

Vienna Global History Group and Research Group “Figurations of Inequality”

Annual Global History Workshop

Intersecting Inequalities and Global History

Thursday 20 June 2024

The Vienna Global History Group (FSP) brings together Vienna-based scholars and students who are interested in studying global processes from a wide variety of perspectives, including different world regions and ranging broadly from social history to international history. Members of the FSP Global History come from a number of different disciplines, such as history, political science, development studies, and area studies. They interrogate themselves about what “the global” actually is and what parts it plays in their own research; they ask themselves what the archives of global history are, how we can teach global history, and how a global historical perspective makes an impact in present-day social and political debates.

The Vienna Global History Group dedicates the academic year 2023/24 to the topic of “Intersecting Inequalities”. Discussions on social, economic and cultural inequality have become a major and pressing issue in society and the media as well as in social sciences and the humanities. Since the end of the Cold War, inequalities seem more and more globally connected and intertwined within and across societies in the Global North as well as in the Global South, in the West as much as in the East. A historical perspective on the intersecting factors for inequalities and their long-term transformation over time as well as their specific configurations across space seems thus particularly promising in order to situate current trends in time.

In order to explore these tensions, the Vienna Global History Group, in cooperation with the research group “Figurations of Inequality”, holds a workshop at the University of Vienna on 20 June 2024. The goal is to address the intersecting factors for the increase or decrease of social, economic and cultural inequalities in its widest sense: inequalities in property relations, in urban-rural relations, in gender orders, in work regimes, and in conditions for migration and mobility.

Programme

Thursday 20 June 2024

9:30-11:00

Seminarraum 12, Kolingasse 14-16, OG01

Economics

Alessandro De Cola

Stringing inequalities: Women's labour, glass beads production and asymmetrical exchange between Europe and East Africa

Hadar Hoter Ishay

The Barings in Mexico: Sovereign debt and international trade through the Mexican "Era of Chaos", 1825-1861

Konstantin Schischka

Historical roots and evolving patterns of economic inequality: A case study of Burgerland's labour mobility

Chair and discussant: Christian G. De Vito

11:30-13:00

Seminarraum 12, Kolingasse 14-16, OG01

Control of people

Maria Beata Jagodzińska

The inequalities of treatment of South Caucasian national minorities in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russian empire

Magdalena Moorthy-Kloss

Intersectional approaches to the study of sexual slavery

Felipe Reis Pompeu de Moraes

Ethnogenesis and the Latin American indigenous issue: A collective action for social changes

Chair and discussant: Juliane Schiel

15:00-16:30

Seminarraum 19, Kolingasse 14-16, OG02

Politics

Mario Holzner and Michael Huberman

Red Vienna and Friedrich von Hayek: Examining the impact of public social housing and progressive taxation on competitiveness and distribution

Lisa Hoppel

Inequalities within: Contested solidarities in the Afro-Asian quest for a new world order

Florence Klauda

The *Instituto Cervantes*'s international positioning: Constructing an equalizing State-identity through intersecting inequalities

Chair and discussant: Valeska Huber

16:45-18:15

Seminarraum 8, Kolingasse 14-16, OG01

Intersecting Inequalities and Global History: Final discussion

Dietlind Hüchtker

Final comments

Abstracts

Alessandro De Cola

Stringing inequalities: women's labour, glass beads production and asymmetrical exchange between Europe and East Africa

The perpetuation of asymmetrical economic transactions between European and African traders is an empirical manifestation of unequal exchange in pre-colonial and early colonial Africa. Since the sixteenth century, travel diaries and reports were filled with references to the allegedly hopeless attraction of Africans for knick-knacks and objects of little value, accepted in exchange of valuable goods, such as precious metals, but also enslaved human beings. By taking advantage of the conversions occurring between different regimes of value, European traders fuelled this asymmetry by adopting locally accepted mediums of exchange and importing them in order to extract local resources in a profitable way. Cowrie shells started to be imported in bulk from the Maldives to West Africa, brass rods and bangles were produced in Manchester and Nantes before being exchanged on the African shores, and most of the glass beads circulating in East Africa were produced in Venice and the nearby island of Murano.

Glass beads were produced since the fourteenth century mostly to be exported as prayer beads in the Eastern Mediterranean, from where they spread in Africa and Asia, acquiring new meanings and functions. Their use as a medium of exchange in different African contexts is reported since the fifteenth century, and they were employed especially in everyday transactions as low denomination coins.

Despite being one of the products of the renowned Venetian glass industry, beadmaking required a set of specialised skills. As the glassblower's guilds excluded women from their highest grades, and meticulously defined the tasks that could be fulfilled by them, the production of certain beads and the operation of stringing the beads together became a prerogative of female workers. Most of the time, they were wives and daughters of master glassblowers, fulfilling these tasks on the side of their other occupations within the household. On the East African markets and along the caravan roads it was important to grasp the everchanging demand for specific formats of beads. At the same time, in order to keep the asymmetry of exchange profitable for European traders, the costs of production had to be kept low. As the production of glass beads could not be mechanised in order to match the specific and fluid requirements of African demand, low production costs could be achieved only through the continuous exploitation of women's labour. For this purpose, as showed by Francesca Trivellato, the exploitative conditions of female labour, rooted in the medieval guild system of production, endured in the nineteenth century, when women were denied to access the advantages brought about by the liberalisation of the glass industry, and were relegated in the informal sector.

As pioneering feminist works by Silvia Federici and Maria Mies show, European colonial expansion proceeded side-by-side with the subjugation of European women through their "housewifization", and the transformation of women into means of production for new proletarian labour force: the "progress" of European male elite was possible thanks to the subordination and exploitation of women as well as the subordination and exploitation of "other" people and other lands. This presentation shows how the subordination and exploitation of female labour in the production of glass beads in Venice allowed to keep their production cost low enough to perpetuate their profitable exchange on the Eastern African markets.

Costs of production, woman wages, wholesale prices, and retail prices in East Africa between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century will be compared, showing how unequal exchange was enabled and sustained by female labour exploitation, which, in turn, was incentivised by the need to keep transactions between European and African traders asymmetrical. Therefore, asymmetrical transactions in East Africa epitomize the intersection between gender and class inequality in Europe and colonial unequal exchange.

Through the case of glass beads production and commercialisation, this presentation offers an empirical representation of the process of separation and subordination of human beings that is a fundamental feature of patriarchal capitalism and, therefore, of colonialism.

Hadar Hoter Ishay

The Barings in Mexico: Sovereign Debt and International Trade through the Mexican “Era of Chaos,” 1825-1845

Mid-19th-century Mexico became known as the "era of chaos" due to the country's political and economic instabilities, violently changing regimes, exogenous pressures from foreign powers, and a prolonged sovereign debt crisis. As a result of its insolvency in the late 1820s, Mexico's British creditors, locally known as the *agiotistas*, the moneylenders, adapted their strategies to continue profiting from their investments in the country's securities. As merchant banking houses active in both government financing and international trade, these actors had financial and commercial interests in the country. Thus, instead of only collecting interest on their domestic and foreign loans to the Mexican governments, these merchant bankers turned Mexico's sovereign debt into a tool to tackle the period's severe protectionist policies while lowering trade costs.

In this context, the paper will explore the actions of the perhaps most prominent merchant banking house, Baring Brothers & Co., and its affiliates located in Mexico. The Barings were involved in Mexico as landowners, traders, creditors, official agents of the Mexican government in the London Stock Exchange from 1827 to 1837, and as the representatives of British holders of Mexican bonds. Existing works tend to consider the overarching involvement of Barings and other prominent houses' in the Mexican securities and state system as a way to profit from short-term speculations in the sovereign lending market. Yet, this historical explanation does not consider the "Janus-head," dual nature of merchant bankers as both lenders to the government and international merchants, who had distinct interests in influencing Mexico's trade policies during a period of strict commercial protectionism. The paper thus argues that the Barings made use of the foreign and domestic loans they granted to Mexico, alongside their strong relations in the Mexican state system, to primarily support their commercial affairs in the country, including imports of cotton textiles and finished cloths, alongside exports of silver and tobacco. Based on archival sources from the Baring and the British National Archives, the paper demonstrates how the Barings and their associates used their access to Mexican policymakers as creditors and official agents to push for removing protectionist measures aimed at nourishing local industries and supporting government revenues, such as trying to lower tariffs, gain personal tax rebates and customs house vouchers, and lift specified import bans, thus penetrating the Mexican market through negotiations on debt interests and repayments. That created a trade-off between better debt structuring and a less independent trade policy for Mexico, as the creditors could gain access to the Mexican market by gnawing at the sovereign country's trade policies. The paper thus traces and presents evidence of such dual involvements in Mexican finance and trade.

Archival pieces of evidence consist of both qualitative and quantitative materials. Qualitative sources include the Barings' house correspondences and communications with their affiliates in Veracruz and Mexico City from the 1820s onwards, the houses of Manning, Marshall & Co. and Nolte, Wilson, Drake & Co. These affiliates were all highly involved in the Mexican state system and economy in different periods throughout the study's timeframe while representing the Barings in their changing commercial and financial affairs. The confidential business communications of Barings with these agents expose their strategies in the face of the Mexican prolonged insolvency while presenting negotiations with regional and federal policymakers on debt repayments and trade conditions, thus demonstrating the use of Mexico's sovereign debt to favour and promote commercial affairs. Other supporting qualitative sources include

historical financial press reporting on the Barings and their affiliates' public involvement and affairs in Mexico.

Quantitative sources include the Barings' trade statistics and annual balance books, which expose their involvement in Mexican securities and trade. The quantitative investigation presents changes in Barings' financial activities in Mexico compared with their negotiations with Mexican officials. Furthermore, the paper uses quantitative databases for macroeconomic data on Mexican international trade volumes, compared with Barings' financial involvement in the country to measure the Barings' impact on Mexican policies and trade environments.

The paper's timeframe is from 1825, when Francis Baring made his family company's first connections with Mexico while purchasing extensive farming lands in the northern part of the country, alongside silver mining ventures and governmental securities, until 1845, when Baring's use of Mexican domestic and foreign debt to lower trade costs seemed to come to an end. The paper thus traces the Barings' changing conduct in Mexico while exposing its use of sovereign debt, insolvency, and overall instability to serve its essentially commercial interests throughout these turbulent years of Mexican history. While 19th-century sovereign debt crises in Latin America are a highly studied field, existing works do not focus on how these crises shaped the period's international trading system, indirectly leading to greater magnitudes of global inequalities through the first wave of globalization. Hence, this paper will shed light on the holistic role sovereign debt has played in the 19th-century Mexican economy by analyzing the debt crisis not necessarily as a burden upon the public budget or as an imperial means to impoverish and later conquer the Mexican Republic but rather as a negotiation tool and leverage of foreign entrepreneurs seeking to gain commercial benefits. Hence, the paper will present the dynamic nature, modes of operation, and strategies of Barings and their affiliates through their conduct as merchants, creditors, and financial agents of Mexico during civil wars and recessions. Hence, the paper will expose an innovative dimension of interaction between sovereign financing, trade, and global inequalities through the prominent conduct of merchant bankers at the beginning of the first wave of globalization.

Konstantin Schischka

Historical Roots and Evolving Patterns of Economic Inequality: A Case Study of Burgenland's Labor Mobility

Based on a research project on circular economic migration in Burgenland, the paper deals with various economic-historical reaction patterns to regional disparities in a historical longitudinal manner. This is a historical new perspective based on the research results of my monograph "*Wirtschaft und Mobilität im Burgenland - Das Berufspendeln im wirtschaftshistorischen Längsschnitt (1921-2021)*", which is currently in preparation.

Since its foundation in 1921, Burgenland's economy has been characterized and shaped by structural, spatial, and political problems. With the loss of Sopron/Ödenburg in 1921, Burgenland lost an economically important center at the very beginning of its existence as an independent province. The initial lack of transport links between northern and southern Burgenland and the division of the province into the "Reichsgaue" of Lower Danube and Styria during the National Socialist era also made the economic development of Burgenland considerably more difficult. The agricultural economy of Burgenland underwent a major structural change, especially in the years following the Soviet occupation. While in 1951 68% of the population of Burgenland were still employed in the agricultural sector, this proportion had fallen to 26.6% by 1971. This profound process of change led to an increase in the importance and strong growth of employment for many Burgenlanders outside their home municipality and province. Supra-regional commuter migration therefore is an important topic up to this day. In 2018, Burgenland was the region with the fifth-highest proportion (37%) of commuters compared to all EU NUTS 3 regions. This is particularly interesting considering the

comparatively marginally developed transport infrastructure. Although commuter migration in its current form is a comparatively recent historical phenomenon of the second half of the 20th century, its economic-historical causes and contexts lie much further back, both on a micro- and macro-historical level.

Although migration is a constant that has accompanied the entire history of mankind, the advancing industrialization of Europe in the 19th century led to the formation of economically induced urban-rural differences, resulting in a differentiated spectrum of forms of labor migration. Both internal migration and transnational migration from the countryside to urban industrial centers, seasonal labor migration in agrarian areas, and other forms of circular labor migration, such as industrial migrant work as a precursor to weekly commuting, intensified during this period. The "first globalization" that accompanied this progress and the increasing economic transformation of agrarian societies into industrial societies not only brought about new forms and dimensions of migration but was also its driving force and cause. Even in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy, today's Burgenland (then part of the Hungarian half of the empire as "Deutsch-Westungarn") took on the role of an economic periphery. For Burgenland, the population growth in the second half of the 19th century, which was mainly due to medical advances and the decline in mortality rates, combined with the unfavorable small-scale inheritance distribution of the agrarian territory, was particularly problematic. As a result of this development, many very small farms emerged, which were often barely profitable. At the same time, technological progress in transport and logistics, as well as in agriculture, led to a globalization of the agricultural market, which put Burgenland's small farms under further economic pressure due to cheap prices for products on a global level. The combination of these factors and the structure of the Hungarian/Burgenland economy acted as a driving force for emigration.

While economic developments from the 1850s onwards led to Burgenlanders increasingly resorting to mobile forms of employment, the respective transport, and legal framework conditions primarily shaped the distances travelled, borders crossed and frequencies of circular labor migration. The social and professional living conditions at the workplace, on the other hand, were often decisive for compatibility with personal identity and long-term life planning. Both weekly commuting and daily commuting represented similar reaction patterns to overseas migration and migrant work to structural economic weaknesses in Burgenland. At the same time, however, for many Burgenlanders the opportunity to commute means escaping some of the country's economic problems without leaving friends, family, and home behind temporarily or permanently. This paper therefore discusses commuter migration alongside overseas migration and migrant/seasonal work as one of three reaction patterns to regional inequalities that have their roots well before 1921. In a historical longitudinal section, global-historical framework conditions, causes, and consequences of the intensively pronounced labor mobility in Burgenland are to be analytically dealt with and contextualized. A special focus has been placed on commuter migration since 1971. Central to this is the question of the extent to which labor mobility is a consequence of regional inequalities and can compensate for or deepen these inequalities. Using a mixed methods approach with a strong focus on spatial history and GIS, this question was examined from an intersectional and multi-perspective angle.

Maria Beata Jagodzińska

Inequalities of treatment of South Caucasian national minorities in 19th and 20th century Russian Empire

The following topic aims to cover the subject of various ways of treatment of South Caucasian nations under the Russian rule in 19th and beginning of 20th centuries – to the moment of collapse of tsarist regime and rise of the Bolsheviks (1917). It is devoted to the exposure of differences of treatment of policy and law makers as well as regular citizens or local

administrative workers of Christian minorities represented by Georgians and Armenians, and Muslim minority – Azerbaijanis. The matter of education, settlement, making own businesses and access to administrative and army positions are the main areas to be introduced and described.

The sources used are archival materials including legal acts, personal diaries, books and articles touching the chosen topic. Most of them are originally in Russian language, translated to English by own translation. Books and diaries come from archives or digitalized libraries of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Due to lack of digitalization and limited access to Armenian and Russian archives and websites, sources are going to be mostly from articles and books, as well as, subjective to some extent, Azerbaijani sources.

Main goal of the topic is to bring to light how Azerbaijanis have been discriminated and forced to face challenges unknown to both Georgians and Armenians only because of different religion. Also, the forced settlement of Azerbaijanis and resettling Armenians to these lands is going to be mentioned and described. Moreover, the chosen topic will cover the subject of results of the different ways of Russian treatment's heritage in 1918 visible in legal acts of newly independent Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan with a short introduction to this part containing most influential and popular self-proclamation and autonomic tendencies in 1917 and early 1918, including a brief comparison of attitudes towards independence or broadness of potential autonomy within Soviet Russia.

The conclusions will mention shortly discrimination of nations described during USSR period current attitude of politicians of these countries towards war in Ukraine and Russian migrants, who came to the Caucasus in waves as a result of significant speeches of Vladimir Putin about the mobilization, possibly also perception of Russian by South Caucasian states citizens. The presentation with about 30 slides is going to be presented during the conference as well.

Magdalena Moorthy Kloss

Intersectional approaches to the study of sexual slavery

My paper examines how the lives of enslaved women and girls were shaped by intersecting inequalities which not only set them apart from free individuals, but also created complex hierarchies within the enslaved workforce. The focus will be on the life paths of concubines (sexual slaves) at the Najahid court, a dynasty established by Ethiopian slaves in southwest Yemen in 1021 CE. The only surviving source documenting this era is 'Umāra b. 'Alī al-Ḥakamī's 12th-century chronicle *Al-Mufīd fī akhbār Zabīd*, which offers rare glimpses into the social reality of female enslavement and traces the life paths of a number of individual concubines. A close analysis of this work reveals how multiple factors intersected to shape inequalities between enslaved individuals in medieval Yemen, as well as wider configurations of power and inequality in this setting.

Primary sources show that the social standing of concubines in medieval Yemen was not stable over time but could alter dramatically through legally regulated life events like the change of an owner, the birth of a child from a master which conferred upon them special rights, marriage and manumission. Their legal status of unfreedom meant that concubines could be bought and sold anytime, which in turn meant having to submit to a new owner and entering a new household and family constellation over and over again. While concubines might have enjoyed a relatively privileged lifestyle compared to enslaved women and girls performing menial chores in elite households, they had to endure sexual exploitation, usually by several masters successively. A pattern emerging strongly in case studies from medieval Yemen is the precariousness and vulnerability of even the most elite concubines, since their relative privilege depended entirely on their master's goodwill.

The strength of intersectionality as analytical tool lies in its capacity to illuminate how factors of subordination interweave differently for individuals to create unique experiences of

marginalization. I believe it thus allows for an innovative approach to the study of enslavement, where the level of subordination suffered is strongly impacted by factors such as gender, age, origin, legal status, and type of employment. Intersectionality's fruitful focus on the individual however bears the risk of obscuring greater forces at play that also shape inequalities and exploitative labour conditions.

In order to factor in both individual and wider societal aspects, I propose a two-tier model of intersectional analysis. Tier A consists of a combined intersectional-biographical analysis of how central aspects of a slave's social identity (e.g. gender, age, assigned work and role) impacted individual experiences of slavery, and how changes in these aspects (e.g. aging, a shift in role) affected the dependency experienced. Tier B analyses three key inequality regimes working on the wider societal level to shape experiences of sexual slavery: law, labour and race.

1. Informed by on-going feminist debates about whether sex work should be legal or criminalized, I will examine how the legality of concubinage affected the individuals concerned, as well as broader inequality figurations such as the subordination of women.
2. The types of tasks assigned to female slaves by their owners strongly shaped their trajectories of slavery, leading to inequalities within the enslaved population and complex repercussions for enslaved individuals and families.
3. Yemen's history of slavery also gave rise to racial hierarchies. As I have argued elsewhere, the fact that sexual exploitation was a central aspect of female enslavement in Yemen led to a commodification of the female Black body that has repercussions until today.

The aim of this paper is to test an intersectional analysis of dependency and subordination that examines how biographical and larger societal factors interweave to reproduce, challenge and reshape power inequalities in medieval Yemen, particularly in the case of sexual slavery.

Felipe Reis Pompeu de Moraes

Ethnogenesis and the Latin American indigenous issue: a collective action for social changes

The term ethnogenesis can be defined as "ethnic emergence" or "the rise of resurgent peoples". Ossami de Moura describes it as "a process of ethnic emergence, stemming from interethnic interactions and which facilitates the emergence of new social categories that constantly reposition and redefine themselves" (Moura, p. 41). This ongoing historical phenomenon mirrors the cultural and political dynamics of societies that preceded the formation and development of contemporary nations. In other words, ethnogenesis is "a basic process of shaping and structuring human cultural diversity. Its roots go back millennia and project into the present" (Bartolomé, p. 40). It is a process of building a shared identification grounded on a pre-existing or constructed cultural tradition that can sustain collective action. Such collective action, integral to ethnogenesis, is where "driving forces reside; forces that 'set entire groups of people in motion'" (Engels, p. 33).

The persistent reality of the elimination of Latin American indigenous ethnic groups has manifested across various situations and historical periods. Examples include the "colonial policy of 're-congregations' in New Spain, the 'denaturalization' in the Río de la Plata, and the forced displacement of a wide variety of Mesoamerican and Andean communities" (Bartolomé). During the military dictatorship (1964-1985), the policy of integration and (forced) assimilation promoted in the country's hinterlands contributed to this ongoing issue. Thus, Latin American ethnogenesis will be seen here as a fundamental element in the emergence of social movements committed to the indigenous cause and their process of

organizing themselves into political forces during the Brazilian re-democratization process (1987-1988). This period marked the inception of the Brazilian Indigenous Movement.

The colonial domination of Latin America's "native populations" since the 16th century led to the genocide or extermination of indigenous peoples during conquest wars (Barbados Declaration, p. 11). However, this process persisted with national governments in the 20th century and Latin American military regimes during the 1970s engaging in assimilation or forced integration policies. In both situations, "being indigenous" was viewed as a transient state, a concept captured by the phrase "*estar indio*" (Rocha, p. 14).

This policy resulted in the continuous annihilation of hundreds of ethnic groups across Latin American history. Simultaneously, during the 1970s, it culminated in "the formation of a consciousness for the struggle against state oppression" (Gohn, p. 342).

In Brazil and several other Latin American countries, at the end of the 1970s and in the first half of the 1980s, "the popular social movements united and organized themselves to oppose the military regimes, especially Christian grassroots movements inspired by 'the theology of liberation'" (Gohn, p. 343). These movements were grounded in a pan-indigenous consciousness linked to ethnogenesis, and the Brazilian Indigenous Movement consolidated and gained prominence in response to the dictatorship's political development plans, especially the expansion of colonization, agriculture, and mining in the Midwest and North of Brazil.

Mario Holzner and Michael Huberman

Red Vienna and Friedrich Hayek: Examining the Impact of Public Social Housing and Progressive Taxation on Competitiveness and Distribution

Predictably, Friedrich Hayek opposed both rent control and the massive public social housing program implemented by the City of Vienna's interwar social democratic government. In his 1929 essay, "*Das Mieterschutzproblem*," he cautioned against potential misallocation, contending that public investment hindered the integration of new construction technologies, diminished overall productivity and crowded out private investment. Despite his staunch theoretical stance, Hayek did acknowledge that social housing construction could alleviate pressures on wages and prices in specific sectors.

As ever, Hayek preferred theory over statistical analysis. We correct for this. Leveraging original monthly data from the Economic Statistics Yearbook published by the Chamber of Labour in Vienna from 1924 to 1937, we examine prices and related competitiveness indicators for interwar Vienna and the rest of Austria from 1922 to 1933. We draw upon the same data source to analyse trends in unemployment and taxation in various income brackets by federal units. In addition, the Chamber's annual household consumption and income survey data for the years 1925 to 1934 cover 135 households over varying years, resulting in 588 household observations and 1979 observations of individual household members. The information includes details on whether and when a family moved into a municipal building, a crucial dimension to our analysis.

We give special attention to the effects of social housing on income inequality. Our claim is that the conflictual urban-rural relations that triggered the Austrian civil war of 1934 intersected with inequalities in property relations during the period. From today's perspective, "Red Vienna's" public social housing experiment holds a significance—and inspiration—extending beyond its specific regional and historical context.

Lisa Hoppel

Inequalities Within: Contested Solidarities in the Afro-Asian Quest for a New World Order

„What had these nations in common? Nothing, it seemed to me, but what their past relationship to the Western world had made them feel.“ Richard Wright 1956

With this statement, the famous African-American writer, Richard Wright, captured the “spirit” of the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung he attended in 1955, stressing the emotional and psychological experiences, which seemed to unite the post-colonial world in the fight against global inequality. Historians have revisited the question Richard Wright posed so rightfully in 1956 and widely shared his assessment. The unifying factors of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement were fundamentally based on the shared experiences of imperial and colonial domination, exploitation and discrimination, resulting in the call for political, economic, social and cultural equality – in other words: for a new and just world order. As the most prominent manifestation of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, the Bandung Conference has garnered a great deal of scholarly attention, ranging from stories of failure and disappointment to romanticizing accounts of Third World solidarity. Renewed interest in the legacies of Bandung, however, brought forward a research agenda, which underlines the complexity of the various solidarity movements, and the disparate trajectories and projects surrounding the conference, highlighting the unknown and unknowable potential behind the “Spirit of Bandung”. In order to understand the efforts of Afro-Asian “world-making” (Getachew 2019) and the cross-geographical underpinnings and global repercussions of Bandung, we have to recognize the plurality of Afro-Asian activism and imaginaries – and thus, the differences and power imbalances within.

This contribution aims to examine the inequalities within the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement during the 1950s. The great diversity of historical actors engaged in Afro-Asian gatherings and projects, their manifold considerations and practices illustrate overlapping and sometimes competing motivations, goals and strategies. Therefore, the “Bandung Era” was always at the same time marked by moments of cooperation and solidary exchange as well as by moments of tension and competition, indicating obstacles, fractions as well as limits of solidarity.

The presentation focusses on lesser-known Afro-Asian meetings, so-called “other Bandungs” (Lewis/Stolte 2019), which enabled interaction and exchange between state and non-state actors before and after the Bandung Conference. Based on source material from African, Asian and European archives, I will compare the two Asian Socialist Conferences, which took place in 1953 Rangoon and 1956 Bombay, as well as the first Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Conference in Cairo, 1957/8. Proceedings of the meetings, conference reports, official publications, personal accounts and correspondence reveal how differences between the participants produced inequalities within the solidarity movement. Most articulated differences concerned differing experiences of colonial rule, diverging perceptions of race and ethnicity, and varying “stages” of development. Those differences are themselves entangled through the history of European imperialism, which imposed hegemonic concepts of civilization, race, and modernity, shaping the conditions and views with which anticolonial and anti-imperial activists had to grapple. The shared imperial past could therefore not only motivate Afro-Asian “unity in difference” in order to overcome global inequalities, but also pose the main challenge to coordinated united action. The discussions, disagreements and tensions during the meetings illustrate how dividing factors could be reproduced and therefore impede solidarity. While African underrepresentation in the two Asian Socialist Conferences may easily lead to reducing the complexity of inner hierarchies to Asian paternalism, senses of superiority and leadership claims, the additional examination of the Cairo conference shows the multidimensionality of power imbalances, stretching across several, intersecting layers of inequalities on national, regional and global scales.

By looking at power imbalances, racial prejudices and conflicting ideas about the future within specific Afro-Asian platforms, I aim to contribute to a more differentiated picture of how activists across Africa and Asia negotiated difference and experimented with practices of solidarity – beyond both Afro-Asian romanticization and post-colonial pessimism. To foster solidly united societies on a national, regional and Afro-Asian level was the prerequisite for transforming global unequal relations – and at the same time the greatest challenge of post-colonial politics. With this presentation, I want to show how the manifold inequalities emerging within solidarity efforts were inherently related to those produced by the imperial world-order, and how they continue to reinforce each other.

Florence Klauda

The Instituto Cervantes' International Positioning: Constructing an Equalising State-Identity Through Intersecting Inequalities

For Spanish artists, intellectuals and democrats, the creation of the Instituto Cervantes in 1991 was the fulfilment of an 'old dream' that had long seemed unattainable. While Franco's rule had hindered the development of Spanish cultural outreach, the advent of a democratic regime created favourable conditions for the development of Spanish cultural diplomacy and its institutional network in the world. As Juan Antonio Gimeno Ullastre, the first secretary general of the Instituto Cervantes, put it, this would allow Spain to catch up with Western European standards in this field.

The comparison with- and positioning vis-à-vis Western Europe is a recurring theme in the context of the Instituto Cervantes' founding. It transpires in the conceptional discussions of the institutions' legal and administrative set-ups as well as in the evaluations of those institutions that the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, of Education and Sciences, and of Culture were to transfer to the Instituto Cervantes. As I argue in the present paper, the recurrence of this theme must be understood in the context of the Spanish government's aim to rebuild and intensify Spain's political and economic relations with the European West, to consolidate its new democratic identity on the international stage and thus to position itself as an attractive and equal candidate for accession to the European Community. Both the Instituto Cervantes de Manila and the Instituto Cervantes de Bucarest were among the local institutes that were transferred to the Instituto Cervantes in order for it to begin building its institutional network abroad, and that were supposed to be ready to reopen and begin work very soon after the official creation of the Instituto Cervantes. However, the vast majority of the cultural institutes that the Instituto Cervantes inherited from the ministries were located in Western Europe and North Africa.

2 Why, then, did the Instituto Cervantes give priority to the opening of these two centres situated in Asia and Eastern Europe? Drawing on the general considerations and the preparative work that preceded the selection and opening of the first waves of local Institutos Cervantes, I discuss how international fault lines and intersecting inequalities factored into the construction of the Instituto Cervantes' institutional network in the world. I argue that opening institutes in the Philippines, a former Spanish colony, and in Romania, a former Eastern Bloc country, allowed the Instituto Cervantes to exploit the political and economic differences that supposedly separated these countries from Spain and, even more so, from Western Europe to construct and consolidate Spain's state identity. Spanish cultural diplomacy in the early 1990s seized on the levelling potential of those intersectional inequalities that characterised Spain's relations with some of the countries in which it established its new state cultural institutes. It promised to help overcome the supposed backwardness that separated Spain from Western Europe.

Speakers

Alessandro De Cola is a research fellow at the Department of History and Culture, University of Bologna. His research focuses on the monetary history of East Africa and the Indian Ocean in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He has published on the impact of colonial monetary policies in Eritrea during the First World War, the role of money in the regularisation of African soldiers in the Italian colonial army, and the recurring tropes in Italian publications on colonial monetary systems. He is currently working on a monograph on the monetary history of Eritrea from the 1850s to the 1950s.

Hadar Hoter Ishay is a doctoral student at the University of Vienna's Doctoral School of Historical and Cultural Studies within the Social and Economic Spaces cluster. He has a BA in History and Political Science from Tel Aviv University and a MA from the Erasmus Mundus Global Studies program in Vienna and Ghent University. He is interested in 19th-century merchant banking, sovereign lending, and sovereign debts and their connections with and influences on the century's international trading system. His doctoral dissertation, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Clemens Jobst, is titled "Sovereign Lending and International Trade in the House of Baring, 1828-1890." It seeks to examine the business strategies of Baring Brothers & Co., one of the most influential merchant banking companies in the 19th century. Through a case-study comparative approach, the dissertation investigates ways the Barings and their agents used their status as financiers of governments to influence their trade policies and promote international trade during the first wave of globalization. The dissertation thus focuses on historical connections between sovereign debt and international trade while analyzing the dual conduct of prominent merchant bankers and exposing these supranational players' influence on the global economy.

Mario Holzner is executive director at the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw). He is also coordinating economic policy development and communication with a focus on European economic policy. Mario Holzner was a 2023 DG GROW Fellow. He obtained his PhD in economics at the Vienna University of Economics and Business in 2005. He is also a historian at the Doctoral School of Historical and Cultural Studies at the University of Vienna. His research is focused on the economic history of Red Vienna's interwar public social housing programme.

Lisa Hoppel is a PhD-candidate at the Department of Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna. She studied History (BA), Global History and Global Studies (MA) and Development Studies to pursue her research interests in transnational solidarity movements and critical theories of culture and society within the context of global inequality and dependency. She is currently in the final stages of her dissertation project, which deals with Afro-Asian networks and their significance for pan-African institutionalization and visions of postcolonial statehood during the 1950s and 1960s. Hoppel has published on anticolonial nationalism, African Unity, and inter-African politics during decolonization, including her award-winning monograph on pan-Africanism between nationalism and internationalism, published in 2019.

Michael Huberman was trained at the University of Toronto, and works on topics in modern economic history, with a special interest in globalization and labor markets. Between 2012 and 2022 he held the Chaire in "Etudes américaines" at the Université de Montréal. He was a Fulbright scholar at UCLA and has taught at the Université de Genève and the University of Vienna.

Maria Beata Jagodzińska graduated at the University of Warsaw, Eastern studies (post-Soviet area). She is a PhD candidate at the Institute for Eastern European History, University of Vienna, since 2023. Fields of research: legal systems of Caucasian republics now and then, politics at the post-Soviet area, history of the USSR.

Florence Klauda is a DOC Fellow of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and works as a Junior Research Fellow at the Institut für historische Sozialforschung of the Arbeiterkammer Wien. In her dissertation project "Actors and Structures of European Cultural Diplomacy: A comparison of French, Austrian and Spanish Cultural Institutes since 1945", she analyses the contributions that French, Austrian and Spanish state cultural institutes made to the cultural diplomacies of three supposedly Western European countries with very distinct histories of democracy. Her general research interests are primarily situated at the intersection of contemporary and global history and include topics from the fields of comparative European and democratic history as well as the history of knowledge. She co-edited of the special issue *Motions of Knowledge - Knowledge in Motion* of the Austrian Journal of Historical Studies and authored the article *What Happens When Knowledge Does Not Circulate? Democracy in the Magazines of the Austrian Party Youths (1945–1955)*.

Magdalena Moorthy Kloss is an associate researcher at the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences. In August 2024, she will join the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient in Berlin as an FWF Erwin Schrödinger Fellow. She holds a Ph.D., M.Sc. and B.A. in Anthropology from the University of Vienna and a M.Sc. in Anthropology and Development from the London School of Economics and Political Science. Her research examines slavery, dependency and social hierarchies in Yemen through an interdisciplinary and transregional lens. Her first monograph *Unfree Lives - Slaves at the Najahid and Rasuld Courts of Yemen* will be published by the Brill series Studies in Global Slavery next month. She has published articles in the journals History and Anthropology and Der Islam, and a chapter in The Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery throughout History (2023).

Felipe Reis Pompeu de Moraes is a PhD researcher at the Centre for Research and Documentation on Modern Brazilian History. After graduating at the Pontificia Universidade Católica in Rio de Janeiro, he defended his MA thesis at the Universidade Federal Fluminense. Oral history and the in-depth study of the archives of the Brazilian Federal Senate are key in his research.

Konstantin Schischka studied History, Geography and Contemporary History and Media at the University of Vienna. Since 2020, he has been working as a research assistant at various research institutions on various historical projects, with a strong methodological focus on approaches from the digital humanities or public history. Since March 2023, he has been a project collaborator and doctoral researcher in the ERC project GLORE in the team of Prof. Dr. Kerstin von Lingen and is working on his dissertation with the working title: *Mapping the Spatial and Social-Administrative Networks of Resettlement: The Role of Hubs of Displacement in the Resettlement Process of 'The Last Million'*. At the same time, he is involved in various projects as a Consultant for the use of methods from the Digital Humanities.