





A GLOBAL HISTORY OF INTERNATIONALISM


Ana Carolina Schweitzer^a

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4261-7327>
Email: ana.carolina.schweitzer@hu-berlin.de

Lea Börgerding^b

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1467-7229>
Email: lea.boergerding@fu-berlin.de

Oscar Broughton^b

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1497-7299>
Email: oscar.broughton@fu-berlin.de

^a Humboldt University of Berlin, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Institute for Asian and African Studies, Berlin, Germany.

^b Free University Berlin, Faculty of Global History, Friedrich Meinecke Institute, Berlin, Germany.

DOSSIÊ
Internacionalismo e história global

Over the past thirty years, the field of Global History has provided the means towards innovative approaches to old and new historical subjects alike. This special issue continues this tradition by fixing the lens of Global History onto the subject of internationalism, which has recently been marked by a resurgence of academic interest. Scholars such as Tiffany Florvil, Adom Getachew, Or Rosenboim, Glenda Sluga, and Patricia Clavin have helped extend the study of internationalism beyond the nation-state, its foreign policies, and international institutions (FLORVIL, 2018; GETACHEW, 2019; ROSENBOIM, 2017; SLUGA; CLAVIN, 2017). While their works still engage with the realms of high politics, they also introduce new actors and spaces, such as internationalisms of world socialist theories in the Second International (1889–1916), competing internationalist debates in the League of Nations (1920-1946), and anti-colonial, anti-imperialist internationalisms in the context of Afro-Asian solidarity and the Bandung conference (1955). New research has also led to discussions around the critical role played by transnational and transimperial women’s movements, anti-racist and Black networks, global peace movements as well as different religions. These diverse subjects illustrate the protean forms of internationalism and have unearthed the plethora of political imaginaries of the international sphere which flourished during the long twentieth century alongside and in competition with nationalism and imperialism. Recent studies of internationalisms have also raised new questions, for example in relation to different ideas of ‘world making’, about the mediums of international exchange, and about internationalism’s inherent tensions, limits, and exclusions. These debates contribute to the growth and solidification of Global History as a field.

An awareness of the multiplicity of internationalisms is a central concern of this special issue. In particular, we believe it is essential to deconstruct the ideological monoliths of the Cold War such as the idea of a uniform socialist internationalism. Sufficient distance since the collapse of the Soviet Union allows us to reevaluate the history of internationalism in new terms. In addition, our current position in the second decade of the twenty-first century provides impetus for this work as it now appears that the end of history moment has finally come to a close in a decade that is shaped by the resurgence of both nationalist and internationalist activities (CUNLIFFE; HOARE; HOCHULI 2021). This special issue seeks to extend this current of history writing further. It brings together novel subjects and diverse approaches to the intersection between the methodologies of Global History on the one hand and histories of internationalism on the other.

The idea for this special issue dates back to 2019, when we first began, together with a small group of PhD students from Global and Colonial History based at Humboldt University and the Free University Berlin, engaging with the frameworks provided by recent histories of internationalism. These efforts led to the organisation of a four-day digital workshop in October 2020 which was supported by the Association for Political History at the University of Leiden, re:work Berlin, the Global Intellectual History Graduate School and the Emmy Noether Research Group “Reaching the People” at Free University Berlin. Through this workshop, we aimed to bring into dialogue early career scholars from different regions and institutional backgrounds. Under the title “Internationalisms in the (Long) 20th Century”, it posed a number of broad research questions to reveal common themes and connecting methodologies. For example, we discussed how conflicting views of internationalism travelled across time and space and what mediums – from mass print media, literature, and film to radio, images, and



transportation technologies – allowed for the dissemination of internationalist concepts beyond national and imperial confines.

The workshop participants also highlighted the contradictions and tensions inherent to internationalist ideas, paying closer attention to forms of exclusions, censorship, and discrepancies between internationalist projects and their implementation. The two keynote speakers, Michael Goebel (2015) and Valeska Huber (2013), each spoke to these tensions which also inform their own research agendas. Echoing this view, workshop inputs by Ilaria Scaglia, Ismay Milford, and Thuc Linh Nguyen Vu further broadened the scope by respectively bringing topics such as the history of emotions, East African transnational activism, and histories of global socialism into conversation with existing research on internationalism.

With this special issue, we want to continue the workshop discussion and to further explore different concepts, methodologies, and cases in which the histories of internationalism and global history intersect. *Esboços* provides a particularly suitable space for us to push the conversation further. It allows us to bring in multilingual academic voices from across the globe and different academic contexts.

SYNCHRONICITY AND CIRCULATION

The concepts of circulation and synchronicity play a large role in the relationship between Global History and internationalism discussed in this special issue. Together these concepts provide a means to express the movement of ideas, people and objects, their diversity and mutability, and the direct interactions, or lack thereof, between them. Circulation in particular has become widely adopted in the language of Global History, featuring prominently in the titles of numerous publications (BHATTI; FEICHTINGER; HÜLMBAUER, 2020; BOSE; MANJAPRA, 2010). It offers a vocabulary for global historians to describe global connections and comparisons which have become cornerstones of the discipline (GÄNGER, 2017). Circulation is often applied to contexts of different border-crossings, making it particularly useful to discussions involving internationalism.

In this special issue, circulation plays an important role to many of the articles included, such as Lucia Chermont's (2021) contribution on the international dissemination of the Khrushchev Report (1956) by the magazine *Aonde Vamos?* published by the Jewish community in Brazil in the late 1950s. In particular, Chermont highlights how the circulation of the report promoted disputes between Brazilian militants on the right and the left who fought over the interpretation of the document. Similarly, Amanda Pereira dos Santos (2021) examines the circulation of people in relation to the role of immigration policies in Brazil. Specifically, Pereira demonstrates how agreements signed between the Brazilian government, the United Nations' International Refugee Organization, and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in the 1940s and 1950s not only promoted discussion about the 'ideal migrant'; but at the same time, migration also met the demand for labor in the agricultural and industrial sectors in Brazil.

Although less prominent than circulation, synchronicity also presents a useful conceptual tool for historians to study events or phenomena that are contemporaneous and meaningful even if geographically distant. For research on the history of internationalism, this is particularly useful when studying how both similar and divergent



understandings of internationalism developed in different places. Sebastian Conrad's work suggests an even broader understanding of synchronicity that can describe more than simply spatial distance but can also incorporate other dimensions such as ideological or political ones (CONRAD, 2017). For instance, Jônatan Coutinho da Silva de Oliveira (2021) speaks to this broad concept of synchronicity in his analysis of media debates in different Brazilian newspapers about Brazil's veto of Germany's entry to the Executive Council of the League of Nations in 1926. In contrast, Reinaldo Lindolfo Lohn (2021) takes up the synchronicity of political developments by looking at debates around re-democratization in Latin America and Europe in the mid-1970s. Specifically, his article examines how in 1976, Brazilian and Portuguese newspapers identified connections between parallel cultural and political transformations in Latin America and Europe, for instance by engaging with Willy Brandt's vision of social democracy.

Circulation and synchronicity both play a key role in João Camilo Grazziotin Portal and Lúcio Geller Júnior's contribution (2021) which examines political synchronicities in relation to the entrenchment of conservative national cultures in the twenty-first century. In particular, the authors highlight how conservative Brazilian politicians mobilised public memory of post-Soviet nationalism in Ukraine to justify their own political trajectories. As such, Portal and Júnior demonstrate continuities between the two centuries through the circulation of information between Europe and Latin America.

SITES OF INTERNATIONALISM

In addition to different theoretical and intellectual traditions of internationalisms, the contributions to this special issue further highlight the varying sites and spaces in which internationalism has taken shape historically. Different scholars have engaged with the spatial and geographical conditions that foster internationalisms: for example, Madeleine Herren (2017) has brought to light the global contacts facilitated by the urban setting of interwar Geneva, while Marc Matera (2015) has zoomed in on London as a hub of Black internationalism in the first half of the twentieth century. Michael Goebel (2015) has further drawn attention to the ways in which interwar Paris formed a space for anti-imperialist activism by making possible interpersonal connections, educational networks, and informational exchanges between different migrant groups and anti-imperialist activists. More recently, Eric Burton (2019) has highlighted African capitals like Cairo, Accra and Dar-es-Salaam as "nodal points of transnational anti-colonial networks" from the 1950s onwards.

Several contributions in this special issue actively engage with this scholarship. They emphasize the connections between internationalist thinking, actors, and networks on the one hand and the global connectivity of metropolitan cities or colonial metropolises on the other. For example, Simeon Marty (2021) draws on Harold Moody's League of Coloured Peoples to demonstrate how the numerous Pan-African organisations based in London during the Second World War exchanged ideas about a post-war order without empire and, as such, informed each other's political activism. In this way, Marty adds to recent scholarship on the city of London as a hub for anticolonial struggles and Black internationalism during the first half of the twentieth century (MATERA, 2015). Similarly, Emilien Tortel's article (2021) explores the urban dimensions of internationalist solidarity networks in the French city of Marseille between 1940 and 1942. Tortel argues that as the main harbour of then still unoccupied France,



Marseille experienced an enormous influx of refugees from all over Europe during this period, effectively making the city a core site of humanitarianism where different internationalist visions encountered each other, converged, and also competed.

Thomas Lindner's article (2021) shows that the conglomeration of internationalist activism and thought in urban spaces was by no means limited to colonial metropolises. Exploring the origins of anti-imperialism in Mexico City in the 1920s, Lindner convincingly demonstrates that activists, artists, and thinkers in the Mexican capital were inspired primarily by the revolutions, anti-colonialist movements, and alternative models of modernity from across Asia and Africa. Their locally rooted engagement with internationalist ideas, according to Lindner, ultimately facilitated the creation of new visions of the world that were centred on tricontinental politics.

SOUTH-SOUTH DIALOGUES

A truly global history of internationalism must critically engage with the conceptions, actors, and challenges to "Third World" internationalism and "South-South cooperation". For instance, Lucas Duarte's article (2021) analyses how the periodic left-wing press in Southern Cone countries formulated multiple visions of the "Third World" during the 1960s and 1970s. His essay highlights the common anti-imperialist agenda that connected liberation movements in Latin America with anti-colonial struggles in Vietnam, Angola, and Algeria. Duarte research suggests that such "Third World" connections, which took shape both outside and within international institutions, provide fruitful contexts for research that seeks to explore alternative forms of internationalism.

Aline Duarte da Graça Rizzo's article (2021) makes an important methodological contribution to this debate by fundamentally questioning the concept of "South-South cooperation" in itself. She investigates the role of South-South cooperation in twentieth century foreign-policy making and argues that Diego Olsten's approach to global history can help overcome Euro- and Anglo-centric debates. As Rizzo demonstrates, internationalism could be a bridge between Global History and International Relations as disciplines.

Approaching the topic of archives, Matheus Serva Pereira's article (2021) argues that when studying internationalism, scholars must be willing to explore multiple locations in search of sources. This is particularly true for the context of histories of internationalism in colonial contexts, where decolonization processes have often resulted in the scattering of archives. The example that Pereira uses to drive home this point is the film *25* (1974) which was produced by an international film team from Brazil and, in the context of decolonization, displaced to archives across Africa, South America and Europe. As such, Pereira shows how internationalism allows us to rethink the ways in which to delineate the dimensions and spaces of our research agendas.

WRITING GLOBAL HISTORIES OF INTERNATIONALISM DURING THE PANDEMIC

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has affected the ways in which we think about and practise internationalism in many ways: border-closures, global travel



restrictions, and vaccine nationalism have shifted focus to the role of nation-states in handling international crises, while simultaneously highlighting the deep-rooted challenges of international cooperation. However, and somewhat paradoxically, the new circumstances have generated the need for a deeper engagement with internationalist ideas, solidarity, and cooperation. We hope that our special issue provides a contribution to these timely debates and invites scholars to critically think about the historic multiplicity of internationalisms.

REFERENCES

- BHATTI, Anil; FEICHTINGER, Johannes; HÜLMBAUER, Cornelia (org.). *How to Write the Global History of Knowledge-Making: Interaction, Circulation and the Transgression of Cultural Difference*. Cham: Springer, 2020. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*. v. 53.
- BOSE, Sugata; MANJAPRA, Kris (org.) *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas*. Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- BURTON Eric. Hubs of Decolonization. African Liberation Movements and “Eastern” Connections in Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam. *In: DALLYWATER, Lena; SAUNDERS, Chris; FONSECA, Helder Adegar. Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War ‘East’: Transnational Activism 1960–1990*. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019. p. 25-56.
- CONRAD, Sebastian. *What Is Global History?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- CUNLIFFE, Philip; HOARE, George; HOCHULI, Alex. *The End of the End of History*. Ridgefield: Zero Books, 2021.
- DUARTE, Lucas. Expressões del internacionalismo tercermundista en el contexto de los 60 globales: una mirada desde el Cono Sur. *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. x-x, mayo/ago. 2021.
- FLORVIL, Tiffany N. Connected Differences: Black German Feminists and their Transnational Connections of the 1980s and 1990s. *In: BRUEHOEFENER, Friederike; HAGEMANN, Karen; HARSCH, Donna (org.). Gendering Post-1945 Germany History: Entanglements*. New York: Berghahn, 2018. p. 229-252.
- GÄNGER, Stefanie. Circulation: Reflections on circularity, entity, and liquidity in the language of global history. *Journal of Global History*, Cambridge, v. 12, n. 3, p. 303-318, 2017.
- GETACHEW, Adom. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.



GOEBEL, Michael, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

HERREN, Madeleine. Geneva, 1919–1945: The Spatialities of Public Internationalism and Global Networks. In: JÖNS, Heike; MEUSBURGER, Peter; HEFFERNAN, Michael (org.). *Mobilities of Knowledge*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017. v. 10. Knowledge and Space. p. 211-226.

HUBER, Valeska. *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalisation in the Suez Canal Region and beyond, 1869-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

HUBER, Valeska. Pandemics and the Politics of Difference: Rewriting the History of Internationalism through Nineteenth-Century Cholera. *Journal of Global History*, Honolulu v. 15, n. 3, p. 394–407, Nov. 2020.

LINDNER, Thomas K. Tricontinentalism before the Cold War? Mexico City's anti-imperialist internationalism. *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. x-x, May/Aug. 2021.

LOHN, Reinaldo Lindolfo. Internacionalismo e redemocratização brasileira: as transações de cúpula da internacional socialista e as conexões entre Brasil e Portugal em 1976. *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. x-x, maio/ago. 2021.

MARTY, Simeon. Thinking Black in the Blitz: Harold Moody, the League of Coloured Peoples and its shift of Pan-African ideas in Second World War London. *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. x-x, May/Aug. 2021.

MATERA Marc. *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. The California World History Library. v. 22.

PEREIRA, Matheus Serva. História social de um documento global: trajetórias do filme 25 e a escrita da história da África pós-colonial (Moçambique, Brasil e Europa, 1974-2019). *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. X-X, maio/ago. 2021.

PORTAL, João Camilo; GELLER JÚNIOR, Lúcio. "Chegou a hora de ucranizar!": usos do passado e nacionalismo nas manifestações públicas em defesa de Jair Bolsonaro. *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. x-x, maio/ago. 2021.

RIZZO, Aline Duarte da Graça. História Global e a Cooperação Sul-Sul: uma agenda de pesquisa. *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. X-X, maio/jago. 2021.

ROSENBOIM, Or. *The Emergence of Globalism: Visions of World Order in Britain and the United States, 1939-1950*. Princeton Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017.



SANTOS, Amanda Pereira dos. Movimentos migratórios no cenário internacional: a pluralidade da política imigratória brasileira (1946-1954). *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. x-x, maio/ago. 2021.

SLUGA, Glenda; CLAVIN, Patricia (org.). *Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

AUTHOR'S NOTES

CORRESPONDING ADDRESS

Ana Carolina Schweitzer. Institut für Asien und Afrikawissenschaften. Hausvogteiplatz 5-7, Room 304b, Berlin, Germany

FUNDING

Not applicable.

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Not applicable.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

There is no conflict of interest.

LICENSE OF USE

© Ana Carolina Schweitzer, Lea Börgerding e Oscar Broughton. This introduction is licensed under the [Creative Commons License CC-BY](#). With this license, you can share, adapt, create for any purpose, as long as the authorship is properly attributed.

PUBLISHER

Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina. Graduate Program in History. UFSC Journal Portal. The ideas expressed in this article are the sole responsibility of its authors, and do not represent, necessarily, the opinion of the editors or the University.

EDITOR

Flávia Florentino Varella (Editor-in-chief)

HISTORY

Received on: Jul. 7, 2021

Approved on: Jul. 9, 2021

How to cite: SCHWEITZER, Ana Carolina; BÖRGERDING, Lea; BROUGHTON, Oscar. A global history of internationalism. *Esboços*, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 48, p. x-x, maio/ago. 2021.

