

Research note / Forschungsnotiz

Constructing and Deconstructing the “Black East” – a helpful research agenda?¹

Marcia C. Schenck

Abstract

This research note suggests that the “Black East” could be a unit of analysis as well as an alternative theoretical framework that helps shift the research focus to often neglected actors in the history of the Eastern bloc and African history alike. Much like Paul Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic* was an imperfect unit of analysis, it nevertheless did important work in constituting the Atlantic as hybrid world and deconstructing England as cohesive cultural community. Similarly, the „Black East“ emerges as amalgam, a temporal and geographic space that entangled African and Eastern bloc histories from the macro to the micro level. The “Black East,” however, necessarily remains a simplification and thus becomes useful especially through its deconstruction. What can be understood as “Black” and what as “East”? Organizing research under the slogan of the “Black East,” – or better in the spirit of its deconstruction – might enable writing entangled histories of Cold War interactions between the “Second” and the “Third World” and in the process bringing the hitherto distinct research fields of African history and Eastern European history closer together.²

¹ I would like to thank Elizabeth Banks, Sarah Bellows-Bleakely, Edna Bonhomme, Eric Burton, Andreas Eckert, Immanuel Harisch, and the three anonymous reviewers for their careful comments and suggestions.

² I am aware of the complex histories of terms like “first world,” “second world,” and “third world” or more recently the “global North” and “global South” and have therefore decided to employ them in inverted commas. Given that the article encourages reflecting what the “East” can and cannot encompass, the limits of such attempts to categorize become apparent.

“Ours was a *Black East* [emphasis added], ...we learned so much about other African cultures when we were in East Germany. We participated in official celebrations of national holidays but also informal student parties and made new friends not just from Angola but from Nigeria and other places” (No. 259, Luanda, Angola, March 27, 2015).³

Listening to this former Angolan student reminiscing about his experience of a cosmopolitan university environment in the East Berlin of the 1980s, I was struck by his use of the term “Black East” to denote the lived reality of a Black diasporic network in East Germany (German Democratic Republic, GDR) and beyond. This African diaspora owed its existence to socialist entanglements.⁴ In this sense, I interpret the notion of a “Black East” as a geographic but also a political and social space of convergence. Here, the local (affective encounters between migrants and host population), the national (places of education for new technocratic elites in African colonial and postcolonial nations, havens for anti-colonial guerilla exiles) and the international (relations between socialist states across the world) coexist. For some Africans the global rise of socialism flattened the geography and led to Havana, East Berlin, Prague, and Moscow becoming likely destinations for students, workers, politicians, and experts from all over the continent; it was thus more likely that a young Mozambican school child would receive its education in geographically distant Cuba or the GDR than in neighboring South Africa or Rhodesia (Dorsch 2008; Müller 2010, 2014; Rüchel 2001; Scheunpflug/Krause, 2000). Many African sojourners came temporarily to the “Eastern bloc” and took their experiences back home or onward to further journeys abroad, some to the “West.” After talking to this student, and many more interviewees like him, I was left to wonder whether a research agenda structured around deconstructing the “Black East” might

³ The interviews with former Angolan university students to East Germany, which I conducted in Luanda in March and April 2015, are anonymized according to the wishes of the interviewees. I conducted this and 268 other interviews within the framework of my dissertation research in Angola, Mozambique, and Germany between January 2014 and May 2015.

⁴ For helpful discussions on the African diaspora, see for instance Byfield et al. 2010, Okpewho/Nzegwu 2009. For the African diaspora in Europe, see Small 2018. Popescu et al. 2014 specifically collected writings about Black diasporas during the Cold War.

help think through the entanglements on the local, national, and international levels between Africa and the "East." In the following research note I pose questions and am offering some preliminary suggestions that will help to rethink the place of Africa and Africans in the socialist world during "the short twentieth century" (Hobsbawm 1994). The hope is that this agenda brings the mostly separate research fields of Eastern European history and African history into a single field of analysis.⁵

A research agenda under the slogan "Black East" might shed light upon the power and agency – and lack thereof – of African sojourners and the various roles played by Black people (variously defined) in geographical locations where this history has thus far not become an integral part of the national and regional historic discourses.⁶ Sara Lennox (2016: 12) argues that German history does not yet include a continuous, inclusive Black German history. East German history continues to be based on an uncritically accepted white national imaginary featuring any people of color only as foreigners and the eternal Other, in a framework of "socialism of difference" (Piesche 2016: 229). Writing about a "Black East", the need to question the national construction of whiteness in these contexts arises. Race in the "East," as elsewhere within the sphere of Western modernity, has been made visible through Black subjects while Whiteness continued to be seen uncritically as the norm.

On one hand the contributions of Afro-East Germans, Afro-Russians, as well as African (im)migrants to the Eastern bloc will be central to this agenda. On the other hand, it makes visible for African history the legacies

⁵ This is not to suggest, that this has never been done. Basil Davidson, for instance, entangled African and Eastern European history in a chapter entitled "The European Parallel" (Davidson 1992: 266-289).

⁶ Relatively little has been written about Afro-Germans in the history of Germany, and even fewer studies delineate the history of Blacks as part of the GDR. For the GDR see Piesche 2016, 2002; for German history more broadly, see Friedrichsmeyer et al. 1998; Lennox 2016; Aitken/Rosenhaft 2013; Camp 2004; Lusane 2003. For critical race studies in Germany, see Arndt et al. 2005. Key Anglophone works include: Roediger 1999, 2005; Jacobson 1998; Ignatiev 1995; Omi/Winant, 1994; Gilroy 1987; Hall 1996. For (ongoing) work on race in Russia, see Raquel G. Greene, a scholar of race, ethnicity and culture, who writes about Africa in Russian children's literature. David Rainbow is editing a volume on the history of race in Russia, and the *Slavic Review*, 61/1 2002 hosted discussions about race in the Soviet Union with Eric D. Weitz, Francine Hirsch, Amir Weiner, and Alaina Lemon.

of the travels of African women and men to the “East” who first returned to fight for independence from European colonizers and later to build post-colonial governments, economies and societies in their home countries. To think through whether the “Black East” could serve as a useful research agenda, I will now ask the following questions in turn: What does Black mean and who is Black? How can the “East” be productively conceived of?

What does Black mean and who is Black? Thinking with Bruce Hall (2011: 9) who argues that “[r]ace works...as an argument about the world, as a moral ordering device, even at times as a way of conjuring a utopian vision,” we are reminded of the different ends to which arguments about race can be employed. “White,” “Black” and other words locally employed to denote visible difference, are words with their own homegrown and regional interpretations and contexts. Studies could focus on who was considered Black, who considered themselves to be Black and what meanings Black carried in various places from Angola to the Soviet Union. Yet, by pluralizing the “East” through discussing the history of minority populations power hierarchies that structure their lived realities (materially, politically, socially and discursively) can be masked. Another danger is that, if not deconstructed, the slogan could lead to reifying difference and supposedly unified identities. Using the term “Black East” then means to be mindful of diversity within the category, of different and overlapping sub-communities with diverging origins and trajectories, rather than implying a unified group of “Blacks” in the “East.” Moreover, it means questioning the sense of the GDR, and other places in the “East” as cohesive white cultural community by writing Black experiences into these histories not as marginal but integral and, importantly, in the process reevaluating the construction of whiteness and of nation.

What is the “East”? Most of the existing studies on Africans in the Eastern bloc or Eastern experts in Africa are situated during the second half of the twentieth century.⁷ For the purpose of this research note, I concentrate on

⁷ This despite a centuries-long history of Black men and women, writers, artists, workers, experts, students, travelers, politicians, children, parents and friends in countries that were to become socialist. I thought their inclusion too broad for this brief research note, but the research agenda might be fruitfully extended to include earlier contacts. For a discussion of broader histories of African diaspora, beyond socialist connections for the Soviet Union see Carew 2008; Matusevich 2007, 2008; Blakely 1986.

the relationship between countries in Eastern Europe and Africa during the "short twentieth century" which included the October Revolution in 1917 and the collapse of state socialism in the Soviet camp in 1989-91 (Hobsbawm 1994). In this context, the "East" mostly refers geographically and temporally to states under socialist rule in Central and Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union.⁸ Among the core aims of the "Black East" as research agenda is reexamining the category "East," or, at the very least, probing how the "East" related to the "South," while acknowledging that neither were monolithic categories. Seen from Africa, China and Cuba at times constituted important parts of the "East" as political category; The Mozambican Liberation Front (Frelimo) received more support from China than from Russia prior to independence, and Cuba played a crucial role in Angola and Ethiopia (Ottaway/Ottaway 1986: 33-34).⁹ Further, seen from countries which formed part of the second wave of socialism in the 1970s, like Congo-Brazzaville, Somalia, Benin, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, scientific Marxist-Leninism was universal (Askew 2018). Mozambican President Samora Machel even rejected the description "Afrocommunist" and stated: "There is no African Marxism, Asian Marxism, European Marxism. There is only Marxism" (cited in Ottaway/Ottaway 1986: 25). Therefore, Frelimo saw Mozambique as "natural ally" of the Soviet Union (Ottaway/Ottaway 1986: 29). If we interpret the "East" in Cold War fashion as synonymous with Marxism, then, following the self-description of countries like Mozambique, they should arguably constitute part of the East, too. That they were not seen as such by the Soviet Union, East Germany and other Eastern European states is not only demonstrated by Mozambique's failed bid for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) membership, but also by terms such as "socialist-leaning" and others that distanced the Marxism-Leninism

⁸ Can we use the "East" without assuming the "West" as the center? And where do we place Marxism inside the "West" in relation to the "South"? What, for example, do we make of ties between Western European Communist parties and African liberation movements, for instance the role the Italian Communist Party played in the Somali revolution under Siad Barre or the role the Portuguese Communist Party played in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique (Ottaway/Ottaway 1981: 32).

⁹ Can we speak of a "socialist South" as meaningful category, including African and Asian states with various expressions of socialism as well as China and Cuba, for instance regarding racial politics as consciously non-white socialist countries that were positioned differently to struggle against imperialism?

practiced in the geographic North from that in the geographic South. Thus, the concept has always been controversial and ambiguous, assuming different meanings from various actors' perspectives.

If, like Samora Machel, we envision a geopolitical and temporal rather than a geographic space, where should it begin, and where should it end to be useful to a research agenda about the "Black East?" Pertinent questions include: What is the relationship of the "Black East" to pan-Africanism and third world non-alignment? What would the relationship between the "Black East" and members of the non-aligned movement look like, which, like Mozambique, see the world as inherently divided into capitalist and socialist, imperialist and anti-imperialist countries, and aim to foster close ties with the Soviet bloc? How is the "Black East" related to Black Marxist thinkers in Paris rethinking Marxism, like Richard Wright, or pan-African thinkers like Aimé Césaire, or anti-colonial thinkers like Frantz Fanon in the "West" and beyond? Where do we place nations that developed distinctly African forms of socialism during the first wave of socialist movements in the 1950s and 60s such as Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Tanzania and Zambia (Askew 2018)? How is the "Black East" to be understood in relation to terms such as

Johanna Bockman's "socialist globalization" (2015)? Up to now, most literature tracing political and economic links between Africa and the "East" neglects the influence of African actors on the "East," an omission a focus on the "Black East" seeks to redress. However imprecise as purely geographic space, the lens of the "Black East" allows highlighting the political, economic, cultural, and social contributions Africans and members of the African diaspora to the socialist globalization during the short twentieth century.

The "Black East" is reminiscent of Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993). Gilroy introduced race as an analytical category into a discrete geographic unit and economically and politically connected space. His *Black Atlantic* emerged as a unit of entangled histories and hybridity; neither simply African, nor American, British or Caribbean but a mix of all these, bringing forth a transnational Black identity. He read Black diasporic cultural and intellectual productions as critique of (cultural) nationalism; and related them to the memory of a history informed by the forced migration of millions of Africans during the Atlantic slave trade and

the plantation system in the Americas.¹⁰ These stories are best told through a global lens studying entanglements rather than unilateral transfers, a frame that allows highlighting both the connections and the disconnections. Similarly, the “Black East” could encourage scholars to realign their research and move beyond national foci and challenge notions of ethnic essentialism or pluralism, nationalism, racial purity, the direction of knowledge transfer, and notions of modernity among Black migrants. In the following I make some suggestions for concrete points of engagement with the “Black East” research agenda.

Entangled histories of the socialist world

The “Black East” has the potential to write the histories of African socialisms more prominently into the global history of socialism.¹¹ How did post-independence African nations shape and were in turn shaped by the global socialist moment? What roles did African liberation movements and African diasporas play in advancing socialism (Adi 2013)? How can attention to individual and groups of migrants reframe the role that African countries played within a Cold War context with more attention to what happened outside the war theaters on the continent and beyond? The “Black East” allows for bringing spaces as distant as Cuba, China, the USSR, Ethiopia and Angola into a single framework. Research on the “Black East” can further be related to the “West” with which African countries maintained relations simultaneously. Engaging both the “East” and “West” with regards to Africa will be necessary to fruitfully engage in the question of globalization(s) in the 20th century and socialism’s role in it, not just from an economic angle but from a political, social and cultural standpoint, too.

The notion of the “Black East” thwarts the binary thinking of the Cold War by focusing on layered forms of knowledge, heterogeneity and the

¹⁰ Gilroy’s seminal book inspired more than twenty years of Black diaspora and Atlantic studies key examples of which include Edwards 2003; Stephen 2005; Goyal 2010; Popescu et al. 2014.

¹¹ It is important to accord more prominence to African political thought (e.g. Tanzania’s African socialism, see Lal 2015; Keller/Rothchild 1987; Munslow 1986; Ottaway/Ottaway 1986) in the discussion about how socialism went global; questions of syncretic adaptations, developments of socialist theories, and local adaptation of socialist schools of thought leaves ample room to foreground the contributions of Africans and actors in the “global South.”

multitude of socialist spaces and connections between the “First,” “Second,” and “Third worlds.” The “Black East” as geohistorical location therefore allows for a pluralization of socialist spaces and histories (Silova et al 2017: 96).¹² Scholars have done important work to bring to light how particular Eastern bloc nations were impacted by socialist internationalism politically, economically and socially (see Mark/Apor 2015 for Hungary) and how imperatives of socialist solidarity shaped relations between African and other socialist nations (see Hatzky 2015; Schleicher/Schleicher 1997; Unfried 2017). Yet, writing entangled histories between the “Second” and the “Third World” whereby both places get similar attention in terms of historic actors, archival sources, and focus of the historian remains a challenge.¹³ Employing a relational approach focusing on exchanges, feedbacks, appropriations, and movements but also silences and disruptions across borders and interstices enables to understand the full potential of an entangled history between the “Second” and “Third World.” This not only includes new political, economic, social and cultural connections but also fragmentations, discontinuity and fragility, dominance and exploitative power dynamics.

Un-national histories of everyday lives

Scholars are increasingly turning their attention beyond studies focusing exclusively on government relations and policies, studying the everyday experiences of African students in lecture halls, student dorms and on the streets of the socialist world.¹⁴ Likewise, African workers’ experiences on the factory floors, in worker dormitories, and in discos in socialist countries

¹² The Cold War rewrote Black migrations and the Black experiences to such an extent that it also impacted recent Atlantic circuits (Popescu 2014: 92).

¹³ The fact that most scholars turn towards Eastern European archives has to do with many factors including budget, and the often times difficult access to post-colonial archives in many African countries. With regard to the East German archives, for instance, very little access limitations exist due to the inexistence of this state in the present, leading to an extremely rich source base.

¹⁴ For examples of African student life in the USSR, see Hessler 2006; Boltovskaja 2014; Katsakioris 2017a, 2017b; Guillory 2014. For legacies and post-Soviet experiences, see Allina-Pisano/Allina-Pisano 2007; Matusevich 2009. For African students’ experiences in the GDR see Burton 2016; Mac Con Uladh 2005a; Pugach 2015; Schenck 2017. For a changing gaze on black bodies in unified Germany, see Partridge 2008. For African student experiences in Cuba, see Hatzky 2015, 2005; Dorsch 2011, 2008.

around the globe feature prominently.¹⁵ With this focus on social and cultural history the contradictory dynamics of inclusion and exclusion across the Eastern bloc come to the fore, but we know little as of yet about which impact these encounters had on political (socialist) thought, on socialist practice, or on the framing of national identity and whiteness in the host countries. What roles did African diaspora(s) across the “Black East” play in these national histories?

Further, the impact of their years in the Eastern bloc on African intellectuals, technocrats and military personnel with regard to their life course could be explored. How did their experiences in the East shape their thinking, their networks, and their expertise back home and what legacies remain of their migrations in their lives today? Just like elsewhere, many of the stories of African diasporas in the East in the 20th century cannot be confined to the container of a nation state. They seem rather what Luise White and Miles Larmer (2014: 1273) called “un-national histories,” sitting between the national, the international, and the transnational. At the same time, the national dimension remains central to narratives of liberation such as stories of exiles and anti-colonial liberation fighters, but also of workers and students who prepared abroad to aid the development of their post-independent and post-colonial home states. Focusing on un-national histories and the everyday experiences of non-elites captures developments that went unnoticed if we only concentrated on political and economic histories about relations between African countries and the “East.”

Complicating the histories of race, ethnicity, and identity formation

What were the lived experiences of Black people in officially anti-racist, anti-colonial states like?¹⁶ Warsaw Pact governments claimed that they had overcome racism, which they located elsewhere, either in the “West” or in the imperial and Nazi past (Alamgir 2013). These governments, however, did not reject the idea of race outright, but rather made political use of a

¹⁵ For studies discussing African workers in the GDR, see Guerra Hernández 2011; Lucas 2002; Mac Con Uladh 2005b; Miguele 2005; Mende 2010; Schenck 2016, 2017, 2018; Riedel 1992; van der Heyden 2013; van der Heyden et al. 2014.

¹⁶ The category of Black people might be read as including other than Black African (diaspora) experiences. For a place specific reading of “Black” see (Sahadeo 2012) who demonstrates how migrants from the southern and eastern regions of the USSR were racialized as “Soviet Blacks.”

racial rainbow to emphasize equality between physiologically and folklorically distinct peoples and render visible the themes of international solidarity, a phenomenon that Quinn Slobodian aptly termed “socialist chromatism” (2015: 24). Chinese communists, however, pointed out that global, racial fault lines were real despite the close affiliation of Warsaw Pact countries with the “Third World” (Mark/Slobodian 2018: 3). Moreover, Cuba’s large Afro-Cuban population played a special role in its relationship with Africa (Hatzky 2015). More research is needed to examine the different experiences of Black people in such diverging environs to understand whether and in how far racism functioned differently in and across the “Black East.”

Travel to the “East” intensified a re-making, re-framing and re-articulating of fluid identities. In some cases, sub-Saharan Africans living in East Germany underwent a racialization process whereby their identities shifted from ethnic identities to national and racial categories as in the case of the Angolan and Mozambican worker-trainees. For them, the journey to East Germany meant not only becoming Black in the eyes of the white majority in their host country and in their own perception of themselves as migrants, it also meant becoming “Angolan” or “Mozambican” instead of Makua or Ovimbundu (Schenck 2017: 160). On the other hand, some national identities, such as the Nigerian during the Biafra crisis, also splintered abroad (Pugach, forthcoming). Focusing on un-national histories can capture the existence of strong ethnic identities, the affiliations that resulted from situational expressions, and the tensions that emerged with national and international identities. This complex re-making of identities remains understudied in the context of the “Black East.” In addition, Afro-Germans or Afro-Russians are the embodied legacy of meetings between different worlds.¹⁷ Some Africans married and settled permanently in the “East,” others returned home with or without intercultural, mixed-raced families (Piesche 2002, 2016; Quist-Adade 2007; Matusevich, 2008; Boltovskaja, 2014; Schenck 2017: 234). Listening to the voices of the generations of Afro-Europeans and Afro-Soviets raised under socialism and in the post-socialist Eastern bloc researchers can trace the impact of the socialist migrations to

¹⁷ Peggy Piesche (2002) demonstrates that little information about Africa was available to Afro-German children in East Germany. There were thus limits to the “meeting of the worlds.”

post-socialist times (Aleksandrov 1936; Golden 2002; Khanga/Jacoby 1992; Lynch 2011).

The historian's positionalities

Acknowledging our own positionality as scholars and exploring how our own "geo-politics and body-politics of knowledge, being, and perception" (Tlostanova: 2017: 35) impact on our research is key for reflecting on the research agenda of the "Black East" on a metalevel. This means questioning how education, institutional affiliations, location, and intersectional identities (race, gender, class, sexuality, ethnicity) influence our subjectivity and our approach to scholarship about the "Black East." Considering the political and ethical stakes involved in examining the "Black East" to deconstruct it, means tracing how the production of knowledge supports certain forms of power while undermining other forms revealing how the "global South" is structurally silenced (Coogan-Gehr 2011; Mama 2011). There are few researchers who have the financial resources, language abilities, and time, to undertake research that writes history as much from and about the Eastern bloc as from and about Africa.¹⁸ Collaboration between historians with different regional and language expertise and those based in the "global North" and the "global South" seems crucial albeit its practical limitations and dangers of reproducing entrenched inequalities. Finally, asking which archives we are turning to and why is imperative. Combining the reading of national archives with sources from university or company archives but also private tin trunk archives, media repositories, songs, pamphlets and, importantly, oral histories in the sending and receiving countries will enable arriving at a more varied "Black East."

Conclusion

The opening after the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 soon became subsumed in wider globalization debates, positing all "three worlds" on a similar trajectory. The "Black East" allows looking back upon the time between 1917-1990 through the lens of entanglements between the Eastern bloc and Africa and to situate the "Black East" as form of knowledge organization as much as lived experience. As a unit of analysis, the "Black East" necessarily

¹⁸ Exceptions are Elizabeth Banks (Mozambique-USSR), Eric Burton (Tanzania – GDR/FRG), Christine Hatzky (Angola-Cuba), Nana Osei-Opore (Ghana-USSR); Marcia C. Schenck (Angola/Mozambique-GDR); Beatrice Wayne (Ethiopia-Cuba).

remains a rough and generalizing category without unambiguously demarcated temporal, geographic, methodological and language boundaries. Deconstructing the “Black East,” while organizing a research agenda around this slogan, means having precisely these conversations about ambiguities, connections, divergences and limits. The research agenda might be able to bring to the fore contributions of African women and men in a global socialist world, thereby aiding a reexamination of history through the lenses of the un-national, the everyday, and race, ethnicities and identities. This list is by no means meant to be exhaustive, but rather a starting point of inquiries around the research agenda of constructing and deconstructing the “Black East.” In that regard, it is also important to question who is engaging in studying the “Black East” from what background and with which approaches. Overall, the greatest strength of this research agenda might be analogous to Paul Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic*, that it serves to explore contact zones, but also to argue beyond mere contact zones that Black people - Africans and Afro-Americans for instance but also Afro-East Germans and Afro-Soviet citizens – played an active role in shaping the socialist world. They crisscrossed this world as freedom fighters, artists, students, workers, travelers, politicians, and professionals, brought about novel connections and helped see their host and home countries respectively in new light.

Bibliography

- Adi, Hakim (2013): Pan-Africanism and Communism. The Communist International, Africa and the Diaspora, 1919-1939. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Aitken, Robbie/ Rosenhaft, Eve (eds., 2013): Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community, 1884-1960. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alamgir, Alena K. (2013): Race is elsewhere. State-socialist ideology and the racialisation of Vietnamese workers in Czechoslovakia. In: *Race & Class* 54/4: 67–85.
- Aleksandrov, Grigori (1936): *Circus*, 94 min.
- Allina-Pisano, Jessica/Allina-Pisano, Eric (2007): ‘Friendship of Peoples’ After the Fall. Violence and Pan-African Community in Post-Soviet Moscow. In: Matusевич, Maxim (ed.): *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: 300 Years of Encounters*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 175-198.
- Arndt, Susan/ Eggers, Maureen Maisha/ Kilomba, Grada/ Piesche, Peggy (2005): *Mythen, Masken und Subjekte: Kritische Weißseinsforschung in Deutschland*. Münster: Unrast Verlag.

- Askew, Kelly (2018): African Socialism. In: Spear, Thomas (ed.): Oxford Bibliographies in African Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/obo/9780199846733-0200
- Banks, Elizabeth, (in progress): Socialist Internationalism between the USSR and Mozambique, 1962-91. PhD Dissertation. New York: New York University.
- Blakely, Allison (1986): Russia and the Negro. Blacks in Russian History and Thought. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press.
- Bockman, Johanna (2015): Socialist Globalization against Capitalist Neocolonialism: The Economic Ideas Behind the New International Economic Order. In: Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism and Development 6/1: 109-28.
- Boltovskaja, Svetlana (2014): Bildungsmigranten aus dem subsaharischen Afrika in Moskau und St. Petersburg: Selbst- und Fremdbilder. Herbolzheim: Centaurus Verlag & Media UG.
- Burton, Eric (2017): Tansanias Afrikanischer Sozialismus' und die Entwicklungspolitik der beiden deutschen Staaten: Akteure, Beziehungen und Handlungsspielräume, 1961-1990. PhD Dissertation. Vienna: University of Vienna.
- Burton, Eric (2016): African Manpower Development during the Global Cold War. The Case of Tanzanian Students in the Two German States. In: Exenberger, Andreas/ Pallua, Ulrich (eds.): African Research in Austria. Approaches and Perspectives. Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 101-34.
- Byfield, Judith A./ Denzer, LaRay/ Morrison, Anthea (eds., 2010): Gendering the African Diaspora. Women, Culture, and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Campt, Tina (2004): Other Germans. Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Carew, Joy Gleason (2008): Blacks, Reds, and Russians Sojourners in Search of the Soviet Promise. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Coogan-Gehr, Kelly (2011). The Geopolitics of the Cold War and Narratives of Inclusion. Excavating a Feminist Archive. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Davidson, Basil (1992): The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation State. New York: Times Books.
- Dorsch, Hauke (2011): Black or Red Atlantic? – Mozambican Students in Cuba and Their Reintegration at Home. In: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 136: 289-310.
- Dorsch, Hauke (2008): Studierende und Schüler aus dem südlichen Afrika in Kuba – Navigieren zwischen rotem und schwarzem Atlantik. In: Ethno Scripts 10/1: 7-29.
- Edwards, Brent Hayes (2003). The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation and the Rise of Black Internationalism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Friedrichsmeyer, Sara/ Lennox, Sara/ Zantop, Susanne (eds., 1998): Imperialist Imagination. German Colonialism and Its Legacy. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Gilroy, Paul (1993): The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness. London; New York: Verso.

- Gilroy, Paul (1987): *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack. The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Golden, Lily (2002): *My Long Journey Home*. Chicago: Third World Press.
- Goyal, Yogita (2010): *Romance, Diaspora, and the Black Atlantic Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guerra Hernández, Héctor (2011): *Ma(d)jermanes. Passado colonial e presente diaspORIZADO. Reconstrução etnográfica de um dos últimos vestígios do socialismo colonial europeu*. PhD dissertation. Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas.
- Guillory, Sean (2014): *Culture Clash in the Socialist Paradise. Soviet Patronage and African Students' Urbanity in the Soviet Union, 1960–1965*. In: *Diplomatic History* 38/2: 271-281.
- Hall, Bruce S. (2011): *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600-1960*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, Stuart (1996): *New ethnicities*. In: David Morley, Chen Kuan-Hsing (eds.): *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London, New York: Routledge, 441-449.
- Hatzky, Christine (2015): *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge, 1976–1991*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hessler, Julie (2006): *Death of an African Student in Moscow. Race, Politics, and the Cold War*. In: *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 47/1-2: 33–63.
- Hobsbawm, Eric (1994): *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*. London: Abacus.
- Ignatiev, Noel (1995): *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge.
- Jacobson, Matthew (1998): *Whiteness of a different color. European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Katsakioris, Constantin (2017a): *Burden or Allies? Third World Students and Internationalist Duty through Soviet Eyes*. In: *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18/3: 539-67.
- Katsakioris, Constantin (2017b): *Creating a Socialist Intelligentsia. Soviet Educational Aid and its Impact on Africa (1960-1991)*. In: *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 2/226: 259-88.
- Katsakioris, Constantin (2006): *African Intellectuals and the Soviet Union. Internationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Negritude during the Years of Decolonization: 1954-1964*. In: *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 47/1-2: 15-32.
- Keller, Edmond J./ Rothchild, Donald (eds., 1987). *Afro-Marxist Regimes: Ideology and Public Policy*. Boulder, CO; London: Lynne Rienner.
- Khanga, Yelena, Jacoby, Susan (1994): *Soul to Soul. A Black Russian American Family 1865-1992*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Lal, Priya (2015): *African Socialism in Postcolonial Tanzania: Between the Village and the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lennox, Sara (ed., 2016): *Remapping Black Germany. New Perspectives on Afro-German History, Politics, and Culture*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Lucas, Aníbal Fernando (2002): *Mão-de-obra moçambicana emigrante na ex. República Democrática Alemã, 1979-1990*. Master Dissertation. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane.

- Lusane, Clarence (2003): *Hitler's Black Victims. The Historical Experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi Era*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Lynch, Kara (2001): *Black Russians*. Third World Newsreel, 116 min.
- Mac Con Uladh, Damian (2005a): *Studium Bei Freunden? Ausländische Studierende in der DDR bis 1970*. In: Müller Christian Th./ Poutrus, Patrice G. (eds.): *Ankunft - Alltag - Ausreise. Migration und interkulturelle Begegnungen in der DDR-Gesellschaft*. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 175-220.
- Mac Con Uladh, Damian (2005b): *Guests of the Socialist Nation? Foreign Students and Workers in the GDR, 1949-1990*. PhD Dissertation. University College London.
- Mama, Amina (2007): *Is It Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom*. In: *African Studies Review* 50/1: 1-26.
- Mark, James/Apor, Péter (2015): *Socialism Goes Global. Decolonization and the Making of a New Culture of Internationalism in Socialist Hungary, 1956-1989*. In: *The Journal of Modern History* 87/4: 852-91.
- Mark, James/Slobodian, Quinn (2018): *Eastern Europe*. In: Thomas, Martin/Thompson, Andrew (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-28.
- Matusevich, Maxim (2009): *Probing the Limits of Internationalism. African Students Confront Soviet Ritual*. In: *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 27/2: 19-39.
- Matusevich, Maxim (2008): *Journeys of Hope. African Diaspora and the Soviet Society*. In: *African Diaspora* 1: 53-85.
- Matusevich, Maxim (2007): *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa. Three Centuries of Encounters*. Trenton, NJ and Asmara: Africa World Press.
- Mende, Christiane (2010): *(Arbeits-)migration aus der Volksrepublik Mocambique in die Deutsche Demokratische Republik (1979-1989/90)*. Master dissertation. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität.
- Miguel, Paulino José (2005): *Sobre o mito da solidariedade. Trabalhadores contratados moçambicanos e angolanos na RDA*. In: DOMiT Kölnischer Kunstverein, Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über Migration in Deutschland, Köln, Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie der Johann Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main, Institut für Theorie der Gestalt (eds.): *Projekt Migration*. Köln: DuMont, 431-38.
- Munslow, Berry (ed., 1986): *Africa: Problems in the Transition to Socialism*. London: Zed.
- Müller, Tanja (2014): *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity. East Germany in Mozambique*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Müller, Tanja (2010): *Memories of Paradise - Legacies of Socialist Education in Mozambique*. In: *African Affairs* 109/436: 451-70.
- Okpewho, Isidore/Nzegwu, Nkiru (2009): *The New African Diaspora*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Omi, Michael/ Winant, Howard (1994): *Racial Formation in the United States. From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.
- Ottaway, Marina/ Ottaway, David (1986): *Afrocommunism*. New York: Africana Publishing Company.

- Partridge, Damani James (2008): *We Were Dancing in the Club, Not on the Berlin Wall: Black Bodies, Street Bureaucrats, and Exclusionary Incorporation into the New Europe*. In: *Cultural Anthropology* 23/4: 660-87.
- Piesche, Peggy (2016): *Making African Diasporic Pasts Possible. A Retrospective View of the GDR and its Black (Step-)Children*. In: Lennox, Sara (ed.): *Remapping Black Germany. New Perspectives on Afro-German History, Politics, and Culture*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 226-42.
- Piesche, Peggy (2002): *Black and German? East German Adolescents before 1989. A Retrospective View of a 'Non-Existent Issue' in the GDR*. In: Harry & Helen Gray Humanities Program Series, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies Humanities, 37-59.
- Popescu, Monica (2014): *On the Margins of the Black Atlantic: Angola, the Eastern Bloc, and the Cold War*. In: *Research in African Literatures* 45/3: 91-109.
- Popescu, Monica/ Tolliver, Cedric/ Tolliver, Julie (eds., 2014): *Alternative Solidarities: Black Diasporas and Cultural Alliances during the Cold War*. Special Issue in *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* Vol. 50/4.
- Pugach, Sarah (forthcoming in 2019): *Agents of dissent: African student organizations in the German Democratic Republic*. In: *Africa*.
- Pugach, Sara (2015): *African Students and the Politics of Race and Gender in the German Democratic Republic, 1957-1990*. In: Slobodian, Quinn (ed.): *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 131-56.
- Quist-Adade, Charles (2007): *The African Russians. Children of the Cold War*. In: Matusevich, Maxim (ed.): *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa. Three Centuries of Encounters*. Trenton, NJ and Asmara: Africa World Press, 153-73.
- Riedel, Almuth (1992): *Erfahrungen Algerischer Arbeitsmigranten in der DDR. "Hatte noch Chancen, ehrlich!"* PhD dissertation. Berlin: Free University.
- Roediger, David (2005): *Working Toward Whiteness. How America's Immigrants Became White. The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*. New York: Basic Books.
- Roediger, David (1999): *The Wages of Whiteness. Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London, New York: Verso Books.
- Rüchel, Uta (2001): *"...Auf Deutsch sozialistisch zu Denken..." - Mosambikaner in der Schule der Freundschaft. Sachbeiträge. Die Landesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR in Sachsen-Anhalt. Vol. 18, Magdeburg: JVA Naumburg - Arbeitsverwaltung*.
- Sahadeo, Jeff (2012): *Soviet 'Blacks' and Place Making in Moscow and Leningrad*. In: *Slavic Review* 71/2: 331-58.
- Schenck, Marcia C. (2018): *A Chronology of Nostalgia. Memories of Former Angolan and Mozambican Worker Trainees to East Germany*. In: *Labor History* 59/1: 352-374.
- Schenck, Marcia C. (2017): *Socialist Solidarities and Their Afterlives. Histories and Memories of Angolan and Mozambican Migrants in the German Democratic Republic, 1975-2015*. PhD Dissertation. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.
- Schenck, Marcia C. (2016): *From Luanda and Maputo to Berlin. Uncovering Angolan and Mozambican Migrants' Motives to Move to the German Democratic Republic*

- (1979-1990). In: *African Economic History* 44: 203-34.
- Scheunpflug, Annette/Krause, Jürgen (2000): Die Schule der Freundschaft. Ein Bildungsexperiment in der DDR. In: *Beiträge aus dem Fachbereich Pädagogik der Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg*.
- Schleicher, Ilona/Schleicher, Hans-Georg (1997): Die DDR im südlichen Afrika: Solidarität und Kalter Krieg. Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde.
- Silova, Iveta/ Millei, Zsuzsa/ Piattoeva, Nelli (2017): Interrupting the Coloniality of Knowledge Production in Comparative Education. Postsocialist and Postcolonial Dialogues after the Cold War. In: *Comparative Education Review* 61/1: 74-102.
- Slobodian, Quinn (2015): Socialist Chromatism. Race, Racism and the Racial Rainbow in East Germany. In: Slobodian, Quinn (ed.): *Comrades of Color. East Germany in the Cold War World*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 23-39.
- Small, Stephen (2018): Theorizing Visibility and Vulnerability in Black Europe and the African Diaspora. In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41/6: 1182-1197.
- Stephen, Michelle (2005): *Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914–1962*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Tlostanova, Madina (2017): Transcending the Human/Non-human divide. In: *Angelaki*, 22/2: 25-37.
- Unfried, Berthold (2017): A Cuban Cycle of Developmental Socialism? Cubans and East Germans in the Socialist World System. In: *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik* XXXIII/3: 69-90.
- van der Heyden, Ulrich/Semmler, Wolfgang/Straßburg Ralf (eds., 2014): *Mosambikanische Vertragsarbeiter in der DDR-Wirtschaft: Hintergründe - Verlauf – Folgen*. Münster: LIT Verlag.
- van der Heyden, Ulrich (2013): Mosambikanische Vertragsarbeiter in der Hauptstadt der DDR. In: Zeller, Joachim/Diallo, Oumar (eds.): *Black Berlin: Die deutsche Metropole und Ihre Afrikanische Diaspora in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Berlin: Metropol, 133-50.
- Weitz, Eric D. et al. (2002): Debate. Racial Politics without the Concept of Race: Reevaluating Soviet Ethnic and National Purges. In: *Slavic Review* 61/1: 1-65.
- White, Luise/ Larmer, Miles (2014): Introduction: Mobile Soldiers and the Un-National Liberation of Southern Africa. In: *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40/6: 1271-74.

Interviews cited:

No. 259, conducted by the author, Luanda, Angola, March 27, 2015.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Forschungsbericht diskutiert den „Schwarzen Osten“ als Analyseinheit und alternativen theoretischer Rahmen, der dazu beiträgt, den Forschungsschwerpunkt auf oft vernachlässigte Akteure

in der Geschichte des Ostblocks und der afrikanischen Geschichte zu verlagern. Paul Gilroys *Black Atlantic* konstituierte eine unvollkommene Analyseeinheit, dennoch schärfte sie den Blick für den Atlantik als eine hybride Welt und trug dazu bei, die Vorstellung von England als einer zusammenhängenden kulturellen Gemeinschaft zu dekonstruieren. In Anlehnung hieran erscheint auch der „Schwarze Osten“ als ein zeitlicher und geographischer Raum, der afrikanische Geschichte und jene des Ostblocks von der Makro- bis zur Mikroebene verschränkt. Der „Schwarze Osten“ bleibt jedoch notwendigerweise eine Vereinfachung und wird so vor allem durch seine Dekonstruktion nützlich. Was bedeutet „Schwarz“? Was ist der „Osten“? Forschung unter dem Motto des „Schwarzen Ostens“, oder präziser im Geiste der Dekonstruktion des Begriffes zu organisieren, könnte es ermöglichen, verflochtene Geschichten zwischen der „Zweiten Welt“ und der „Dritten Welt“ während des Kalten Krieges zu schreiben und dadurch die separaten Forschungsfelder der afrikanischen Geschichte und osteuropäischer Geschichte einander näher zu bringen.