA", from where they began to leave in groups of 60, to Tanzania's capital. In Dar es Salaam, they were visited by Agostinho Neto and Daniel Chipenda, before boarding a Russian plane to Crimea, via Somalia and Cairo. They were received by a Russian delegation and interned in the military camp, where they found "another group of 50 Angolans," led by Epalanga Sachilombo, and where, in the next fortnight, two new groups, totalizing 90 members, arrived. All had medical examinations and then followed a training programme consisting of "general instruction" that alternated with "nursing classes, light and heavy weapons, transmissions, mines and explosives, and driving auto" as specialties. Every two weeks, they received lessons of political indoctrination. The 15 teachers and instructors were Russian and the classes were "in Spanish, French and English". António did the nursing specialty and received some knowledge of shooting, light weapons and communications.[50]

The "diary" of another Mozambican guerrilla, Pedro Niphaka, a former seminarist (1958–1965) and contemporary of António, illuminates life in "Simferopol" between November 1965 and May 1966. In the camp, led by Russian Officers as Chief instructors, were trainees from FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC. Only rarely were training sessions separate. The Mozambicans were subdivided into several specialties (courses), some of them equivalent to "platoon commander", others "head of section". Despite specialties, they were obliged to have some knowledge of the subject matter of the other courses. Also compulsory was driving skills in Russian military cars, as well as "driving of tanks and their function". The compulsory "political (science) course", assured by Russian military teachers, involved an interpreter who conveyed the dialogue in Spanish, and included subjects such as "International Politics (struggle against capitalism, imperialism and world monopoly); USSR domestic policy; constitution of the states of the Soviet Bloc; international proletariat; Marxism-Leninism; Political Economy." The wealth of the Mozambican subsoil also received special attention, and the instructors were concerned with knowing "what is the main wealth" and the airfields of Mozambique. At the neighbouring Odessa camp Revolutionary Organization, Liberation Movements, Class Struggle, Transition from Capitalism to

50 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., PI 130.07.05, fls. 12–38 (NT2736); Pr. 835, fls. 12–35 (NT8055); and PI 131.07.27, fls. 8–31 (NT2749); and data file referenced in footnote 6.

Socialism and from Socialism to Communism, Peaceful Coexistence, History of CPSU and specific liberation movements, and ideological differences were also taught.[51]

At the end of the courses, questions were asked about the instruction received, each giving an idea of the knowledge assimilated. Niphaca emphasized "the interest expressed by the instructors in listening to the trainees about the political line that would be adopted by Mozambique after independence: capitalist – non-capitalist – Socialist or Communist". As was also happening in the Odessa Camp, the teachers put questions to the trainees in order to probe their progress in political doctrine and their knowledge of communism. Those with better knowledge in these matters were later appointed Political Commissioners. Trainees started the day at 6 am, had general instruction and specialties until 2.30 pm. They spent the afternoon studying the Russian language and the subject "taught in the morning". The day lasted until 10 pm. Three or more times per week, in the barracks itself, cinema sessions based on Red Army (KA) facts during World War II were offered to all the trainees. "Only on Sundays [trainees] were granted permission" to visit other Ukrainian cities, "accompanied and controlled by their leaders", the chiefs of barracks (in the Mozambican case Captain Chumeiko, Russian).[52]

In 1969, before it became a centre that included operational training with ground-to-air missile Strela-2 (end of 1972),[53] the Simferopol picture was similar, according to the testimony of a ZAPU militant. He was one of 62 ZAPU who left Lusaka and were subsequently divided into two groups: one to go to Bulgaria and 32 to the USSR. In Dar es Salaam, they were advised by ZAPU leaders "not to reveal to the Russian instructors they had already received training in Morogoro (Tanzania) (because) the Russians would be upset and regard their training as a simple overhaul." At Simferopol airport, they found a reception committee, and were transported on a "special bus" to the camp. After travelling 15 miles, they received combat uniforms of the "Russian army" and were housed in a building of three floors, in rooms of five places. The camp had a separate dining room and several classrooms. After a medical examination, the recruits were mobilized for cleaning a newly constructed building, as the camp was expanding. A week later eight members of the group were separated and, after returning their military trousseau, were sent for training in the vicinity of Moscow,

51 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, Memorandum. Academia Militar de Odesa. (00/09/1967), fls. 444 – 461 (NT3100 – 3102).

52 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, RI 70/70 (10.03.1970) and Memorandum (00/09/1967), fls. 444 – 461, 787 – 793 (NT3100 – 3102).

53 See Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", p. 214.

to the "Military Field of Transk", where they were housed in an apartment of the "6th floor of a building of 8 or 10 floors", occupied by Russian soldiers. They received new military uniforms and civilian clothing. Now, the day began at 7 am. The classes included guerrilla tactics, weapon and explosives manipulation, ambushes and assaults, and "mentalization of the masses", followed by lunch (3 pm), independent study period and dinner (6.30 pm). The curfew was until 11 pm, whereby they usually went for a walk in Moscow, "mixing unrestrictedly with the population [but] they were not allowed to accept hospitality in the Russian houses." This group was also given diving training at Baku for a week. The interest of this report is the comparison that it allows between the Simferopol and Moscow experiences: the daily routine was similar in both camps, but the trainees in Moscow had free access to bars, cafes, and cinemas during off hours while those of Simferopol "did not leave the camp except on the weekends, and yet they were escorted". Alcohol was not allowed in Simferopol.[54]

General military training was provided for activists assigned to the political commissariat. They were, from at least 1963, sent to the Central Komsomol School or Higher Party School of Moscow.[55]

Savida Martins (15 years old) had a similar experience: endowed with primary school education (1962), and a fleeting past as a footballer (Mexico), after experiencing the South African mines (1963 – 1965), his group of 30 Angolans returnees was intercepted and enticed by MPLA elements in Katima Mulilo (Zambia) and led to Lusaka. Appointed as responsible for "food, arms and ammunition" in Chieque Camp (Zambia, Angola border) in early 1967 he was part of a group of 75 Angolans who, along with South Africans, left from Dar es Salaam to receive training in the USSR. Part of the 51 Angolan group remained in Simferopol, the rest, with some ANC elements, went to Moscow to attend the course of political commissar. All the Angolans chosen for the Moscow course were born in the regions of the Eastern Front (Moxico and Bié). At the Komsomol School they were advised to choose a war codename: "O Perigoso" (The Dangerous), was Savida's choice. They attended a "political indoctrination course" (six months) and a "military course" (three months): in both all were successful. The first programme was held simultaneously with one taught to eight PAIGC elements, but "with totally separate lives".[56]

54 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, Inf. 1079 (13.09.1971), fls. 728 – 735 (NT3100 – 3102).
55 See Matrosse, *Memórias*, p. 61.
56 All quotes from: ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del.A., PI 131.07.20, V. 2, R.147/68 (6.11.1968) and R. 158/68 (15.11.1968), fls. 93 – 95, 83 – 89 (NT2751).

> The students received 15 rubles per month, as well as food, bedding, clothing and footwear. In the military course, they began to receive tobacco. The food was good, consisting of rice, potatoes, pasta, beans, meat, fish and fruit. The meals were served by Russian women who also cleaned the rooms. They drank beer with the meals, vodka and whiskey on Sundays. The classes of the course of political indoctrination began at 07.00 and finished at 16.30, with two hours for lunch. The instructors were officers of the Russian army. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays there were no classes. They took advantage of this time to visit museums and other places accompanied by an interpreter. They were not forbidden to walk alone or in groups and often they do so. [They studied] universal economics, philosophy, political history of Africa and Russia. The teachers were all Russian and some spoke Portuguese. While they were attending this course, they were visited twice by the secretary of the so-called 'Portuguese Communist Party', Álvaro Cunhal, who talked with them about the situation of the Portuguese people [...] [In the course of military nature,] they received knowledge about armament, mines, explosives and radio.

The return to Tanzania, along with South Africans, took place in January of 1968, after three weeks of vacation in Minsk, the capital of Belarus. After arriving at Dar es Salaam, they were driven to the OAU's Kongwa Camp. Three months later, these Angolans were stationed at the base of Cassamba, in transit to Mandume III camp, located at the eastern end of Angola. From there the Political Commissary Martins defected in October 1968, paving the way for the destruction of some of the main MPLA bases in the eastern region of Angola and the capture of a lot of organizational and personal documentation.[57]

The rigours of Simferopol do not seem to have extended to the neighbouring Odessa camp. Here, the trainees, in 1967, received a monthly wage of 20 rubles, as in Simferopol, which was considered "fair". But in Odessa, unlike Simferopol, they were encouraged to "mingle with the Russian cadets of the neighbouring military camp and with the natives of the city" who were "hospitable" to African recruits, although, here too, relations with Russian women were not appreciated.[58]

While the racism that African civilians faced had serious repercussions for students of movements such as the PAIGC,[59] in the testimonies of military trainees there are no visible tensions relating to "skin colour" in interactions both with the military and civil Soviet societies. This kind of tension is detected in another relational arena: inside of liberation movements and was expressed in the

57 Ibid.

58 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861–61, V. 3, Memorandum. Academia Militar de Odesa (00/09/1967), fls. 444–461 (NT3100–3102).

59 See J. Hessler, "Death of an African Student in Moscow", *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 47 (2006) 1–2, pp. 33–63; M. Matusevich, "Probing the Limits of Internationalism: African Students Confront Soviet Ritual", *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 27 (2009) 2, pp. 19–39.

expectations or disappointments of militants to access military training or of trainees when they returned to operational life.[60] But the military trainees were not immune to the affective issues that also embraced the students' experience.[61] Some trainees ended up staying in the USSR or even defecting to the West. The creation (1969) of the training camp at Mgagão (Iringa, Tanzania), under Chinese guidance, was intended to be an alternative to the Soviet-oriented flow. In early 1972, the camp had young elements from the Tanzanian Army, MPLA, FRELIMO, and SWAPO. From the beginning the experience did not go very well, there was a great dissatisfaction among the leaders not only with regard to the quality of the training provided but also due to the constant insubordination of the trainees, who charged Chinese instructors with being racist because they had a separate life, they only contacted with the "Africans" during the training, and they were prohibited from relating to African women.[62]

60 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., Pr. 537-GAB, R. 21/65 (9.03.1965), fls. 143–169 (NT8046); L. Lara, *Um Amplo Movimento, Vol. 3,* p. 42. Regarding the question of the inequality of opportunities (training and promotion) between the MPLA "social classes" (bourgeoisie, working class, peasantry), at the Extraordinary Regional Assembly (April 1972) of the 1st and 2nd Political-Military Regions, the theme was addressed (ANTT: SCCIA: Cx 235, PI 69, fls. 304–314).

61 See J.G. Carew, "Black in the USSR. African Diasporan Pilgrims, Expatriates and Students in Russia, from the 1920s to the first decade of the Twenty-First century", *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 8 (2015) 2, pp. 202–215. Consider the case of the Mozambican Micas who in 1970, enticed by FRELIMO recruiters, was included in a group of 168 Mozambican sent to the Nachingwea training camp in Tanzania. After basic and "special" instruction and some operational activity, in July 1972 he was included in a "reinforced platoon" bound for Simferopol. There he followed a training programme in topography. In March of 1973, the group returned to Dar es Salaam, but Micas stayed in Simferopol, having met a Russian girl. A month later he returned to Nachingwea, where, due to "his bad behavior in Russia", he was immediately arrested and transferred to a FRELIMO provincial base, where he was sentenced to two months in prison. PAIGC sent back to Conakry two Guineans who were taking a course in Leningrad and were involved in a "disorder", because "they both wanted to date a Russian girl". See ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61 V. 4, Inf. 90 (04.01.1970) and RI (14.06.1973), fls. 384–387, 907–914 (NT3100–3200).

62 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61 V. 2, Inf. 266 (09.03.1973), 400–415 (NT3100–3102); Del. A., PI 130.07.91 (06.09.1973), fls. 66–76 (NT2745); Del. A., PI 136.07.01, RI 193/72 (23.03.1972) (NT2753).

From "African Socialism" and "Real Socialism" Military Training to the Realities of the Guerrilla War

In mid-1967, a secret MFA note on "Terrorist Training Camps in Communist Countries to promote subversion in Africa, Asia, and Latin America" emphasized four essential ideas: from a global perspective, China was "the nation that has been training more guerrillas since 1960", including "natives from Algeria, Botswana, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Guinea, Malawi, Niger, Kenya, Rhodesia, and Rwanda, as well as Angolans and Mozambicans" while North Vietnam and North Korea provided training camps but only to Thailand, Laos, and Rhodesia revolutionary guerrillas; Cuba was making, since 1964, "greater efforts to increase the facilities granted for the practice of subversion abroad" and hosted native fighters "from Latin American countries" and Africa, namely "Zanzibar, South Africa, Rhodesia, Mali, Ghana, Senegal, Malawi, Upper Volta, Togo, Gabon, Dahomey and Rio Muni as well as the Portuguese provinces of Angola and Guinea". As regards the Soviet Union, "there are no signs of training camps on its territory", which was explained by the Soviet Government, in order to avoid the hostility of the constituted governments, not to wish to identify itself with China and Cuba as a factor of disorder, "and thus prefer to leave the task of keeping the camps to their allies in Eastern Europe", namely "Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Bulgaria". But, even without the existence of special training camps, the USSR had taught "guerrilla tactics" to groups of Africans – "including Nigerians, Guineans, Ghanaians, Rhodesians, and South Africans, at least in their institutions and, as was known after the fall of Nkrumah, in Leipzig, East Germany, in the barracks of the Soviet Army."[63]

This underestimates the role of the USSR,[64] though data in the Portuguese archives indicates that it was only from 1965/66 that the flow of trainees from Southern Africa to the Soviet Union expanded. In the extension of this type of assistance the Crimea Training Military Camps constituted a very important locus. This evolution is in line with the recognition that, following the North African and Ghanaian *open era* of hosting military training, from 1965 large scale "militarization of Soviet relations" with Southern Africa liberation movements, involving procurement of weapons; military training; press campaign, occur-

63 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61 V. 3, Of. (26.05.1967), fls. 507–508 (NT3100–3102).
64 See Shubin, "Unsung Heroes", pp. 251–262.

red.[65] However, contrary to the prior openness of "progressive African" countries and the intermittent openness of China,[66] this assistance exclusively covered, but in a varied way, a specific group of liberation movements, those that were considered as "*genuine*" or "*authentic*" liberators, led by, or containing within the leadership, inspired anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.[67]

A second topic concerns the adequacy of the training provided. According to Shubin, "the centre in Perevalnoe" (Simferopol) took advantage of and accommodated the experience of the Crimean guerrillas during the Second World War and provided an operational environment close to that of Southern African reality.[68] In a 1967 Rhodesian report on Crimean Odessa Camp, it was reported that "most of the trainees at the end of their course [...] relied on what they had learned, contrary to what happened to those who were trained in other centres." However, the same report states that the training given to combatants (1965 – 1967) "does not have the character given to the guerrilla forces" because it was centred almost exclusively on "infantry", that is, the trainees were integrated into highly disciplined units, which was advantageous, but "becoming more a soldier than a terrorist" (guerrilla), which was inappropriate.[69] Telepneva considered Simferopol offered a kind of training [sapper training] that "was commonplace for any regular military school".[70] One of the elements of ZAPU there trained in 1969 was later interviewed (1971) by a member of the Rhodesian Army's School of Military Engineering who assigned him "a degree equivalent to that of a European sergeant sapper" but also considered that "training

65 See Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", pp. 135 – 146.

66 Although without revealing evidence, Steven Jackson argue "the Chinese at various times supported CONCP organizations together with the Soviets" being "the sponsorship of independent African coutries", the most marked Sino-Soviet rivalry. See S.F. Jackson, "China's Third World Foreign Policy. The Case of Angola and Mozambique, 1961 – 93", *The China Quarterly* 142 (1995), pp. 390 – 391.

67 Examples of varied connection and assistance between USSR and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and African Liberation Movements, on the other hand, are PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO, decreasing its precocity and intensity from the first to the last, as shown in Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty". For diplomatic rather than military assistance from North Africa, and especially from Algeria, in 1970s. See ANTT: SCCIA: Cx 232, PI 18, NT 1008/72 (12.03.1972), fls. 143 – 145.

68 See Shubin, "Unsung Heroes", p. 254.

69 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, Memorandum (00/09/1967), fls. 444 – 461 (NT3100 – 3102)

70 Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", p. 142.

given in Russia covered aspects that would not be entrusted to a Sergeant in the Rhodesian army."[71]

The debate on the quality and adequacy of military training[72] offered by Soviet and other socialist military camps should take into account the efforts made by the liberation movements and some of its military donors to expand the local facilities: Revolutionary Instruction Centres (CIR) of MPLA, the Instruction Centres (IC) and Political-Military Complexes (CPM) of FRELIMO or the Centres of Political-Military Instruction (CIPM) of PAIGC. The connections of these with outside training centres needs to be explored.[73] One example of the internationalist complexity that these connections represented is the MPLA CIR Dolisie (PR Congo). According to an informant inside this base, in June of 1971: several combatants who had completed their "preparation" were sent to the "battle front" or to "internship abroad" (Cuba, USSR, Bulgaria and Hungary). Three to six months local "preparation courses" in "guerrilla", "nursing", "political commissars", "sabotage, ambushes and sappings", and "section chiefs" were provided for 218 MPLA young recruits, aged between 18 and 24 years old. There was also training in "ideological formation", "guerrilla", "logistics, sappers and first aid", and "heavy weaponry", for 44 "freedom fighters" of Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad (FROLINAT), Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC), and Comité National de Libération (CNL) of Republic Democratic do Congo. There were six foreign instructors for "ideology" and "weaponry" (USSR), "sappers and first aid" (North Korea), and "logistics and guerrilla" (Cuba), people detached from their military missions in Brazzaville or Algiers. In the following months, Soviet support was provided for "enlargement" of the military camp and the educational infrastructure was expanded.[74]

This intricate internationalist military training model was in stark contrast to the one developed by GRAE/FNLA: in 1973, in addition to Kinkuzu Base in Zaire

71 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61, V. 3, Inf. 1079 (13.09.1971), fls. 728 – 735 (NT3100 – 3102).

72 Strictly speaking this debate questioned the entire military training network: doubts and mutual criticisms widened during years 1971 – 1972, considering the insufficient quality of the training and ability to use weapons provided both abroad, as well as in the regional Training Camps shared by the Movements of Liberation and the local CIRs closer to the operational areas. See ANTT: SCCIA, Cx. 235, PI 69, fls. 295 – 398.

73 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61 V. 3, Inf. 716 (00.07.1969), fls. 834 – 836; V. 4, RI (14.06.1973), fls. 907 – 914; RIM 1900/74 (01.04.1974), fls. 33 – 35 (NT 100 – 3102).

74 The presence of Cuban instructors in MPLA training camps in the Republic of Congo (Brazza) has been documented since 1966 and that of the "Chinese" (or Koreans) since at least 1967. See ANTT: SCCIA: Cx. 235, PI 69, Aerograma (25.08.1971), fls. 246 – 249 and Declarações de Apresentados *(September and November 1967), fls. 45 – 50, 56 – 62*; and Cx. 255, PI 140, Of. (12.05.1972), fls. 298 – 300.

being a general training centre, the formation of military cadres was essentially the responsibility of the General Directorate of Military Organization and Instruction of the Zairian Army, in spite of a Tunisian and, above all, Indian contribution.[75] This contrasted with the UNITA model: constituted in 1966, based on activists trained in China for this purpose (the founders, 1965) and by others recruited in and prior trained by the two previous liberation movements, the movement seems to have developed a scheme of military training based on the guerrilla camps created in the interior of Angola. There it counted, at least until 1973, on the cooperation of SWAPO, with whom it shared camps, weapons, guerrillas, instructors, operational plans and even a "single command" in the region of Cuando-Cubango. As far as can be seen from the memories of one of its top commanders, the military training provided outside the region, especially in China, involved few activists until 1974.[76]

A complementary approach can explore the position and performance of those trainees in operational areas. An autobiographical account, such as that of MPLA Political Commissar and Commander Dino Matrosse, trained politically (1963/64) and militarily (1968/69) in the USSR, shows, on the one hand, how these trainees not only assumed command and middle ground leadership in the operational field, but also built cohesive operational units; and, on the other hand, when emptied of the heroic and militant halo, gives visibility to the hard and almost insurmountable difficulties faced as the attempt to effectively create the 5th MPLA Military Region culminated in the "strategic retreat ofthe warrior" (1969).[77]

As the guerrilla-farmer Joche Chuiussa, who had been "instructed in the handling of war weapons" in "Carimbué" Camp (Moxico, East of Angola), stressed, for the most important missions, as ambushes, "only those elements who had received instruction abroad" were selected. This topic was present at the Extraordinary Regional Assembly of the 1st and 2nd Military Regions of the MPLA (Dolisie, 9 – 16 April 1972) intertwining with three of the most important issues of this meeting: the criticized separate life between black and mestizos militants and families; the claim, which came from 1968, of a subordinate status for white Angolan or "Portuguese" militants and other whites elements; and the unequal opportunity of access to the political and military cadres of the MPLA by militants from the "most exploited classes" (workers and peasants, blacks), for the benefit of mem-

75 ANTT: SCCIA: Cx. 235, PI 69, fl. 406.

76 See Chiwale, *Cruzei-me com a História,* pp. 131, 163 – 175.

77 See Matrosse, *Memórias,* pp. 245 – 456.

bers of bourgeois extraction (mestizos), the result of the bias in the distribution of military and academic scholarships abroad.[78]

The operational weight of these trainees "abroad" was broader. At the beginning of 1970, of the 62 "individuals who had been trained in Crimea-Russia [Simferopol] from September 1965 to May 1966", one-tenth had died, including one by a MPLA firing squad; 28 per cent had defected; 62 per cent remained active. Of the latter, almost half of these were sections, sub-sections, and reconnaissance heads and/or nurses, intendants, and political commissioners, constituting a middle and mid-low level class in the guerrilla hierarchy.[79] This suggests that Soviet military training to the MPLA was not limited to the creation of senior or elitist military cadres. A vastly larger number of politico-military low and intermediate cadres were formed, and this is a very important legacy for the era of independence. Besides that, the expression of this assistance in the operational zone and in the sanctuaries of Congo and Zambia was deeper. From at least 1967, bases like Banga or Dolisie CIR (Congo), and Vitória Certa Camp (Lusaka, Zambia) depended almost entirely on Soviet assistance, not only in their staff or weapons stocks but also in food.[80] And this would probably extend up to at least the frontiers of the combat front where and when they existed, one negative effect signalled by Shubin as the "culture of non-production". The explanation given for this – the urban origin of the MPLA elite – remains unsatisfactory.[81]

The material and social reception provided in the Soviet Union, the lived experience, and general assistance, the opportunity for military flow for trainees, and the extensive material presence, at least in liberation movements camps in Southern African shrines make plausible and explain the sense of gratitude held by Southern African liberation movements activists.[82] In the case of Angolans "freedom fighters", perhaps Schiwale's perspective on the founding group

78 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., Pr. 9345, R. 107 (20.09.1968), fl. 166 (NT3100 – 3102); PI 130.07.91 RC 00/73 Lambi Massoco (6.09.1973) (NT2745); Pr. 835 RC 335/69 (11.10.1969); Pr. 26781 RI 17, fls. 78 – 84 (NT 8535) ; and ANTT: SCCIA, Cx. 235, PI 69, ARE I–II Regiões (9 – 16/04/1972), fls. 304 – 314.

79 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: Del. A., Pr. 6720, Anexo Of. 197/70 (28.01.1970), fls. 147 – 149 (NT8178); PI 130.07.05, fls. 14 – 38 and 12 – 13 (NT2736).; and SCCIA, Cx 255: PI 140, Of. 12.05.1972, fls. 298 – 300.

80 ANTT: PIDE-DGS: SC, Pr. 1861/61. V. 2. R. 90/73 (15.02.1973), fls. 55 – 63, (NT3100 – 3102); Del. A.: Pr. 537, fls. 9 – 27 (NT 8046).

81 V. Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War". The USSR in Southern Africa*, London: Pluto Press, 2008, p. 15.

82 For ZAPU and ANC(SA) activists see Alexander and McGregor, "African Soldiers in the USSR", p. 66; Dabengwa, "Relations between ZAPU and the USSR, 1960s–1970s", pp. 215 – 223. Temu *and Tembe (eds.), Southern African Liberation Struggles, Vol. 4*, p. 480.

of UNITA reception in China in 1965 was widely shared at least for first generations of these trainees. Warmly received and despite some manifestations that were read as "racism", the former UNITA co-founder and commander-in-chief noted in his autobiography: "The meetings and manner in which we were received marked us deeply: for those who came from Angola, where we were subjected to serious humiliations based on the idea of being inferior to other human beings, the way the Chinese treated us raised our self-esteem".[83] The scarce personal memories published by Angolans on their experience in the socialist countries do not point in another direction.

83 See Chiwale, *Cruzei-me com a História*, pp. 66–70. The comparison with a traumatic colonial condition was also made by ZAPU Intelligence Cadres: Alexander and McGregor, "African Soldiers in the USSR", pp. 49–66.

Natalia Telepneva

"Letters from Angola": Soviet Print Media and the Liberation of Angola and Mozambique, 1961–1975

International publicity was crucial to the liberation of Southern Africa.[1] As Matthew Connelly shows in *Diplomatic Revolution*, the innovators in this regard were the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN), who used international fora effectively to achieve recognition for their cause in the context of the Cold War.[2] The print media were crucial for the construction of modern nationalism, or "imagined communities", the title of Benedict Anderson's seminal work.[3] The post-war era ushered in a new age of global media that African revolutionaries were able to use to capture international audiences.[4] International solidarity networks were fundamental for this global outreach. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the Portuguese dictatorship started handing out an increasing number of scholarships for young men and women from Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde to study in universities across Portugal. The students were supposed to learn the "merits" of Portuguese civilisation and return to occupy administrative posts across the Empire. Instead, many started to agitate for the "rediscovery" of African culture and to campaign for independence.

As persecution of nationalist activism in Portugal and the colonies intensified, many student activists went into exile. In the 1950s, one group of activists from the Portuguese colonies – Mário Pinto de Andrade and Viriato da Cruz from Angola, Marcelino dos Santos from Mozambique, and Amílcar Cabral from Cape Verde – gathered in Paris, from where they launched a campaign against Portuguese colonialism. They also started building a network of supporters among European left-wing circles and from socialist countries. With Portugal's prime min-

1 Cf. E. Burton, "Hubs of Decolonization" in this volume.

2 M. Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

3 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991.

4 J. Brennan, "Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of Africa, 1953–1964", in: C. Lee (ed.), *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Movement and Its Political Afterlives*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio U.P., 2010.

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ister, António de Oliveira Salazar, refusing to cede control of the colonies, in 1960.

De Andrade, Da Cruz, and Cabral were among those who moved to Conakry, Guinea, from where they started campaigns to harness support for the armed struggle against the Portuguese regime. Cabral did so on behalf of The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). De Andrade and Da Cruz on behalf of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

In February–March 1961, a large-scale popular uprising shook Angola, Portugal's largest colony. The uprising and Portugal's brutal retaliation hastened the need for African nationalists to launch armed struggle – or face competition from local rivals. In April of that year, representatives from the MPLA, PAIGC, and the lesser-known the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO), amongst others, met in Casablanca, Morocco.[5] The participants established a new umbrella organization, the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) with headquarters in Rabat, Morocco, which was to serve as a publicity centre and a clearing house for inter-movement communication.[6] CONCP intended to attract international attention to the problem of Portuguese colonialism in the aftermath of events in Angola and to strengthen its members through a transnational alliance.[7] In 1962, Marcelino dos Santos played an important role in founding FRELIMO, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. Once the MPLA (1961), FRELIMO (1964), and PAIGC (1963) launched armed struggle in the early 1960s, they used a variety of media – print, radio, and television – to advertise their cause. They also started inviting foreign journalists to visit the so-called liberated areas. These efforts were crucial to attracting international attention to the cause and countering the official Portuguese narrative that the nationalist movements were little more than a bunch of "armed bandits", controlled by Moscow.

The Soviets turned their attention to the Third World after Nikita Khrushchev replaced Joseph Stalin as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the

5 This meeting also included: The Committee for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (CLSTP); the Union of Angola's Workers (UNTA); the Goan National Congress; Goa Liberation Council; Goan People's Party; and the Goan League. See J.M.D. de Jesus, *Casablanca: o Início do Isolamento Português*, Lisboa: Gradiva, 2006, pp. 59–69.

6 . J. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution: The Anatomy of an Explosion, 1950–1962*, 2 vols., Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969, pp. 10–11.

7 . M. Laban, *Mário Pinto de Andrade: Uma Entrevista dada a Michel Laban* [Mário Pinto De Andrade: An Interview Given to Michel Laban], M.A. Daskalos (trans.), Lisboa: Edições João Sá da Costa, 1997, p. 167.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU) in 1953. A pragmatic party apparatchik, Khrushchev understood that the rapid pace of decolonization offered Moscow opportunities to gain new international allies. At the same time, Khrushchev had come of age during the interwar period – the peak of the Comintern's support for black liberation around the world. He was vested in the language of anti-racism and believed that the Soviets had a duty to help anti-colonial movements in the Third World. He hoped to revive socialism along so-called "Leninist" lines after he denounced Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in February 1956.[8] The Soviets did not pay much attention to the Portuguese colonies until after the Angolan uprising. It was in 1961 that the Soviets offered the first assistance package to the MPLA, and by the mid-1960s, the Soviet Union and their allies in Eastern Europe were providing cash, arms, and military training to the MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC.

As Soviet official support for the anti-colonial movements picked up in the mid-1960s, the media followed suit. The 1960s saw an exposition of publications on the anti-colonial struggle – in print, on radio, and on television. Soviet journalists and party cadres used the print media to condemn the Portuguese colonialism. They also championed the anti-colonial cause by reporting on armed struggles in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Soviet journalists also served as informal go-betweens, reporting on what they saw and briefing the party cadres on the situation on the ground. While print media were a fundamental feature of Soviet support for liberation movements, we know very little about the content – or the people behind them.[9] Characteristically, Artur Domoslawski's biography of Ryszard Kapuściński, a prominent Polish journalist and the author of such acclaimed books as *The Emperor*, *Shah of Shahs*, and *Another Day of Life*, produced much controversy when it was revealed that the former practised "literary journalism" and had a close relationship with the party bosses in Poland.[10] By demystifying the role of international journalists, we can better understand the nature of So-

8 S. Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev: Creation of a Superpower*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, p. 436; M. Roman, *Opposing Jim Crow: African Americans and the Soviet Indictment of U.S. Racism, 1928–1937*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2012, pp. 1–2; S. Mazov, *A Distant Front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956–1964*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.

9 One exception is work by Mary Catharine French who underlines the importance of Soviet internationalist journalists in attempts to improve Soviet image in the Third World. See M.C. French, "Reporting Socialism: Soviet Journalism and the Journalists' Union, 1955–1966", Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2014.

10 A. Domoslawski, *Ryszard Kapuściński: A Life*, A. Lloyd-Jones (trans.), London: Verso, 2012.

viet support for anti-colonial movements and uncover the transnational networks that sustained them.

This chapter investigates the functions of Soviet publications on the anti-colonial movements and the people behind them. It investigates the content of publications, written by a small team of Soviet officials who staffed the Africa desk of the CC CPSU International Department. It then looks at the Soviet international journalists reporting from the so-called liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique for *Pravda*, an official daily newspaper of the CPSU. Furthermore, this chapter uncovers the informal functions of Soviet journalists as sources of intelligences and informal liaisons between African and Soviet leaders. The varied functions of Soviet journalists are illustrated through an investigation into the career of Oleg Konstantinovich Ignat'ev, a Soviet international journalist (*zhurnalist-mezhdunarodnik*) and one of the most prolific commentators on the Portuguese colonies. By focusing on the content of Soviet print media and the people behind it, this chapter seeks to expand our understanding of the transnational networks that sustained the liberational struggles in Southern Africa.

The liberation struggle in Southern Africa through the lens of the CC CPSU International Department

The men and women who carried out Khrushchev's new policy in the Third World were mostly members of the Soviet bureaucratic elite–party cadres, diplomats, spies, journalists, and academics. However, perhaps the most important department to deal with liberation movements in Southern Africa was the International Department of the CC CPSU. In response to Soviet interest in sub-Saharan Africa, in the early 1960s, the International Department expanded its Africa desk, which would come to fulfil crucial functions in daily engagement with the liberation movements. The small staff at the Africa desk collected and processed information about the situation in particular areas and made policy recommendations to the head of the International Department, Boris Ponomarev. They also "met and greeted" African revolutionaries on their visits to Moscow and processed their requests for assistance.[11]

11 N. Telepneva, "Mediators of Liberation: Eastern-Bloc Officials, Mozambican Diplomacy and

In 1961, the International Department recruited Petr Nikitovich Yevsyukov as a desk officer responsible for Portuguese colonies. Fluent in Portuguese, Yevsyukov soon enough became one of the most informed figures on matters related to the Portuguese colonies as he received and processed all information from Soviet embassies abroad, press agencies, and intelligence sources. As such, he became a man with considerable influence on policy matters related to the Portuguese colonies.[12] While we know now quite a bit about the role of Yevsyukov and other middle-ranking officials as important liaisons, we know very little about them as producers of print content, as informers and shapers of public opinion through specialized print media. In fact, officials like Yevsyukov were actively involved in producing content for the media, including for specialized journals on topics of their specialisation.

One such journal was *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* (Africa and Asia Today). Established as a joint publication of the Moscow-based Institute of African Studies and the Oriental Institute, *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* became a forum for Soviet academics, international journalists, writers, and politicians to inform and educate the Soviet public. In general, the journal mainly targeted a domestic audience. Similar to other journals in the era of Khrushchev's thaw, *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* allowed for a measure of engagement with the readers. The journal ran a special rubric titled "Answers to Readers" in which the editors provided an answer to a particular question raised by a particular member of the public. It is not clear how many such letters were received by *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya*, but it is instructive that the editors tried to connect with the readers – in line with the spirit of Khrushchev's thaw that offered greater freedom for journalists and editors.[13] The cadres of the CC CPSU International Department and its Africa desk were regular contributors to the journal.

Yevsyukov started to contribute to *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* soon after joining the Africa desk at the CC CPSU International Department. One of his first articles for *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* in August 1962 focused on the PAIGC and the anti-colonial struggle in Guinea-Bissau. In "Vosstaniye Razgoraetsya" [The Uprising Flares Up], Yevsyukov presented the PAIGC as the only organization that represented the nationalist movement in Guinea-Bissau. He emphasized that the

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the Origins of Soviet Support for Frelimo, 1958–1965", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, pp. 67–81.

12 V. Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The U.S.S.R in Southern Africa,* London: Pluto Press, 2008, p. 3.

13 S. Huxtable, "The Life and Death of Brezhnev's Thaw: Changing Values in Soviet Journalism after Khrushchev, 1964–1968", in: D. Fainberg and A. Kalinovsky (eds.), *Reconsidering Stagnation in the Brezhnev Era: Ideology and Exchange*, Lantham: Lexington Books, 2016, pp. 21–43.

PAIGC had failed to achieve independence for Guinea-Bissau by peaceful means and had thus launched sabotage action against the Portuguese. Yevsykov also highlighted PAIGC's connections with "progressive nationalist organizations such as the MPLA" that were bound together in the CONCP. He praised the PAIGC leader Amílcar Cabral as "an energetic and capable political leader", who was elected "deputy Secretary General of the CONCP".[14] Yevsyukov's positive evaluation of Cabral on the pages of *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* is not surprising. He had first met Cabral earlier that year, in 1962. He was immediately taken by Cabral's charm and became an important chain in Cabral's transnational support network, which included supporters in Ghana, Algeria, Morocco, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and the Nordic countries, to name a few. Cabral and Yevsyukov would regularly meet in Moscow and Conakry, Guinea, where the PAIGC was based.[15]

Yevsyukov continued to emphasize transnational connections between the anti-colonial movements. In his article dedicated to the launch of armed struggle in Mozambique in 1964, he again emphasized that FRELIMO was part of CONCP and wanted to unite forces with other liberation movements to coordinate actions against Salazar's regime. However, this time, Yevsyukov spared the reader laudatory epithets regarding FRELIMO's leadership. The reason for this was a complicated relationship between the Soviets and FRELIMO's first president Eduardo Mondlane, who was treated with suspicion in Moscow because of his background (he was educated and married in the US) and his contacts with the administration of US President John F. Kennedy.[16]

Besides shaping dominant narratives about the anti-colonial struggles, Yevsykov used *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* to inform readers about the struggles for continued white minority rule in Southern Africa. In a detailed commentary about Portugal's colonial wars in 1965, Yevsyukov shared the dynamics of struggle for white rule in Southern Africa. Portugal was not alone in the region, he argued, for it received support from South Africa's Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd and Roy Welensky, the prime minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Salazar, Verwoerd, and Welensky, argued Yevsyukov, had entered into a "secret union" to sustain white power.

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14 P. Yevsyukov, "Vosstaniye Razgoraetsya", *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* 2 (1962) 8, pp. 18–19.

15 P. Yevsyukov, "Natsionalno-osvoboditelnaya Borba v Gvinee-Bissau", in: A. Vasil'yev (ed.), *Afrika v Vospominaniyakh Veteranov Diplomaticheskoy Sluzhby*, Moscow: Institut Afriki RAN, 2004, pp. 139–153, at 140.

16 P. Yevsyukov, "Front Osvobozhdeniya Mozambika", *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* 8 (1965) 3, pp. 8–9; On Soviet relations with FRELIMO, see Telepneva, "Mediators of Liberation", pp. 67–81.

Yevsyukov's allegations were not without foundation. That South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Portugal consulted and coordinated their actions was known. While there was probably no official "secret agreement" in the early 1960s, there indeed existed diplomatic, intelligence, and military exchanges between South Africa, Portugal, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. By the early 1970s, these developed into a more formal military alliance, known as Exercise ALCORA.[17] Yevsyukov also lashed out at the United States for playing a "double game" by supporting Salazar's regime and at the same time giving money to "pro-American Angolan nationalists."[18]

Here, Yevsyukov hinted at the MPLA's main rival – the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), led by Holden Roberto. Originally established in 1958, the FNLA was rooted in the Bakongo community who had traditionally traversed northern Angola and southwestern Congo.[19] In contrast to the leftist leadership of the MPLA, Holden Roberto was explicitly anti-communist and looked up to the USA as a model for the future of Angola. He made a few trips to the USA to look for assistance, and established a covert relationship with the CIA. In the early 1960s, the Soviets supported the idea of a common front between the MPLA and the FNLA, and it is thus not surprising that Yevsyukov avoided directly "naming and shaming" Holden Roberto. As the Soviets abandoned the goal by the end of 1964, they openly named Roberto as a CIA creation, reinforcing the MPLA's narrative.[20]

Another regular commentator on Southern Africa for *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* was Petr Manchkha, the head of the Afrika desk at the CC CPSU International Department. Like Yevsyukov, Manchkha was not an expert on the Portuguese colonies. He was first brought into the CC CPSU International Department to maintain relationships with left-wing groups in Albania and Greece. After Soviet relations with Albania deteriorated in the early 1960s, he was moved to head the

17 F.R. de Meneses and R. McNamara, "The Last Throw of the Dice: Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, 1970–1974", *Portuguese Studies* 28 (2012) 2, pp. 201–215.

18 P. Yevsyukov, "Sorvat' Sgovor Kolonizatorov!", *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* 3 (1963) 1, pp. 12–14.

19 The FNLA was first established in 1958 under the name the Union of People's of Angola (UPA; União das Populações de Angola). On the MPLA and FNLA, see J.M. Mbah, *As Rivalidades Políticas entre a Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) e o Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (1961–1975)*, Luanda: Mayamba, 2010, pp. 46–72; J.P. N'Ganga. *O Pai do Nacionalismo Angolano. As memórias de Holden Roberto, Vol. 1, 1923–1974*, São Paulo: Ed. Parma, 2008, pp. 53–58.

20 N. Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty: The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War, 1961–1975", Ph.D. thesis, the London School of Economics and Political Science, 2014.

new Africa desk at the International Department.[21] In early 1967, Manchkha took part in an intra-governmental delegation of Soviet officials who went to investigate the progress of armed struggle in Portuguese colonies "on the ground". The delegation never crossed the border into the Portuguese colonies, but held a number of talks with leaders of the liberation movements, based in Tanzania, Zambia, and Congo-Brazzaville. One of their interlocutors was Agostinho Neto, the MPLA's president since 1962. The delegation came back convinced there was some progress and increased support for the MPLA.[22]

Upon his return, Manchkha wrote a long article on his experiences for *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya*. His main goal was to convince readers that the MPLA was the "main and leading force" in the liberation struggle, in contrast to the FNLA led by Holden Roberto. While the MPLA was "the most influential and authoritative organisation in the country", the FNLA was constructed on a "narrow, tribal basis" and, he said, flirted with anti-white racism. The MPLA tried to establish a common front with the FNLA, but Holden Roberto countered any such attempts, thus dividing the nationalist movement. Behind the FNLA's divisive tactics, argued Manchkha, was the United States, which supported Holden Roberto to lay the groundwork for influence in case Angola became independent. As such, Manchkha reinforced the MPLA's narrative of being the only organisation that represented the people of Angola and of Holden Roberto as a puppet of the United States.[23] Manchkha also highlighted the key role of the Soviet Union in supporting the liberation movements: "Active and regular support that the Soviet Union provides for Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean patriots and their sacred struggle for freedom and national independence proof of the truly internationalist attitudes of the Soviet people towards national-liberation movement of oppressed peoples."[24]

As such, *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* served to inform and educate Soviet citizens. Articles by Yevsyukov and Manchkha sought to construct narratives of the MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC as the only viable representatives of their own people and to bash their internal rivals. They also sought to condemn the United States and the West for supporting white minority rule in Southern Africa, while highlighting

21 V. Kirpichenko, *Razvedka: Litsa i Lichnosti,* Moscow: Geya, 1998, p. 205; V. Shubin, conversation with the author, 8 April 2015, Moscow.

22 Shubin, *Hot "Cold War"*, p. 16.

23 On the MPLA's strategy and campaign in Southeast Angola, see I. Brinkman, *A War for People: Civilians, Mobility, and Legitimacy in South-East Angola During MPLA's War for Independence*, Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2005.

24 P. Manchkha, "Kolonialism Obrechen. Angola Budet Svobodnoy", *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* 11 (1967) 7, p. 29.

Soviet support for anti-colonial struggles. This was to highlight Soviet internationalism in the service of anti-colonialism, as opposed to Western hypocrisy and moral duplicity. These publications in *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* thus also served as an important "moral weapon" in the struggle for "hearts and minds" for domestic and international audiences in the context of the Cold War. The journal also provided a platform for Africans themselves to communicate with the Soviet readership. Among regular contributors were Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto, who regularly published updates on the progress of armed struggle.[25] Meant to educate and inform, the articles published by party cadres such as Yevsyukov and Manchkha were generally quite similar in the language used and the messages conveyed. These contrasted sharply with the lively style of so-called "reports from liberated areas" that became a common feature of Soviet print media, starting from the mid-1960s.

Soviet Journalist and Reports from the Liberated Areas

In the socialist countries, foreign journalists were a privileged caste. Soviet international journalists could travel and work abroad, a marker of privilege bestowed upon a narrow elite. The route to such a privileged career often started with passing difficult entrance exams to enrol at the Moscow State University or the Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO), which offered training in area studies and foreign languages. The vast majority of Soviet internationalist journalists were men, mainly of Russian ethnic origin, since entry requirements restricted access to women and men of Jewish ethnic background.[26] Soviet international journalists were highly educated men who spoke foreign languages. Many had fought in the Second World War. These Soviet journalists were part of a confident post-war generation who were proud of their country and its achievements, and were dedicated to the party. Many were "true believers" in Soviet socialism and welcomed Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Congress. When Khrushchev turned to the Third World, Soviet journal-

25 A. Neto, "My Gotovimsya k Sokrushitelnomu udaru", *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* 9 (1965) 12, p. 30; A. Cabral, "Uverennost v Pobede", ibid; A. Cabral, "Edinstvo Obespechit Pobedy", *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* 10 (1966) 5, pp. 10 – 11; Interview with A. Neto, "Samoye Vazhnoye Oruzhie", *Aziya i Afrika Segodnya* 11 (1967) 1, pp. 30 – 31.

26 N. Mitrokhin, "Elita 'Zakrytogo Obshchestva': MGIMO, Mezhdunarodnye otdely apparata TsK KPSS i prosopografiia ikh sotrudnikov", *Ab Imperio* 4 (2013), pp. 145 – 186.

ists were also to act as informal ambassadors to the Third World, to enhance the positive image of the Soviet Union – in print and in person. As to the Soviet elite in general, the anti-colonial and revolutionary struggles excited journalists, who saw the Third World as the new frontier, where revolution could be reborn. It is not surprising that Soviet journalists jumped on the bandwagon to report on anti-colonial struggles. Starting from the mid-1960s, Soviet journalists would commonly report about their travels to areas where the anti-colonial movements were heavily present, the so-called liberated areas.[27]

The emergence of Soviet reporting from the liberated areas also coincided with the intensification of armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies. In 1964, the MPLA reorganized its operations from a new base in Congo-Brazzaville. Armed with Soviet weapons and backed by a contingent of Cuban advisers, the organisation started operations in Cabinda – an Angolan enclave in neighbouring Congo-Brazzaville. As the MPLA launched its first forays into Cabinda in 1965, Soviet journalists began touring areas of Angola under control of the MPLA, known as "liberated areas". Mikhail Domogatskikh was the first Soviet journalist to travel to Cabinda, accompanied by the MPLA guerrillas. He came back with field notes that were published in a series of articles in *Pravda* under the title "Plamya nad Angoloy" [Flame over Angola] between May and June 1965.

Such reports were made for domestic and international consumption. They were first published in *Pravda*, then adapted for broadcast in foreign languages for international audiences. Finally, they were recorded and scrutinized by PIDE, Portugal's secret police. In one of the first reports in "Flame over Angola", Domogatskikh described his arduous journey, crossing the border, and finally meeting the MPLA guerrillas, "valiant fighters for the freedom of Angola". Upon arrival, he discovered a sense of comradery and a genuine interest in Soviet experience of struggle against fascism during the Second World War.[28] In subsequent articles for *Pravda*, Domogatskikh goes on to depict the portraits of specific guerrilla commanders: their backgrounds, the reasons for joining the struggle, and hopes for the future. Domogatskikh also relays the words of an MPLA guerrilla commander about difficulties in their struggle and about those who, like Holden Roberto, have betrayed the revolution. His articles are filled with emotion, he wants to convince the reader

27 N. Leonov, *Likholetie: Sekretnye Missii*, Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1995, pp. 7–39.

28 Pravda Correspondent's Visit to Angolan Rebels, Moscow in Portuguese for Africa, 19.00 GMT 28. May 65, Excerpts from broadcast account of Soviet journalist's visit to Angola, Torre Tombo (Lisbon), K/4/2/7/1; M. Domogatskikh, "Plamya nad Angoloy", *Pravda*, 28 May 1965, p. 3.

about the sincerity of their fighters and their sacrifice.[29] He finishes the series of articles with a celebration of the Soviet solidarity with the MPLA, with highlighting ties that bind:

I started talking about how much our people are paying attention to the national liberation struggle, how much they are following the wars in Angola, Mozambique, and 'Portuguese' Guinea: 'The Soviet Union has always been and will remain with you, dear comrades.' Everybody jumped from seats. Hands clutching machine guns went up: 'Vive Union Soviétique! Vive Moscou!'[30]

Tomas Kolesnichenko followed Domogatskikh to Angola shortly afterwards. Kolesnichenko was one of *Pravda*'s main foreign correspondents, known for his lively writing style and flair for adventure. In early 1966, Kolesnichenko published a full account of his travels in Angola for *Pravda* in a series of articles titled "Pis'ma iz Angoly" [Letters from Angola]. In his first "letter" for *Pravda*, Kolesnichenko constructed a portrait of the MPLA's President Agostinho Neto as a hero of the liberation struggle. Kolesnichenko showed himself dining with Agostinho Neto before crossing the border. Then, their conversation was interrupted by somebody switching on the radio. He writes: "Somebody switches on the radio. One can hear loud speech. The partisans listen for some time, then they start laughing. 'This is Portuguese radio', says Agostinho Neto. Now they are saying that they had completely crushed the bandits, while only few 'agents from Moscow' remain. Meanwhile, the existence of Angolan partisans is a myth, made up by the agitators."[31] Kolesnichenko's goal was to counter Portuguese propaganda, to show that the MPLA was "real" and that it indeed controlled areas under its occupation. Kolesnichenko relays a conversation with Hoji Ya Henda, a popular MPLA guerrilla commander. The Portuguese propaganda was a lie, according to Hoji Ya Henda. The MPLA's forces were regularly engaged in fighting the Portuguese, who rarely ventured out of their posts for fear of ambushes.[32]

Once Kolesnichenko crossed the border into Angola, his gaze turned towards the MPLA guerrillas and the nature of the struggle. In the midst of the jungle, he saw a portrait of I. V. Lenin. The Angolan partisans "know Lenin", he wrote. Kolesnichenko describes MPLA guerrillas as "internationalists, convinced their task was inexorably linked with the struggle against imperialism and colonialism."[33] The role of Holden Roberto and FNLA also comes up in Kolesnichenko's

29 M. Domogatskikh, "Plamya nad Angoloy", *Pravda*, 7 June 1965, p. 3.
30 M. Domogatskikh, "Plamya nad Angoloy", *Pravda*, 16 June 1965, p. 3.
31 T. Kolesnichenko, "Pis'ma iz Angoly: Chistaya Voda", *Pravda*, 8 March 1966, p. 5.
32 Ibid.
33 T. Kolesnichenko, "Otryad Tovarishcha Vystrel", 11 March 1966, p. 5.

account. He highlights FNLA's duplicitous nature through a story of Veneno (nom de guerre), another MPLA commander. Veneno was the son of a poor plantation worker, who had been abused by his boss.[34] Since childhood, Veneno hated colonial rule and thus he did not hesitate to join the uprising in 1961. Veneno first joined the FNLA, but he was soon disappointed when he realized that Holden Roberto's main concern was not to fight against the colonizers, but to enrich himself. After many travails, he managed to escape and finally joined the MPLA.[35] In another article for *Pravda*, Kolesnichenko goes further to portray MPLA as a beacon of hope for Africa. He underlines that "Bourgeoisie propaganda" was wrong to celebrate the destruction of the "progressive forces". In fact, the MPLA's struggle showed that forces existed in Africa that would develop revolution. That, he continued, depended on support from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries: "The struggle of the Angolan partisans proves that the liberation movement against colonialism and imperialism can't exist in isolation from the international workers' movement, from the international socialist system."[36]

In reports from the liberated areas, journalists like Domogatskikh and Kolesnichenko constructed a dominant narrative for the MPLA and its struggle. The MPLA enjoyed widespread control and a large degree of control in rural areas. They were the only representative of the liberation struggle in Angola, juxtaposed with Holden Roberto's FNLA, which was ineffective and unwilling to fight. Another aim was to reaffirm Soviet leadership of the international communist movement. In fact, as the journalists tried to show, the MPLA's struggle could not exist in isolation, without Soviet support. The MPLA's struggle proved that revolution was alive and the Soviet Union was crucial to its success. Over time, Soviet journalists reporting from liberated areas of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau became fairly commonplace. They often went with small crews of cameramen to shoot films about the armed struggle. They also came back with reports of the "real situation on the ground" for official use. Nobody exemplified the many functions Soviet journalists played in the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa better than Oleg Ignat'ev.

34 T. Kolesnichenko, *Granitsu Perekhodyat v Polnoch*, p. 24.
35 Ibid., pp. 30 – 37.
36 T. Kolesnichenko, "Pis'ma iz Angoly: Viktoria o Moerte", *Pravda*, 22 April 1966, p. 5; Kolesnichenko, *Granitsu Perekhodyat v Polnoch,* pp. 30 – 31.

The Myth-Maker? Oleg Ignat'ev and the Struggle against Portuguese Colonial Rule

Ignat'ev's career reflects the multiplicity of roles that were accessible to highly sought-after area studies specialists with the knowledge of foreign languages. Born in 1924, Ignat'ev served in the Black Sea fleet during the Second World War as a deep-water diver who laid mines. After the war, he enrolled in the prestigious Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO). After graduating in 1949, he first worked for *Komsomolskaya Pravda* before going on a three-year foreign assignment to Argentina where he worked as the second secretary and press attaché at the Soviet Embassy. Back in Moscow, he moved to a post at the State Committee for Cultural Links with Foreign Countries, specializing in Latin America. In 1959, he returned to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. In 1964, Ignat'ev started working for *Pravda*.[37] It was shortly after he started to work for *Pravda* that he met Amílcar Cabral. He remembered that their first meeting took place on 10 November 1965 in Moscow at the initiative of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. "A mulatto of medium height entered the mansion at Kropotkinskaya Street. He had regular features and his brown eyes looked calmly and attentively from behind large, horn-rimmed glasses. His temples had begun to grey. On his head was a knitted cap work by Czech skiers. 'Amílcar Cabral', he introduced himself and held out his hand". It was at that meeting that Cabral first suggested that Soviet journalists should venture to the "liberated areas" of Guinea-Bissau. Apparently, Ignat'ev immediately supported Cabral's idea and suggested that *Pravda* should dispatch him to report on the situation there.[38]

In 1966, Ignat'ev became the first Soviet journalist to travel to Guinea-Bissau. On his first trip, he went to the south of Guinea-Bissau – the heartland of support for the PAIGC. On first examination, Ignat'ev's reports on liberated areas in Guinea-Bissau differ little from those of Tom Kolesnichenko or Mikhail Domogatskikh. He wrote about the cruelty of Portuguese colonialism and the PAIGC's brave struggle, all against the backdrop of his own trek across the Guinea/Guinea-Bissau border into the liberated areas, night-time bombardments, and conver-

37 "Oleg Konstantinovich Ignat'ev", *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, https://www.kp.ru/best/msk/korrespondenty_pobedy/page19738.html (accessed 20 February 2019).

38 O. Ignat'ev, *Amílcar Cabral: Patriot, Fighter, Humanist*, Moscow: Novosti, 1990, p. 5.

sations about freedom with the guerrillas. However, Ignat'ev went further.[39] In his reports, he showed the PAIGC acting as an "embryo state" in the liberated areas by building schools for children and offering primary healthcare services for the people. Ignat'ev also zoomed in on Soviet solidarity with the struggle, mainly through reporting on meetings with those who had studied in the Soviet Union. During his first trip to Guinea-Bissau, Ignat'ev talks about meeting a young woman who had just returned from the USSR, where she had studied to become a nurse. In his last report from Guinea-Bissau, Ignat'ev reports he finally met Amílcar Cabral, who asked him to speak about what he saw in front of the UN's Decolonisation Committee. Ignat'ev could not go to testify, but stressed that his reports bore witness to the fact that the people of "Portuguese Guinea" had freed almost half of the territory under the leadership of the PAIGC; that there was no colonial administration in the liberated areas; and that the struggle for liberation was led by regular military units of the PAIGC's armed forces.[40] Overall, Ignat'ev's reports were meant to reinforce the dominant narrative of the PAIGC as an "embryo state" in the liberated areas for domestic and international audiences.

After his first trip in 1966, Ignat'ev became a regular visitor to Guinea-Bissau. In 1968, he went to Guinea-Bissau again, this time with a crew of Soviet cameramen to shoot a film about the PAIGC. In 1970, he covered the armed struggle in the East of Guinea-Bissau. Ignat'ev's interest in Guinea-Bissau was shaped by a close personal relationship that he developed with Amílcar Cabral. In the early 1970s, Cabral's daughter, Iva, stayed at Ignat'ev's home as a first-year student at the History Department of Moscow State University. Cabral commonly met Ignat'ev in his home, discussing forthcoming trips. The two became friends. In 1973, Ignat'ev went to Guinea-Bissau again. This time, he wanted to cross the whole country from north to south. On 21 January 1973, Ignat'ev was in Mores in the north of Guinea-Bissau when he heard news of Cabral's assassination in Conakry.[41] Cabral was murdered as part of a failed plot, concocted by the Portuguese and executed by a group of PAIGC members, unhappy with the progress of armed struggle and with what they believed was the dominant position of Cape Verdeans in the PAIGC. The Soviets were very worried about the PAIGC's prospects in the aftermath of Cabral's death. With Cabral gone, the Soviet military felt the PAIGC was under threat of being subsumed by either the Guineans,

39 O. Ignat'ev, "Pepel I Plamya Kafina", *Pravda*, 8 June 1966, p. 7; O. Ignat'ev, "Boytsy iz tysyachi tabanok", *Pravda*, 13 June 1966, p. 3; O. Ignat'ev, "Ukhodit na Zadanie Otryad", *Pravda*, 17 June 1966, p. 5.

40 O. Ignat'ev, "Chas Pobedy Prob'yet", *Pravda*, 29 June 1966, p. 5.

41 Ignat'ev, *Amílcar Cabral: Patriot*, p. 6

the Cubans, or both, so they dramatically expanded military assistance.[42] Since Ignat'ev happened to be inside Guinea-Bissau when Cabral's murder took place, he had a privileged position to structure the narrative.

One of his aims was to underscore that Cabral's murder did not change the situation inside the country, that the PAIGC still had the support of the local population. The main reason why common people in the liberated areas supported the PAIGC, argued Ignat'ev in characteristic fashion, was the transformative nature of the struggle for people's lives. In one of his articles for *Pravda*, he recounted a conversation with Fode Ture, "an elder of about seventy years old, dressed in typical Muslim dress". According to Ture, people did not know anything beyond their own village. Now, Ture's elder son was fighting for the PAIGC in the south, while one of his granddaughters was studying abroad to become a teacher. The PAIGC built schools and dispatched doctors to care for children. The Portuguese may have killed Cabral, but the people would never live in the same way as before.[43]

Another of Ignat'ev's aims was to dispel the notion that the coup in Conakry and Cabral's murder had anything to do with disagreements within the party. Returning to Conakry from his tour of Guinea-Bissau in February 1973, Ignat'ev was the first international journalist to interview Cabral's wife Anna Maria, the only eye-witness to the assassination. The short version of her account was printed in *Pravda* on 6 March 1973. In an emotional account, Ignat'ev relayed Anna Maria's account of the murder: Cabral's bravery in dealing with his assassins, reinforcing his image as a slain revolutionary hero. In his own commentary, Ignat'ev emphasized that Cabral's assassins were mere criminals who worked for the Portuguese.[44] As such, Ignat'ev's reports were supposed to reassure about the PAIGC's success and provide credence to the organization in crisis. He developed the narrative in a book-length study of Cabral's murder, published in 1975 and 1976, in Portuguese and Russian. Written in a lively journalistic style, the book is based

42 Kulikov to CC CPSU, 14 February 1973, "On the Situation in the PAIGC", RGANI, f. 5, op. 66, d. 1190; Kulikov to CC CPSU, 28 September 1973, "On the Question of the Provision of Aid to the PAIGC from Several Countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa", RGANI, f. 5, op. 66, d. 1190, 213; Kulikov to CC CPSU, 18 July 1973, "On the Situation in the PAIGC", RGANI, f. 5, op. 66, d. 1190, p. 133.

43 O. Ignat'ev, "400 Kilometrov po Osvobozhdennym Rayonam", *Pravda*, 4 March 1973, p. 4.

44 O. Ignat'ev, "Kto Ubil Amilkara Kabrala", *Pravda*, 6 March 1973, p. 4.

on minutes of interrogations with those who were involved in the plot to murder Cabral and aimed to show PIDE as the main villains.[45]

In the following years, Ignat'ev continued to write to establish the "myth of Amílcar Cabral". In 1975, he published the first biography of Cabral, titled *Amílcar Cabral: The Son of Africa* both in Russian and Portuguese.[46] The book does not have any references, but does contain verbatim dialogues with Cabral and others around him to paint an idealistic picture of a man fully dedicated to the struggle from a young age. Ignat'ev's Cabral is an ideal type, a hero of a liberation struggle. Allegedly based on Ignat'ev's conversations with Cabral during his many tours of the liberated areas, Ignat'ev carefully constructed *The Son of Africa* to showcase Cabral as the only uncompromising leader and fighter for independence of his nation. However, the book remained the only biography of Cabral until the publication of Patrick Chabal's *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War.*[47] As Chabal is right to note, the biography was "tendentious journalistic of arbitrary chosen events in Cabral's life".[48] Ignat'ev's biography of Cabral was never meant to be an academic study. Written in a vivid and racy style, it was supposed to enchant the reader, to construct his image as a revolutionary hero akin to Che Guevara. "Ignat'ev's work is truly worthy of a film script", writes Mustafa Dhada.[49] While Ignat'ev spent a lot of time and energy writing on the PAIGC, by the early 1970s, he had become the main journalist reporting on struggles in southern Africa – in Angola and Mozambique.

Upon the request of MPLA's Agostinho Neto, in July 1970, Ignat'ev headed a four-man Soviet crew on a trip to Angola. Their goal was to shoot a film about life in MPLA-controlled liberated areas. Ignat'ev's reports from Angola were very similar to those from Guinea-Bissau, characterized by similar romanticism and dominant narratives of suffering and struggle against Portuguese colonialism. As in his reports from Guinea-Bissau, Ignat'ev pays a lot of attention to the MPLA's attempt to establish an "embryo state" in Angola: "The women work

45 O. Ignat'ev, *Tri Vystrela v Rayone Min'er: Dokumental'naya Povest o A. Kabrale*, Moscow: Profizdat, 1976; O. Ignat'ev, *Três tiros da PIDE: Quem, Porquê e Como Mataram Amicar Cabral?*, Lisbon: Prelo, 1975.

46 O. Ignat'ev, *Amilkar Kabral: Syn Afriki*, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1975; O. Ignat'ev, *Amílcar Cabral: Filho de Africa*, Lisbon: Prelo Editora, 1975.

47 P. Chabal, *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Also see M. Dhada, *Warriors at Work: How Guinea Was Really Set Free*, Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1993; J.S. Sousa, *Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973), Vida e Morte de um Revolucionario Africano, 1924–1973*, Coimbra: Edição de Autor, 2016.

48 Chabal, *Amílcar Cabral*, p. 241.

49 Dhada, *Warriors at Work*, p. 210.

in the fields, the men go hunting and fishing, they engage in cattle grazing and extract honey. Seemingly, this is the quiet, patriarchal life, which has been in place for centuries. You will immediately notice the changes in people's lives that occurred due to selfless work of the MPLA." Ignat'ev elaborates: the MPLA had opened schools and healthcare services. The local medic, Bazadio, studied medicine in the USSR. Attached to the article were photographs of the partisans, but also of small children sitting behind desks.[50] He also notes the evolution of the MPLA's armed struggle: the organization was waging the war in all areas of Angola; the headquarters had been moved inside of the country. There were many more trained cadres who had undergone military training in "North Africa and the socialist countries, including in the USSR".[51] A year later, in July–August 1971, Ignat'ev went to southern Africa again. This time, he covered FRELIMO's armed struggle in Mozambique.

Ignat'ev's trip to Mozambique in 1971 coincided with a difficult period of anti-colonial struggle in the Portuguese colonies. In 1970, the Portuguese undertook a massive counter-offensive in Angola and Mozambique. In Angola, it was led by an experienced general, Francisco da Costa Gomes. In Mozambique, General Kaúlza de Arriaga launched *Operação Nó Górdio* (Operation Gordian Knot), a massive military offensive against FRELIMO. While Gordian Knot was originally successful, by 1971, it had become clear that FRELIMO had shifted the focus of its operations from the northern Cabo Delgado to Tete Province.[52] At the same time, the Soviets were reviewing their support for FRELIMO. In 1967–69, FRELIMO had undergone an internal crisis, which led to the rise of Samora Machel as the new president after Eduardo Mondlane's assassination. Machel was suspicious of the Soviets, but he was nonetheless eager to obtain increased assistance to counter the Portuguese offensive and expand operations. Machel first came to Moscow 1971. The occasion was the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU, but Machel's main goal was to negotiate with the Soviet Military for the delivery of new weapons.[53] The Soviets remained cautious about FRELIMO and eager to investigate their political alignment, especially with the Chinese.[54]

The purpose of the trip to Mozambique was thus two-fold. As before, Soviet journalists were to establish the dominant narratives of FRELIMO's liberation

50 O. Ignat'ev, "A Vitória é Certa: Reportage from the Angolan Partisan Detachment", *Pravda*, 23 August 1970, p. 4.

51 O. Ignat'ev. "Na Zapad ot Zambezi", *Pravda*, 17 August 1970, p. 3

52 M.D. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, London: Hurst, 1995, pp. 531–532.

53 S. Vieira, *Participei, Por Isso Testemunho*, Maputo: Ndjira, 2011, pp. 598–599.

54 Slipchenko (Dar es Salaam) to Moscow, 20 July 1973, Record of a Conversation with Machel, dos Santos, and Chissano, 17 July 1973, RGANI, f. 5, op. 60, d. 865.

struggle. In his reports for *Pravda*, Ignat'ev covered familiar themes: the brutality of Portuguese colonial wars, the bravery of the guerrilla fighters, and FRELIMO's modernisation attempts in rural areas. While the deliveries of Soviet arms were always an open secret, it was not until 1970 that Moscow decided to openly admit they were providing arms to the anti-colonial movements.[55] Now, Ignat'ev openly wrote about Soviet military assistance to the anti-colonial movements.[56] However, Ignat'ev and his crew were also to produce a secret report about the situation on the ground to ascertain the progress of armed struggle and the moods of FRELIMO's leadership. The journalists' secret report to the CC CPSU from 7 August 1971 on the situation inside FRELIMO was quite positive. They wrote favourably about FRELIMO's leader Samora Machel, arguing he was an "authoritative, energetic, and wilful leader" who was quite impressed by the conversations he had had in Moscow during the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU. Machel was still in the process of "political formation", they continued, but his background, having come from a "very poor peasant family", set him on a path to become a "true people's leader".[57] While one could still see China's influence among FRELIMO, they argued, the organisation had turned in the direction of the USSR. To enhance the trend, Moscow should step up assistance and widen contacts with the leadership. Another way of countering Chinese influence would be through the "political education" of FRELIMO cadres coming to study in the USSR.[58] It is not clear how much these kinds of recommendations affected Soviet attitudes and policies towards FRELIMO. However, they prove that journalists like Ignat'ev fulfilled multiple functions, especially when truthful information was pretty scarce.

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55 The provision of arms was first officially acknowledged by the director of the Institute of African Studies, Vasiliy Solodovnikov, in his address to the delegates of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, held in Rome, in 1970. See V. Solodovnikov, *Tvorcheskii put' v Afrikanistiku i Diplomatiiu*, Moscow: Institut Afriki RAN, 2000, p. 91.

56 On Ignat'ev's trip to Mozambique in 1971, see O. Ignat'ev, "Den' v Pogranichnom Rayone", *Pravda*, 8 August 1971, p. 4; O. Ignat'ev, "Na Zemle Pelmeni Makonde", *Pravda*, 11 August 1971, p. 4; O. Ignat'ev, "Slovar' Doktora Slavova", *Pravda*, 20 August 1971, p. 4.

57 Mikhalev, Nikanorov, Shchashchaev (Lusaka) to Moscow, "Report on the Trip of Journalists and Cameramen in Semi-liberated Regions of Tete in Mozambique", 7 August 1971, RGANI, f. 5, op. 63, d. 579, p. 266. The journalists' description of Machel's background is not fully correct. He was indeed a son of a peasant farmer, but of some status. This allowed Machel attend school and become a nurse's assistant, a profession he held in Lourenço Marques [Maputo] before joining the FRELIMO. See I. Christie, *Samora Machel: A Biography,* London: Panaf, 1989.

58 Mikhalev, Nikanorov, Shchashchaev (Lusaka) to Moscow, "Report on the Trip of Journalists and Cameramen in Semi-liberated Regions of Tete in Mozambique", 7 August 1971, RGANI, f. 5, op. 63, d. 579, pp. 265 – 266.

On 25 April 1974, a group of junior military officers known as the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) seized power in Portugal. The coup led to a process of democratization, known as the Carnation Revolution. Censorship was lifted, political parties legalized, and the secret police disbanded. Among those who were allowed to return to Portugal in the aftermath of the coup were Álvaro Cunhal and Mário Soares, the General Secretaries of the Portuguese Communist Party and the Socialist Party, respectively. Both were invited to join the first provisional government, with Soares taking an important portfolio as the foreign minister. Soares proceeded to negotiate for transfers of power to PAIGC and FRELIMO in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Angola was a much more complicated case. The coup in Lisbon took the Soviets by surprise. In Angola, the nationalist movement was divided between three rival organisations: MPLA, FNLA, and the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi. In a series of meeting at Alvor, Portugal, in January 1975, the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA signed an agreement, which obligated all three to share power in a transitional government and to hold constituent assembly elections in October. The date of independence was set for 11 November 1975. However, the Alvor Accord did not hold. By June 1975, the country was engulfed by a civil war, with MPLA pitted against FNLA and UNITA.

The Soviets had very little information about developments on the ground and very little impact upon the process of negotiations for the transfer of power to PAIGC and FRELIMO, which were ongoing for most of the summer of 1974. The Soviets needed to understand the balance of forces and in September 1974 Ignat'ev became the first Soviet journalist to make a long trip to Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola. He returned with a series of economic and political recommendations for the CC CPSU. His evaluation of the situation in Guinea-Bissau was particularly positive. In his report to the CC CPSU, he argued Guinea-Bissau might well soon turn into an "example for many Third World countries" since the PAIGC had many experienced, talented leaders, many of whom had been educated in the USSR. He also observed the development of a bitter rivalry between liberation movements in Angola and advised that the Soviets should step up support for the MPLA. In a handwritten comment, the head of the CC CPSU Africa desk Petr Manchkha stated that the Soviet Solidarity Committee and other Soviet "public organizations" would consider his report.[59]

Ignat'ev was not the only Soviet journalist to provide "first-hand" information on developments in Angola. In December, Mikhail Zenovich, a journalist

59 Ignat'ev to Moscow, 18 October 1973, "Report about the Trip to Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique", RGANI, f. 5, op. 67, d. 897.

with *Pravda*, followed Ignat'ev to evaluate the situation in Luanda. In his report to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Zenovich noted the intensification of rivalries between key political parties in the capital. The future power in Angola depended on whether the MPLA or its main rival, FNLA, backed by Zaire, could accumulate sufficient military force.[60] These observations together with information coming from other MPLA leaders seemed to confirm to the Soviets the need to resume military support to the MPLA by the end of 1974.[61] However, Ignat'ev still remained the key Soviet journalist reporting on Angola. In the months preceding the declaration of independence on 11 November, he was back in Luanda, this time working with Igor Uvarov, an officer of the Soviet Military Intelligence (GRU) who had first arrived in Angola in early 1975, working undercover as a TASS correspondent. Another journalist who often travelled with Ignat'ev and Uvarov was Ryszard Kapuściński, the Polish journalist and author of *Another Day of Life*. In the months preceding the declaration of independence, Ignat'ev and Uvarov served as key liaisons between Moscow and MPLA leadership, relaying messages from the Soviet government. When Oleg Nazhestkin, a KGB officer who had known Agostinho Neto since the early 1960s, arrived in besieged Luanda in early November, he recalled meeting Ignat'ev and Uvarov in the famous Tivoli Hotel. Late at night, all three men drove to Neto's residence to pass on a note of support from the Soviet government.[62]

Alongside Uvarov, Ignat'ev became a key source of information about developments on the ground, while simultaneously writing many short reports for *Pravda*. Later, he published a book based on his notes and memories from his time in Angola titled *Operatziya Kobra-75* (*Operation Cobra-75*).[63] While Ignat'ev's and Kapuściński were in Luanda at the same time, the two books are very different. Kapuściński's *Another Day of Life* is an evocation of Luanda as a wooden city floating away, as he witnesses the Portuguese evacuation amid the civil war. In *Another Day of Life*, Kapuściński is firmly on the side of the MPLA and even picks up a gun in real life in the midst of the fighting.[64] Both Kapuściński and Ignat'ev portray the MPLA in heroic terms. However, if Kapuściński is inter-

60 Informatsiya o Komandirovke v Angolu, 27 December 1974, AVPRF, F. 658, OP. 14, P. 62, D. 1, p. 69.

61 O. A. Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

62 O. Nazhestkin, "V Ognennom Koltse Blokady", in: V. Karpov (ed.), *Vneshnyaya Razvedka*, Moscow: XXI Vek-Soglasie, 2000, pp. 234 – 256, at 251.

63 O. Ignat'ev, *Operatsiya Kobra-75*, Moscow: Izdatelstvo Politicheskoy Literatury, 1978.

64 Domoslawski, *Ryszard Kapuściński*, pp. 214 – 215; R. Kapuściński, *Another Day of Life*, London: Penguin Books, 2001.

ested in the spirit of the times, the Zeitgeist, Ignat'ev wants to prove events in Angola as a product of international conspiracy, concocted by the USA, China, and South Africa. He describes in grimy details the brutality of the FNLA and UNITA, but accords either organisation little agency, arguing there was no secret that the "mobs of Savimbi and Roberto" played a secondary role in the intervention.[65] Published in 1978, in the midst of the Soviet-Cuban operation in Angola, Ignat'ev also openly speaks about Cuban advisors, but does not mention about the role of the Cuban Special Forces in the defence of Luanda in the days preceding 11 November.[66]

Conclusion

The print media were crucial to Soviet engagement with the anti-colonial struggles in southern Africa. Writings on the anti-colonial movements, however, similar in their message, writing style, and means, were fundamental to expressing Soviet solidarity with anti-colonial movements. They were meant to educate and inform domestic and international audiences and help the chosen anti-colonial movements – MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC – construct heroic metanarratives of anti-colonial struggle. As this chapter shows, not only professional journalists, but also party cadres like Yevsyukov and Manckha, were involved in the process of constructing the dominant narrative of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The journalists' accounts "from the liberated areas" were, however, quite different since they were intended to evoke emotions of solidarity in the readers and affinity with the guerrilla fighters. Besides establishing the dominant narrative of anti-colonial struggles, the key goal of these reports from liberated areas was to validate the socialist experiment and increase the prestige of the Soviet Union. Through these romanticized descriptions of the anti-colonial struggles in southern Africa, Soviet journalists tried to build an "imagined community", bound together by common vision of the future.

Oleg Ignat'ev embodied the many functions of a Soviet internationalist journalist. Through his reports, he established a particular language and narratives to talk about liberation in Southern Africa. He emphasized personal bravery and sacrifice of the African guerrillas, as well as the cruelty of Portuguese colonialism, backed by the USA and other Western allies. Besides, Ignat'ev consistently underscored the lib-

65 Ignat'ev, *Operatsiya Kobra-75*, p. 178.

66 P. Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, pp. 307–311.

eration movements as sources of modernisation in the liberated areas. Like other journalists, Igant'ev also served as an informal go-between for the leadership of the liberation movements and Soviet officials, providing first-hand information about developments on the ground. Soviet journalists like Ignat'ev were key to establishing the heroic narratives of anti-colonial struggle, which revolved around Africa's "big men" like Cabral, Neto, and Samora Machel. Soviet journalists were crucial actors in sustaining metaphysical and real contacts between anti-colonial movements and the Soviet Union.

Milorad Lazic

Comrades in Arms: Yugoslav Military Aid to Liberation Movements of Angola and Mozambique, 1961–1976

In New Belgrade, slicing through Blocks 58 and 70a, runs a street named after Dr. Agostinho Neto. The Angolan poet, revolutionary and the country's first president, is largely forgotten by the inhabitants of this post-socialist metropolis. Yet, thanks to the present day connections between the Serbian military-industrial complex and the Angolan Armed Forces, Neto's name escaped the decommunization that purged names associated with socialist Yugoslavia.[1] Neto's presence in the topography of the former Yugoslavia's capital stands not only as a symbol of the lucrative business deals of today but also as a resilient reminder of connections between Yugoslavia and Angola that went back to the early 1960s.

Yugoslav military assistance to liberation movements from Portuguese colonies has been addressed sporadically in the existing historical scholarship. Piero Gleijeses in *Conflicting Missions* (2003) noted the importance of Yugoslavia's military aid to the Angolan revolutionaries. Alvin Rubinstein in his seminal book *Yugoslavia and the Non-aligned World* (1970) asserted that "anti-colonialism has become the Yugoslav credit card to the Third World", mentioning how the Yugoslavs often hosted leaders of "illegal movements".[2] Other scholarly works in English referenced in passing Yugoslavia's role in Angola. Odd Arne Westad in *The Cold War: A World History* (2017) noted how Yugoslavia, Cuba, and the USSR were the main supporters of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA).[3] John Marcum

1 Because of these contemporary links, in 2010, Serbian and Angolan officials dedicated a small plaque dedicated to Neto. "This plaque will be important for the New Belgradians because a number of them who live on this street do not know who was Dr. Agostinho Neto", the official website of the Novi Beograd municipal government stated. See "Otkrivena spomen-ploca u ulici Dr. Agostina Neta", *Novi Beograd*, 17 September 2010, http://back.novibeograd.rs/otkrivena-spomen-ploca-u-ulici-dr-agostina-neta (accessed 10 October 2018). The plaque was stolen and re-dedicated in 2014.

2 P. Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003; A. Rubinstein, *Yugoslavia and the Non-aligned World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970, pp. 91–92.

3 O.A. Westad, *The Cold War: A World History*, New York: Basic Books, 2017, p. 483; Westad, however, did not mention Yugoslavia in his more detailed account about the Angolan revolution in:

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-011

Fig. 9: Photo of street sign with A. Neto's name and memorial plaque in Novi Belgrade [source: Milorad Lazic, private archive]

wrote how the MPLA built its "superior stature as a revolutionary Third World force" through cooperation with Cuba and Yugoslavia.[4] Natalia Telepneva's dissertation "Our Sacred Duty" (2014) provided new insights into Soviet policies toward the liberation movements in Lusophone Africa. Telepneva also mentioned Yugoslavia's assistance to these movements in the context of broader efforts of socialist countries to help the revolution. Tvrtko Jakovina's *Treca strana Hladnog rata* [The Third Side of the Cold War] (2011) is thus far the only work in Croatian/Serbian that addressed Yugoslavia's policy toward the liberation movements in Lusophone Africa. Jorge Santos Carvalho's *As Relações Jugoslavo-Portuguesas* (2012) described relations between Yugoslavia and Portugal, including Yugoslavia's relations with the three liberation movements from Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. In addition, Carvalho's book provided a selection of Yugoslav documents (translated into Portuguese) related to Belgrade's aid to these liberation movements.

This chapter builds upon the works of these scholars and makes a number of contributions to the existing scholarship by providing an in-depth analysis of Yugoslavia's military involvement in the decolonization of Portuguese Africa. Aid to the liberation movements was inextricably tied to Yugoslavia's policy of nonalignment and its intensity and scope depended upon vicissitudes of global politics in the 1960s and 1970s and Yugoslavia's foreign policy objectives. This chapter demonstrates how Yugoslavia's assistance to the liberation movements was essential for elevating the country's revolutionary credentials in Africa. It analyses how Yugoslavia's involvement in Lusophone Africa affected Yugoslavia's relations with superpowers, but also its struggle with Cuba for primacy in the Nonaligned Movement (NAM). This work looks also at personal connections between Yugoslav and African actors and investigates how these contacts influenced official policies. Finally, my research adds to the growing body of literature on the history of the global Cold War in the 1960s and 1970s.

Telling the story of Yugoslavia's involvement in Angola and Mozambique requires multiarchival research. I investigated Yugoslavia's connections to Angola and Mozambique at the Archives of Yugoslavia (Arhiv Jugoslavije, AJ), where the records of the Cabinet of the President or the Republic, the Socialist Alliance of Working People (Savez socijalistickog radnog naroda Jugoslavije, SSRNJ), and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have proven the most useful. By reading cable traffic from and to Conakry, Dar es Salaam, Havana, Luanda, Moscow,

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O.A. Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

4 J. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution: Exile Politics and Guerilla Warfare (1962–1976), Vol. 2*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978, pp. 225–226.

and Washington at the Foreign Ministry Archive of the Republic of Serbia I was able to get a clearer picture of Yugoslavia's assistance to the liberation movements, but also its relations with regional states, Cuba, and superpowers. I supplemented these documents with materials from the Archives of Slovenia that provided additional information that documents from Belgrade could not deliver. Records from the US archives were helpful in getting a more balanced view of Yugoslavia's role in Angola and Mozambique. Although the United States became interested in Angola only in 1975, documents from the Ford Library show Washington's discontent with Yugoslavia's activity in Angola. Finally, I relied on a number of Yugoslav newspapers and magazines that regularly brought stories about the liberation movements in Southern Africa, its heroes and its villains, suffering and triumphs of decolonization struggles to the Yugoslav public.

Beginning with the Algerian War of Independence in the late 1950s, Yugoslavia was an avid supporter of African Liberation Movements. The programmes of foreign military aid were an expression of "a long-standing, constant foreign policy orientation of our country", a Yugoslav report stated.[5] This assistance served to facilitate Belgrade's foreign policy objectives. Solidarity with other non-aligned countries or liberation movements expanded the number of potential Yugoslav allies in multilateral bodies such as the UN or the NAM, which was particularly important in the contexts of the Sino-Soviet split, US intervention in Vietnam, and the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia. Military assistance, as the Yugoslavs believed, acted as a deterrent from foreign interventions, and helped toward "the diffusion of defence capabilities."[6]

Foreign interventions in Vietnam and Czechoslovakia led Yugoslavia in 1969, after years of improvisation, to institutionalize its programmes of foreign military aid. In order to facilitate better distribution of this aid – under the umbrella of the SSRNJ – the Yugoslavs established two bodies: the Fund for Aid to Victims of Aggression and Colonial Domination, and the Coordination Committee for Aid to the People of Vietnam-Indochina, both of which served to collect and distribute aid. The Fund's sole role was to provide aid to African Liberation Movements and although the Fund had permanent financial problems, it streamlined Yugoslav military aid to those in need.[7]

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5 Zabeleska o nekim pitanjima saradnje i pomoci antikolonijalnim, nacionalno-oslobodilackim i drugim pokretima u svetu, 24 October 1974, Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Savez socijalistickog radnog naroda Jugoslavije (SSRNJ) Fond 142, Komisija za medjunarodne odnose, box A–226.

6 A.J. Pierre, *The Global Politics of Arms Sales,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982, p. 4.

7 Zabeleska o nekim pitanjima saradnje i pomoci antikolonijalnim, nacionalno-oslobodilackim i drugim pokretima u svetu, 24 October 1974, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, A–226.

Yugoslavia's aid to liberation movements in Portuguese Africa exemplified this foreign policy stance. Yugoslavia considered the MPLA, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano para an Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC), and the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, FRELIMO) among the "strongest and best-organized national-liberation movements in Africa."[8] In the context of Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment, these three movements warranted Belgrade's deliberate support. Military assistance to the MPLA, the PAIGC, and FRELIMO elevated Yugoslavia's prestige and confirmed the country's revolutionary credentials in the Global South. For the aid recipients, Yugoslavia's assistance was sometimes crucial in sustaining their fighting capabilities, as in the case of the MPLA in 1974/75. Moreover, besides Yugoslav guns, this aid included medical care for the wounded fighters, the training of military, political, and technical cadres, and dissemination of propaganda, which positively affected the movements' combat morale and removed their sense of isolation.

Military aid implied frequent and constant contacts between the benefactor and the recipients of this aid. Meetings between diplomats, experts, military commanders, revolutionaries, and political leaders forged personal connections between the Yugoslavs and their African partners, thus fostered intimacy and emotional and psychological identification between the parties involved. Yugoslav communists understood anti-colonialism as an "objective and inevitable social process" and Yugoslavia's "greatest generation" often identified their own struggle against foreign occupation and domestic "reactionary forces" during World War II with the anti-colonial struggle. As Tito stated, "Non-aligned is the expression of historical continuity of the Yugoslav revolution."[9] Thus, solidarity with these movements was not only driven by political considerations imposed by the global developments in the 1960s and 1970s, but was inseparable from the Yugoslav revolutionary identity. These two factors – strategic calculations and personal connections between revolutionaries – were critical in determining the scope and the forms of Yugoslavia's military assistance. These factors help explain why Yugoslav aid was distributed unevenly among these movements and why its character and quantity changed over time. Although Yugosla-

8 Informacija o nacionalnooslobodilackim pokretima portugalskih kolonija i odnosima SSRNJ s njima, 30 October 1967, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, Komisija za medjunarodne odnose, PAIGC, box I–557. While Yugoslavia provided less aid to the PAIGC than it did to the MPLA, the Yugoslavs believed that, of the three movements, the PAIGC had the best prospects to succeed in its armed struggle.

9 J.B. Tito, "Politika nesvrstavanja je izraz kontinuiteta jugoslovenske revolucije", *Politika*, 27 November 1976, p. 1.

via considered the three movements equally successful in their struggle against colonial rule, most Yugoslav aid went to the MPLA.

"Yugoslavia has a Special Place in Our Hearts": Yugoslavia's Military Aid to the MPLA

The first contacts between the Angolan Liberation Movements and Yugoslavia were not established with the MPLA but with the Union of Angolan Peoples (União das Populações de Angola, UPA), whose leader Holden Roberto visited Yugoslavia in 1960. However, the first summit of the NAM in 1961 brought both Angolan political factions, the UPA, and the MPLA, represented by Mário de Andrade, to Belgrade. Although the Yugoslavs maintained relations with both movements, in the early 1960s Belgrade tilted slightly toward the UPA for a number of reasons. The Yugoslavs believed that Roberto's movement was better organized and stronger militarily. Also, the UPA received wider support from other African countries than the MPLA. The Algerian support to Roberto was particularly appealing to the Yugoslavs because of their emotional connections to the Algerian Revolution.[10] In contrast, the MPLA was less successful in its armed struggle and largely shunned by other African states because of the movement's alleged "leftist extremism." Furthermore, the MPLA appeared reluctant to join its forces with the UPA, a development that Yugoslavia wholeheartedly encouraged.[11]

However, the Yugoslavs were wary of the UPA's connections with the West and its supposed pro-American stance.[12] Unsure about UPA's allegiances and

10 Yugoslavia understood that its support to Algeria was crucial for the affirmation of the new Yugoslav foreign policy orientation of non-alignment and the country's revolutionary credentials in Asia and Africa. The Algerian Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bela stated that "Yugoslavia re-lived its recent past through our liberation war."

11 The Yugoslavs noted that Mário de Andrade became "very agitated" when he heard that "Gilmore" – Roberto's nom de guerre – would also be in Belgrade for the summit. Zabeleska o razgovoru sa angolskom delegacijom koja je ucestvovala na konferenciji neangazovanih zemalja, 14 September 1961, Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Centralni Komitet Saveza komunista Jugoslavije (CKSKJ), Fond 507, Komisija za medjunarodne odnose i veze, Angola, IX, 3/I–2.

12 The MPLA's president Mário de Andrade told his Yugoslav interlocutors in 1961 that the UPA was militarily stronger because of the military aid from the US and Tunisia. Moreover, he accused the UPA of participating in the conspiracy against Patrice Lumumba. Zabeleska o razgovoru sa angolskom delegacijom koja je ucestvovala na konferenciji neangazovanih zemalja, 14 September 1961, AJ, CKSKJ, Fond 507, Komisija za medjunarodne odnose i veze, Angola, IX, 3/I–2.

unclear about the situation in Angola, Belgrade used Mário de Andrade's visit to establish relations with the MPLA. Yugoslavs pampered de Andrade and friends. Their itinerary included, among other things, a wine fair and festival, universities, but also the sites of the Yugoslav revolution. De Andrade delivered several talks on the situation in Angola and met with Yugoslav politicians, artists, and intellectuals. The Yugoslavs were particularly pleased that de Andrade showed interest in self-management and the ways in which Yugoslavia structured its political and mass organizations. In many ways, de Andrade's visit to Yugoslavia was a success for the MPLA.[13] Although Yugoslavia did not stop its support to the UPA, de Andrade's trip put the MPLA on a long list of parties and organizations that received Yugoslav financial support.

Yugoslavia continued to send a majority of its aid to the UPA (renamed the National Liberation Front of Angola [Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA] in 1962), largely because the Organization of African Unity (OAU) recognized Roberto's movement as Angola's only legitimate liberation movement.[14] Yet, by 1964, Yugoslavia completely abandoned the FNLA and concentrated its political and material support on the MPLA. The reasons for this shift were twofold. First, the MPLA gave more attention to courting Yugoslav officials. Roberto twice postponed his visit to Yugoslavia in 1963 and 1964, which made the Yugoslavs dissatisfied.[15] In contrast, a number of MPLA officials used every opportunity to meet with the Yugoslavs. In 1963, a high-ranking member of the MPLA,

13 De Andrade used the presence of a large number of leaders of independent African countries and political organizations to lobby for the MPLA and against Roberto. Although he was unable to make any progress with Tunisia, other African countries showed more willingness to help his movement. Zabeleska o razgovoru sa angolskom delegacijom koja je ucestvovala na konferenciji neangazovanih zemalja, 14 September 1961, AJ, CKSKJ, Fond 507, Komisija za medjunarodne odnose i veze, Angola, IX, 3/I–2.

14 In 1962/63, Belgrade sent US$ 3,000 to the FNLA and a half of that sum to the MPLA; over 1,700 kg of medical material was divided evenly; Yugoslavia provided six scholarships for members of the FNLA and only three for members of the MPLA. Informacija o Robertu Holdenu, predsedniku Nacionalnog fronta za oslobodjenje Angole (FNLA) i ciljevima njegove posete Jugoslaviji, no date 1964, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, Komisija za medjunarodne veze, Angola 1964–1970, I–553.

15 After 1961 Roberto never visited Yugoslavia again. However, in late 1973, the Yugoslav Embassy in Kinshasa re-instated contacts with Roberto. These contacts extended throughout 1974 but without results. Yugoslavia's reasons for these talks were pragmatic because Belgrade believed that the FNLA would participate in government after Angola's independence. Yet, "our sympathies and our support should go to the MPLA, but in the future we should not ignore other two movements", a report stated (Informacija povodom Sporazuma o nezavisnosti i obrazovanju privremene vlade Angole, 31 January 1975, Diplomatski arhiv [DA] Ministarstvo spoljnih poslova [MSP], Politicka arhiva [PA] 1975, Angola, fascikla 226, dosije 1, signature 44740).

Gonçalves Benedito, after a trip to China, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR, visited Yugoslavia for medical treatment. During his stay in Yugoslavia, Gonçalves probed Yugoslavia's willingness to provide military aid to the movement. He also praised Yugoslavia's political system and hospitality and said that he learned more from his short visit to Yugoslavia than from his six-month-long stay in Czechoslovakia.[16] In January 1964, one of the leaders of the MPLA, Luís de Azevedo Júnior went to Yugoslavia at his own request to familiarize himself with the experiences of the Yugoslav liberation struggle during WWII. The Yugoslavs found both Gonçalves' and Azevedo's visits useful to "find out directly about the situation in the Angolan Liberation Movement that [...] became more complicated."[17] In their assessments of the situation in Angola, the Yugoslavs became increasingly dependent on the MPLA's reports.

The second factor that led to Yugoslavia's shift from Roberto to his competitors was linked to larger Cold War issues of the 1960s. In the context of the Sino-Soviet split, Beijing intensified its attacks on non-alignment and tried to counter alleged Soviet influence over the movement with calls for Afro-Asian solidarity. This Chinese interference led to divisions within the NAM that escalated around the 1964 summit in Cairo. Under the Chinese influence, the "militants" such as Cuba, Indonesia, and Algeria, challenged Yugoslavia's position within the movement.[18] To enhance their revolutionary credentials, the Yugoslavs turned toward movements such as the MPLA that were more "progressive" in their ideological orientation.

In January 1965, the president of the MPLA, Agostinho Neto, wrote a personal letter to Tito requesting material, financial, and military aid, but also asking for Yugoslavia's political support in lobbying African states to recognize the MPLA as the only legitimate representative of the Angolan resistance. In March 1965, Neto sent another letter, this time to the SSRNJ informing the Yugoslavs that the Ministerial conference of the OAU that met in Nairobi recognized the MPLA as the "only national force [in Angola] that conducts the struggle against Portuguese colonialism."[19] Although Belgrade was still cautious and did not commit itself to lobbying efforts on behalf of the MPLA, the Yugoslavs

16 Poseta Benedita Goncalvesa, zamenika angolske armije MPLA, Jugoslaviji, 1 March 1963, AJ, CKSKJ, Fond 507, IX, 3/I–13.

17 Informacija o poseti Luja Azevede, clana rukovodstva Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (FNLA), 6 March 1965, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, Komisija za medjunarodne veze, Angola 1964–1970, I–553.

18 Rubinstein, *Yugoslavia and the Non-aligned World*, pp. 303–304.

19 Angolski pokret posle konferencije u Najrobiju (povodom pisma dr. Netoa, predsednika MPLA), 29 March 1965, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, Komisija za medjunarodne odnose, Angola, I–553.

ramped up propaganda at home to popularize MPLA's struggle with the Yugoslav public. Moreover, Yugoslavia sent material and financial aid that it had promised to Azevedo during his visit in the winter of 1965.[20] However, Yugoslavia stopped short from sending weapons to Neto.

Prior to 1968, Yugoslav aid to the MPLA consisted mostly of money, food, and medical material.[21] Despite pleas for guns, the Yugoslavs refused to send any because, as one Yugoslav report stated, "it would be easy to establish their origin", which could create political problems for Belgrade.[22] Moreover, the Yugoslavs believed that liberation movements should send their requests for weapons to independent African countries, in order to avoid the appearance of outside interference in African affairs.[23] On similar grounds, Yugoslavia rejected MPLA's requests to provide military training for its members.[24] Despite Yugoslav inability to provide weapons and military training, financial aid to the MPLA grew. In 1966, Yugoslavia sent US$ 6,000, and a year later, that sum increased to US$ 10,000.[25] Additionally, Yugoslav hospitals admitted a small number of wounded MPLA fighters to recuperate in Yugoslavia.

In the mid-1960s, contacts between the Yugoslav officials and MPLA functionaries grew in frequency. These connections were particularly important to Yugoslavia because after the Cairo summit the NAM was in a hiatus, it being unclear whether the movement would ever convene again.[26] In order to remain relevant in Africa, Yugoslavia had to substitute the moribund organization with bilateral contacts with African independent states and liberation move-

20 Ibid.

21 Predlog pomoci MPLA, 5 February 1965, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

22 Informacija o Robertu Holdenu, predsedniku Nacionalnog fronta za oslobodjenje Angole (FNLA) i ciljevima njegove posete Jugoslaviji, no date 1964, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

23 In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Yugoslavia furnished the Algerian National Liberation Front with infantry and artillery weapons. These actions elevated Yugoslavia's status in Africa, but also endangered Yugoslavia's relations with France.

24 Informacija o poseti Luja Azevede, clana rukovodstva Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 28 February 1964, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–533.

25 Informacija o pomoci SFR Jugoslavije Narodnom pokretu za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 5 March 1971, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–3–a/3–3. According to Angolan claims, monthly expenses for 1,000 soldiers were around US$ 18,000 per month. In 1965, the MPLA needed US$ 100,000 to develop and expand their military operations. See Zabeleska o razgovoru Dobrivoja Vidica sa Lujom de Azevedom, clanom rukovodstva Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 1 February 1965, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–5–b/3–1.

26 In the 1960s the challenge to the NAM's primacy in the Global South from the PRC, despite Beijing's failure, caused "wounds [...] to Non-alignment [...] [that] needed healing". See L. Luthi, "Non-alignment, 1961–74", in: S. Bott et al. (eds.), *Neutrality and Neutralism in the Global Cold War. Between or Within the Blocs?*, London: Routledge, 2016, p. 96.

ments. These connections allowed Yugoslavia to have a voice in the Global South and counter the influence of the "militants", i.e. China, Cuba, and Algeria. In January 1966, Luís de Azevedo, on his way back home from the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana, stopped in Belgrade. Yugoslav officials used Azevedo's visit to find out more about the situation in Angola, but also to criticize the MPLA because the movement did not object to Yugoslavia's exclusion from the conference. Azevedo's interlocutors noted that the Angolan did not "understand neither [Cuban] demagogy nor the consequences of the Cuban policy."[27] The Yugoslav conversation with Luís de Azevedo about Cuba was a prelude of later Cuban-Yugoslav competition for the soul of the Angolan revolution. However, the conference served to publicize the MPLA's struggle and strengthened its relations with Havana.[28]

Despite this minor friction in their relationship, the MPLA and Yugoslavia expanded their cooperation. The MPLA was wary of the consequences of the Sino-Soviet split on liberation struggles in Africa and tried to stay above the fray. The relationship with Belgrade provided them with a steady, if insufficient, source of political and material assistance and helped them avoid the controversies of the split.[29] Moreover, Yugoslavia's unambiguous support to the MPLA stood in contrast with the uncertain policies of other Eastern European socialist countries and the USSR. Although the MPLA remained Moscow's favourite, that did not "prevent us from maintaining contacts with the movement of Holden Roberto", the Kremlin stated.[30] Yugoslav embassies in Eastern European capitals reported that the socialist bloc "took a qualitatively new approach" toward the FNLA, chiefly to neutralize Bonn's influence in Angola. Moreover, as Natalia Telepneva has noted, in 1964 "[Jonas] Savimbi launched a campaign to gain the attention of the socialist countries" and the Soviets did not reject his initiative.[31] It comes as

27 Informacija o boravku Luja Azevede, clana rukovodstva Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA) i o razgovorima vodjenim s njim u Komisiji za medjunarodnu saradnju i veze SO SSRNJ, 29 January 1966, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

28 Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, p. 225.

29 In 1967, Neto told his Yugoslav interlocutors that they in the MPLA "feel sorry about the situation in the IWM [international workers movement] and they want to stay out of the USSR-China conflict." Other MPLA officials echoed Neto's sentiments about the Sino-Soviet split. See Informacija o nacionalno-oslobodilackim pokretima portugalskih kolonija i odnosima SFRJ sa njima, 31 October 1967, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–5–b/3–1.

30 P. Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa, 1948–1968*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p. 108.

31 N. Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty: The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War, 1961–1975", Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics, 2014, pp. 116–118.

no surprise that this Soviet attempt to have it both ways made the MPLA uneasy and Yugoslavia, despite its limited ability to help, a desirable partner.

The Angolans emphasized the necessity of frequent interactions with the Yugoslavs. Two MPLA functionaries, Nicolau Spencer and Sebastião Garrido, attended the Sixth Congress of the SSRNJ in June 1966. Later that year, Neto visited Yugoslavia and in 1967, he again met in Moscow with Yugoslav officials during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October. During these encounters, Neto requested, in addition to financial aid and military training, "permanent political contacts [and] exchanges".[32] The Angolans also suggested that these contacts should not be limited to high-level political meetings. The MPLA offered to send "additional delegations of women, pioneers [youth], partisans [...] to familiarize with organizational forms and to have some rest. These contacts will help them to develop their [class] consciousness."[33] Yugoslavia responded to these requests by providing additional scholarships for MPLA cadres. Moreover, Belgrade increased propaganda efforts at home in order to popularize the MPLA and its struggle. In 1967, Yugoslav leading film journal *Filmske novosti* made a documentary film about liberated territories in Angola. A year later, Yugoslav publishing company *Kultura* (Belgrade) released a collection of Neto's poems and organized meetings between the author and Yugoslav poets and writers during Neto's visit to Yugoslavia in January 1968.[34]

In many ways, 1968 represented a watershed moment in Yugoslav-MPLA relations. Three factors encouraged Yugoslavia to abandon its cautious approach toward the MPLA. First, Nasser's humiliating defeat in June 1967 had demonstrated the inadequacy of the Soviet support and underlined the importance of solidarity among non-aligned countries and movements. Second, the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 made Yugoslavia fear for its own security. Superpowers' interventions further emphasized the need for strengthening political and military networks between non-aligned governments and revolutionary movements that would

32 Beleska o razgovoru Nijaza Dizdarevica sa Agostinom Netom, predsednikom MPLA (Angola) za vreme proslave 50-godisnjice Oktobra u Moskvi, 5 November 1967, AJ, CKSKJ, Fond 507, IX, 3/I–20.

33 Narodni pokret oslobodjenja Angole Socijalistickom savezu radnog naroda Jugoslavije, no date 1967, AJ, CKSKJ, IX, 3/I–21.

34 Informacija o nacionalno-olslobodilackom pokretima portugalskih kolonija i odnosima SFRJ sa njima, 31 October 1967, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–5–b/3–1. Neto's visit was widely publicized in Yugoslav media and Belgrade radio and television broadcast a "long interview" with the leader of the Angolan revolution. See Informacija o poseti delegacije Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angola (MPLA) Jugoslaviji od 18. do 25. Januara 1968, 2 February 1968, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

serve to discourage imperialist interventions. Finally, during his visit to Yugoslavia in early 1968 Neto informed his interlocutors that the MPLA would intensify its armed struggle.[35] Moreover, the MPLA remained stubbornly dedicated to nonaligned. These factors elevated the movement's prestige among the "progressive forces" in the world.

In the aftermaths of the Six Day War and the 1968 Tet Offensive in Vietnam, Yugoslavia launched a diplomatic campaign in Africa and Asia with the goal of reviving the moribund NAM. Yugoslav diplomats and policymakers canvassed the continents in an effort to assemble old allies. In addition, in order to enhance its revolutionary credentials, Yugoslavia finally began sending guns to the MPLA and FRELIMO. During Neto's visit to Belgrade, in January 1968, the Yugoslavs mulled over the idea of supplying the MPLA with some weapons and providing assistance in moving MPLA troops and ordnance from Brazzaville to Dar es Salaam.[36] Neto commended Yugoslavia's generosity and again emphasized the inspirational power that the Yugoslav revolutionary experience had on the Angolan struggle. According to Neto, Yugoslavia was closer to the MPLA than some African states and by learning from the Yugoslav war and the post-war experiences the MPLA hoped to "avoid the mistakes made by other African countries."[37]

The Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 further improved the quality of Yugoslav-Angolan contacts. Although the Yugoslavs did not make any firm promises to Neto during his January visit, after the invasion, Belgrade accelerated efforts to send aid to the MPLA. In September 1968, Belgrade dispatched the first shipment of arms (consisting mostly of Yugoslav-made bolt-action rifles and WWII-era machine guns) to the Angolan revolutionaries. Neto visited Belgrade in October 1968 – his fourth visit since 1966 – and was given an audience with President Tito, something Neto had insisted on for years. In his conversations with Neto, Tito rebuked the Soviet actions and warned Neto

35 Apparently, the Yugoslavs took MPLA propaganda at face value. Yugoslav documents suggest that Belgrade believed in Neto's claims that the MPLA controlled large swaths of Angola and that its leadership would continue to struggle from within the country (Zabeleska o razgovoru druga Josipa Djerdje sa Dr. Agustinom Netoom, predsednikom Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole, 18 January 1968, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553). However, these statements largely inflated MPLA's successes. John Marcum noted how "at times of declining fortunes and increased frustration", the MPLA resorted to "military claims so exaggerated as to defy credence." Moreover, Neto's pledge to move to Angola was "only partially realized" (Cf. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, pp. 181–183).

36 Predlog za dodeljivanje pomoci Narodnom pokretu za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 24 January 1968, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

37 Zabeleska o razgovoru druga Josipa Djerdje sa Dr. Agustinom Netoom, predsednikom Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 18 January 1968, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

that the Soviet doctrine of limited sovereignty was dangerous for small and medium countries and that non-aligned should give "deliberate resistance" to such a doctrine.[38] Although Neto did not explicitly condemn the Kremlin, he promised that the MPLA would "fight until the end against all foreign influences."[39] Yet, he admitted that, besides Yugoslavia, only the USSR was assisting the MPLA.[40] Although Neto remained circumspect, other Angolan officials in private discussion with their Yugoslav interlocutors denounced the Soviet intervention and considered it a "huge blow to the progressive forces in the world." They, however, had to remain silent because of Soviet aid.[41]

The leaders of the three liberation movements, the MPLA, FRELIMO, and the PAIGC, were scheduled to visit Yugoslavia in June 1969. However, Amílcar Cabral of the PAIGC cancelled his visit because, as he explained, the situation in Guinea-Bissau warranted his presence there. Belgrade found his explanation disingenuous and firmly believed that the events in Czechoslovakia had something to do with his decision "because of certain considerations toward socialist countries and toward certain communist parties."[42]

The Yugoslav liaison with liberation movements, Dimitrije Babic, spoke with De Matos, an Angolan student-cum-Neto's confidant, who said that Neto's visit to Yugoslavia was "the most important event for the movement this year." However, De Matos admitted that the Soviets strongly opposed Neto's trip to Belgrade and that Neto had "some very difficult talks with them. After his [Neto's] visit, the Russians stopped all their aid."[43] In addition, Neto's trip revealed tensions within the NAM. Since Algeria vied with Yugoslavia for the leadership of the Movement, Yugoslavia's influence over the MPLA went directly against Algeria's ambitions. De Matos confided that not only did Moscow give them a hard time because of

38 Zabeleska o razgovoru Predsednika Republike sa dr. Agostinjom Netom, predsednikom Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 29 October 1968, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–3–a/3 – 2.
39 Informacija o dosadasnjim razgovorima dr Agostinja Netoa, predsednika Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), no date 1968, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.
40 Zabeleska o razgovoru Predsednika Republike sa dr. Agostinjom Netom, predsednikom Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 29 October 1968, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–3–a/3 – 2.
41 Informacija o poseti predsednika Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA) dr Agostinja Neta Jugoslaviji, no date 1968, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.
42 Informacija o poseti delegacija Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA) i Fronta za oslobodjenje Mozambika (FRELIMO), June 1969, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553. Cabral collaborated with the Czechoslovakian secret service, and while Yugoslav sources do not suggest that the Yugoslavs were aware of this, Belgrade suspected that he was under the influence of "certain communist parties". Muehlenbeck, *Czechoslovakia in Africa*, p. 105.
43 Zabeleska o razgovoru Babic Dimitrija sa angolskim studentom u Jugoslaviji De Matosom, 20 July 1969, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

connections with Belgrade, but Algeria also criticized Neto for his closeness with Yugoslavia.[44] It is, however, unclear if De Matos tried to extract more favours from the Yugoslavs by overstating the chasm between the MPLA and the USSR. According to Telepneva, Moscow and the MPLA became closer after the Khartoum Conference in January 1969. At the conference, Neto even asked the Soviets for theoretical works on guerrilla warfare and the politics of race.[45] Moreover, in June 1970 the Soviets assisted to organize in Rome the International Conference of Support to the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies that provided Neto with an audience with Pope Paul VI. "And MPLA-Soviet relations appeared solid", Marcum wrote.[46]

Yet, Neto's visit to Belgrade in June 1969 was fruitful for the MPLA. In October, the Yugoslavs sent additional military aid. Moreover, Belgrade agreed to train Angolan doctors and nurses. During Neto's visit the Yugoslav Government agreed to open and finance an information centre in Belgrade that would serve as an informal embassy and a propaganda hub for the MPLA. The Yugoslavs also found the visit beneficial because it reaffirmed Yugoslavia's position in Africa that was being challenged by the Soviets and other non-aligned countries. The movements' satisfaction with Yugoslavia's support, Belgrade believed, would "contribute to easier suppression of the attempts to discredit our policies in the 'third world'."[47]

Yugoslavia's Angolan policy was critical for the country's success in mobilizing African and Asian countries for the Third Summit of the NAM in Lusaka in September 1970 because it elevated the country's revolutionary credentials in Africa. Moreover, Yugoslav aid did not have ideological strings attached, making Belgrade a desirable partner to many movements. In the winter of 1970, Tito embarked on a month-long trip to Africa to lobby for the summit, and, during his journey, he met with a group of liberation movements' leaders, including Neto. Tito met them again during the summit and confirmed Yugoslavia's willingness to continue with military, material, and political support.[48]

44 Ibid.

45 Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", p. 183.

46 Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, p. 229.

47 Informacija o poseti delegacija Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA) i Fronta za oslobodjenje Mozambika (FRELIMO), June 1969, AJ, KPR, Fond 142, I–553.

48 Informacija o razgovoru predsednika Tita sa predstavnicima nacionalnooslobodilackih pokreta u Lusaki, 11 September 1970, AJ, KPR Fond 837, Treca konferencija nesvrstanih zemalja Lusaka, 8–10 IX, 1970, I–4–a/9.

A Yugoslav confidential report stated, with a lot of pride, that 1970 was the most "fruitful year" for the Yugoslav-MPLA relationship.[49] In 1970, the Yugoslavs sent additional quantities of light weapons and ammunition that included 3,000 rifles, 230 machine guns, 200 bazookas, and 1.5 million pieces of ammunition. This ordnance was largely obsolete for Yugoslavia's defence needs, but it gave the MPLA an advantage over its competitors.[50] Moreover, Belgrade increased the amount of money allocated to the MPLA, and, in the fall of 1970, the movement opened the Information Center in Belgrade. Finally, Yugoslavia continued to provide medical treatments for the functionaries and fighters of the MPLA, and, for the first time, training for its military cadres.

The military training was particularly important for the Angolans, who believed that the Yugoslavs, with their unique guerrilla experience in the Second World War and the doctrine of total defence (introduced after 1968), were suitable partners in the area of military education. Tito was not shy about sharing his guerrilla experiences with Neto. In 1970, Henrique (Iko) Teles Carreira went on a three-week-long visit to Yugoslavia to learn about Yugoslav partisan experiences that "could be useful to them and applied to their situation."[51] Carreira explained their difficulties that included thin supply lines, a lack of communication equipment, and poorly trained cadres that could not properly use already scarce weapons, particularly mortars and rocket launchers.[52] The Angolans were primarily interested in training soldiers for special operations behind

49 Informacija o pomoci SFR Jugoslavije Narodnom pokretu za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), March 5, 1971, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–3–a/3 – 3. Records of the Yugoslav Secretariat of Defence show that the value of Yugoslavia's increased five times from 1969 to 1970 (from YUN 1,186.371 to YUN 6,047.089), and in 1971 dropped in half (to YUN 2,995.273). See Nesvrstanost i pitanja odbrane, Prilog br. 13, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, IV konferencija nesvrstanih Alzir, 1973, I–4–a.

50 The Angolans praised the quality of these weapons, particularly a Yugoslav copy of the German K98 Mauser rifle. Other weapons like bazookas and recoilless guns the Angolans did not know how to use properly, while some old German guns were prone to misfire and jamming that Yugoslavs suspected was the result of poor maintenance. However, the structure of Yugoslav aid made the MPLA entirely dependent on Yugoslavia for parts and ammunition. The Angolans noted that only Yugoslavia had ammunition in 7.9 mm caliber and suggested that it would be better if Belgrade sent them US-made weapons that were delivered as military aid to Yugoslavia in the 1950s. See Poseta vojnog rukovodioca NOP Angole Henrika Kareire – izvestaj, 16 October 1970, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553; Informacija o pomoci SFR Jugoslavije Narodnom pokretu za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA), 5 March 1971, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–3–a/3 – 3.

51 Informacija o poseti Henrikea Kareire, vojnog rukovodioca Narodno oslobodilackog pokreta Angole (MPLA), 1 July 1970, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

52 Henrike Kareira, vojni rukovodilac NOP Angole posetio gen. majora Dz. Sarca – zabeleska, 30 October 1970, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–553.

enemy lines, and urban guerrilla fighting. In order to satisfy these Angolan requests, the SSRNJ sent a suggestion to the Secretariat of Defence to devise accelerated programmes – five to six months long – for training the MPLA members in guerrilla warfare. Although the records of the Secretariat of Defence are not available to researchers,[53] documents from other organizations such as the SSRNJ show that a relatively small number of the MPLA officers received military training in Yugoslavia.

In August 1971, six Angolans arrived for a four-month-long training in the Yugoslav Army Infantry School in Sarajevo. The case of these six Angolan officers illustrates some of the logistical problems that occurred during military training in Yugoslavia and suggests that the Yugoslavs could not muster enough resources to conduct these programmes on a permanent basis. Although the general impression about the training was good, the Yugoslavs complained that the Angolans were "too demanding." Allegedly, they requested different meals than those provided, extra allowances for everyday expenses, but also, they were "too sensitive" about the treatment that they received from the Yugoslav comrades that, according to the Angolans, had racist overtones.[54] Moreover, the report suggested that language was the largest obstacle in successfully completing the courses.[55] These logistical and financial difficulties led to decrease in the number of trainees, and in 1972 only one member of the MPLA attended training in one of Yugoslavia's military schools.[56]

Similar issues occurred when the Yugoslav Secretariat of Defence considered sending an instructor to Angola who would travel under the disguise of an "army journalist". The purpose of this visit was to assess the situation in the country, but also to teach the Angolans about guerrilla warfare and train them how to use different types of weapons. However, the Yugoslav army could not find anyone fluent in Portuguese. An officer who spoke French volunteered for the assignment, but for unclear reasons (most likely a lack of funds), this project

53 J.S. Carvalho, *As Relações Jugoslavo-Portuguesas 1941 – 1974*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012, p. 226.

54 Izvestaj o zavrsetku skolovanja kursa – pripadnika NOP Angole, December 1971, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–468.

55 Generally, Yugoslav military educational institutions conducted classes in Serbo-Croatian, which none of the MPLA trainees spoke. This significantly raised the costs of the programmes and required longer stay in Yugoslavia to learn the language, circumstances that both sides found inconvenient. Language courses costs were between US$ 210 and US$ 260 per student per month and required an additional six months of training. (Drzavni sekretarijat za narodnu odbranu Saveznoj konferenciji SSRNJ, 3 June 1971, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–468).

56 Saradnja SSRNJ sa oslobodilackim pokretima i pomoc Jugoslavije, 23 May 1973, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–4–a/15.

never materialized. A journalist at *Borba*, the official organ of the SSRNJ, visited Angola in July 1972. He dispatched a report from the "woods of Angola" and his meeting with Daniel Chipenda, who was described as Neto's "right hand".[57] This report glorified the combat readiness of the MPLA ("they were fast like leopards") and its alleged military successes.[58]

In August 1972, the SSRNJ sent a five-member delegation to visit the liberated territories in Angola. The primary task was to gain first-hand experience about the situation in Angola and to appraise the effectiveness of Yugoslav aid. A month-long trip was the "culmination of friendly relations and the high level of trust between the SSRNJ and the MPLA."[59] Moreover, the Yugoslavs took pride in the fact that their delegation was the first one from the socialist world to visit Angola. The delegation included representatives from different organizations such as the youth alliance, trade unions, and the Yugoslav People's Army. Yugoslav sources, unfortunately, provide few details about this trip. The Yugoslavs believed that it further advanced the relationship between Yugoslavia and the MPLA and that the delegation had visited about "200 km of liberated territories and was assured of the successes of the liberation movement [...] and the difficulties that the movement faced."[60] Yugoslav optimism vis-à-vis the MPLA combat successes was likely influenced by MPLA propaganda. In reality, because of the Portuguese military pressure and internal discords, the MPLA "declined as a military force from 1972 on."[61]

Although the trip was a political success, in 1972 Yugoslavia's aid to the MPLA dwindled from the 1970/71 levels. Belgrade continued with its political support, which was demonstrated at the Ministerial Conference of the NAM in Georgetown and in bilateral contacts.[62] However, because of the economic crisis

57 Dj. Bogojevic, "Medju ustanicima Angole: nas reporter u sumama Angole", *Borba*, 2 July 1972, p. 11.

58 Ibid.

59 Delegacija SSRNJ u poseti oslobodjenoj teritoriji Angole, 21 July 1972, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–468.

60 Saradnja SSRNJ sa oslobodilackim pokretima i pomoc Jugoslavije, 23 May 1973, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–4–a/15

61 Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, p. 214.

62 The Yugoslavs served as an intermediary between the MPLA and the West German Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD) and, in Neto's name, asked for financial aid from the SPD. Belgrade believed that the MPLA's connections with European social-democrats would "soften the combative edge" of the movement (Informacija o oslobodilackim pokretima Afrike, 5 October 1971, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–452); "Under the impulse of Sweden, European social democratic parties show an increasing interest in L[iberation]M[ovements] and intervene with significant humanitarian, cultural and financial

at home, the Yugoslav organizations were unable to allocate money for their partners in Africa. This budgetary constraint affected Yugoslavia's ability to accept new students, and to provide financial, material, and military assistance that the country promised to the MPLA. "The situation is absurd: [our] country promises that it will give all possible aid to l[iberation]m[ovements] [...] but then fails to provide a means to do so", a Yugoslav report complained.[63] This situation caused dire political consequences for Yugoslavia's position in Africa and other countries took advantage of that to increase their influence. "In this period that coincides with unresolved issues of the Fund's financing, begins massive delivery of Soviet and Chinese aid", a memo noted, warning about Yugoslavia's diminishing influence in Africa.[64] These financial issues were resolved only in the summer of 1973 when Yugoslavia needed to enhance its position in the Global South before the Fourth Summit of the NAM in Algeria.

In 1973, Yugoslavia managed to send 300 semi-automatic rifles and a significant amount of ammunition and rockets to Angola. However, Iko Carreira who visited Belgrade in the fall of 1973 urged the Yugoslav government to provide additional aid. According to Carreira, the Soviets were reluctant to help them because of Neto's alleged attempts of rapprochement with China. Moreover, the Soviets did not want to internationalize the Angolan struggle, and the Angolans believed that Moscow's reluctance was the result of détente with the US.[65] Carreira noted that the movement's position was precarious because the US increased its presence in the region, now that the war in Vietnam was over. "The USA invests a lot in oil, and they want to make Angola a second Kuwait", Carreira said.[66] Moreover, the

aid", a report stated (Zabeleska o nekim pitanjima saradnje i pomoci antikolonijalnim, nacionalno-oslobodilackim i drugim pokretima u svetu, 12 September 1972, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, A–226).

63 Informacija o oslobodilackim pokretima Afrike, 5 October 1971, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, I–452.

64 Zabeleska o nekim pitanjima saradnje i pomoci antikolonijalnim, nacionalno-oslobodilackim i drugim pokretima u svetu, 12 September 1972, AJ, SSRNJ, Fond 142, A–226.

65 O stanju u oslobodilackom pokretu Angole i uslovima u kojima deluje, 20 November 1973, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–5–b/3–1; Neto believed that the US and the USSR made a secret deal at Angola's expense (Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, p. 229).

66 O stanju u oslobodilackom pokretu Angole i uslovima u kojima deluje, 20 November 1973, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–5–b/3–1; Neto during his meeting with Tito in February 1973, expressed his fear that with the end of the war in Vietnam, the US would shift its attention toward Africa (Zabeleska o razgovoru Predsednika Republike sa Agostinom Netom, predsednikom Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole na Brionima, 20 February 1973, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–3–a/3–4).

MPLA suspected that the president of Zaire, Mobutu, was on the CIA payroll and, by association, Mobutu's friend Roberto.[67]

This hazardous international position was coupled with the internal crisis of the movement that made Yugoslav aid essential for the movement's survival. The 1974 Carnation Revolution in Portugal that toppled the Estado Novo opened the last chapter of the Portuguese domination over Angola but also exacerbated the divisions between the MPLA, the FNLA, and the UNITA over the future of an independent Angola. Furthermore, the MPLA was bitterly divided by internal struggles that debilitated its already limited combat capabilities. Neighbouring countries seized the opportunity to promote their own interests, providing support to different parties within Angola. Furthermore, the Soviets, wary of the MPLA's internal tussles, pulled their support from Neto and sent money to his challenger Chipenda.[68]

Yugoslavia, however, showed its dedication to Neto by supporting the MPLA even when other countries suspended their aid in 1974 due to the so-called "Eastern Revolt" led by a faction within the movement.[69] During Neto's visit to Yugoslavia in March 1974, the Yugoslavs assured him that they "clearly understood the situation in his country and in his movement", advised "decisiveness in action", and promised political and military aid.[70] Another delegation that represented the MPLA at the Tenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in May 1974 received Tito's personal promise that Yugoslavia would "act in the direction that they [the MPLA] want us to act", which affirmed Yugoslavia's willingness to continue with its political and military support.[71] The member of the delegation visited one of the largest steel mills in Yugoslavia. In an impromptu emotional speech, a member of the delegation thanked the workers of the mill for making the steel for the guns. "There are Western countries and there are So-

67 The Yugoslavs commended the 1972 agreement between the MPLA and the FLNA but remained suspicious about its effectiveness. During his meeting with Tito in February 1973, Neto said that the agreement had "softened" Mobutu's attitude toward the MPLA.

68 Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", p. 203.

69 Interview with Paulo Jorge, MPLA Secretary of Information, Luanda, 15 April 1996, in: T. Sellström (ed.), *Liberation in Southern Africa – Regional and Swedish Voices. Interviews from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Frontline and Sweden*, Upsala: Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet, 1999, p. 17.

70 Beleska o razgovoru potpredsednika Predsednistva SFRJ Mitje Ribicica sa Agostinom Netom, predsednikom Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole, 5 February 1974, AJ, CKSKJ, IX, 3/I–26a.

71 Zabeleska o prijemu delegacije Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA) kod Predsednika Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, 30 May 1974, AJ, CKSKJ, IX, 3/I–27.

cialist countries, but Yugoslavia has a special place in our hearts", he told to the gathered workers.[72]

International isolation of the MPLA and internal disputes resulted in the movement's decreasing military capacities and the ascendance of the FLNA as the militarily strongest of the three movements. The Yugoslavs understood the urgency and in April 1975, Belgrade sent uniforms, weapons, and ammunition in quantities sufficient to equip 1,000 soldiers. Moreover, Yugoslavia delivered trucks, all-terrain vehicles, a mobile ambulance bus, 200 tons of food, and US $ 60,000 in cash.[73] A majority of this aid was sent by the ship *Postojna* to the port of Pointe-Noire. Although at this time the MPLA received some aid from Algeria and the USSR, as Pierro Gleijeses wrote, their aid was of "lesser importance". An Angolan official said that, "Until August 1975, the country that helped the MPLA the most was Yugoslavia."[74] The delegation of the MPLA (Carreira, Loy, and de Andrade) that visited Yugoslavia in September 1975 said that Yugoslav aid in the critical months of 1975 served as an example to "some other friends [Cuba and the USSR] of the MPLA who, after that, became more engaged."[75] However, on Carreira's repeated request for additional aid, the Yugoslavs said that after the large shipment in April, there was no money left for additional arms transfers in 1975.

The USSR and Cuba quickly filled this vacuum and their greater engagement spelled the end of Yugoslavia's influence in Angola. Although the Soviets were reluctant to intervene directly in the Angolan civil war in the late summer of 1975, they encouraged their allies such as Bulgaria, Poland, and the GDR to send money and military aid.[76] According to Gleijeses, in July 1975 the Cuban re-

72 As in previous years, Yugoslavia widely popularized the Angolan struggle through the media and cultural events. In 1974, one local chapter of the SSRNJ reported how a Yugoslav citizen contacted them with a request to join the MPLA as a volunteer. The SSRNJ did not know if that individual was "too idealistic, a provocateur, or simply insane." A local official lectured him about the nature of Yugoslavia's aid to the MPLA before sending him home (Pismo Saveza socijalisticke omladine Jugoslavije Drzavnom sekretarijatu spoljnih poslova, 4 February 1976, DA MSP, PA 1976 Angola, f. 224, d. 4, sign. 45951).

73 One report estimated that the value of this shipment was around US$ 1,700,000. Beleska o realizaciji pomoci oslobodilackim pokretima MPLA Angole i FRELIMO Mozambika, March 24, 1975, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–5–b/3 – 1, Informacija o pomoci Narodnom pokretu za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA) u 1975. godini, 26 July 1975, DA MSP, PA 1975, Angola, f. 226, d. 7, sign. 440855.

74 Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions*, p. 349. A model of the *Postojna* is displayed in the Museum of the Armed Forces in Fortaleza de São Miguel, Luanda.

75 Boravak delgacije MPLA u Jugoslaviji od 4. do 12. septembra, 1975. godine, 10 October 1975, DA MSP, PA 1975, Angola, f. 226, d. 7, sign. 448206.

76 Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", pp. 256 – 257.

sponse to MPLA's requests for aid was "sluggish".[77] However, in August 1975, Cuba decided to send 480 instructors to the MPLA, significantly more than Neto requested.[78] When in October 1975 South Africa invaded Southern Angola, Havana's aid in personnel and Soviet in armaments proved essential for the survival of the MPLA. "It is true that the Russian weapons saved the People's Republic [of Angola]", a representative of the MPLA told a Yugoslav diplomat in Algeria.[79]

Although in February 1976 the Yugoslavs helped with the transport of four T-34 tanks and six MIG airplanes from Guinea-Bissau, Yugoslav influence in Angola quickly waned.[80] The Yugoslav embassy in Luanda noted that the Angolans were wary of the Soviet and Cuban influence, yet "the life was taking its toll – the Soviets are here, they performed and still perform delicate jobs [...] the fact that in state and party leadership there is a lot of Angolans who studied in the USSR, reflects on current thinking about domestic developments."[81] Furthermore, the Cuban presence in Angola threatened Yugoslavia's position in the NAM. Although Yugoslavia initially supported Cuban engagement in the war against South Africa, Cuba's presence in Angola threatened Yugoslavia's revolutionary credentials and established a dangerous precedent in international affairs.[82] "If you wish to export revolution than counterrevolution can be exported too [...] the Americans will find their own Cuba", said Yugoslavian Foreign Secretary Milos Minic to Guyana's foreign minister. "We have to resist Sovietization of the Non-aligned Movement", Minic concluded.[83]

Although many Angolan officials, including Neto's wife Maria Eugenia da Silva, tried to reassure the Yugoslavs how their country had a "special place in

77 Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions*, p. 254.

78 Ibid., p. 256.

79 Telegram from Algeria to Belgrade, br. 142, 27 December 1975, DA MSP, PA 1976 Angola, f. 224, d. 1, sign. 4581.

80 In March 1976, Belgrade delivered 100 trucks and 40 all-terrain vehicles, but the trucks were the wrong models, and the all-terrain vehicles were defective. This caused Angolan dissatisfaction and jeopardized future business deals.

81 Ambasada Luanda, iz razgovora sa Borisom Sergejevicem, ambasadorom SSSR-a, 17 April 1976, DA MSP, PA 1976 Angola, f. 224, d. 11, sign. 423423.

82 "Our relations with Yugoslavia have traditionally been bad [...], [but] they [the Yugoslavs] took a correct stand on the problem with Angola, supporting and helping Cuba's position", Castro told Todor Zhivkov. J. Baev and K. Kanchev, *Minutes of the Meeting between Todor Zhivkov and Fidel Castro in Sofia*, K. Bratanova (trans.), 11 March 1976, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Central State Archive, Sofia, Fond 1–B, Record 60, f. 194, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112241 (accessed 15 December 2018).

83 Zabeleska o razgovoru izmedju sekretara Minica i ministra spoljnih poslova Gvajane F. Willisona, 10 May 1977, DA MSP, Strogo poverljivo (Str. pov.) 1977, f. 5, d. 218, sign. 218.

our hearts", by the mid-1976, Belgrade had lost the position in Angola that it was carefully building since 1961.[84] A correspondent of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, D. Blagojevic, reported from Luanda in June 1976 that "hardly anyone talks about Yugoslavia anymore", and that, except Lopo do Nascimento and Neto, nobody talks about non-aligned either.[85] The March 1976 meeting with Fidel Castro provided Tito with an opportunity to raise Yugoslav concerns about Cuban actions in Angola. Tito approved of Cuba's actions in the south of the country, yet he cautioned that Cuba should not cross the border with Namibia. "We should avoid by all means to turn Angola into a revolutionary centre that will export revolution to Africa", Tito urged his Cuban interlocutor.[86] Tito emphasized that the priority was to consolidate the Neto regime and that any further military actions would devalue current accomplishments. "You should not enter Namibia [...] or America will intervene", Tito warned Castro.[87]

"In 1975, Angola exploded upon American consciousness", Marcum wrote.[88] The US had been putting pressure on Belgrade over its role in Angola since December 1975. Henry Kissinger instructed the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade to express his indignation over Yugoslavia's "collusion in fuelling Soviet intervention in Angolan civil strife by permitting Soviet overflights of Yugoslav air space."[89] U.S. Ambassador Laurence Silberman repeatedly raised the issue with Yugoslav officials. At the lunch with Yugoslav Assistant Secretary Milicevic, Silberman characterized Yugoslavia's policy toward Angola as duplicitous and "inconsistent with non-aligned principle of non-interference in internal affairs of other countries."[90] Silberman also delivered Kissinger's note to Secretary Minic's aide, Mirko Ostojic. The meeting was, according to Ostojic's account, contentious. Al-

84 Maria da Silva visited Belgrade in April 1976. She tried to downplay Cuban and Soviet influence in Angola and said that the Angolans "will never forget that the Yugoslavs, in the most difficult moments, stayed our friends" (Zabeleska o razgovoru Babic Dimitrija, specijalnog saradnika u Predsednistvu CK SKJ sa Marijom Eudjenojom Neto, suprugom Predsednika Narodne Republike Angole dr Agostinja Neta, 7 April 1976, AJ, CKSKJ, IX, 3/I–31).

85 Izvestaj iz Luande dopisnika Tanjuga D. Blagojevica, 2 June 1976, AJ, KPR, Fond 837, I–5–b/3–3.

86 Zabeleska o razgovoru predsednika Republike Josipa Broza Tita sa prvim sekretarom KP Kube Fidelom Kastrom, 4 March 1976, AJ, KPR, fond 837, I–3–a/63–9.

87 Ibid.

88 Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, p. xiii.

89 Memorandum, Henry Kissinger to Laurence Silberman, 21 December 1975, National Security Adviser (NSA) Country Files for Europe and Canada, Box 22, from SECSTATE–NODIS folder 1, Gerald Ford Library.

90 Memorandum of Conversation, Laurence Silberman to Henry Kissinger, 23 December 1975, NSA Country Files for Europe and Canada, Box 22, to SECSTATE–NODIS folder 2, Gerald Ford Library.

legedly, Silberman appeared very nervous and delivered the note in a "very loud voice".[91] The Yugoslavs condemned Silberman's attitude, but also the content of Kissinger's letter that stated how the US "does not see how it is in interest of a nation itself vulnerable to Soviet power [...] to acquiesce in a Soviet attempt to assert domination over Angola."[92] Kissinger also threatened to pull economic and military support from Yugoslavia. Belgrade's response was "geared toward avoidance of slippage in friendly GOY-US bilaterals."[93] Piero Gleijeses noted that Kissinger saw Havana's role in the same way: "it made more sense, and was more satisfying, to conclude that Castro was just a Soviet proxy, acting on Brezhnev's orders."[94] More insightful U.S. diplomats, however, realized that Soviet and Cuban actions in Angola went directly against Yugoslavia's long-term interests in the country. U.S. Embassy counsellor Brandon Sweitzer wrote that Yugoslav objectives in Southern Africa were divergent from those of the USSR and that despite many parallel policies vis-à-vis Angola, greater Moscow's involvement made the chasm between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia even wider.[95] In September 1976, during confidential talks with Averell Harriman, one of Tito's closest aides Edvard Kardelj complained about Soviet influence over Neto. Kardelj even suggested to Harriman that the United States should lead an initiative with Neto who, according to Kardelj, "'wanted to return' to the non-aligned".[96]

A combination of overwhelming Soviet and Cuban presence in the country, US pressure on Belgrade, and Yugoslavia's inability to muster additional means to assist Angola, led to a decrease in Yugoslavia's influence in Southern Africa. The case of Yugoslavia's involvement in Angola demonstrated the limitations of

91 Iz zabeleske o razgovoru PSS Mirka Ostojica sa ambasadorom SAD L.H. Silberman-om, 24 December 1975, AJ, KPR, fond 837, I–5–b/104–20, SAD; Silberman's account of the meeting is, however, different. Silberman wrote that Ostojic "clearly implied that Yugoslav recognition and support of the MPLA was based on notion of realpolitik – they had been and were the strongest political force in Angola." "He made no response at all [...] nor did he respond to my discussion of the implications for US-Yugoslav relations", Silberman concluded (Memorandum, Laurence Silberman to Henry Kissinger, 24 December 1975, NSA Country Files for Europe and Canada, Box 22, to SECSTATE–NODIS folder 2, Gerald Ford Library).

92 Memo, Henry Kissinger to Laurence Silberman, 21 December 1975, NSA Country Files for Europe and Canada, Box 22, from SECSTATE–NODIS folder 1, Gerald Ford Library.

93 Memo, Laurence Silberman to Henry Kissinger, 31 December 1975, NSA Country Files for Europe and Canada, Box 22, to SECSTATE–NODIS folder 2, Gerald Ford Library.

94 Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions*, p. 306.

95 Memo, Brandon Sweitzer to State Department, 5 March 1976, http://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1976BELGRA1460b.html (accessed 15 December 2018).

96 Letter, Averell Harriman to Henry Kissinger, 29 September 1976, The Papers of W. Averell Harriman, Box 597, folder 2, Library of Congress.

Yugoslavia's solidarity with the MPLA. Yugoslavia was unable to prevent the Angolan "Sovietization", and also its model of non-aligned was tested by Castro's revolutionary approach. The last meeting between Tito and Neto in March 1977 failed to elevate Yugoslav-Angolan relations to the pre-1975 level.

"We Shall Win": Yugoslavia's Aid to FRELIMO, 1964 – 1975

As with the MPLA, the first contacts between Yugoslavia and revolutionaries from Mozambique were established in 1961. One of the future founders of FRELIMO, Marcelino dos Santos, then a member of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique, attended the first summit of the NAM in Belgrade. Although the Union requested financial aid, Yugoslavia rejected this request because it did not have enough information about the movement's "real positions".[97] In the early 1960s, contacts between Yugoslavia and FRELIMO were rare, though Yugoslav officials did meet once with FRELIMO's leaders Eduardo Mondlane and Dos Santos during the 1963 conference of the OAU in Addis Ababa. However, in 1964, FRELIMO began armed operations against the Portuguese, and in the same year, Yugoslavia sent its first financial aid of US$ 2,000 to the movement. A year later, Belgrade sent the same amount again.[98] Moreover, as a gesture of goodwill, the Yugoslav government provided the movement with four scholarships for vocational training in Yugoslavia.

Belgrade considered FRELIMO to be one of the best-organized African Liberation Movements. In 1965 Yugoslav diplomatic representatives in Zambia and Tanzania praised Mondlane's appearance during the sessions of the UN Committee of Twenty-four: Mondlane and FRELIMO "appeared mature, self-assured [...] which further implies that they are connected to their base [...] their actions lately would contribute to their further affirmation", a report stated.[99] Yet, despite

97 Pitanje pomoci oslobodilackim pokretima Afrike, 11 October 1961, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, I–468.
98 Pregled dostavljene pomoci inostranim partijama i pokretima upucenih preko ambasade SFRJ u Dar es Salamu u periodu od 1962–1965, 6 September 1966, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, I–468.
99 The report noted that there were "certain reservations" toward Mondlane because he was married to an American who had served in the Peace Corps. "Yet, people from the movement emphasized that Mondlane is honest and works actively and is useful for the movement" (Nesto o oslobodilackim pokretima – Zapazanja za vreme zasedanja Komiteta 24 u Africi, 5 September 1965, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, I–452).

this praise, FRELIMO remained on the margins of Yugoslav policy toward Portuguese Africa, though.

The Yugoslavs appreciated FRELIMO's orientation toward non-aligned and the movement's interests to learn about Yugoslav experiences in World War II. Dos Santos visited Belgrade in 1966 to attend the Sixth Congress of the SSRNJ during a meeting with Yugoslav vice president Aleksandar Rankovic, Dos Santos confirmed that Yugoslavia's struggle served as a role model for Mozambique's path to independence.[100] This sense of camaraderie provided Belgrade with a unique opportunity to send a movie crew to Cabo Delgado province to film FRELIMO's struggle. In October 1967, *Filmske novosti* filmed a 20-minute long feature entitled *We Shall Win* (*Venceremos*), which popularized FRELIMO's fight. *We Shall Win* was dubbed into English, French, and Portuguese, and a special premiere was organized for Mondlane when he visited Belgrade in January 1968. "It is not an accident that the first permission [to shot the movie] was given to a Yugoslav reporter, because a film made by Yugoslavs is more convincing than if that job was done by a camera-man of some other nationality", Mondlane said.[101]

During his visit to Belgrade, Mondlane provided his Yugoslav hosts with a lengthy wish list of military materiel and other forms of aid. Similarly to the MPLA, FRELIMO benefited from Belgrade's efforts to revamp the NAM. Yugoslavia increased its financial aid to US$ 10,000 but did not commit itself to send the ordinance requested by Mondlane. However, the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia forced Yugoslavia to abandon its reticence and in September 1968, Yugoslavia sent its first shipments of weapons to FRELIMO and the MPLA. The shipment consisted of bolt-action rifles, machine guns, mortars, and other "largely antiquated" guns.[102] Additional arms for both movements arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1969.

Between 1969 and 1974, the relationship between Yugoslavia and FRELIMO suffered a series of setbacks. The first came in February 1969 when Eduardo

100 Zableska o razgovoru potpredsednika Republike Aleksandra Rankovica s predstavnicima narodnooslobodilackih pokreta koji prisustvuju VI kongresu SSRNJ, 9 June 1966, AJ. SSRNJ Fond 142, I–452.

101 Cited in R. Vucetic, "Uspostavljanje jugoslovenske filmske saradnje sa Afrikom", *Godisnjak za drustvenu istoriju* 24 (2017) 2, pp. 57–81, at 75; see N.R., "Istorija u filmskim depoima", *Politika*, 5 September 2011, http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/190228 (accessed 18 October 2018).

102 FRELIMO received a smaller portion of the shipment. See Pomoc nacionalno-oslobodilackim pokretima i drugim partijama i organizacijama u toku 1968. godine, 14 April 1969, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, I–468.

Mondlane was assassinated.[103] Although Uria Simango temporarily took his place, Mondlane's departure marked the beginning of struggles for primacy in the leadership of FRELIMO. Simango together with Neto visited Belgrade in June 1969. The only available record of the meetings they had with various Yugoslav political and army officials does not suggest that Simango discussed FRELIMO's internal issues with his Yugoslav interlocutors. Belgrade, however, noted that the visit by Simango and Neto would strengthen their domestic and internal positions, without further elaborating the situation in FRELIMO.[104] Despite this optimistic estimate, Simango was ousted in the fall of 1969 and a "leftist faction Santos-Samora" took power.[105] This internal turmoil caused "certain stagnation" in the relationship between FRELIMO and Yugoslavia that slightly recovered after Samora Machel's visit to Belgrade in 1971.[106]

However, the second setback in the relationship ensued between 1972 and mid-1974. In this period, due to Belgrade's chronic money shortages and internal political turmoil caused by the so-called Croatian Spring, Yugoslavia's military aid became "symbolic."[107] Moreover, Yugoslavia's focus on the MPLA "brought certain concerns and suspicions in FRELIMO's leadership", a report stated.[108] Moreover, Yugoslav recognition of the new Portuguese government after the coup of 1974 received FRELIMO's "unequivocal condemnation."[109] Although in 1973 Belgrade sent some money to FRELIMO and managed to send symbolic quantities of weapons such as ten rocket launchers and ten machine guns, relations with the movement did not significantly improve.[110] Moreover, the Yugoslavs were wary of Chinese influence in Mozambique that, as Belgrade believed, inevitably steered the movement toward "left radicalism."

103 "Leader of Mozambique Liberation Movement Killed by Assassin's Bomb at Cottage in Dar es Salaam", *New York Times*, 4 February 1969, p. 11.

104 Informacija o poseti delegacija Narodnog pokreta za oslobodjenje Angole (MPLA) i Fronta za oslobodjenje Mozambika (FRELIMO), June 1969, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, I–553.

105 Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty", p. 177.

106 Nesvrstanost i pitanja odbrane – Nesvrstani i oslobodilacki pokreti, stavovi KNZ, podaci o OP, pomoc Jugoslavije, predlozi, June 1973, AJ, KPR Fond 837, I–4–a/15.

107 Carvalho, *As Relações Jugoslavo-Portuguesas*, pp. 239 – 240.

108 Nesvrstanost i pitanja odbrane – Nesvrstani i oslobodilacki pokreti, stavovi KNZ, podaci o OP, pomoc Jugoslavije, predlozi, June 1973, AJ, KPR Fond 837, I–4–a/15.

109 Zabeleska o nekim pitanjima saradnje i pomoci antikolonijalnim, nacionalno-oslobodilackim i drugim pokretima u svetu, 24 October 1974, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, A–227.

110 In comparison, at the same time, the MPLA received 300 7.62 mm semi-automatic guns, 500,000 pieces of ammunition, and close to 2,000 rockets for the bazooka (Pomoc oslobodilackim pokretima Angole, Mozambika i Gvineje Bisao, no date 1973, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, I–468).

Yet, the negotiations between Lisbon and FRELIMO in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka in 1974 and the certain prospects of Mozambique's independence forced Yugoslavia to try to reconcile its relations with FRELIMO. Belgrade believed that Mozambique's path to independence in June 1975 was all but assured, thus necessitating further military and political assistance. The SSRNJ allocated US$ 50,000 for *Filmske novosti* to send another crew to Mozambique to film Samora Machel's tour around the country and independence festivities.[111] Moreover, FRELIMO's delegation led by Nelson Zimba arrived in Belgrade with a request for Yugoslav military assistance. This time Yugoslavia heeded FRELIMO's pleas and sent weapons, uniforms, and other articles enough to equip a unit of 1,000 soldiers.[112] Moreover, Yugoslavia sent 100 tons of food and allocated US $ 60,000 in financial assistance for the movement. Despite previous misunderstandings and Belgrade's uneasiness with Machel's and dos Santos' "left radicalism", Yugoslavia considered the country's independence as a positive development for the progressive forces. "With a large population, economic potentials, its geo-strategic position and revolutionary traditions – [Mozambique] will significantly influence the direction of neighbouring African countries", a Yugoslav report stated.[113] Yet, after Mozambique's declaration of independence on 25 June 1975, Yugoslavia's relations with Maputo staled and in the 1980s, Belgrade complained that after Mozambique's independence "we could not establish military and economic cooperation."[114]

Conclusion

Yugoslavia's relations with the MPLA and FRELIMO from 1961 until 1976 show the ambitions and the limits of Yugoslav military internationalism, and the country's global policies in general. Yugoslavia's military aid to these movements epitomized the country's desire to play a role in global politics. Although Yugoslavia's "third-worldism" began in the 1950s, with Tito's trips to Ethiopia and

111 Infromacija o pomoci upucenoj oslobodilackim pokretima Afrike, 4 June 1975, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, A-227.

112 Ibid. and Beleska o realizaciji pomoci oslobodilackim pokretima MPLA Angole i FRELIMO Mozambika, 24 March 1975, AJ, KPR Fond 837, I–5–b/3 – 2.

113 Infromacija o pomoci upucenoj oslobodilackim pokretima Afrike, 4 June 1975, AJ, SSRNJ Fond 142, A–227.

114 Informacija o naucnotehnickoj i vojnoekonomskoj saradnji sa OS africkih zemalja u oblasti vojne tehnike, prilog 3, March 1985, Arhiv Slovenije (AS), Republiski druzbeni svet za mednarodne odnose, 1975 – 1990, box 6.

South East Asia, the 1961 Summit of the NAM in Belgrade signified the beginning of Yugoslavia's steady engagement in Africa and Asia. First contacts with the MPLA, FRELIMO, and other liberation movements in Africa were made that year. As Yugoslavia's military assistance demonstrates, aid was sometimes driven by pragmatic considerations related to the country's security. But sometimes it was motivated by less tangible categories, such as ideology, psychological identification of the main actors with liberation struggles, and prestige in international affairs.

Therefore, Yugoslavia's involvement in Portuguese Africa was motivated by two factors. First, military aid, particularly after 1968, facilitated Yugoslavia's foreign policy and security objectives. Unlike other socialist countries, Yugoslavia did not require ideological compatibility from aid recipients. This ideologically flexible approach also validated Yugoslavia's right to take its own road to socialism that was particularly important in the context of the Brezhnev doctrine and permanent threats to Yugoslavia sovereignty. Military aid to the MPLA, FRELIMO, and others was seen to contribute to Yugoslavia's independence and security. The purpose of Yugoslav military aid was to enhance the defence capabilities of these liberation movements thus minimizing the need for the superpowers' involvement.

Second, beginning with Algeria in the late 1950 and early 1960s, military and political aid to liberation movements was an intrinsic part of Yugoslavia's foreign policy orientation and an expression of Yugoslavia's revolutionary experience. Yugoslavia's "greatest generation" identified their own struggle against foreign occupation and domestic "reactionary forces" during World War II with the anti-colonial struggles. Yugoslav functionaries often invoked their World War II experiences in conversations and policy planning. Yugoslav party, state, and military officials interpreted Yugoslav support of anti-colonialism not as a conscious ("subjective") choice, but rather as the core of Yugoslav revolutionary identity and historical experience.[115] And their interlocutors in Portuguese Africa, out of conviction or flattery, identified themselves with the Yugoslav Partisans and expressed their desire to copy Yugoslavian war and post-war experiences.

However, Yugoslavia's military aid to the MPLA and FRELIMO demonstrated Yugoslavia's limited capacity to influence regional and global affairs. Yugoslavia did not have the means to provide sufficient assistance to its partners in Africa. The quantity of Yugoslavia's aid fluctuated from year to year as the constraints of domestic political and economic situation influenced the country's ability to pro-

115 A. Grlickov, "Predgovor", in: I. Ivekovic (ed.), *Afrika i socijalizam. Panorama socijalistickih opredjeljenja i zemljama crne Afrike*, Belgrade: Izdavacki centar "Komunist", 1976, p. x.

vide money and materiel to its partners in Africa. Moreover, Yugoslavia's delicate international position dictated the scope of military assistance. Although Yugoslavia's aim was to limit the influence of superpowers in Angola and Mozambique, by 1976 it was clear that Yugoslavia had failed to do so. Yugoslavia's aid to the MPLA was insufficient to prevent "Sovietization" of the movement. Soviet (and Cuban) influence in Angola and Washington's pressure on Yugoslavia in 1975 showed that Yugoslavia's position in Southern Africa was unsustainable because of external factors. Moreover, the Cuban intervention revealed the impotence of Yugoslavia's "third-worldism" and its inability to support anti-imperialist rhetoric with concrete actions. Yet, Yugoslavia's role in Angola and Mozambique provides an opportunity to observe how liberation movements made and maintained connections with allies abroad. It also shows how small states such as Yugoslavia supported these movements in order to achieve their own foreign policy objectives.

Nedžad Kuč

Southern African Students in Southeast Europe: Education and Experiences in 1960s Yugoslavia

As most of the liberation movements in Southern Africa had a left-leaning or Marxist ideological foundation, close ties to socialist countries were established in the early 1960s and the Soviet Union and other Eastern European states were main suppliers of military equipment.[1] "Eastern" aid to Southern Africa was, however, not limited to weapons and political support: education and training were an integral part of the assistance.[2] The historical constellation of the Cold War and the involvement of the "ideological blocs", the Western democratic-capitalist camp under the United States and the Eastern Marxist-Leninist socialist states led by the Soviet Union (and partly China), in Africa's decolonization "opened up new channels to venture abroad, gain knowledge, qualifications and experiences."[3] Education became an important factor in international cultural relations and scholarships took young Southern Africans not only to schools in already independent African countries but to Northern America, Western and Eastern Europe as well.[4]

1 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), *Southern Africa: the escalation of a conflict. A politico-military study*, New York: Praeger, 1976, p. 63.

2 For the Soviet educational aid to Africa see the thesis of C. Katsakioris, *Leçons soviétiques. La formation des étudiants africains et arabes en URSS pendant la guerre froide*, Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2015, and C. Katsakioris, "Creating a Socialist Intelligentsia. Soviet Educational Aid and its Impact on Africa (1960 – 1991)", *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 57 (2017) 2, pp. 259 – 287.

3 E. Burton, "Introduction: Journeys of education and struggle: African mobility in times of decolonization and the Cold War", *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien* 18 (2018) 34, pp. 1 – 17, at 1.

4 SWANU's early leaders were educated in Sweden during the 1960s and some young men, who would later become prominent SWAPO members, studied in the United States. See C. Williams, "Education in Exile: International Scholarships, Cold War Politics, and Conflicts among SWAPO Members in Tanzania, 1961 – 1968", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43 (2017) 1, pp. 125 – 141, at 126. For the importance of educational exchange and culture during the Cold War see L. Bu, "Educational exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War", *Journal of American Studies* 33 (1999) 3, pp. 393 – 415; J.-F. Sirinelli and G.-H. Soutou (eds.), *Culture et guerre froide*, Paris: Sorbonne Université Presses, 2008, and D. Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-012

Yugoslavia, following its own socialist path, not being part of the Soviet-dominated Eastern bloc and a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), was one of the main supporters of the liberation movements in Southern Africa. Anticolonialism was an integral part of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and the country took up Southern African issues when it became clear that Portugal and the white minority rulers in South Africa and Rhodesia tried to preserve power and the status quo. Yugoslavia broke diplomatic ties with the apartheid regime, closed its consular office in Johannesburg in 1963,[5] and established diplomatic relations with Portugal only after the Carnation Revolution in 1974,[6] although there have been contacts with the Portuguese Communist Party and the Portuguese National Liberation Front before the Revolution.[7] Tito evoked the problem of Southern Africa during his speeches, whether on international gatherings or at the congresses of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In 1969, he stated that "the international community is obligated to support the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, the South African Republic, Rhodesia, Guinea-Bissau and other territories in their struggle for total liberation and to take swift action to liquidate all remnants of colonialism."[8] Nearly a decade later, as the problem of Africa's South was still not solved, he reaffirmed his country's position: "In Southern Africa, the only true solution is the complete liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and racism, securing the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe, and the abolition of apartheid in the South African Republic."[9]

The conflicts in Southern Africa were key issues at the different NAM conferences, where member states were urged to financially and militarily support the freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonial territories, to break diplomatic ties with Portugal, not accept Southern Rhodesia's independence if proclaimed under white minority rule, and boycott South African goods.[10]

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5 J. Kalley, E. Schoeman, and L. Andor (eds.), *Southern African political history: a chronology of key political events from independence to mid-1997*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999, p. 333.

6 C. Hunt and L. Sobel, *Portuguese revolution, 1974–76*, New York: Facts on File, 1976, p. 76.

7 See Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), 507 Savez komunista Jugoslavije (SKJ) – međunarodna komisiia – Portugal.

8 Speech at the 9th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in March 1969, in: J.B. Tito, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften: Vol. III, 1945–1979*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cota, 1984, p. 439.

9 Speech at the 11th Congress of the LCY in June 1978, in: ibid., p. 564.

10 Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo 1964. Programme for Peace and International Cooperation. Declaration as Adopted by the Conference, 1964. See under http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/2nd_Summit_FD_Cairo_Declaration_1964.pdf (accessed 5 January 2019).

Yugoslavia established relations with the liberation movements in Southern Africa in the early 1960s.[11] Contacts were established and strengthened during multinational meetings such as NAM conferences, where liberation movements would send representatives, through the offices of liberation movements in free African countries, and through visits of liberation leaders to Yugoslavia. One of the most important Yugoslav authorities dealing with the relations with liberation movements was the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SSRNJ – Socijalistički savez radnog naroda Jugoslavije), the country's socio-political mass organization.[12]

Along with Yugoslav diplomatic, material, and military support to young states and liberation movements, the country granted scholarships to young people from the "Global South". By doing so, Yugoslavia responded to the need of the newly independent countries and national liberation movements for well-educated young people who could take the reins of the social and economic development within their respective country.[13] Between 1955 and 1984, Yugoslavia granted 7,900 scholarships for countries of the "Global South", liberation movements and friendly parties. Over 2,800 grantees from 90 countries, liberation movements, and friendly parties came to Yugoslavia during the period 1977–1984 alone. The foreign students received educational and professional training on all levels and for short or long-term periods.[14] Starting from the early 1960s, this educational aid also led young Southern Africans to Yugoslav schools and universities.

This chapter focuses on some of the first scholarship grantees from Southern Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Southwest Africa (Namibia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and South Africa) in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and their individual journeys to receive overseas education. Based on archival documents from Belgrade, and using a qualitative content analysis,[15] this chapter provides information on the education and experiences of Southern Africans in Yugoslavia. Though many of these grantees left Yugoslavia with negative experiences and

11 See the dossiers under AJ, 507 SKJ – Angola; Mozambik; Namibija; Južnoafrička Republika.
12 Ibid.
13 D. Bondžić, "Stipendisti iz Indije i Burme u Jugoslaviji 1951–1955", in: S. Selinić (ed.), *Spoljna politika Jugoslavije: 1950–1961*, Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2008, pp. 558–570, and D. Bondžić, "Strani studenti u Jugoslaviji 1956–1961", *Istorija 20. Veka* (2010) 2, 2010, pp. 67–78. For the importance of trained young people in postcolonial states see Katsakioris, *Leçons*, chapter 2.
14 D. Miljković (ed.), *Yugoslavia 1945–1985: Statistical Review*, Beograd: Savezni Zavod za Statistiku, 1986, pp. 175–176.
15 The methodological approach is based on P. Mayring, *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*, Weinheim: Beltz, 2010.

often without a diploma, this would not be an obstacle for the continuation of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the liberation movements.

Angola

Yugoslavia's involvement in Southern Africa was most visible in Angola. According to Piero Gleijeses, Soviet interest in that country was limited after the failed Simba Revolution in the DR Congo in 1964 and the overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana in 1966, and the Soviets mistrusted the leadership of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), especially Agostinho Neto, and were not impressed by the military capacities of the liberation movement. Furthermore, the Angolans were caught up in the Sino-Soviet conflict, with each side pressuring the Africans to condemn the other one in order to obtain more aid. Neto refused to do this.[16] After independence, Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento summed up MPLA's view of the Soviet Union in a meeting with Tito: "We think that since the Soviet Union is the biggest and economically strongest socialist country, it should bear some burden in the development of our country and provide us aid, but in no way does this mean that they can do whatever they want in Angola."[17] Soviet mistrust towards the MPLA, suspicions that the movement was pro-Chinese and, above all, the internal difficulties and struggles of the liberation movement led to a radical reduction of Soviet aid from 1972 until 1974, when Neto regained total control of the MPLA.[18] During that period, when the Angolans were under heavy Portuguese attack and the Soviet Union and its satellite states stopped their aid, Yugoslavia, following their own foreign political agenda, continued to support the MPLA. Neto confirmed Yugoslavia's role in 1977 when he declared that Yugoslavia's help was "constant, firm, and generous", and "extraordinary".[19] Malcolm Toon, US Ambassador to Yugoslavia remarked in 1973 that Tito "clearly enjoys his role as a patriarch of guerrilla liberation struggle."[20] Financial and military support continued once the liberation

16 P. Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions. Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, pp. 242–243.

17 Memcon (Tito, Nascimento), 20 July 1976, p. 6, Tito Archive, in: P. Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom. Havana, Washington, Pretoria and the struggle for southern Africa, 1976–1991*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013, p. 75.

18 Gleijeses, *Missions*, p. 243.

19 Quotation from an Interview with Neto, "Informe", in Primer Congreso, p. 48, cited in: Gleijeses, *Missions*, p. 243.

20 Toon to DOS, 5 March 1973, p. 2, cited in: Gleijeses, *Missions*, p. 243.

war ended. Yugoslavia was crucial in arming the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) by sending a cargo ship of weapons and armoured cars, which were unloaded in Porte Noire in the Republic of Congo in April 1975 and then smuggled into Angola.[21] Paulo Jorge, Angola's foreign minister from 1976–1984, remarked that until the establishment of Cuban military mission in Angola in August 1975 and Cuba's strong involvement in Angola after that, "the country that helped the MPLA the most was Yugoslavia."[22]

A 19-year-old Angolan[23] from Mpete, a Congolese town close to the Angolan border,[24] residing in Léopoldville, arrived in 1963 in Yugoslavia. His scholarship candidature was submitted by the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE), led by the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), and signed by the FNLA leader Holden Roberto.[25] After missing the date for the entrance examination at a Higher School of Economics in Zagreb in September 1964 due to a medical treatment, the student finally passed his language test in January 1965, but did not pass any school exams for the year 1964/65. In December 1965, authorities noted that he had not come back from his medical treatment in Switzerland, and in April 1966 his scholarship was cancelled.[26] According to a report of the Institute for International Technical Cooperation (*Zavod za međunarodnu tehničku saradnju* – ZAMTES) of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, there were a few Angolan students at the same school in Zagreb. "As a group", the report noted, "Angolan students had the least amount of fore-knowledge, especially in mathematics. But they put in a lot of effort, so that they are on a level with their colleagues and could continue their studies. Regarding behaviour, discipline, and work ethics, there were complaints about them, but the situation

21 Gleijeses, *Missions*, pp. 348–349.

22 Interview with Jorge in: L. Lara, *A história do MPLA*, Luanda: private collection, n.d., p. 161, cited in: Gleijeses, *Missions*, p. 349.

23 For privacy reasons, I do not mention names of former students.

24 Probably from exiled Angolan parents or long time Angolan residents in the Congo. Holden Roberto's family moved from Portuguese-Angola to Léopldville in 1925, two years after his birth. See W.M. James, *Historical Dictionary of Angola*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011, p. 231. Tens of thousands of Angolan Bakongo lived in the Lower Congo area and were later joined by leaders of the Angolan Bakongo peasantry who moved across the Congo border. See J.A. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution: Exile Politics and Guerilla Warfare (1962–1976), Vol. 2*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1978, p. 3.

25 AJ, 208 Savezni zavod za međunarodnu tehničku saradnju – 214 Angola, CANDIDATURE 22. July 1963.

26 Ibid., 1963–06 and Informacije o stipendistima koji se nisu vratili u našu zemlju nakon ferija, 4. December 1965.

back home is occupying them from time to time and could have an impact on the continuity of their work."[27]

Another 19-year old Angolan arrived in 1963, sent by the *Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores de Angola* (CGTA), a Catholic trade union organization exiled in Kinshasa.[28] This student started at a vocational school in Kranj/SR Slovenia, where he was trained as a telecommunication mechanic and went back to Congo in 1966. During his time in Kranj, he wrote to officials that he felt quite isolated and that he did not get any news from officials, contrary to his compatriots in Zagreb, and that he could not leave the country during his summer holidays, because his passport had expired. He urged the Yugoslav officials to ask the Congolese embassy for a renewal. The Commission for International Relations responded, telling him that hopefully he had made friends with other Angolans and Africans at his school and that the city union council would invite him for a conversation regarding his stay.[29] Two years after his return to Africa, he wrote a letter to Yugoslav authorities, wishing to get another scholarship and continue his studies, now in a secondary technical school. He stated that he had difficulties in the Congo, where the authorities would not recognize his diploma and he had to pass additional exams. The Council of the Union of Yugoslav syndicates, which made his first stay possible, did not accept individual applications and asked him to send his application to the CGTA. The Council told the Bureau of International Cooperation that they would not consider his application, as their position was "that the cadre from countries fighting for independence, should be available to their liberation movements, once they completed their studies in Yugoslavia." Regarding the former student, the Council thought that the candidate was avoiding his obligations to the syndicate which had sent him to Yugoslavia and thus would not recommend another scholarship.[30]

In his work on the Angolan revolution, John A. Marcum also mentions one young Luandan who studied electronics in Yugoslavia from 1963 to 1969. He had left Angola on a scholarship arranged by the *União das Populações de Angola* (UPA), a predecessor organization of the FNLA in Kinshasa.[31] After his return

27 Ibid., Izvod iz izveštaja tehničke pomoći SR Hrvatskte o stipendistima u 1963/1964 školskoj godini. ZAMTES was one of the state agencies dealing with foreign students in Yugoslavia. The federal institute in Belgrade was overseeing the republican institutes of the six constituent republics of Yugoslavia.

28 Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, p. 160.

29 AJ, 208 – 214, Letters dated 19 July 1965 and 20 December 1965.

30 AJ, 208 – 214, Bivši stipendista itz Angole-molba za stipendiju, 17 September 1969.

31 See Marcum, *Angolan Revolution,* pp. 9, 391.

to Africa, he was very involved in the FNLA and became a member of the GRAE Council of Ministers, where he was appointed minister of the interior by Holden Roberto.[32]

Mozambique

In Mozambique, the liberation movement FRELIMO began receiving aid from the Organization of African Unity at the beginning of the war of independence in 1964. Eduardo Mondlane, the president of the movement, counted the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria among "FRELIMO's most important sources of supplies."[33]

In November 1964, a group of three Mozambican students, two residing in Kenya and one in Ghana, sent by the *União Geral dos Estudantes da África Negra sob dominação colonial portuguesa* (UGEAN) in Algiers via the Yugoslav Student Association, arrived in Yugoslavia and started auto mechanics training in Maribor.[34] From the start, however, officials noted they showed disinterest regarding their training and often skipped lessons. The trainees requested to be transferred to a university in order to study agriculture, medicine, and economics. Yugoslav officials rejected their wishes and asked the students to undergo a knowledge test, as the Mozambican students did not have the qualifications to enter a high school. The students were sent to Belgrade to learn Serbo-Croatian, undergo knowledge tests and were then to be sent to schools, which would match their results and skills. In October 1965, two students, after passing the test, were to be sent to a secondary school of economics and to a training school for nurses. Both disappeared a few days after the test results and were believed to be in France. The third student was sentenced to two months in prison in Maribor because he had injured a fellow student from Uganda with a knife. Authorities planned on sending him back to Algiers, where he had stayed prior to his arrival in Yugoslavia. A few days after his release from prison, he disappeared.[35]

A member of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO), also arriving from Kenya in 1964, started at a higher school of economics and then transferred to a school of public administration. After failing in school and unwilling to continue his studies, he tried to go to Switzerland, but was re-

32 Ibid., pp. 188, 391.
33 SIPRI, *Southern Africa*, p. 99.
34 AJ, 208 – 361 Mozambik, Stipendisti iz Mozambika-ukidanje stipendije, 28 December 1965.
35 Ibid.

fused entry to Austria or Italy, as he did not possess a visa for these countries.[36] After a short prison time because of assault, he was allowed to leave Yugoslavia for Kinshasa. The Yugoslav embassy in Zambia has been told by a representative of UDENAMO that the student should go to the DR Congo to meet with the Angolan leader Holden Roberto.[37]

A Mozambican residing in Dar es Salaam arrived in 1963 and started his training as an electronics technician in Maribor in 1964. Months before he should have passed his final exams in 1967, he asked for another scholarship, now to study mechanical engineering. The Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SSRNJ) was in favour of such a request, for FRELIMO was not able to send students for the 1967/68 academic year and because the movement's leadership and especially Uria Simango were interested in that kind of prolongation.[38] ZAMTES, however, rejected the proposition and could not grant another scholarship to the student. The student did not pass all his exams for his final school year and left the country while he was supposed to prepare his correctional exams. Thus, his scholarship was cancelled. In April 1967, he sent a letter to his former landlord in Maribor from Stuttgart, West Germany.[39]

Namibia

SWAPO's Sam Nujoma visited Yugoslavia on several occasions, thanking the country for its "consistent and unreserved support and material assistance",[40] and SWAPO's vice president Mishake Muyango was guest at the 10th Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists.[41] SSRNJ, the country's largest and most influential mass organization, had close relations with SWAPO and worked towards the opening of an information bureau in Belgrade. Between 1970 and 1974, SSRNJ helped SWAPO with financial and military equipment and SWAPO asked for more support in the following years – weapons and munition for 2000 soldiers, medicine and medical equipment, and education of technical staff.[42]

36 AJ, 208 – 361, Zabeleška o razgovoru sa bivšim stipendistom iz Mozambika, 21 February 1967.
37 Ibid., Interna zabeleška br. 75/232, 12 April 1967.
38 AJ, 208 – 361, SSRNJ Komisija za međunarodnu saradnju i veze, 23 June 1967.
39 Ibid., Stipendista iz Mozambika, 5 July 1967.
40 AJ, 507, Namibija, IX, 85/6.
41 Ibid., IX, 85/5.
42 Ibid.

A Namibian student arrived in November 1961 and started at the faculty of medicine in Zagreb, but he showed no interest in his course, was isolated from his fellow students, did not pass his exams to enter the third school year and was seen reading more American magazines than scientific literature. He asked for a transfer to the faculty of Philosophy, but officials rejected this, because his movement had asked him to study medicine, which was also his wish in the application. The student then asked to leave the country. In one of his meetings with ZAMTES, he expressed the wish to go to West Germany, as life in Yugoslavia was not good. Yugoslav authorities were surprised by such a claim, as they had done their best to accept and support him.[43] Finding it difficult to settle in Switzerland, where he applied for a residence permit, he wrote to ZAMTES and asked for a return to Yugoslavia and a continuation of his scholarship. Authorities rejected this as his scholarship was cancelled with his departure from the country and because applications had to go through SWAPO.[44]

Another SWAPO member's stay in Yugoslavia was short. Arriving in Yugoslavia in October 1963, he was trained at the vocational school in Kranj. A year later, his training was cancelled due to indiscipline. His appeal to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to send him back to the school, as he did not want to leave the country without a diploma, was in vain. In December 1964, he was sent back to Dar es Salaam.[45]

In 1966, a Namibian student completed a three-year auto mechanic training in Novi Sad. The trainee expressed his wish to stay longer in Yugoslavia, and his request was supported by SWAPO from Dar es Salaam, but the Yugoslav authorities did not want to grant him another scholarship because he was too old (36 years) and because he had a low general education.[46] His return to Dar es Salaam proved to be difficult. Tanzania was reluctant to take in SWAPO students because one of their students in Belgrade had given an interview to Radio Beograd, where he criticized Tanzania for not being able to employ students after their return.[47] In April 1968, the former trainee wrote a letter to ZAMTES, asking for another scholarship to continue his studies in Yugoslavia. He wrote that he had not found work in Dar

43 AJ, 208 – 372 Jugozapadna Afrika, Informacije o studiju 3 stip. iz Jugozapadne Afrike, 11 October 1963.

44 Ibid., Letter, 16 March 1965.

45 Ibid., 2 June 1963 and letter to the League of Communists, 14 March 1964.

46 Ibid., Zahtev za produženje stipendije, 11 July 1966. For problems regarding age and educational level of Namibian students see Williams, "Education", p. 139, and C. Williams, *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa. A Historical Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, p. 77.

47 AJ, 208 – 372, Stipendisti u Servisu TAM Novi Sad, 22 July 1966.

es Salaam for over a year and was now in Nairobi, Kenya. Yugoslav authorities explained to him that they would not accept individual applications and that he should contact Kenyan authorities for further information.[48] In August 1968, ZAMTES received a letter from SWANU (SWAPO's rival liberation movement) from Nairobi, which stated that the former trainee, without the job he was promised in Dar es Salaam, had moved to Nairobi and was now part of that liberation movement. The letter was signed by none other than the above mentioned SWAPO member who had been sent off from a Yugoslav school after one year and who was now the representative of SWANU in East Africa.[49] After his return to Tanzania from Yugoslavia, he left Dar es Salaam for Nairobi, where he was given a scholarship by the United Nations[50] and apparently became an official of SWANU. As Yugoslavia's SSRNJ had not established any relations with SWANU, it did not follow up on the request for another scholarship.[51]

After accomplishing a three-year training as a radio and television mechanic in Niš in 1965, Yugoslav authorities were satisfied with the educational trajectory of another Namibian student and allowed him to start a new training as an electrical technician in September 1965. However, the student went to West Germany during the summer holidays in July and did not return to Yugoslavia.[52] Two other Namibians who attended an electro-technical school in Slovenia were suspended for skipping classes and boycotting internships. After their suspension, both requested to go back to Dar es Salaam. While waiting in Belgrade for a transit visa for Egypt, the students accused authorities of discrimination, even though Yugoslav authorities were paying for their stay in Belgrade.[53] After getting plane tickets to Dar es Salaam with layover in Cairo, the students falsified them into tickets to New York via Paris and redesigned their identity certificates and the stamps on their entry and exit visas for Yugoslavia. For this criminal act, they were arrested. As they were foreign citizens who had "for two years enjoyed the hospitality and the scholarships"[54] of the Yugoslav government, the Secretariat for Internal Affairs released them, conducted them to the airport and handed them their tickets after they were on the plane going to Africa. Yugoslav officials assumed that the students would present an invented story to their liberation movement about their return, claiming they were the victims of Yugoslav dis-

48 Ibid., Letter to ZAMTES, SR Serbia, 20 April 1968 and letter to student, 30 April 1968.
49 Ibid., Letter to the Yugoslav Embassy in Kenya, 15 August 1968.
50 Williams, *National Liberation*, p. 81.
51 AJ, 208 – 372, Letter, 6 September 1968.
52 AJ, 208 – 372, Stipendista iz Jugozapadne Afrike, 23 November 1965.
53 Ibid., Ukidanje stipendije, 19 October 1966.
54 Ibid., Letter to ZAMTES, 2 November 1966.

crimination, and so the arrest and court documents were sent to the embassy in Dar es Salaam, as proof to SWAPO about what had happened.[55]

South Africa

A member of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) arrived in Belgrade in November 1962 and started a language class. He had stated in his application that he wanted to study geology, but now expressed the wish to study medicine. The student showed no interest in learning Serbo-Croatian and the language teachers reported that he wanted to go to Western Europe. In April 1963, he requested an exit visa to go to West Germany, where he wanted to participate at the Congress of African Students in Bonn. After a dispute with authorities, who wanted to check with the PAC first, he came back to the office of ZAMTES with two compatriots who had been given permission to leave for the Congress by the Commission of International Cultural Relations. Finally, ZAMTES authorized his request and the three students left for West Germany but they did not return to Yugoslavia.[56] In 1965, another three South African students, who had been in Yugoslavia for not more than a year and were attending an electrotechnical school in Slovenia, left to travel across Western Europe with permission from their respective parties, the ANC and PAC, and did not return to continue their studies.[57]

After studying at the University of Ljubljana for only a few months in 1964, a South African student's tuberculosis worsened. The ANC made arrangements with the *Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* in East Berlin for the student to receive medical treatment.[58] Before leaving for the GDR, the student wrote a letter to Yugoslav authorities, asking to be allowed to come back to continue with his studies after his treatment. "I like Yugoslavia", he wrote, "and I should be very happy to be welcomed back."[59]

Two other students who arrived in 1963 were sent back home in December of 1964 because of indiscipline. ZAMTES tried to discuss the behaviour, the missed chances and the opportunities given by Yugoslavia, but the students accused officials of being of "the white people, who had divided Africa" and compared Yugoslavia to colonialists. The day of their departure, they got drunk and shouted insults with other African students at the airport, all waiting to be sent back

55 Ibid., Stipendisti iz Jugozapadne Afrike, 3 November 1966.
56 AJ, 208 – 371 Južna Afrika, Informacija, 24 June 1963.
57 Ibid., Ukidanje stipendije trojici stipendista iz Južne Afrike, 9 February 1966.
58 Ibid., 67.1 – 151, 13 March 1965.
59 Ibid., Prepis to foreign students commission [sic].

home.[60] ZAMTES told the SSRNJ to be more careful to select suitable grantees. Any work with such students as these two "is completely pointless and only means loss of time and money."[61] Of ten grantees from South Africa, seven left Yugoslavia voluntarily (six going to the Federal Republic of Germany), one was transferred to the GDR due to illness, two were sent back home due to indiscipline and only one left the country with a diploma, finishing an electro-mechanic training in Slovenia.[62]

Southern Rhodesia

An African from Southern Rhodesia finished a one-year training at a journalist school in Belgrade and interned at the newspapers "Borba" and "Politika", and at "Radio Beograd". In his last month in the country, he did a study tour (Skoplje, Titograd, Dubrovnik, Split, Zagreb) and visited factories, industrial parks, and institutions.[63] In his report to ZAMTES, he wrote that he had seen "how they put socialism into operation. Therefor [sic] for my people, my going back to Southern Rhodesia means the coming back of the first pioneer of SOCIALISM [sic]."[64] In Yugoslavia, he was given the chance to study and deepen his knowledge about socialism, the political, social and cultural system of Yugoslavia. "I was then aware", he wrote, "that what the capitalist journalists write about socialism is intoxicated speculation."[65] For the Southern Rhodesian, the training of a foreigner as a journalist meant that Yugoslavia had "trained an unpaid ambassador" who is in touch with "every man in the country" and "with the world". In a politically and ideologically divided world, "the duty of this unpaid Ambassador" is to counteract "the speculation by exposing the truth about Jugoslavia [sic]."[66] During his stay, he faced financial difficulties "like all foreign students" but was "able to bear them". He did not want to suggest that the scholarships were too little but accommodation costs were so high "that it leaves a person with almost little to be able to feed on let alone the buying of clothes."[67] He also gave advice on how to improve the Institute of Journalism in Belgrade:

60 Ibid., Informacija, 26 January 1965.
61 Ibid., Savezni zavod za medj. tehn. saradnju, 22 January 1965.
62 Listed in ZAMTES's dossier AJ, 208 – 371.
63 AJ, 208 – 370 Južna Rodezija, Izveštaj, 4 November 1963.
64 Ibid., Report to the Technical Assistance, 17 October 1963.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.

lectures should be in English, lectures of the previous years should be provided to students, and there should be a press of its own so students could practise. Had he not been called by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) to return to Africa, he had planned to start studying sociology in Yugoslavia. He concluded his report in the hope that if "one day all goes well" in his country, he will be offered another scholarship by Yugoslavia.[68]

A compatriot of the journalist had a different experience. A year and a half after his arrival in 1962, he wrote that his impression of the country had "greatly changed". The better he knew the country and the longer he stayed, "the more I grow to hate my conditions of living. I have been so much humiliated, degraded, tortured, discriminated against and the like." It seems that problems with accommodation were the main reason for his discontent. "The cost of living is so high and my income so low that I have been forced to live below the bread and butter line. [...] I have been refused visitors of all kinds and have been subjected to conditions which are common to a prisoner. I have been refused admittance in certain eating places and other places of entertainment", the student reported.[69] The officials had a different view on his complaints. For them, his "hypersensitivity", intensified by his "complex of racial discrimination and inferiority" had brought him to a false perception of Yugoslavia. He had had problems with the families he stayed with and the people he had had contact with.[70]

The same year ZAMTES received complaints from Cairo: ZAPU's representative in Egypt stated that some of their students had complained about their conditions of education and general treatment in Yugoslavia. The representative mentioned three students, one with problems with accommodation, one who had been released from hospital while still ill and a third who had complained about how they had been treated in school. Yugoslav officials told him that there had been similar remarks by other students in the past, but that during a visit from a ZAPU leader the complaints had proved to be without any foundation, exaggerated and often tendentious. It was suggested that a ZAPU representative should come to Yugoslavia and talk to the students. The SSRNJ replied to Cairo that the students' allegations did not match the facts.[71]

68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., Prepis, 5 March 1965.
70 Ibid., Letter annexed to Rešenje, 1 October 1964.
71 Ibid., Kairo Br. 6, 5 January 1965.

Conclusion

Individuals from the "Global South" arrived on scholarships in the socialist, non-aligned, internationalist state of Yugoslavia and, like elsewhere in the East and the West, encountered many problems. Some of the students started their journey with inadequate preparation for the experience abroad, high expectations, and an insufficient educational level.[72] Lack of Serbo-Croatian language skills, accommodation difficulties, and tense correspondence with bureaucracy complicated their stay in a new environment that was in many ways extremely different from the foreign students' home countries. Cases of discrimination and racism towards dark skinned students were reported and made the integration into the new society more difficult, while authorities sometimes downplayed the complaints.[73] The rate of students leaving Yugoslavia without a diploma was high.[74] Students were sent back home due to low school performances and lack of discipline whereas others took the opportunity to look for a better life in Western Europe, leaving their Yugoslav scholarships and their obligations to their liberation movements behind them.

These individual trajectories of Southern African students were not an obstacle for the continuation of the scholarships offered by Yugoslavia to Southern Africa, however. According to UNESCO-statistics, Yugoslavia hosted 5 students from non-self-governing African territories[75] in 1962, 15 in 1965 and 12 in 1968.[76] 2 South Africans enrolled as students in 1967, 4 in 1969, four in 1976, and 2 in 1978.[77] 2 Angolan students were present in Yugoslavia in 1974, 9 in 1977, and 5

72 Williams, "Education", pp. 130, 139; Williams, *National Liberation*, p. 77, and O. Klineberg and H. von Alemann, *International Educational Exchange. An Assessment of its Nature and its Prospects,* Den Haag: Mouton, 1976, pp. 230, 240.

73 See M. Lazić, "Neki problemi stranih studenata na jugoslovenskim univerzitetima šezdesetih godina XX veka, sa posebnim osvrtom na afričke studente", in: *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 16 (2009) 2, pp. 61–78.

74 See lists in: AJ, 208, 214 and 361. However, such high numbers of non-graduates were not unique to Southern Africa students, as many students from Ghana left the country without a diploma in the same period. See AJ, 208–76 Gana.

75 For UNESCO, the group of Non-Self.-Gov-Terr. in Africa consisted of: Angola, Cape Verde Islands, Comoro Islands, Equatorial Guinea, the Afars and the Issas, ifni, Mozambique, Namibia, Portuguese Guinea, St. Helena & Deps, São Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, Spanish Sahara, Southern Rhodesia and the French Overseas "département de la Réunion". See UNESCO, *Statistics of students abroad 1962–1968*, Paris: UNESCO, 1971, p. 64 of Part II.

76 Ibid., p. 64 of Part II.

77 Ibid., p. 47 of Part II, and UNESCO, *Statistics of students abroad 1969–1963*, Paris: UNESCO, 1976, p. 80, and UNESCO, *Statistics of students abroad 1974–1978*, Paris: UNESCO, 1982, p. 67.

in 1978.[78] These numbers only showed the young people enrolled at a higher education institution and not the number of grantees trained at vocational secondary schools. Between Angola's independence and Neto's visit to Belgrade in April 1977, Yugoslavia provided Angola with $10 million in military aid (plus $4 million that had not been transferred), 46 scholarships for Angolan students and training in Belgrade for 28 future diplomats, 56 security personnel, and 25 factory workers.[79] For the academic year 1976/77, the SSRNJ offered 15 scholarships for short-term training, secondary school, and university education; for 1979/80 89 and for 1983/84 125 scholarships.[80]

After 1953, Yugoslavia emerged as a leader of the Non-Alignment Movement as it launched a diplomatic offensive in the "Global South", looking for closer relations with the African and Asian nations as well as with national liberation movements. Yugoslavia continued to be a close friend of liberation movements and South African leaders knew that the country was one of its supporters. From the point of view of the liberation movements, the most important part of Yugoslav aid was the military, material, financial, and political support. The education aid could be regarded as less crucial in times of armed conflict, therefore the difficulties and dropouts were not detrimental to the relationship with Yugoslavia. However, the liberation movements also knew that Yugoslavia was one of the places where they could send their adherents for further education, which would be needed when liberation was acquired.

As a leader of the NAM, and due to its foreign political ideology, Yugoslavia provided military, material, and financial aid to Southern African liberation movements. The idea behind educational aid was to offer an education to young people in need, but also, from a foreign political point of view, to use the soft power of international education and scholarships. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union with its People's Friendship University, later Patrice Lumumba University, and the United States with the Fulbright-Program, as well as many other Socialist and Western countries engaged in the education of foreign citizens. Governments offered support and opportunities to those who wished to study in a foreign country or did not have the financial means to study abroad, while at the same time expecting the international student mo-

78 Ibid., p. 36.

79 Memcon (Tito, Neto), 23 April 1977, p. 10, Tito Archive, cited in: Gleijeses, *Visions*, p. 77.

80 Odbor Predsedništva Savezne konferencije SSRNJ za pomoć oslobodilačkim pokretima i žrtvama agresije et al. (eds.), *Antikolonijalna revolucija, socijalna politička i ekonomska emancipacija u svetu: međunarodni odnosi, položaj i perspektive oslobodilačkih pokreta u svetu: Jugoslavija i oslobodilački pokreti*, Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 1985, p. 451.

bility to work in favour of their foreign political ambitions.[81] Similarly, in Yugoslavia, the rapporteur Dušan Popović emphasized the importance of scholarships for foreign citizens and noted at a meeting of the commission for international relations of the SSRNJ in 1959 that Western and Eastern European states were active in educating the new foreign intelligentsia. He urged Yugoslavia to expand its scholarship programme, to take care of the foreign students and to influence them on an ideological and political level, so that the country's interests could be achieved.[82] The Southern Rhodesian student who called himself an "unpaid ambassador" for Yugoslavia after his journalist training assumed a role of representing his host country. The difficulties that authorities and students encountered and the high number of unsuccessful students were not seen as a reason to end granting scholarships to Southern Africans. Relationship-building and influencing young people through many generations remained important.

81 A.F. de Lima Jr., "The Role of International Educational Exchanges in Public Diplomacy", *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 3 (2007) 3, pp. 234–251; J.M. Mitchell, *International Cultural Relations*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 2 and chapter 15; Bu, "Educational Exchange", p. 397, and R. Djagalov and C. Evans, "Moskau 1960. Wie man sich eine sowjetische Freundschaft mit der Dritten Welt vorstellte", in: A. Hilger (ed.), *Die Sowjetunion und die Dritte Welt. UdSSR, Staatssozialismus und Antikolonialismus im Kalten Krieg 1945–1991*, München: R. Oldenbourg, 2009, pp. 83–105.

82 Bondžić, "Strani studenti", pp. 71–72.

Biographical Notes

Eric Burton (eric.burton@univie.ac.at) is postdoctoral research associate in the project "Socialism goes global", University of Exeter. He specializes in the entangled histories of development, socialisms and anticolonial liberation struggles with a focus on Tanzania and the two German states. Previously, he was Leibniz Science Campus EEGA guest scholar at Leipzig University and pre-doc researcher and lecturer at the University of Vienna in African Studies, History and Development Studies. Recent publications include articles in "Journeys of education and struggle: African mobility in times of decolonization and the Cold War" (*Stichproben/Vienna Journal of African Studies* 18 (2018) 34) and "Socialisms in Development" (*JEP/ Austrian Journal of Development Studies* XXXIII (2017) 3).

Lena Dallywater (l_dallywater@ifl-leipzig.de) is academic coordinator of the Leibniz ScienceCampus "Eastern Europe – Global Area" (EEGA). Previously, she was Research Programme Coordinator at the Global and European Studies Institute and the Centre for Area Studies at Leipzig University as well as Coordinator of the DFG Priority Programme (SPP 1448) "Adaptation and Creativity in Africa – Technologies and Significations in the Production of Order and Disorder" (2011 – 2017). Her research interests include African American Intellectual History, African Intellectual History, African Philosophy, Black Radical Tradition, Black Arts Movement, Black Consciousness Movement, Afrocentrism, Aesthetics, and Global and Transnational History.

Ulf Engel (uengel@uni-leipzig.de) is a professor of "Politics in Africa" at the Institute of African Studies in Leipzig. He is the director of the DFG-funded Ph.D. Research Training Programme (GK 1261): "Critical Junctures of Globalization" (2006 – 2016), the co-director of the DFG Priority Programme (SPP 1448): "Adaptation and Creativity in Africa – Technologies and Significations in the Production of Order and Disorder" (2011 – 2017), and the director of the Integrated Research Training Group of the DFG Collaborative Research Centre (SFB 1199): "Processes of Spatialization under the Global Condition". Engel is also a visiting professor at the Institute for Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University (Ethiopia), a professor extraordinary in the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch University, and a fellow at the Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Studies (STIAS, South Africa).

Helder Adegar Fonseca (haf@uevora.pt) is Professor of Contemporary History and senior member of the Department of History and the Research Center in Political Science (UM/UE) at the University of Évora (Portugal). In recent years, he has supervised Ph.D.s working on the Twentieth Century History of Southern Africa and has developed research on "Historical Sources of Transnational Regionalism in Southern Africa: Liberation Movements and White Africa as Driving Forces (1960 – 1978)", on which he has several publications.

Nedžad Kuč (nedzad.kuch@univie.ac.at) is a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute for Eastern European History at the University of Vienna. In his dissertation he is exploring Yugoslavia's educational aid towards African countries, university training and everyday life of African students in Yugoslavia during the Cold War. He studied history in Strasbourg and global history in Vienna.

Milorad Lazic (lazicm@email.gwu.edu) is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at George Washington University. He received a B.A. degree in history from the University of Belgrade (Serbia) and his M.A. degree in history from Central Connecticut State University. Milorad is writing a dissertation on U.S.-Yugoslav relations in the context of the global Cold War in the 1970s.

Chris Saunders (chris.saunders@uct.ac.za) is an Emeritus Professor at the University of Cape Town (UCT). He taught in the Department of Historical Studies at UCT until he retired. He is now attached to UCT's Institute for Democracy, Citizenship and Public Policy in Africa. He is the author of many publications on Southern Africa, most recently "Anti-apartheid, Decolonization and Transnational Solidarity: The Namibian Case", in: A. Konieczna and R. Skinner (eds.), *A Global History of Anti-Apartheid. 'Forward to Freedom' in South Africa*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Anja Schade (anja.schade@gmx.de) is writing her dissertation on the exile of members of the African National Congress in the GDR. Currently, she is an associated researcher at Liliesleaf Museum in Johannesburg for the upcoming permanent exhibition on the GDR's contribution towards the South African liberation struggle. Her second scientific focus is on Holocaust studies. Her biography of Holocaust survivor Ruth Gröne is to be published in 2019.

Natalia Telepneva (n.telepneva@warwick.ac.uk) is a British Academy Post-doctoral Fellow at the University of Warwick, UK. She was previously a Research Fellow at University College London's School of Slavic and East European Studies (UCL SSEES). Her research is focused on Soviet policy in Africa during the Cold War. She is currently preparing for publication a manuscript that investigates Soviet support for the anti-colonial movements in the Portuguese colonies and the internationalisation of the Angolan Civil War, entitled "Cold War Liberation" for the University of North Carolina Press. She has published in the *South African Historical Journal* and the *Journal of Cold War Studie*s and co-edited "Warsaw Pact in the Third World: Aid and Influence in the Cold War".

Ulrich van der Heyden (heydenul@hu-berlin.de) is Visiting Professor at the University of South Africa, senior lecturer (Privatdozent) at the Free University Berlin, and scientific researcher at the Humboldt-University of Berlin. He holds doctorates and a habilitation from three universities in Germany and South Africa. Of his more than fifty books written or edited and of two hundred scientific articles, a large part deals with the German Africa policy, especially the relationships between GDR and African countries and South African liberation movements.

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