

Introduction

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Thousands of postcards from East Germany arriving at the prison holding Angela Davis. The letters, “VD,” for Vietnam and (East) Germany, on the stone cornice of an apartment complex in northern Vietnam. An island near Cuba’s Bay of Pigs named Cayo Ernesto Thälmann. A ring road in Erfurt named after Mao Zedong. In the four decades of its existence, East Germany’s world extended far beyond Central Europe. Even after the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the pervasive travel restrictions, people and objects flowed in and out of the country. The spread of state socialism to the postcolonial world, in the words of one scholar, created “an unexpected circulation of goods, people, and information along new channels and across discontinuous world areas.”¹ Histories of the German Democratic Republic have only recently begun to reflect this fact. This book continues the work of exploring encounters across the borders of nation and bloc in East Germany’s world. Its subjects are people of color, that is, people marked as racial Others in the white European mind.

The book’s title, *Comrades of Color*, points to a tension at its heart. What was the status of race in a socialist world view that deemed class to be the medium that dissolved all other differences? How did race and racialized thinking operate in a socialist society like East Germany that had decreed racism out of existence? What alliances were created across ethnic lines in the German project of state socialism that had not, and could not, have existed before? Looked at in the longer term, how can we reconcile the official anti-racism of East Germany with the waves of racially motivated violence that swept through the former East after 1989?

The authors of *Comrades of Color* are united by the effort to understand how the high-minded internationalism of speeches and propaganda translated into everyday life.² What followed the initial moment when hands were clasped across rifts of geography, race, and historical experience? What did international solidarity look like beyond the frame of the official photographs? *Comrades of Color* does not strive to be a comprehensive history of East Germany’s relationship to the Global South. A range of diplomatic histories already exist, covering the struggle of the two Germanys over the distribution of international aid, their struggle for international recognition before both joined the United Nations in 1972, and, more recently, pen-

etrating investigations into East Germany's arms trade.³ Another body of scholarship exists about the use of foreign contract labor by East Germany in its last decade.⁴ Drawing on material from long before the 1980s as well as after the Wall's fall, *Comrades of Color* takes a microscopic rather than panoramic perspective, homing in on the frictions of solidarity, and the moments of mismatch between the varieties of world socialism.

Historians of modern Germany embraced a scholarly trend toward transnational perspectives in the last decade. Some historians of East Germany, including contributors to this volume, have participated in this development. Following pioneering research from the Center for Contemporary History at Potsdam in the early millennium, scholars have studied East Germany's engagement with communist East and Southeast Asia, as well as the experiences of asylum seekers, contract workers, and foreign students in the GDR.⁵ Studies of East Germany's official internationalism have been joined by scholarly attention to the way that campaigns of building good faith overseas were received, and remembered, by local populations.⁶ While these contributions are exemplary, the dominant questions asked by historians about the GDR still remain more local ones. They ask questions about legitimacy, durability, and relative freedom: How did the Socialist Unity Party (SED) justify its own rule? How did it maintain control as long as it did? To what extent was a social existence outside of state surveillance possible?

Beyond the range of notable exceptions cited above, the glances beyond the "walled state" tend to look either westward, asking about the relative influence of West Germany and the United States as sources of information, modes of politics, and forms of mass culture; or to the aforementioned issues of foreign contract labor in the republic's final decade. Bracketed in both cases is the importance of the SED's self-understanding and self-presentation as an active member of the international community of world socialism, the importance of solidarity with the global South in its repertoire of legitimation, and empirical study of the concrete outcomes of these explicitly political North-South engagements.⁷

As in many other national histories, the inclusion of the experiences of foreigners and racial minorities often remains optional rather than obligatory. Given the centrality of international solidarity to East German self-understanding, this approach strikes this collection's authors as indefensible. Scholarly interventions are especially important as the narrative has been controlled to date by former functionaries who, though often extremely erudite, tend toward romanticizing the East German role overseas as a bright spot in an otherwise bleak record of statecraft.⁸ Cultural histories of the "Second World's Third World" from the East German perspective are necessary to place the republic properly within the international field.⁹

Comrades of Color follows the recent work of a host of authors tracking political links between the Second World and the global South, as well as identifications between Second World actors and grassroots social movements in the First World.¹⁰ As a collection, it makes three major contributions to the existing literature. First, it offers a representative range of examples that document the diverse breadth of interactions between East Germany and its partners in the Americas, Asia, and Africa from 1949 to 1989 and beyond. Case studies cover, among other topics, solidarity campaigns with African-American communists; film coproductions with Vietnam and China; urban planning projects in North Korea and Vietnam; and training programs for students from Mozambique.

Second, through both archival and ethnographic research, these studies establish and explore the existence of what could be called the varieties of world socialism. Although most of the interactions under study took place within the ostensibly shared ideological space of the “Second World,” outcomes betrayed the influence of diverse historical experiences and local traditions in setting the horizons of political imagination. Race as a cognitive category and lived reality, dismissed by the SED as overcome in socialist society, proved far from extinct. Decolonization, the Sino-Soviet split, and the Cold War’s “hot wars” inflected the traffic of ideas and actors into and out of the GDR. The overlapping geographies of region, race, and experience (of empire, world war, and colonialism) ensured that the Second World was never the homogeneous terrain implied by the Cold War analytic binary.¹¹

Finally, the volume pursues the seemingly paradoxical goal of undermining the “myth of East German provincialism” (Hosek) precisely by “provincializing Germany” (Hong).¹² Viewing the GDR from a distance through the eyes and experiences of individuals from the global South challenges the historiographical framing of the two Germanys as opposites. The two republics’ shared standard of living and technological prowess relative to much of the world qualified them both as members of the elite international club of industrialized nations. In some cases, actors from Asia, Africa, and Latin America used the mutual German antagonism instrumentally to secure training and aid serially from both sides. In other cases, the ideological bonds ran deeper and were reinforced through socialization in the Second World public sphere. The scholarly essays in the volume are accompanied by primary sources written from a perspective both distant and intimate, including a 1966 letter from East Germany written by South African author, William “Bloke” Modisane; an analysis of the East German university system written by a Chinese Red Guard at the height of the Cultural Revolution; and a reflection on the monuments of East German socialism by Cuban poet Victor Fowler. In a historiography that remains constrained within the terms

of the German-German conversation, perspectives like these remain all but absent.¹³ *Comrades of Color* begins to fill this gap and, in doing so, to reorient perspectives on East Germany's world.

Overview of the Chapters

The following chapters make clear that postcolonial nations pursued political and socioeconomic visions not reducible to the binary alternatives of the Cold War.¹⁴ The first chapter provides an overview of the way that race and racism were redefined in East Germany after the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945. It shows the similarities between such redefinitions on both sides of the Cold War boundary while also exploring the particularities of the modes of representing racial and cultural difference in the socialist bloc. It locates people from the global South between their status as icons and individuals in the landscape of East Germany.

The contributions to the second section “Aid *anders?*” or “aid differently?” deepen this investigation. They follow East Germans engaged in socialist projects of aid beyond the borders of Europe and ask how they differed from the frequently asymmetrical power relations involved in liberal-capitalist development assistance. At the heart of Young-Sun Hong's chapter is a confrontation between two visions of the lived space of socialist modernity in North Korea. While East Germans sought to bring Bauhaus modernity in their reconstruction of the destroyed city of Hamhung in the 1950s, Koreans sought designs appropriate to their own forms of everyday life and economic constraints. Beds, heaters, ceilings, and light-switches became objects of intense ideological debate in the confrontation between competing socialist imaginaries. Authorities wary of outside influence severed the nascent “transnational identities” developing between Germans and Koreans, in some cases leaving emotional scars as enduring side effects of geopolitical division.

Gregory Witkowski looks at the diverse ways that solidarity was defined, represented, and pitched to the East German population. He shows how the official Solidarity Committee, established in 1960, sought self-consciously to break with established conventions of North-South charity by eschewing pity-inducing images of women and children. Rather, it invoked Germans' own memories of war and reconstruction, and portrayed people in countries like Vietnam, Mozambique, and Angola as forward-looking and equipped to build socialist modernity. The Solidarity Committee competed with the lesser-known philanthropic efforts of the churches in the GDR. Witkowski demonstrates that both the Protestant and Catholic churches adhered more closely to the received script of the munificent West donating to the

“deserving poor,” yet they were also surprisingly forthright at times in their opposition to colonialism and their belief that charity was as important for the donor as the recipient. The solidarity efforts of both the churches and the official mass organizations created East German subjectivity in their efforts at aiding Others.

Bernd Schaefer’s chapter follows the transformation of the project of “socialist modernization” in the decades-long relationship between the GDR and socialist Vietnam. East Germany was a key source of aid for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) from 1954 through the years of the “American War” and after the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) in 1975. Schaefer follows the traffic in experts, officials, and students between the two republics, culminating in the employment of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese workers in East German factories in the 1980s, often under conditions unacceptable to Germans themselves. Among the more striking evidence Schaefer provides for the importance of the relationship was the printing of Vietnamese money in the GDR for two decades, the extensive training of Vietnamese intelligence services, and the seeding of a coffee industry that has made the SRV the world’s second largest exporter. Schaefer reveals the bilateral relationship as a learning process, punctuated by failures, but also containing genuine successes.

The third section, “Ambivalent Solidarities,” begins with a personal letter from black South African writer Bloke Modisane, who compares his special access to scarce luxury goods in East Berlin to that of a white in Johannesburg and agonizes over an encounter with an East German woman desperate to use him as a means of escape. The contributions to this section demonstrate that scholars have underestimated the delicacy involved in hosting foreigners in the GDR, even those who came as honored political guests. In a biographical essay, Simon Stevens delves into Modisane’s life history to explain how his liminal existence in the GDR may have echoed his experiences in apartheid South Africa. Sara Pugach shows how received racialized tropes of the black male predator and the white German woman of “loose morals” echoed through the files of East German bureaucrats as the number of foreign students multiplied after 1960. The sexual activity of foreigners was a state concern in the GDR. A foreigner who married, or reproduced with, a German might seek to remain in the country, creating diplomatic tensions with the home nation. By staying, the foreigner upset the basic model of East German solidarity. Borders were to be crossed temporarily not permanently. Education and training were intended ultimately to be applied in one’s home country.

Pugach reveals the particularity of race discourse in the situation of state socialism. She describes a bar manager criticizing the actions of cer-

tain African men for reinforcing “racist, stupid prejudices” among Germans themselves. She finds a university administrator confessing his belief in black male promiscuity privately to a colleague while noting that this could not be admitted publicly. In these contortions and concealments, we see in East Germany many of the hypocrisies and situationally selective language familiar from white majority contexts beyond the socialist world. Pugach’s work gives further evidence that racial preconceptions cut across the political geographies of the Cold War blocs.¹⁵

Katrina Hagen’s chapter on Angela Davis shows how even lionized Others were volatile political quantities. Davis was a celebrity of the highest order in the GDR and a pivotal figure in the discourse of race and racism. She became the de facto ambassador for the cause of anti-racism in 1970s East Germany. As a figurehead of the “Other America” and a card-carrying member of the Communist Party, Davis embodied the ideal object of solidarity. Yet, Hagen finds the frictions of solidarity in even this apparent fairy tale of socialist internationalism. Davis’s close relationship to émigré New Left theorist Herbert Marcuse and her links to black nationalist groups like the Black Panthers placed her in questionable ideological territory for the SED. Hagen finds the SED discussing the “black racism” of the Panthers and, potentially, of Davis herself. The refusal of communists of color like Davis to dismiss race as a bugbear exterminated by socialism challenged the East German discourse head on. The appearance of the “U.S. Third World Left” in the GDR created category problems for a state party not well equipped for challenges of intersectionality.¹⁶

Jason Verber also finds tensions at the confluence of socialist imaginaries and the lived realities of coexistence. The East German project of building an entire school in the countryside to train young Mozambicans in 1981 was a major effort of cultural diplomacy. In practice, political rationality ran first into the obstacles of youthful sexuality with six pregnancies within the first two years of the school’s existence. More seriously, internationalism collided with explicit racism in attacks on Mozambican students by far-right Germans threatening that “back in the *Führer*’s day you would have been skinned, slowly killed, and then burned.” The nascent neo-Nazi movement confronted foreigners with hatred defiantly rejecting protocols of official socialist internationalism.

Verber finds the source of disagreement in the clashing “varieties of socialism” practiced by East Germans and Mozambicans. Although a large literature about the varieties of capitalism has sprung up in the past two decades, the parallel discussion about varieties of socialism in the era of the global Cold War remains thin.¹⁷ A notable exception is in the large and growing literature about the Sino-Soviet split of the 1960s. Moving beyond

former perspectives which saw China's rupture with the Soviet bloc as based on either realpolitik or ideology, new research has pursued the diplomatic but also the cultural angle, examining the transformation of an intense culture of solidarity into one of enmity in the 1960s.¹⁸ Recent research on the Chinese influence in the global South has explained how different national histories led to identification with the Chinese and multipolar realignment of geopolitical alliances in what Jeffrey James Byrne calls the "contest of modernities."¹⁹

The book's fourth section, titled "Socialist Mirrors," uses two case studies to examine precisely such moments of comparison. It begins with an article from a Red Guard newspaper in Shanghai denouncing the East German university system in 1968. Working from what is likely firsthand knowledge, the author describes a rigid hierarchy designed to award careerism and punish solidarity. The GDR becomes an inverse reflection of the socialism dreamed of by the young Chinese author. This voice from the margins of East Germany's world is followed by two chapters that explore similar dialogues happening in the medium of film. I look at East Berlin's DEFA studio as a center for transnational filmmaking in the 1950s. The "world films" of Dutch documentarian Joris Ivens involved cooperation from inside and outside the socialist bloc to create cinematic analogues of the racial rainbow, depicting national realities that were parallel but rarely overlapped. I contrast this "socialist multilateralism" to the "socialist cosmopolitanism" nascent in the failed collaboration between Alex Wedding, Joop Huisken, and their Chinese partners on a feature-length documentary film in the late 1950s. Surviving only in records of heated conversations and treatments, the film project was doomed by deteriorating relations between East Germany and China and the closing of windows open briefly during the Thaw and the Hundred Flowers campaign. As in Hong's chapter, the failed coproduction reminds us of the challenges of creating outward expressions of a common socialist self-understanding across the gaps of disparate national histories.

Evan Torner and Victoria Rizo Lenshyn provide vivid illustration of similar dynamics in their exploration of the Vietnamese–East German coproduction *Dschungelzeit* (1988). The subject of the film itself was a remarkable moment of border-crossing, when German deserters from the French Foreign Legion in Indochina joined and fought with the anticolonial Viet Minh in the 1940s.²⁰ Torner and Lenshyn argue that the film's "transnational aesthetic" ended up containing and embodying two moments of friction: that of the postindependence 1950s, when the German defectors were compelled to leave Vietnam to "return" to the GDR, sometimes against their will, and that of the 1980s, when dissidence was becoming more widespread among cultural elites. In the film, the question of *Heimat* is called into question for

the Germans who fled fascist Germany and held the firm belief that there should never be another Germany (*nie wieder Deutschland*). Through these characters, the filmmaker asks how one is expected to accept a new German nation, even one that called itself communist. Through interviews with the German filmmaker and close textual readings, Torner and Lenshyn draw out the surprising ways in which internationalist projects could be used to express doubts about East German socialism itself in the last years of the GDR.

The final section, “Internationalist Remains,” begins with an essay by Christina Schwenkel describing the partial erasure of the GDR in Vietnam, where the much longer history of association with East Germany has been displaced officially by the shorter links to the Federal Republic, reinforcing the notion of the GDR as an isolated hermit republic of the Cold War. Yet, she demonstrates that the memory of East German engagement with Vietnam remains strong below the governmental level. Pointing to the importance of genuine efforts made on behalf of East German populations to aid and cooperate with the Vietnamese population both during their war with the United States and after, Schwenkel argues for the category of “affective solidarities” that escape measurement in conventional ways. She ends by pointing out how Vietnam remains a “new battleground of memory politics” between East and West Germany. The built environment of the northern city of Vinh, reconstructed with East German aid, keeps alive the possibility of an explicitly politicized form of development assistance in a neoliberal era, and a willingness to give aid the name of solidarity.

The exploration of the legacy of socialist solidarity continues in the final essay of the collection, a work of collaboration by German Studies scholar Jennifer Ruth Hosek and Cuban poet Victor Fowler Calzada. An experiment in composition and transnational conversation, the essay alternates between Fowler’s search for the traces of Germany in the Cuban imaginary and Hosek’s exploration of the reception of “GDR films” in Havana in recent years. Fowler’s account of his grandfather hanging a portrait of the Kaiser in his home in the early twentieth century meets Hosek’s account of the screening of *Goodbye Lenin!* in Havana when eager crowds broke the theater’s glass doors in their enthusiasm. The uncanny sense of loss produced in Cuba by the disappearance of East Germany resonates through the essay. The Cayo Ernesto Thälmann, whose beach hosts a stone bust of the German communist leader revered in the GDR, stands as an image of a severed appendage and extraterritorial remnant of a political entity that no longer exists. Fowler and Hosek’s piece reveals the material and psychological consequences of the fallen Soviet bloc for the socialist countries that survived 1989. It ends with a poetic meditation on the statues of Marx and Engels in Berlin written by

Fowler at a time when a “world had collapsed” and socialism has vanished from Germany even as it lived on in Cuba.

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What remains of forty years of East German internationalism? A last anecdote provides one answer. In 1957, future East German leader Erich Honecker cut the ribbon of “Joint Factory 718,” trumpeted as China’s most modern industrial installation, built by East German architects with Chinese and Soviet funding in the northwestern suburbs of Beijing.²¹ Promotional materials from the same decade showed portraits of Mao and GDR president Wilhelm Pieck above stylized images of German and Chinese workers. The men step forward to shake hands while the women stand behind them smiling, clad in the overalls and head scarves of workers. The East German–designed complex was unable to remain profitable and all but ceased operations during the period of liberalization in the 1980s. Some of its cavernous spaces were taken over by artists. By the mid 2000s, the redubbed “Arts District 798” was designated officially as a “cultural creative cluster,” filled with boutiques, design stores and contemporary art galleries.²² The former factory complex was a place to be seen for the Chinese nouveau riche. Teenagers and tourists took photos of each other in front of the remnants of the factories that echoed those decommissioned industrial sites repurposed for cultural consumption worldwide.²³ There was no trace of East Germany in the complex. Indeed, the only corporate presence in the entire district is a large cube-like office building with the logos of two German brands on it: Volkswagen and Audi. The only East German presence in the complex was a photograph from the 1980s of the two architects, now elderly, looking a little bewildered in the milieu of the Chinese *Bohème*, haunting the premises like ghosts of an earlier era.

Yet the history is not as distant as it seems. In February 2009, the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin held a conference on the “global 1989” to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the fall of the Wall. Several Chinese intellectuals in attendance discussed the bloody denouement of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations parallel to the more peaceful events in Berlin. There had been transnational traffic in 1989, too. Chinese students from East Berlin crossed into the West to walk with protesters against the bloody crackdown on the Beijing democracy movement. A young German punk woman in Dresden called for open protest against the crackdown.²⁴ Dissidents in East Berlin drummed for six consecutive nights to express their own opposition.²⁵ In July, a band called *Herbst in Peking* (Autumn in Beijing) played a song with lyrics expressing solidarity with Chinese students,

and were promptly forbidden from performing again—until after the Wall fell, at which point they achieved considerable success.²⁶ A letter to the state newspaper captured the effect of the events in China on one East German citizen:

Opening my *Neues Deutschland* this morning I saw the headline “Chinese People’s Liberation Army Crushes Counter-Revolutionary Uprising.” As I read the article, I could only ask how a country can inform its citizens so falsely in this way. I can still see yesterday’s images from television. And you want to scream in the face of as many lies as this. Let’s leave aside the question of whether the demands of the students are justified or not. When a socialist country, a communist country, attacks its citizens like this, I can only wonder about this form of government. According to *Neues Deutschland*, the students’ weapons of defense were “cut and thrust weapons,” this is what they were attacking tanks with. I saw, and the shots were not staged or edited, how tanks simply rolled over people, how the soldiers shot at fleeing people, shot them from behind... It is amazing that film footage can still be produced under these circumstances, but it is good that it can. Because otherwise you have to believe what you are told when you are informed as one-sidedly as us. And the *Neues Deutschland*’s version, in my opinion, is not fair.²⁷

The solidarity of protesters in 1989 both built on and broke with official East German internationalism. It was not of the state but against the state, mediated through troubling imagery that invoked an empathetic bond between Germans and the distant protesters. It humanized the objects of solidarity and spoke back to the government in its own language of socialism and human rights. Working as an inversion of the official rhetoric—when the GDR declared its official support for the Chinese action—it created solidarity anew, between parallel populations dissatisfied with the failure of their own governments to live up to their rhetoric.

One of the speakers at the 2009 Berlin conference was Chinese gender studies professor Ai Xioaming. She took home a copy of the poster, which featured the iconic image of a man facing down tanks at Tiananmen under the words “1989 Global Histories.” She kept the poster hidden under a mattress until the anniversary of the massacre in 2013, when she affixed it to her wall, and took a photograph that she put on the internet, in her words, “to express my mourning for the dead.”²⁸ Ai’s trip to Berlin had been her last before being barred from overseas travel by the authorities. Her outspoken critique of the Chinese government cut her off from further encounters

with the community of colleagues worldwide and displayed the sensitivity of some governments to alternative narratives of the past. 1989 remains alive for the Chinese state just as four decades of East German socialist republic remain alive for those Germans and foreigners who lived through them and who continue to live in the reunified Germany defined by the GDR's past in all its positive and negative aspects. Writing and recounting the history of the world from Germany, and of Germany in the world, remains a matter of intimate politics, even decades later. *Comrades of Color* seeks to continue the process of provincializing East German history and, by doing so, placing it in the larger world.

Notes

1. João Felipe Gonçalves, "Sputnik Premiers in Havana: A Historical Ethnography of the 1960 Soviet Exposition," in *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World*, ed. Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane Koenker (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), 86.
2. In general, the authors follow the methodological approach described in Katherine Pence and Andrew Zimmerman, "Transnationalism," *German Studies Review* 35, no. 3 (2012): 496.
3. Thomas PM Barnett, *Romanian and East German Policies in the Third World: Comparing the Strategies of Ceaucescu and Honecker* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992); William Glenn Gray, *Germany's Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Werner Kilian, *Die Hallstein-Doktrin: der diplomatische Krieg zwischen der BRD und der DDR 1955-1973* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2001); Ingrid Muth, *Die DDR-Aussenpolitik 1949-1972: Inhalte, Strukturen, Mechanismen* (Berlin: Christopher Links, 2000); Joachim Scholtzseck, *Die Aussenpolitik der DDR* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2003); Brigitte Schulz, *Development Policy in the Cold War Era: The Two Germanies and Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-1985* (Münster: Lit, 1995); Hans-Joachim Spanger and Lothar Brock, *Die beiden deutschen Staaten in der Dritten Welt* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987); Klaus Storkmann, *Geheime Solidarität: Militärbeziehungen und Militärhilfen der DDR in die "Dritte Welt"* (Berlin: Christoph Links, 2012); Ulrich Van der Heyden, Ilona Schleicher, and Hans-Georg Schleicher, eds., *Die DDR und Afrika*, 2 vols. (Münster: Lit, 1993); Gareth M. Winrow, *The Foreign Policy of the GDR in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
4. Bernd Bröskamp, ed., *Schwarz-weiße Zeiten: AusländerInnen in Ostdeutschland vor und nach der Wende: Erfahrungen der Vertragsarbeiter aus Mosambik* (Bremen: IZA, 1993); Mike Dennis and Norman LaPorte, *State and Minorities in Communist East Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), chap. 4; Dennis Kuck, "Für den sozialistischen Aufbau ihrer Heimat? Ausländische Vertragsarbeitskräfte in der DDR," in *Fremde und Fremd-Sein in der DDR: zu historischen Ursachen der Fremdenfeindlichkeit in Ostdeutschland*, ed. Jan C. Behrends, Thomas Lindenberger, and Patrice G. Poutrus (Berlin: Metropol, 2003); Annegret Schüle, "Proletarischer International-

- ismus' oder 'ökonomischer Vorteil für die DDR?,' *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, no. 42 (2002): 191–210; Christina Schwenkel, "Rethinking Asian Mobilities: Socialist Migration and Post-Socialist Repatriation of Vietnamese Contract Workers in East Germany," *Critical Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2014): 235–58; Karin Weiss and Mike Dennis, eds., *Erfolg in der Nische?: die Vietnamesen in der DDR und in Ostdeutschland* (Münster: Lit, 2005).
5. Nora M. Alter, "Excessive Pre/Requisites: Vietnam Through the East German Lens," *Cultural Critique*, no. 35 (Winter 1996–97): 39–79; Charles K. Armstrong, "'Fraternal Socialism': The International Reconstruction of North Korea, 1953–62," *Cold War History* 5, no. 2 (2005): 161–87; Jan C. Behrends, Thomas Lindenberger, and Patrice G. Poutrus, eds., *Fremde und Fremd-Sein in der DDR: zu historischen Ursachen der Fremdenfeindlichkeit in Ostdeutschland* (Berlin: Metropol, 2003); Frank Hirschinger, *Der Spionage Verdächtig: Asylanten und ausländische Studenten in Sachsen-Anhalt 1945-1970* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009); Young-Sun Hong, "'The Benefits of Health Must Spread Among All': International Solidarity, Health and Race in the East German Encounter with the Third World," in *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics*, ed. Katherine Pence and Paul Betts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008); Jennifer Ruth Hosek, *Sun, Sex and Socialism: Cuba in the German Imaginary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), chap. 2; Damian Mac Con Uladh, "Guests of the Socialist Nation? Foreign Students and Workers in the GDR, 1949-1990" (Ph.D. diss., University College London, 2005); Katherine Pence, "Showcasing Cold War Germany in Cairo: 1954 and 1957 Industrial Exhibitions and the Competition for Arab Partners," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 1 (2011): 69–95; Patrice G. Poutrus, "'Teure Genossen'. Die 'politischen Emigranten' als 'Fremde' im Alltag der DDR-Gesellschaft," in *Ankunft, Alltag, Ausreise: Migration und interkulturelle Begegnung in der DDR-Gesellschaft*, ed. Christian Th Müller and Patrice G. Poutrus (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003); Patrice G. Poutrus, "An den Grenzen des proletarischen Internationalismus: Algerische Flüchtlinge in der DDR," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 55, no. 2 (2007): 162–78; Christina Schwenkel, "Post/Socialist Affect: Ruination and Reconstruction of the Nation in Urban Vietnam," *Cultural Anthropology* 28, no. 2 (2013): 252–77; Qinna Shen, "A Question of Ideology and Realpolitik: DEFA's Cold War Documentaries on China," in *Beyond Alterity: German Encounters with Modern East Asia*, ed. Qinna Shen and Martin Rosenstock (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014); Quinn Slobodian, "Bandung in Divided Germany: Managing Non-Aligned Politics in East and West, 1955–63," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 4 (2013): 644–62; Quinn Slobodian, "Citizenship-Shifting: Race and Xing-Hu Kuo's Claim on East German Memory," in *Imagining Germany Imagining Asia: Essays in Asian-German Studies*, ed. Veronika Fuechtner and Mary Rhiel (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013); David Tompkins, "The East is Red? Images of China in East Germany and Poland through the Sino-Soviet Split," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 62, no. 3 (2013): 393–424; Denise Wesenberg, "X. Weltfestspiele der Jugend und Studenten 1973 in Ost-Berlin. Kosten und Nutzen eines 'antiimperialistischen' Jugendfestivals," *Deutschland Archiv* 36, no. 4 (2003): 651–59.
 6. Celia Donert, "Whose Utopia? Gender, Ideology and Human Rights at the 1975 World Congress of Women in East Berlin," in *The Breakthrough: Human Rights*

- in the 1970s, ed. Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Katrina Hagen, "Internationalism in Cold War Germany" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2008); Sophie Lorenz, "'Heldin des anderen Amerikas'. Die DDR-Solidaritätsbewegung für Angela Davis, 1970–1973," *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History, Online-Ausgabe* 10, no. 1 (2013); Nicholas Rutter, "Look Left, Drive Right: Internationalisms at the 1968 World Youth Festival," in *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World*, ed. Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane Koenker (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).
7. A recent monograph on the frontiers of the GDR does not include a single line on foreigners crossing those borders, nor does another overview spare a sentence for internationalism. See Patrick Major, *Behind the Berlin Wall: East Germany and the Frontiers of Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Corey Ross, *The East German Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives in the Interpretation of the GDR* (London: Arnold, 2002).
 8. Hans-Georg Schleicher and Ilona Schleicher, *Special Flights: The GDR and Liberation Movements in Southern Africa* (Harare: SAPES Books, 1998); Ulrich van der Heyden and Franziska Bengel, eds., *Kalter Krieg in Ostafrika: die Beziehungen der DDR zu Sansibar und Tansania* (Berlin: Lit, 2009); Matthias Voss, ed., *Wir haben Spuren hinterlassen!: die DDR in Mosambik* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005). Weis describes these monographs as part of a "historiographic 'proxy war' over the image of the East German state in today's Germany." Toni Weis, "The Politics Machine: On the Concept of 'Solidarity' in East German Support for SWAPO," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 2 (June 2011): 355.
 9. David Engerman, "The Second World's Third World," *Kritika* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2011). For recent work on the Soviet Union see Julie Hessler, "Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War," *Cahiers du monde russe* 47, no. 1–2 (January–June 2006); Andreas Hilger, "Building a Socialist Elite?—Khrushchev's Soviet Union and Elite Formation in India," in *Elites and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jost Dülffer and Marc Frey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Abigail Judge Kret, "'We Unite with Knowledge': The Peoples' Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 33, no. 2 (2013); Maxim Matusevich, "Probing the Limits of Internationalism: African Students Confront Soviet Ritual," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 27, no. 2 (Fall 2009).
 10. See, e.g., Alexander C. Cook, ed., *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Robeson Taj Frazier, *The East Is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane Koenker, eds., *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013); Young-Sun Hong, *Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Niek Pas, "European Radicals and the 'Third World': Imagined Solidarities and Radical Networks, 1958–1973," *Cultural and Social History* 8, no. 4 (2011): 449–72; Maxim Matusevich, ed., *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007).

11. On the intersection of the “color lines” of race and politics in the Cold War see Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Robert J. McMahon, “Introduction,” in *The Cold War in the Third World*, ed. Robert J. McMahon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2–3.
12. See also “Asia, Germany and the Transnational Turn,” *German History* 28, no. 4. (2010): 515–536.
13. For an exception see the excellent collection of essays in Thomas Vogel and Thomas Kunze, eds., *Ostalgie International: Erinnerungen an die DDR von Nicaragua bis Vietnam* (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2010); see also Tanja R. Müller, “‘Memories of Paradise’ - Legacies of Socialist Education in Mozambique,” *African Affairs* 109, no. 436 (2010): 451–70.
14. Mark Philip Bradley, “Decolonization, the Global South, and the Cold War, 1919–1962,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 465.
15. Matthew Connelly, “Taking Off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (2000): 753–55.
16. Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); see also John Munro, “The Anticolonial Front: Cold War Imperialism and the Struggle Against Global White Supremacy, 1945–1960” (University of California, Santa Barbara, 2009); Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting ‘til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2006); Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
17. See Ronald Philip Dore, *Stock Market Capitalism: Welfare Capitalism: Japan and Germany versus the Anglo-Saxons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Peter A. Hall and David W. Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
18. Sergey Radchenko, *Two Suns in the Heavens: The Sino-Soviet Struggle for Supremacy, 1962–1967* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2009).
19. Jeffrey James Byrne, “Our Own Special Brand of Socialism: Algeria and the Contest of Modernities in the 1960s,” *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 3 (2009): 427–47; Thomas Burgess, “Mao in Zanzibar: Nationalism, Discipline, and the (De)Construction of Afro-Asian Solidarities,” in *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, ed. Christopher J. Lee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 196–234; Chen Jian, “China, The Third World and the Cold War,” in *The Cold War in the Third World*, ed. Robert J. McMahon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Cook, ed. *Mao’s Little Red Book*; Jeremy Friedman, “Soviet Policy in the Developing World and the Chinese Challenge in the 1960s,” *Cold War History* 10, no. 2 (May 2010): 247–72; Jamie Monson, “Working Ahead of Time: Labor and Modernization during the Construction of the TAZARA Railway, 1968–86,” in *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, ed. Christopher J. Lee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010).
20. See Heinz Schütte, *Zwischen den Fronten: Deutsche und österreichische Überläufer zum Viet Minh* (Berlin: Logos, 2006).

21. Jiayun Zhuang, "Factory 798: The Site of Nostalgia and Its Incontinent Dweller," *Extensions*, no. 5 (2009): 15; Jennifer Currier, "Selling Place through Art: The Creation and Establishment of Beijing's 798 Arts District," in *New Economic Spaces in Asian Cities*, ed. Peter W. Daniels, KC Ho, and Thomas A. Hutton (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 187.
22. Michael Keane, "The Capital Complex: Beijing's New Creative Clusters," in *Creative Economies, Creative Cities: Asian-European Perspectives*, ed. L. Kong and J. O'Connor (New York: Springer, 2009), 89.
23. The irony of this model in China is that the factories-come-museums of the West, e.g., the Tate Museum in London and the Ruhr-Museum in Bochum, are commonly understood as having been themselves "emptied out, machines packed up and shipped off to China." Hito Steyerl, *The Wretched of the Screen* (Berlin: Sternberg, 2012), 61. Arts District 798 shows the internationalization of so-called "post-Fordist" modes of cultural consumption even to regions where industrial production remains robust.
24. OltN. Gerischer. Rapport 164/89. 10 July 1989. Die Behörde für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (hereafter BStU) Archive, MfS, HA II, 26979.
25. Belinda Davis, "Review Essay: What's Left? Popular Political Participation in Post-war Europe," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 2 (April 2008): 371; Bernd Schaefer, "Die DDR und die 'chinesische Lösung': Gewalt in der Volksrepublik China im Sommer 1989," in *1989 und die Rolle der Gewalt*, ed. Martin Sabrow (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012), 156.
26. OltN. Gerischer. Rapport 157/89. 01 July 1989. BStU Archive, MfS, HA II, 26979.
27. Strobel. HA II. Abt. M. Zusammengefasster Bericht über Reaktionen der Bevölkerung zu den aktuellen Ereignissen in der Volksrepublik China. 9 Jun 1989. BStU Archive, MfS, HA II, 26.
28. Recorded talk screened at Transmediale Conference, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, 31 January 2014.

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