

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

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Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War ‘East’



Transnational Activism 1960–1990

Edited by
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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 An era of exaggerated optimism for global integration has been replaced by an era of doubt and a quest for a return to particularistic sovereignty.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 re-territorialization. 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

X — List of Abbreviations

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 sekretariat 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.

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.

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.