

Global History *avant la lettre*. The Historiography on Latin America between Regional Studies and Global Challenges

Stefan Rinke / Frederik Schulze

ABSTRACTS

Der Artikel geht dem Verhältnis zwischen Lateinamerikageschichtsschreibung und Globalgeschichte nach und argumentiert, dass beide Felder wichtige Brückenfunktionen füreinander haben. Während die Geschichtsschreibung zu Lateinamerika den Gegensatz zwischen Globalgeschichte und Area Studies zu überwinden helfen kann, verfügt Globalgeschichte über das Potenzial, die Lateinamerikageschichte mit ihrer Mutterdisziplin zu versöhnen, indem sie den Subkontinent als integralen Bestandteil einer globalen Geschichtsschreibung verankert. Aufgrund von Verflechtungen und kultureller Hybridität bereits seit der Frühen Neuzeit ist Lateinamerika ein besonders spannender Untersuchungsraum für globale Fragestellungen.

The article traces the relationship between Latin American history and global history and argues that both fields serve an important bridging function for each other. While Latin American history can help to overcome the opposition between global history and historical area studies, global history can contribute to reconciling Latin American history with the parent discipline by integrating Latin America as an integral part of a global historiography. Due to its interdependencies and hybrid history, already established in the early modern era, Latin America is especially fruitful for global historical questions.

At the beginning of the new millennium, global historical approaches established a foothold in Anglo-Saxon and German historical studies.¹ Undoubtedly, global history is not a clearly defined field and can lack precision. Nonetheless, a number of important

1 See the significant amount of conceptual contributions to global history in B. Mazlish and R. Buultjens (eds.), *Conceptualizing Global History*, Boulder 1993; P. Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global*

basic elements are characteristic for that approach. In view of the current experiences of globalization, the focus is on using an integrated approach that overcomes spatial containers such as nations or world regions as units of analysis. The exchange of people and knowledge is characterized by the high mobility and intellectual flexibility of the involved actors, by regional spaces of interaction, and by global and asymmetrical structures which transcend the bilateralism of sender and receiver. Such an approach criticizes Eurocentrism, tries to locate agency beyond Western actors and shows the retroactive effects from around the world in the West. This critique has also called into question the basic assumptions of historical studies based on Western theory.² German global history, which has been institutionalized above all in Berlin, Constance, and Leipzig, has largely adopted this definition and understands the global as a perspective for investigating local, regional, or national stories in their relatedness to the world.³

At first, Latin American historians reacted cautiously to this development. One group noted that Latin America was a special case that should not be investigated using instruments developed elsewhere.⁴ Another group remarked that Latin American historians had already been working on global history for some time. In fact, the very subject of investigation – Latin America – is quite global in nature. It was also criticized that Latin America was ignored by global and world history.⁵ What is more, a silent majority simply dismissed the new trend. Over ten years have passed since these initial reactions. What has happened in the meantime? What is the relationship between Latin American history and global history, and what opportunities and problems arise from this relationship? We argue that global history and Latin American history serve an important bridging function for each other. First of all, Latin American history can help to overcome the opposition between global history and historical area studies. Of course, global history rejects clearly defined regional research units in favour of spaces of interaction and interdependencies and thus also questions Latin American historiography. At the same time, global history remains dependent on the expertise of Latin American historiography and other historiographies concentrated on certain regions. Without their in-depth knowl-

Past, New York 2003; D. Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World*, Cambridge, UK 2011; S. Conrad, *What is Global History?*, Princeton 2016.

2 See D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton 2000.

3 See Conrad, *Global History*; J. Osterhammel, *Alte und neue Zugänge zur Weltgeschichte*, in: Idem (ed.), *World History*, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 9–32.

4 In the 1990s, the role of Latin America was reflected in postcolonial studies, which is considered the inspiration for global history. Some scholars criticized that concepts were transferred to Latin America that were not developed in the region and thus could not adequately explain its history. This was considered especially problematic because there were already postcolonial theoretical approaches from Latin America. See J.J. Klor de Alva, *The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of "Colonialism", "Postcolonialism", and "Mestizaje"*, in: G. Prakash (ed.), *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, Princeton 1995, pp. 241–275; W.D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton 2000.

5 Central to this argument was a special issue of the 2004 *Hispanic American Historical Review* on the relationship between world history and Latin American history, which involved the participation of Jeremy Adelman and Laura Benton, among others. See HAHF Forum, *Placing Latin America in World History*, in: *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004) 3, pp. 391–446.

edge, global history would remain a hollow project. The example of Latin America shows that area studies and global history often analyse related problems and develop similar lines of inquiry. Both fields could therefore benefit from a dialogue.

Secondly, global history can contribute to reconciling Latin American history with the parent discipline. The outsourcing of Latin American history to area studies institutes has led to its general disappearance from discussions on hegemonic Western historiography and the fact that it tends to follow the debates in area studies. The rather sluggish interchange between Latin American history and global history only underscores this development. Global history in particular could make it possible to integrate Latin America into an overall historiography, since it directs the focus to actors and agency outside the West. Indeed, its practice necessitates an in-depth knowledge of the cultural space.

It should therefore be the goal to understand Latin America as an integral part of a global historiography, which does not require any special justification. It is nevertheless worth pointing out again that, due to interdependencies that were already established in the early modern era and its hybrid history, Latin America is especially fruitful for global historical questions – not least because it anticipated developments and questions which are currently being discussed for other decolonized continents. Bernd Hausberger has spoken in this context of a “laboratory of later developments.”⁶ To achieve a convergence between Latin American history and the historical discipline, on the one hand, and regional history and global history, on the other, historiography anchored in the West must overcome its Eurocentrism (and more recently Asiacentrism) and engage with Latin America. Latin American history, in turn, must interact more strongly with the current historiographical debates of the West and intervene in a corrective manner.

To begin with, we will briefly outline previous historiography on Latin America and global historical approaches in order to describe the relationship between the two fields of study. We will then look at the debate on this relationship over the last ten years. Empirical contributions, especially from the relatively small German-speaking community, illustrate what a convergence between Latin American history and the parent discipline could look like through global historical approaches. This is followed by a few thematic proposals which distinctly demonstrate the significance of Latin American history as an integral part of a global history. In this section, we also give a brief summary of two of our own contributions to the field of global history, namely the First World War in Latin America and German immigration to Brazil. We conclude with suggestions for how to shape the future debate.

6 B. Hausberger, *Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung*, in: B. Schäbler (ed.), *Area Studies und die Welt: Weltregionen und neue Globalgeschichte*, Wien 2007, pp. 150–177, at 172–173.

1. Historiography on Latin America. Global History *avant la lettre*

So far, the historiography of Latin America has primarily taken place in two research contexts. In the nineteenth century, national historiographies were established and initially took on identity-forming tasks for the young nations in constructing a national past. In the twentieth century, these national historiographies underwent the same kinds of developments in evidence elsewhere: While in the Cold War historiography was increasingly socio-scientific or Marxist-inspired, cultural history made its appearance in the 1980s. At the same time, reference was made to local units of analysis, for example, in the context of subaltern studies.⁷

The same applies to the Anglo-Saxon research context, where from the 1920s and increasingly in the 1960s a strong branch of interdisciplinary area studies began to deal with Latin America historically. Smaller focal points of Latin American research also emerged in Western Europe and in Germany. Area studies arose out of the goal to scientifically process information from all over the world and to gain regional expertise. This, in turn, was to facilitate political influence on the investigated regions. The entanglement of regional studies with colonial projects through the middle of the twentieth century have been widely discussed since Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978).⁸ As Mark T. Berger has shown, during the Cold War political goals and a generally negative view of the investigated region and its history were also constitutive for US-American Latin American Studies.⁹

In the late 1960s, a left-wing branch emerged, which saw area expertise as the basis for understanding other parts of the world and as a megaphone for non-Western positions. In this context, interest in Latin America also grew in Germany: The Institute for Latin American Studies – the first university regional institute on Latin America in the German-speaking world – was founded at Freie Universität Berlin in 1970.¹⁰ While such institutions are more numerous in the US, they have long been the exception in Latin America (see, for instance, the Universidad Autónoma de México).

At such institutes, Latin American historians have become accustomed to the spatial separation from the parent discipline in favour of an interdisciplinary localization. There is an inherent tension, however, between the claim to speak for the region and an external viewpoint which tends to remain Eurocentric. For this reason, Western concerns have mostly been extended to Latin America, or the region has been observed vis-à-vis the United States or Europe.

7 For an introduction, see J. Malerba, *A história na América Latina: ensaio de crítica historiográfica*, Rio de Janeiro 2009.

8 E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.

9 M.T. Berger, *Under Northern Eyes: Latin American Studies and US Hegemony in the Americas 1898–1990*, Bloomington 1995. See also R.D. Salvatore, *Disciplinary Conquest: U.S. Scholars in South America, 1900–1945*, Durham 2016; T. Loschke, *Area Studies Revisited: die Geschichte der Lateinamerikastudien in den USA, 1940 bis 1970*, Göttingen 2018.

10 Other professorships in Latin American history are in Bern, Bielefeld, Bremen, Eichstätt, Hamburg, Hannover, Cologne, Leipzig, and Münster.

Area studies also emphasize space, and defining it typically serves as a point of departure. As a geographical and above all cultural area, Latin America is an invention of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Even if common historical experiences in politics, economy, and social structure as well as the Iberian languages could be arguments for such a classification, it has become clear – since the spatial turn at the latest – that there are no rigid spatial containers and that the demarcation of such spaces raises questions. Latin American studies have hardly dealt with these problems, due in no small measure to the fact that most empirical contributions on Latin America do not focus on the entire region, but rather nations and localities.

For historiography in Latin America as well as for the historical Latin American studies, explicit global-historical perspectives have not played a major role and one can hardly speak of a global turn. Nonetheless, it has rightly been argued that historical research on Latin America can be described as global history *avant la lettre*. However diverse the individual histories of the Latin American countries may be, it makes a lot of sense to narrate them as an entangled story – one that began with the conquest by the Europeans and was shaped by African slavery, world trade, European and Asian immigration, and the circulation of knowledge. For this reason, as Jeremy Adelman has stressed, reflection on the particular and the global is and has been constitutive for Latin American historiography since the nineteenth century.¹²

Stefan Rinke (in reference to Chile) and Georg Fischer, Christina Peters, and Frederik Schulze (in reference to Brazil) have shown that perspectives that went beyond the nation were self-evident for most national historians, even if there was no stringent programme for such historiography and the nation remained the central subject of inquiry.¹³ As part of the reorientation of the social sciences in the 1960s and 1970s, Latin American historians analysed the global economic interdependency of the subcontinent.¹⁴ This endeavour was influenced by the dependency theory developed in Latin America and Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems theory.¹⁵ Playing an important role here was the analysis of Latin American foreign trade and dependencies on Western centers. Entanglement was likewise the essential paradigm for the history of the Atlantic, with contributions from and about Latin America involving the study of the South Atlantic as a contact zone

11 See W.D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, Malden, MA 2005; U. Lehmkuhl and S. Rinke (eds.), *Amerika – Amerikas: Zur Geschichte eines Namens von 1507 bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 2008.

12 J. Adelman, *Latin American and World Histories: Old and New Approaches to Pluribus and the Unum*, in: *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004) 3, pp. 399–409, at 401–403. See also O. Acha, *From "World History" to "Global History": Latin American Perspectives*, in: D. Brauer et al. (eds.), *New Perspectives on Global History*, Hanover 2013, pp. 31–42, at 31–32.

13 S. Rinke, *Begegnungen mit dem Yankee: Nordamerikanisierung und soziokultureller Wandel in Chile, 1898–1990*, Köln 2004, pp. 7–15; G. Fischer, Ch. Peters and F. Schulze, *Brasilien in der Globalgeschichte*, in: G. Fischer et al. (eds.), *Brasilien in der Welt: Region, Nation und Globalisierung 1870–1945*, Frankfurt a.M. 2013, pp. 9–50.

14 On this and the following paragraph, see Fischer et al., *Brasilien in der Globalgeschichte*, pp. 18–27.

15 See F.H. Cardoso and E. Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, Berkeley 1979 (1967); I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York 1974.

or the transatlantic African diaspora.¹⁶ Critique on Eurocentrism also came from Latin America, as shown by the broad discussion on postcolonial studies or studies on cultural contact and cultural hybridity.¹⁷

In historical area studies, however, bi-national studies predominate, which, for example, address the relationship of Latin American countries to the US or to Europe. Bernd Hausberger has criticized that this external perspective deprives Latin America of its own relevance and thus remains Eurocentric.¹⁸ Current research contributions on bilateral issues show that this assessment does not always have to apply, as, for example, when Latin America's agency or the limitations of Western dominance are elucidated in such relationships and interactions are examined in both directions.¹⁹

This very brief outline clearly demonstrates that topics and approaches of global history were already discussed in one form or another in historiography on Latin America, albeit mostly in fragments and not as a well-formulated turning-point. At the same time, the long-standing institutionalization of national histories in Latin America and Latin American studies in the Western academic system has not given rise to the feeling that the region is being scientifically marginalized (whereas this feeling may have contributed to the emergence of postcolonial studies in Asia and Africa). The global turn, which was primarily aimed at Western historiography, has thus found little resonance among Latin American historians. Instead, it fuels the skepticism in Latin America about a new US scientific colonialism and harbours the danger that global history will distance itself from the work of Latin American colleagues. Indeed, some of them do not have access to the necessary resources for participating in the global historical debate, such as research literature, source material, means of travel, and language skills.

2. Latin America in Global Historical Research

Global history, as Matthew Brown has recently pointed out, has to this point largely circumvented Latin America or at best perceived it as a victim on the periphery.²⁰ The reason for this is generally attributed to the origin of global history in Anglocentric

16 On the South Atlantic, see L.F. de Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVII*, São Paulo 2000; D. Richardson and F. Ribeiro da Silva (eds.), *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590–1867*, Leiden 2015; on the African diaspora, see D.Y. Curry et al. (eds.), *Extending the Diaspora: New Histories of Black People*, Urbana 2009; I. Kummels et al. (eds.), *Transatlantic Caribbean: Dialogues of People, Practices, and Ideas*, Bielefeld 2014.

17 See T. Todorov, *Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, Norman 1984 (1982); N. García Canclini, *Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad*, Mexico City 1990; M. Morúa, E. Dussel and C.A. Jáuregui (eds.), *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, Durham 2008.

18 Hausberger, *Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung*, p. 151. See also S. Hensel, *Außereuropäische Geschichte – Globalgeschichte – Geschichte der Weltregionen aus der Perspektive einer Lateinamerikahistorikerin*, in: *hsoz kult*, 2 December 2017, <https://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4357> (accessed 2 January 2018).

19 See M. Wasserman, *Pesos and Politics: Business, Elites, Foreigners, and Government in Mexico, 1854–1940*, Stanford 2015; F. Schulze, *Auswanderung als nationalistisches Projekt: "Deutschtum" und Kolonialdiskurse im südlichen Brasilien (1824–1941)*, Cologne 2016.

20 M. Brown, *The Global History of Latin America*, in: *Journal of Global History* 10 (2015) 3, pp. 365–386.

debates and imperial history, where the binarity between Orient and Occident and the rise of the East are discussed. This has led to the marginalization of Latin American history, especially the nineteenth century, which did not fit to this debate and was therefore seen only as a story of marginal import.²¹ Canonized works like Erez Manela's *The Wilsonian Moment* or Kenneth Pomeranz' *The Great Divergence* are such examples that are interested in decolonization or the relationship of the West to Asia and not primarily Latin America.²² Patrick Manning has noted that not only did the decolonization of Latin America take place earlier, but so did the institutionalization of regional studies as an object of investigation. Latin America consequently developed a different discussion context far from global history.²³

Even global history *qua* world history tends to neglect Latin America as a kind of unwanted stepchild, as evidenced by Christopher Bayly's history of the nineteenth century. Although the cover of the original edition shows a painting by Anne-Louis Girodet from 1797, depicting Jean-Baptiste Belley – born in Africa, abducted as a slave to Saint-Domingue, and elected a member of the French National Convention during the French Revolution – Bayly only briefly mentions the global significance of the Haitian revolution in reaction to Napoleon.²⁴ Even in Jürgen Osterhammel's *The Transformation of the World*, where Latin America is discussed throughout, the continent remains on the edge of global change processes.²⁵ Another problem of world history comes to the fore here, as in Sven Beckert's global history of cotton, which likewise seeks to consider all regions of the world. Specifically, the sheer abundance of material typically results in only a superficial consideration of primary sources or research literature from Latin America.²⁶ This is all the more regrettable because Latin American historiography has already dealt with questions resembling those in global history. In this regard, then, global history falls short of area studies and does not live up to its own demand of overcoming Eurocentrism.

3. Global History and Latin America – A New Trend

Since the turn of the millennium, however, the relationship between global history and Latin America has started to change. It is not global, but Latin American historians who

21 L. Benton, No Longer Odd Region Out: Repositioning Latin America in World History, in: *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 (2004) 3, pp. 423–430, at pp. 424–425; Brown, *Global History*, pp. 365 and 369; Hensel, *Außereuropäische Geschichte*.

22 E. Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, Oxford 2007; K. Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of Modern World Economy*, Princeton 2000.

23 P. Manning, *Nordamerikanische Ansätze zur Globalgeschichte*, in: Schäbler (ed.), *Area Studies*, Vienna 2007, p. 65.

24 Ch. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914*, Malden, MA 2004.

25 J. Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton 2014 (2009).

26 S. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*, New York 2014.

are driving the debate, with the result that the sharp division is no longer tenable. On the one hand, they have discussed the relationship between the two research areas. On the other, they have presented empirical studies with the aim in each case of making global historical perspectives useful for Latin America and of integrating Latin America more strongly into global history. Jeremy Adelman, for example, has taken the view that Latin American historiography's focus on local histories could help to deconstruct master narratives such as the rise of Western modernity in favour of heterogeneous histories.²⁷ In 2007, the debate reached the German-speaking world with an anthology by Birgit Schäbler.²⁸ For the first time, the volume posed the question presented in this journal about the relationship between area studies and global history. Bernd Hausberger's essay on Latin America highlighted the "complex interaction of indigenous and European, but also African and Asian historical strands" in Latin America and called for the integration of the region into global historical work.²⁹ In the 2010s, such voices multiplied and sharpened the debate with respect to individual countries such as Brazil or subfields such as science and technology studies.³⁰ Historians' associations, conferences, and doctoral programmes on Latin America are now also increasingly discussing approaches to global history.³¹ At the same time, the debate in Latin America was established with the founding of a working group on Latin America in global history by the Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos. The highpoint of this development so far is the programmatic volume "Historia global," which combines systematic considerations and empirical research on this topic from a Latin American perspective.³²

Offering an interim conclusion, in the *Journal of Global History* from 2015, Matthew Brown called for Latin America to be freed from its role as victim. Instead, it should be treated as part of global history and thus universalized. Future researchers should more-

27 Adelman, *Latin American and World Histories*, pp. 400 and 409.

28 Schäbler (ed.), *Area Studies*. In 2017, Clio online revived the debate, see S. Dorsch et al., Editorial: "Außereuropäische Geschichte", "Globalgeschichte", "Geschichte der Weltregionen"? Neue Herausforderungen und Perspektiven, in: *hsozkult*, 2 November 2017, <https://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4319> (accessed 2 January 2018).

29 Hausberger, *Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung*, p. 155.

30 See Fischer et al., *Brasilien in der Globalgeschichte*; S. McCook, Introduction, in: *Isis* 104 (2013) 4, pp. 773–776.

31 Several research platforms in the German-speaking world have recently addressed the topic, including the International Research Training Group *Entre Espacios/Zwischen Räumen* (Berlin/Mexico City), founded in 2009, the Center for InterAmerican Studies, founded in 2011 in Bielefeld, and the Global South Studies Center in Cologne, which was established in 2014. Since 2009, there has been a working group of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung* (ADLAF) on "Latin American History in Global Perspective". In 2014, the congress of the Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos (AHILA) in Berlin was held under the motto "Between Spaces: Latin American History in Global Context".

32 See S. Rinke and C. Riojas (eds.), *Historia global: perspectivas y tensiones*, Stuttgart 2017. In 2014 and 2016, Alexandre Moreli and Stella Krepp organized two conferences on "Latin America in a Global Context" and thereby also stimulated the debate in Brazil. See the special issues on global history in *Revista Brasileira de História*, 34 (2014) 68 and *Revista Estudos Históricos* 30 (2017) 60. See also S. Krepp and A. Moreli, *Quebrar el bloqueo hemisférico: América Latina y lo global*, in: *Iberoamericana* 17 (2017) 65, pp. 245–250; F. Purcell and A. Riquelme (eds.), *Ampliando miradas: Chile y su historia en un tiempo global*, Santiago de Chile 2009; C. Riojas, *América Latina entre narrativas influyentes y tiempos de historia global*, in: *América Latina en la historia económica*, forthcoming.

over see themselves simultaneously as Latin American and global historians.³³ Agendas are still being developed, however, that specifically formulate how to tackle this.³⁴

Although such suggestions have not yet been fully reflected in empirical research, Latin American historians have increasingly been presenting empirical contributions over the past five years, which develop research subjects and questions from a decidedly global historical perspective. Interestingly, this development has been particularly evident in German-speaking countries. To be sure, career planning has played a role in the decision of academics to jump on the bandwagon of the global turn. But the fact that German-speaking historians strive to link Latin America and global history cannot be explained purely from a science-policy perspective. Another reason is the manageable German-speaking research community, which – in contrast to the US or Latin America – depends on dialogue with colleagues who do not work on the topic of Latin America. Here, global history serves as a bridge to other area histories and German historiography. In this respect, the contributions of German-speaking scholars point to the increasing integration of regional historiography with the parent discipline and show that area experts with their knowledge of languages are particularly well placed for writing contributions on global history. It is therefore not surprising that Latin American historians such as Debora Gerstenberger and Stefanie Gänger have helped shape the global historical theory debate in Germany.³⁵

One of the first major research priorities involves taking up Latin America in global knowledge and actor networks. Christiane Berth has worked with global and local networks of German coffee traders in Central America,³⁶ while Georg Fischer has analysed global expert networks in connection with Brazilian iron ore.³⁷ As in Frederik Schulze's study on discourses on German emigration to Brazil, it becomes evident here that many debates can only be understood in the context of global knowledge circulation, in which Latin American actors and experiences have had an influence.³⁸ The global context also played a role in genuinely national Latin American histories, which was often reflected by the historical actors on the ground. Debora Gerstenberger shows this on the example of the transatlantic Portuguese empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where

33 Brown, *The Global History of Latin America*, pp. 382–386. That said, Brown does not take note of the German-speaking debate, again illustrating the challenges of a global scientific landscape – indeed, all the more so given that Brown himself makes an appeal for the reception of non-English-language contributions. See also Acha, *From "World History" to "Global History"*.

34 For Brazil, see G. Fischer and F. Schulze, *Brazilian History as Global History*, in: *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (2018), early view.

35 See D. Gerstenberger and J. Glasman (eds.), *Techniken der Globalisierung: Globalgeschichte meets Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie*, Bielefeld 2016; S. Gänger et al. (eds.), *Globalgeschichten: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven*, Frankfurt a. M. 2014; S. Gänger, *Circulation: Reflections on Circularity, Entity, and Liquidity in the Language of Global History*, in: *Journal of Global History* 12 (2017) 3, pp. 303–318.

36 Ch. Berth, *Biografien und Netzwerke im Kaffeehandel zwischen Deutschland und Zentralamerika 1920–1959*, Hamburg 2014.

37 G. Fischer, *Globalisierte Geologie: Eine Wissensgeschichte des Eisenerzes in Brasilien, 1876–1914*, Frankfurt a. M. 2017.

38 Schulze, *Auswanderung als nationalistisches Projekt*.

authorities were anxious about globally circulating political ideas.³⁹ In fact, as Armando García de la Torre has argued, ostensible national heroes like Cuban José Martí tapped into a “global market of ideas” for their political schemes.⁴⁰

Even so, Latin America was itself a global pioneer of certain political ideas, as James E. Sanders has tried to show for democratic republicanism in the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Consequently, a second area of research is the analysis of the retroactive effects from Latin America on the metropolises. Nina Elsemann, for example, has demonstrated how the Latin American experience coming to terms with military dictatorships formed the Spanish debate on the reappraisal of the Franco regime.⁴² Other studies have dealt with Latin American migration to Europe, such as Nancy E. Van Deusen’s contribution, which links the deportation of indigenous people to Spain during the colonial era with the emergence of the global category “indio,”⁴³ and Jens Streckert’s monograph, which discusses the role of Paris as a port of call for Latin American intellectuals at the turn of the century.⁴⁴ Michael Goebel has further developed this topic globally by discussing Latin American migrants in the context of worldwide migration in Paris, in whose midst anti-imperialist ideas coalesced.⁴⁵ Stefan Rinke has examined the foundations of these developments during the First World War in his global historical analysis of the Latin American subcontinent during the First World War.⁴⁶

Thirdly, Latin America also plays an increasingly important role in world-historical depictions. In *El otro Occidente* (2004), Marcello Carmagnani has described Latin America’s path into the globalized world since colonial times and argues that Latin American actors played an active role in influencing the global process of occidentalization.⁴⁷ A series of overviews and anthologies, including the contributions of Austrian global history, strengthens the perspective of interdependency and describes individual nations or the continent in their global relations and as a part of world history.⁴⁸ The work of Helge Wendt – who reads missionary texts from Latin America as part of a global mis-

39 D. Gerstenberger, *Gouvernementalität im Zeichen der globalen Krise: Der Transfer des portugiesischen Königshofes nach Brasilien*, Köln 2013.

40 A. García de la Torre, *José Martí and the Global Origins of Cuban Independence*, Kingston 2015, p. 15.

41 J.E. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy at Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, Durham 2014.

42 N. Elsemann, *Umkämpfte Erinnerungen: Die Bedeutung lateinamerikanischer Erfahrungen für die spanische Geschichtspolitik nach Franco*, Frankfurt a.M. 2010.

43 N.E. Van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Durham 2015.

44 J. Streckert, *Die Hauptstadt Lateinamerikas: Eine Geschichte der Lateinamerikaner im Paris der Dritten Republik (1870–1940)*, Köln 2013.

45 M. Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism*, Cambridge, UK 2015.

46 S. Rinke, *Latin America and the First World War*, Cambridge, UK 2017.

47 M. Carmagnani, *El otro Occidente: América Latina desde la invasión europea hasta la globalización*, Mexico City 2004.

48 For Latin America as a whole, see the global history series: *Die Welt 1000–2000*, ed. by P. Feldbauer et al., Wien 2008–2011; B. Hausberger, *Die Verknüpfung der Welt: Geschichte der frühen Globalisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 2015; J. Adelman, *Latin America: A Global History*, Princeton, forthcoming. For Mexico, see W.H. Beezley, *Mexico in World History*, Oxford 2011; for Brazil, see G. Fischer et al. (eds.), *Brasilien in der Welt: Region, Nation und Globalisierung 1870–1945*, Frankfurt a.M. 2013; P.E. Amar (ed.), *The Middle East and Brazil:*

sionary discourse together with texts from other parts of the world – stands out among the few research contributions that incorporate Latin America into world history.⁴⁹ Latin America has also found its place in anthologies dealing with global topics such as global biographies, colonial knowledge production, expert culture, borderlands, and coffee.⁵⁰ To conclude, there is ample evidence that Latin America is currently being inscribed in global historical debates. Important stimuli are coming from the German-speaking world, which however faces the predicament that German-language production is not widely received globally. Translation is therefore essential. The empirical work nevertheless shows that the main thrust of global historical research on Latin America is to understand Latin America in its global interdependency in order to expand both global history and the history of Latin America.

4. Latin America as Part of Globalization since the Sixteenth Century

Understanding Latin America as part of a global history of interdependency is all the more important because of the continent's pioneering role.⁵¹ Experiences that are problematized today in the context of global history were already formative for Latin America from colonial times. They include colonial rule, cultural transfers and hybridizations, migration and diaspora, slavery and racism, decolonization and postcolonial criticism, nation-state formation and the development of political ideas, integration into the world market, and the exploitation of natural resources.

Latin America is itself, as a spatial concept, a product of globalization – both in terms of common historical experiences such as Iberian colonialism, slavery and independence, but also in the sense of a cultural construction. Since its discovery, this construction has connoted a reflection on the role and peculiarities of what later became Latin America and has led to a relatively homogeneous perception of the region. While Latin America thus is distinct from other regions of the world, the spatial levels in which global interdependencies occurred do not appreciably differ. They range from contact zones such as port cities across the Atlantic and the Pacific to subregions – such as the Caribbean and nation states, habitats such as the Andes or the Amazon region, localities, NGOs and international organisations.

Perspectives on the New Global South, Bloomington 2014; for Chile, see K. Christiaens et al. (eds.), *European Solidarity with Chile, 1970s–1980s*, Frankfurt a.M. 2014.

49 H. Wendt, *Die missionarische Gesellschaft: Mikrostrukturen einer kolonialen Globalisierung*, Stuttgart 2011. See also F. Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478–1834*, Cambridge 2009 (1995).

50 See B. Hausberger, *Globale Lebensläufe: Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen*, Wien 2006; R. Habermas and A. Przyrembel (eds.), *Von Käfern, Märkten und Menschen: Kolonialismus und Wissen in der Moderne*, Göttingen 2013; S. Rinke and D. González de Reufels (eds.), *Expert Knowledge in Latin American History: Local, Transnational, and Global Perspectives*, Stuttgart 2014; P. Readman et al. (eds.), *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914*, Basingstoke 2014; Ch. Berth et al. (eds.), *Kaffeewelten: Historische Perspektiven auf eine globale Ware im 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2015.

51 See Hausberger, *Lateinamerika in globaler Vernetzung*.

Temporally, however, Latin America differs from other regions of the Global South, since it is possible to speak of globalization there already from the early modern era. Other developments also took place earlier in Latin America than elsewhere, such as independence and nation-state formation. Researchers are circulating various proposals for the periodization of global peak phases in Latin America, which are distinct from developments in other regions. Matthew Brown, for instance, notes five phases: the “Columbian exchange around 1500; the “slave plantation complexes” of the colonial era; the period of independence around 1820; the integration of the continent into scientific and cultural contexts around 1850; and the period of globalization around 1900 with migration, world-market integration, and modernism.⁵² Omar Acha, for his part, begins his five phases with the settlement of the continent from Asia, continuing with the colonial world system, independence, the period of economic dependence marked by nationalism from 1850–1990, and the new globalization around 2000.⁵³ Further periodizations are certainly conceivable. But while higher degrees of global interdependency have no doubt existed, pre-established periodizations run the risk of privileging or neglecting certain periods of time. More attention should be paid instead to supposed globalization low points such as the First World War and the 1930s, or periods that have been little studied such as the Cold War.

In what follows, we discuss five exemplary moments that illustrate the region’s global pioneering role. First, the conquest of South and Central America by European colonial powers represented an unprecedented moment of cultural contact, which led to diverse cultural hybridizations during the colonial period. This cultural contact was a dynamic process of encounters in spatially indeterminate contact zones, where all the participants were transformed. Encounters and contacts were not free of conflict and, indeed, frequently violent. The idea of border crossing is central here – both as an actual process and as an abandonment of fixed ideas of the self. It resulted in diverse cultural encounters in contact zones that were not only marked by racist discourses, but also by negotiation processes, the creation of new identities, and local agency. The impact of the conquest of America on global flows of goods, people, and ideas is well known. Serge Gruzinski, Charles Mann, and Stefan Rinke, however, have recently shown just how much it had a lasting impact on the global power structure and is moreover reflected in Asia and Africa.⁵⁴ Equally significant, the foundations were laid during this period for Eurocentric perceptions of the world, which still reverberate to this day.

Second, the decolonization of Latin America and thus the formation of nation-states took place much earlier than in other regions of the Global South. In fact, republican nation-states have existed in Latin America for 200 years, much longer than in large parts

52 Brown, *The Global History of Latin America*, pp. 377–379.

53 Acha, *From “World History” to “Global History”*, pp. 35–37.

54 S. Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde: histoire d’une mondialisation*, Paris 2004; Ch. Mann, *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created*, New York 2011; S. Rinke, *Kolumbus und der Tag von Guanahani 1492: Ein Wendepunkt der Geschichte*, Stuttgart 2013; S. Rinke, *Conquistadoren und Azteken: Cortés und die Eroberung Mexikos*, Munich 2019.

of Europe. As Benedict Anderson has underlined, Latin American experiences are highly relevant for the history of nation-states and nationalism.⁵⁵ In the nineteenth century, many Latin American countries struggled with a new republican state-building process and engaged in inventing new national narratives. Latin American intellectuals and politicians already reflected on the global conditions and the nexus of power relations in which their nations were constituted. This perspective not only gave rise to political ideas like pan-Americanism or anti-imperialism, but also consistently exerted an influence on the national self-image.

Third, while the elites may have compared themselves unfavourably with the West in the nineteenth century, a growing sense of self-confidence emerged during the First World War at the latest. Stefan Rinke's monograph on the First World War in Latin America elaborates these groundbreaking and unprecedented changes in a hitherto peripheral world region of the Global South and describes a crucial moment in history when the Eurocentric world order started to totter.⁵⁶ Rinke does so by adopting a global historical perspective that looks at the war's impact on the world economy, the political sphere, the intellectual imaginary, as well as the perception of the world itself. The war not only reveals how firmly a global consciousness had already manifested in Latin America by that time, but how it changed in the course of the four years of unprecedented slaughtering. In this context, global consciousness implies less cosmopolitan thinking than an idea of the importance of global interdependency and integration processes.

Despite being at a far remove from the battlefields, Latin Americans took an active interest in the horrors, hopes, and fears that the war aroused. They participated in the contemporary debates taking place worldwide about the end of Western domination and the decline of Europe. As novel forms of propaganda and new communication technologies made Latin America more directly involved in the events than ever before, the perception of the conflict assumed global dimensions. For consumers of media, the war was a pressing matter for the entire world that transcended the usual regional contexts. The First World War made it possible for Latin Americans to experience the world's interdependency and their own place in it.

The war also referred back to political and cultural nationalisms, while simultaneously casting a critical light on global power relations. This not only concerned the role of Europe, but also that of the United States. Nationalistic rhetoric replaced the Europe-friendly approach of the nineteenth century because belligerent Europe no longer served as a positive reference point for Latin American elites who discovered "Indoamerica" as new identity mark, instead. Skepticism towards the formerly undisputed world powers radicalized as anti-imperialism, which again emerged in a global context, since communist and anticolonial ideas also found their ways to Latin America where activists and intellectuals contributed decisively to the debate. The Atlantic became a hotbed for social and political movements that fought for workers', students' and women's rights. The First

55 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London 2006 (1983).

56 See in detail Rinke, *Latin America and the First World War*.

World War, thus, was a catalyzer for political and social change, and this change did not just affect Latin America, it originated there, too.

Fourth, changing world orders also concerned migration. Frederik Schulze has analysed in his book on German immigration in southern Brazil how migration shaped global perceptions both in the country of origin and in the country of destination.⁵⁷ In nineteenth century Germany, political and ecclesiastical activists with a nationalistic agenda looked at German emigration as a global phenomenon. They imagined globally dispersed migrant communities over space and time as a single German community abroad. By constructing a global Germanness, they tried to strengthen Germany's position in the world. Therefore, globally circulating discourses on Germans, the German role in the world, and German colonialism found their way also to the migrants in southern Brazil. The activists travelled all over the world, including Brazil, to boost Germanness by building churches and schools.

Schulze's study not just shows how interconnected nationalism and a global consciousness were; it also combines global and local perspectives. When the activists started to spread their discourses in Brazil, they had to face problems and resistance by the migrant communities. In contrast to the homogenizing discourses, the local situation turned out to be much more diverse and heterogeneous. Migrants sometimes participated in Germany's nationalistic project, sometimes they adopted and changed it, and sometimes they rejected or ignored it. This sheds light on the productive and ambivalent relation between the global and the local that therefore should play a relevant role in historical analyses.

Finally, also Brazilian discourses on migrants were changing at the turn of the century. While Brazilian elites argued in favour of European migration in the second half of the nineteenth century in order to "civilize" their country, they now adopted standpoints towards migrants that were much more nationalistic. On the one hand, they reacted to German discourses and set the idea of a homogeneous Brazilian nation against them. On the other hand, they looked at scientific debates on migration in the United States and adopted concepts from the Chicago School of Sociology such as assimilation. This provided them important tools to challenge the world order of the imperial age, and they had little problems in imposing their view on migration in Brazil. The German nationalist project in Brazil eventually failed.

Fifth and last, for the Cold War, this prehistory meant that certain Latin American states such as Brazil, Venezuela, or Mexico could repeatedly go their own way in the stand off between the blocs, even though the US sought a dominant role in the Western hemisphere. In this context, the participation of such countries in global knowledge production is illustrative.⁵⁸ Since colleges and universities were founded in the nineteenth

57 Schulze, *Auswanderung als nationalistisches Projekt*.

58 See F. Schulze, *Global History of Knowledge from a Latin American Perspective: Overcoming the West-Rest Dichotomy*, in: *Trafo: Blog for Transregional Research*, 17 May 2018, <https://trafo.hypotheses.org/9977> (accessed 17 May 2018).

century against the backdrop of nation-state formation, a large cohort of locally trained engineers, experts, and scientists was already in place after 1945. They worked on developing political and economic ideas as well as technological innovations. The history of dam construction is a good case in point. Some Latin American countries were able to establish their own knowledge centers, which were not wholly dependent on the transfer of knowledge from the Western or Eastern bloc. Instead, they could generally independently manage their own infrastructure projects and later introduce this knowledge into the international discussion context or even export technology to Africa, for example. Such knowledge production also involved civil society, as important ideas for the global critique on dam construction emanated from Latin America.

These five exemplary moments show that Latin America's history is apposite for questioning master narratives of globalization and the often still-assumed dominance of the West. What is more, a less well-defined mosaic of individual stories that does without rigid dichotomies such as Western and non-Western or center and periphery, serves as an illuminating source of contrast, without, of course, ignoring existing power mechanisms.

5. Outlook

By productively exploiting the tensions between them, Latin American history and global history will be able to open up new discussion contexts for each other. For global history, Latin American history can serve as a bridge to area studies. Not only does the previous marginalization of Latin America in global history illustrate that global history is impossible without area expertise or is at best capable of sketching generalizing and Eurocentric grand narratives, but the case of Latin America further shows that global history is interested in issues that have long been discussed in continent's various regions. If global history is to take its own demand to renounce Eurocentrism seriously, it must willing to deal with regions that contradict its own master narratives such as globalization or the East-West dichotomy. With its extensive experience of globalization and its position between the West and the rest (both often stand in close proximity on the ground), Latin America, in particular, offers theories and empirical contributions that contrast Eurocentric and homogenizing narratives with local perspectives, ambiguity, and diversity. In taking this step, however, global history will have to relativize some of its supposed new discoveries and do away with one or the other of its cherished narratives. On the other hand, it will collect new insights, gain influence, and receive stronger encouragement in Latin America.

For Latin American history, global history also presents a tremendous opportunity. It can re-enter the discussion contexts of the parent discipline it had distanced itself from in favour of area studies with greater intensity. Global history, after all, increasingly draws attention to non-Western regions, making Western science aware of its Eurocentrism. Here, Latin American history has the opportunity to make itself felt through active participation in the global historical debate with theoretical contributions, empiricism,

and opposition. At the same time, global historical perspectives offer the chance for self-reflection: They critically examine one's own position as well as the limits, significance, and construction of the own area. They focus on new spaces, contact zones, South-South relationships, networks, agency or repercussions that makes it possible to avoid Eurocentric ways of accessing Latin America and bring the region together conceptually with other areas of the Global South. As has been stressed here several times, local stories under the rather loose umbrella term "Latin America" will continue to play an essential role. Overall, there is an opportunity to conceive of Latin America as an integral part of a global historiography that dispenses with simplifying macrostories. Problems exist in the implementation, because both Latin American history and global history require special language skills and access to research literature. The fact that German-speaking Latin American historians are particularly active in the current debate is not only due to their liaison role between the individual research areas, but also the financial possibilities. Certainly, if a research programme were to be externally imposed on the region without taking into account languages and voices from the region, the closer connection between Latin America and global history would evince the perils of scientific colonialism. To a certain extent, however, this criticism also concerns English-language research on Latin America, which is not always received in Latin America. At the same time, the disciplinary division of labour between "systematic" and "regional" subjects at German and European universities is unable to do justice to the interdependency of societies and cultures in today's world. Global and local changes increasingly call into question the disciplinary and national scientific regime, necessitating transregional and interdisciplinary research. The integration of Latin America history, global history, area studies, and specialist disciplines is a step in this direction.