

# Contents

## On the Series — V

## Introduction — 1

### 1 Exiles — 7

- 1.1 Conceptual Approaches to Exile in Anthropology — 7
- 1.2 Recent Approaches to Exile in African Studies — 16
- 1.2.1 Case Studies from Southern Africa: Mozambique and South Africa — 19
- 1.3 Approaches to Exile among African Intellectuals — 24
- 1.3.1 Paul Zeleza's Reflections on Exile in the Writings of Edward Said and African Discourses — 24
- 1.3.2 Francis Njubi Nesbitt's Classification of Migrant African Intellectuals and their Politics of Exile — 29
- 1.3.3 Es'kia Mphahlele's Genealogy of a Specific African Discourse on Exile — 33
- 1.4 Interruptions of the Economic: The Reissue of Alex La Guma's *A Soviet Journey* — 38
- 1.5 African Exile in the German Democratic Republic: The Case of South Africa — 43
- 1.5.1 The German-diasporic Approach: May Ayim and Yoliswa Ngidi — 45
- 1.5.2 The Affirmative-political Approach: Eric Singh, the Publication of *Sechaba*, and Rereading Wallerstein and Balibar's *Race, Nation, Class* in Reunified Germany — 47
- 1.5.3 The Critical-literary Approach: Jana Simon and the Story of Felix S. — 51
- 1.5.4 The Historical-critical Approach: Patrice G. Poutrus, the South African Communist Party in Exile, and the Tense Relationship between Contemporary Witness and Historian — 54
- 1.5.5 The Affirmative-biographical Approach: Anja Schade on the African National Congress in Exile — 60
- 1.5.6 The South African Diasporic Approach: Thabo Thindi and *Exile Faces* — 70
- 1.6 Conclusion — 73

|          |                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>2</b> | <b>Mahoma Mwaungulu: Ethnography of an Intra-German Expulsion — 77</b>                                                                              |
| 2.1      | The Guest who turned into the <i>Knowledge Man</i> : Tracing Exile on Film — <b>77</b>                                                              |
| 2.2      | Biographical Encounter, Interviews, and Other Sources — <b>82</b>                                                                                   |
| 2.3      | Prologue — <b>89</b>                                                                                                                                |
| 2.4      | Growing up in Colonial Africa: Thirst for Education and Early Politicization — <b>90</b>                                                            |
| 2.4.1    | Struggling against the Central African Federation and Traveling to Ghana — <b>93</b>                                                                |
| 2.5      | Ghana 1954–1960: Center of Pan-Africanism and Hub to the Socialist World — <b>95</b>                                                                |
| 2.5.1    | Interwar Communist Internationalism Meets Postwar Anticolonial Internationalism: Working in George Padmore’s Bureau of African Affairs — <b>97</b>  |
| 2.6      | First Stay in the GDR 1960–1964: Student Years in Leipzig — <b>101</b>                                                                              |
| 2.6.1    | Falling in Love at the Workers and Peasants’ Faculty — <b>105</b>                                                                                   |
| 2.6.2    | Getting Married: Contact between the GDR and Nyasaland’s Labor Unions — <b>108</b>                                                                  |
| 2.6.3    | Activism in the Union of African Students and Workers in the GDR — <b>112</b>                                                                       |
| 2.6.4    | Interactions with African-American Communists — <b>114</b>                                                                                          |
| 2.6.5    | Leipzig 1964: Degree in Economics and Target of Racist Attack — <b>116</b>                                                                          |
| 2.7      | From the GDR Straight into the Malawi Cabinet Crisis — <b>120</b>                                                                                   |
| 2.8      | Exile in Tanzania 1964–1967: The Pangale Refugees Settlement — <b>125</b>                                                                           |
| 2.8.1    | Political Organization, Cuban Engagement, and failed Guerilla Campaigns — <b>129</b>                                                                |
| 2.9      | From Tanzanian Exile Back to the GDR in 1967: Statelessness, Encounters with German-Jewish Exiles, and Rejection of the Armed Struggle — <b>132</b> |
| 2.10     | Reuniting with an Estranged Family — <b>135</b>                                                                                                     |
| 2.11     | Writing a Doctoral Thesis at the University of Economics (1967–1973) — <b>136</b>                                                                   |
| 2.11.1   | Bringing Back Mwaungulu: The Role of the German-African Society — <b>138</b>                                                                        |
| 2.11.2   | Supervising Mwaungulu: Eva Altmann, the Founding Director of the University of Economics — <b>140</b>                                               |

- 2.11.3 The Vanishing Point of Exile: Reflections on Malawi's Economic Development — **143**
- 2.11.4 Understanding (Post)colonial Economies: Walter Rodney, Dependency Theory, and Development Theories in the GDR — **146**
- 2.11.5 Biographical Self-reference: The Malawi Cabinet Crisis — **150**
- 2.11.6 Malawi's Foreign Policy and Economic Ties to Apartheid South Africa — **151**
- 2.11.7 Unsettling Knowledge: Between Meticulous Analysis and Wishful Thinking — **156**
- 2.12 Radical Opposition from Exile: The Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) — **157**
  - 2.12.1 Lesoma's Foundation — **161**
  - 2.12.2 Lesoma's First Leadership — **165**
  - 2.12.3 Lesoma's International Relations: An Explanation for Mwaungulu's Expulsion from the GDR? — **169**
  - 2.12.4 Lesoma and the End of the Banda Regime — **176**
- 2.13 Life in East German Exile 1973–1979 — **178**
- 2.13.1 Working in the Film Industry and at the College of Solidarity, Alcoholism, Divorce, and the High Psychological Costs of Exile — **178**
- 2.14 The End of Solidarity: Work in Christian Organizations and Expulsion to West Berlin — **185**
- 2.15 Epilogue — **188**
- 2.16 Conclusion — **192**
  
- 3 Asaph Makote Mohlala: "I had to Fight my Way Back" — 199**
  - 3.1 A Fatherless Child: From Alexandra Township to a Safe House in Dar es Salaam — **200**
  - 3.2 Military Training in the Soviet Union — **203**
  - 3.3 From the Crimea to Angolan Camp Life: Civil War and South African Aggression, becoming a Paramedic, and the Limits of Scandinavian Support — **204**
  - 3.4 Medical Training in the GDR: The Dorothea Erxleben School in Quedlinburg — **208**
    - 3.4.1 The School's Training Program for Foreigners and its Discussion in Science — **208**
    - 3.4.2 How Mohlala Remembers his Stay at Quedlinburg — **214**
      - 3.4.2.1 Self-determined Trips: Interactions between South African and Namibian Exiles — **216**

|          |                                                                                                                                         |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3.4.2.2  | Romantic Relationships: Encounters between the ANC and the Free German Youth — <b>219</b>                                               |
| 3.4.2.3  | Disunity in Exile: Classism and Intellectual Snobbery among ANC Members — <b>220</b>                                                    |
| 3.4.2.4  | Farewell to the GDR: Starting a Family while Being Prevented from Settling Down — <b>222</b>                                            |
| 3.5      | “Nobody Needed Me When I Got Back”: Return to Angolan Exile, the Namibia Agreement, and Camps on the Move — <b>224</b>                  |
| 3.5.1    | Rereading Anna Seghers in Africa: In Transit to the GDR — <b>226</b>                                                                    |
| 3.6      | Return to a Socialist Country in Full Capitalist Transition: Marriage and Job Search in East Berlin Aided by Almuth Berger — <b>227</b> |
| 3.6.1    | Racist Workplace Experiences during Another ANC Exile — <b>229</b>                                                                      |
| 3.6.2    | A Satisfying Job: Working in a Nursing Home in East Berlin — <b>230</b>                                                                 |
| 3.6.3    | “For Me, It Was Really a Pity” or What does David Hasselhoff have to do with the ANC’s Freedom Charter? — <b>231</b>                    |
| 3.7      | Racism — <b>232</b>                                                                                                                     |
| 3.8      | Citizenship and Belonging — <b>233</b>                                                                                                  |
| 3.9      | Visiting South Africans, Being a Black German, and Other Economic Issues — <b>235</b>                                                   |
| 3.10     | Conclusion — <b>238</b>                                                                                                                 |
| <b>4</b> | <b>Epilogue: African Exiles and the Awkward Figure of the Refugee — 240</b>                                                             |
| 4.1      | The Berlin Refugee Protests of the 2010s — <b>240</b>                                                                                   |
| 4.2      | Self- and Foreign Ascriptions: Exile or Refugee? — <b>242</b>                                                                           |
| 4.3      | Jeannette Selby, the Grand Dame of the South African Exile Community — <b>244</b>                                                       |
| 4.4      | A Matter of Lived Experience? Mwaungulu on Clandestine South-North-migration — <b>253</b>                                               |
| <b>5</b> | <b>Conclusions: Post-revolutionary Spaces in Search of Approval — 256</b>                                                               |

**Appendix — 267**

**Bibliography — 275**

**List of Abbreviations — 297**

**List of Figures — 299**

**Index — 301**

