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The Puzzle of Postcolonial Entanglement: Fair Trade Activism in the 1960s and 1970s[1]

PETER VAN DAM

1. Introduction

'Trade, not aid' was the view the Argentinian economist Raúl Prebisch promoted at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in New Delhi in the spring of 1968. The countries of the global South did not need development aid as a form of charity: Above all, they needed a fair chance to pull their own weight in the global economy (Dosman 427-429). During the conference, Prebisch spoke at length with the Dutch journalist Dick Scherpenzeel, who had been a champion of trade reform and of a greater commitment to global development during the 1960s (Unctad Bulletin). The New Delhi conference ended in disappointment for Southern champions of reform and their Northern allies. Northern countries were not willing to commit to substantial change. Inspired by Prebisch's call to action, Scherpenzeel travelled back to the Netherlands. There, he urged likeminded citizens to campaign in favor of a reform of international trade, so that the governments of Northern countries would become more forthcoming (*Trieste Balans* 67-72).

Due to the reaction of Scherpenzeel and others, the disappointment of New Delhi was quickly transformed into activism in countries in the global North. Thus, a loosely connected network of activists emerged around the issue of 'fair trade', which in the following will be referred to as the fair trade movement. Seen as such, the fair trade movement recalls the rhizomatic structure of those promoting Mapuche solidarity, discussed by Sebastian Garbe in this issue. Fair trade campaigns were highly visible challenges to the ways in which the morals of the global marketplace were defined. The activists who initiated them criticized interpretations of North-South-relations in terms of the North providing charitable aid to the South. They also raised doubts about the fairness of prices paid on European markets. Finally, they urged citizens to consider the European and global dimension of the product chains in which they participated.

[1] The research presented in this article is part of the research project 'Moralising the global market. Fair trade in post-war Dutch history', which is funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. The project reconstructs the transnational networks of contestation and the accompanying views of the morals of the global marketplace through an analysis of fair trade activism in the Netherlands. I would like to thank Loran van Diepen, Wouter van Dis, and Bram Mellink for their stimulating comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

Thus, fair trade activism was both a result and a driver of postcolonial global entanglement. It can be regarded as postcolonial both as an implicit and an explicit reaction to decolonization (Schwarz). In taking up the calls for trade reforms formulated by newly independent states and their allies, fair trade activists reacted to the process of decolonization and the accompanying joint attempts of Southern countries to reform global trade. These activists also explicitly presented their initiatives as a way to overcome the legacy of colonialism and shape a postcolonial world, thus, joining in a transnational debate on how to shape postcolonial globalization (van Dam, "The Limits of a Success Story", van Dam, "Moralizing Postcolonial Consumer Society").

Actors from South and Central America—especially government officials and representatives of international organizations, but also members of local cooperatives—were particularly active within these initiatives. Within the emerging coalition of Southern countries, South American countries were well-established because of their early decolonization. These countries were among the most economically ambitious Southern countries. Therefore, the disadvantages the South faced within the global economic structures impacted them ostensibly. In the course of their push for reforms, South and Central American actors forged networks across the globe. These were facilitated by the aforementioned platforms which the United Nations (UN) offered and by new organizations campaigning for fair trade. They were also fostered through older channels provided by organizations such as churches and trade unions Activists in South and North shared a sense of discontent about the structures of the global marketplace and the state of global development. Southern actors looked to the North to find political allies, to open up new lines of communications and to find funding for their activities.

Northern activists looked to the South for first-hand knowledge about their living conditions and needs, for ways to have a direct impact on global affairs, and for inspiration. European fair trade supporters looked to South American economists, politicians, and activists as diverse as Raúl Prebisch, Paolo Freire, Salvador Allende, but also at local cooperatives in Central and South America. These examples were not just indirectly connected to fair trade in Europe as sources of inspiration and justification, but also directly influenced the direction of the movement through personal encounters at conferences, fairs, and rallies.

By examining the entanglement of South American, Central American, and European activists in the history of fair trade activism, the concept of entanglement can be elaborated to account for different forms of entanglement. In their original work on *Histoire croisée*, Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman have presented, above all, an epistemological tool to understand the hybrid nature of historical phenomena. Following up on their work, some historians have tracked the transnational ties between different historical actors—i.e. the entanglement of actors. As I will argue, this entanglement of actors should also include indirect encounters mediated through books, journals, newspapers, radio, and television. Indirect and direct encounters often reinforced each other, thus enhancing the impact of these encounters Others have taken

up on the suggestion that spatial frameworks themselves—the local, the regional, the national, the European, etc.—should be regarded as entangled (Swyngedouw; Sassen; van Dam, "Vervlochten Geschiedenis"; Epple). These provide an important complement to the vast expanding literature on notions of 'the global' (Sluga; Mazower).

By tracking the evolution of the intercontinental movement for fair trade, I will demonstrate how these different dimensions of entanglement enable a better understanding of transnational history. Reconstructing the agency and perspectives of actors from the South and the inextricable ties between the South and the North, I attempt to arrive at a decolonial perspective in an approach resembling the contributions by Martin Breuer, Sebastian Garbe and Julia Roth. At the same time, the history of fair trade activism demonstrates the importance of considering what Bill Schwartz has labelled 'actually existing postcolonialism' because activists reacted implicitly and explicitly to the historical process of decolonization and the ensuing need to define a just postcolonial world order.

2. Initiating Encounters

The campaigns initiated by fair trade activists across the globe developed through a series of direct and indirect encounters. In the course of these encounters, fair trade activists negotiated visions of global order prioritizing global reform, local and translocal revolutionary change, or humanitarian internationalism. During the 1960s, pleas for a structural reform the global marketplace dominated a form of fair trade activism in which products served mainly to indicate the injustices of global trade. A revolutionary transformation of the global economic system was promoted by 'anti-imperialist' fair trade activists in the course of the 1970s by selling products from revolutionary countries or by setting up activities to raise local critical awareness about the capitalist system All the while, a host of fair trade activists opted for a humanitarian internationalism, attempting above all to improve the lives of individual producers by selling their produce. The history of direct and indirect encounters between activists from across the world demonstrates that such shared notions of the global were not sufficient for successful cooperation, because it was entangled with local, national and transnational frameworks. As is true of the intersection of gender and race in Julia Roth's contribution, local and national perspectives intersecting with global ones could drive like-minded activists apart, just as pragmatic cooperation between people with different views of the global could be trumped by similar local or translocal interests.

The post-war international economic order aggravated the economic imbalance between the South and the North, but also offered the South with new channels to contest global inequality. International economic relations were regulated by the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, which was signed in 1947 by the main industrialized nations. The agreement intended to promote trade between industrialized nations, whilst raising the bar for trade with other countries. If the latter wanted to trade with GATT-member states, they were confronted with trade restrictions and tariff walls.

Calls for a reform of international trade gained weight during the 1950s. As many countries in the South gained independence, their new leaders were pressed to find ways to increase the welfare of their citizens The resurgent international economy offered crucial chances for such improvements, but the GATT and protectionism by the European Economic Community impeded exports and industrialization by new states (Cooper 14-15; Kunkel). As independent countries, they also obtained a vote in the United Nations. Moreover, the development of less prosperous parts of the world had become an increasingly important element in Cold War global politics (Westad 31). The failure of development policies aiming at the modernization of underdeveloped countries predominantly promoted through technical assistance during the 1950s fuelled a search for new approaches during the 1960s, which were officially proclaimed the first 'Development Decade' by the United Nations in 1961.

Within this context of heightened importance of development, the Argentinian economist Raúl Prebisch came to the fore. Through his work in such organizations as the Economic Commission for Latin America, he had gained first-hand experience of the economic challenges faced by developing countries. Platforms such as these had also brought him into contact with stakeholders across the globe. In 1962, he attended a conference of unaligned countries in Cairo. The participants agreed to address the structure of the international economy through the United Nations. Successfully synchronizing their positions, a large group of developing countries—which would become known as the Group of 77—pushed a resolution for an international conference on trade and development, Prebisch agreed to act as its president (Prashad 62-74; Sauvant 1-18; Westad 73-109). Drawing on research by Hans Singer and himself, Prebisch formulated a development strategy which did not blame individual countries for 'underdevelopment', but instead focused on the continued relevance of colonial structures of economic dependency. As exporters of above all raw materials, the so-called developing countries had been maneuvered into a doubly unfavorable positions during the postwar years, as the prices for raw materials had fallen whilst the prices for industrial products had risen (Rothermund 271).

This perspective on the international economy united developing countries across the world by suggesting they had both common economic interests and common economic adversaries in the North. Modernization theory was thus not only applied within the South, as discussed in Breuer's contribution, but also to the position of the North. This challenge became most visible in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The UNCTAD-conference was the international sight to see in 1964. The media relished the sight of Ernesto Guevara dressed in a pinstripe suit and marvelled at the fiery opening speech by Prebisch. Adding to the sense of drama, he spoke of a chance to overcome a critical situation in international affairs by jointly addressing the problem of global inequality for the sake of the common good (Dosman 398-399). His staff had prepared a report calling for a stabilisation of the prices of raw materials, the promotion of industrialisation, substantial financial donations for development policies, and the institutionalization of UNCTAD as a permanent regulating body of international trade (Kunkel 563; Taylor and Smith 12-13).

After the spectacular start, the conference did not live up to the international expectations. Ironically, the united stance of the developing countries was by and large matched by the industrialised countries, resulting in a stalemate The conflicting interests, a lack of mutual trust, and the ambition of UNCTAD staff members to regulate markets right to the details made reforming international trade a painstaking affair (Kunkel 565-566). The conference did on the other hand result in the decision to turn UNCTAD into a permanent institution with regular international conferences. It had also successfully turned international attention to the issue of global inequality. International organizations such as these functioned as platforms, as Roth's contribution also highlights. They could also serve to pioneer new ideas and initiatives, as Breuer's analysis demonstrates too. Through direct encounters and through media reports, the notion of Northern complicity in this inequality was established. Indirectly, observers in the Netherlands took up Prebisch' perspective. The economist Harry de Lange relayed this perspective to the Dutch audience in a publication which analysed the problem of inequality, stating that rich countries were exploiting 'the existing economic structure, which is advantageous only for us, and which is experienced as a force majeure by poor countries. We are not taking the interests of others to heart' (De Lange 70). Influential declarations on global inequality such as the Bern Declaration in Switzerland and the Haslemere Declaration in Great Britain voiced a similar concern (Kuhn 77-79; O'Sullivan 176-178).

During the second UNCTAD-conference in New Delhi in the spring of 1968, Prebisch and his staff again successfully generated media attendance. In the course of the conference, Prebisch also met personally with journalists such as Dick Scherpenzeel. The subsequent reports by these journalists brought his critical assessment of the disappointing role of Northern countries during the conference into wide circulation. Calls to action such as Scherpenzeels aforementioned appeal to raise awareness for the issue in the Netherlands stimulated activists in the North to develop new initiatives. In the fall of 1968, Dutch activists mounted a campaign which focused on sugar. The activists pointed at the unfair trading conditions which the European Economic Community had established regarding sugar from the South. By subsidizing beet sugar from Europe whilst raising the price of cane sugar from Southern countries through tariffs, beet sugar was cheaper for consumers, although cane sugar was nominally cheaper on international markets (van Hengel). The many local groups which participated in this campaign often went on to found so-called 'world shops', a model which quickly spread through Europe. These world shops have remained a mainstay of fair trade activism ever since.

The development strategy promoted by Prebisch and his staff also connected to the policy recommendations prepared by other UN-institutions. The recommendations of 1964 were taken up in report 'Towards accelerated development' prepared by the United Nations Development Planning Committee, chaired by the economist Jan Tin-

bergen. The report formulated a strategy for the Second Development Decade, aiming to raise the economic productivity of developing countries by 6-7 percent per year, whilst also improving the social and economic infrastructure. This would have to be a joined effort by the national governments of Southern and Northern countries. The former would focus on reforming structures, while the latter should provide financial and technological assistance. International organizations should meanwhile improve the trading conditions and co-ordinate the joint effort (Tinbergen, *Towards Accelerated Development*).

In fact, Tinbergen himself was in favour of a more far-reaching role for international institutions. In a separate publication, he argued that the predominance of national governments was a hindrance to effective development policies. His own vision was that of an international division of labour regulated by international institutions (*Een Leefbare Aarde* 189-204). The direct and indirect encounters between these two champions of international efforts to foster development thus led to a considerable overlap in their views and recommendations. They did differ in their assessment of the very institutions which had enabled these exchanges, however. Prebisch regarded international institutions such as UNCTAD as a means to negotiate between opposing interests, whilst Tinbergen argued that they would be able to remove these conflicting interests by formulating a co-ordinated policy beneficial to all.

The notion of an internationally coordinated redistribution of income, labour, and resources was not just debated by economists, but also provided incentives for activists. In a publication for the Catholic Working Youth, Dutch readers were alerted to the possibilities of strengthening international bodies, for example by volunteering to serve the United Nations directly (Reckman, *Blauwe Boekje* §21). Among those promoting the cane sugar campaign—which was also mentioned as a possibility for concrete action in the same publication—it was initially hard to distinguish between those who supported an international division of labour and those supporting Prebisch' view. Scherpenzeel, who followed the attempts to promote the cause of developing countries closely, soon felt uncomfortable about positions which attempted to merge the interests of the South and the North. Activists should not project their discontent about Dutch society upon the situation of developing countries, he insisted (ViceVersa).

3. Finding Common Ground, Discovering Differences

Although these first campaigns for fair trade were predominantly inspired by debates about reform through United Nations institutions, visions of a postcolonial world order were also negotiated through encounters in places less aloof. Especially during the late 1960s and early 1970s, South American protagonists became important figureheads for leftist movements in the North. This was not only true of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, but also of the priest and guerilla fighter Camilo Torres Restrepo, the Chilean politician Salvador Allende and his allies, the bishop Dom Hélder Câmara, and the educational reformer Paolo Freire. They became an inspiration to Northern activists because

they symbolized a radical commitment to solidarity with the oppressed, a confrontational stance and acceptance of martyrdom, and a bold struggle against established and powerful institutions. These figureheads inspired a broad range of people in the North. Their impact went well beyond a small group of radical youths and so-called 'new social movements' (Christiaens, "Voorbij de 1968-historiografie?"). As the examples of Camilo Torres and Dom Hélder Câmara above all demonstrate, the call for a renewal of Christianity was especially impactful, connecting the search for such renewal which was most evident among Catholics in the North in the wake of the Second Vatican Council to a call for a more radical commitment to global solidarity.

Tracing the entanglement between these South American figureheads and people in the North underlines the necessity to conceptualize entanglement beyond immediate personal encounters. Media coverage and publications transmitted both their iconic images and their message to a broad audience across the North. For example, the story of the cultured priest Camilo Torres, his decision to take up arms, and the fate that befell him and his companions subsequently was regularly covered by Dutch newspapers. After his death, his legend was fostered in the Netherlands by a widely read publication romantically picturing *The Rebel* as well as a book collecting some of Torres' own writings (Hornman; Restrepo).

Direct and indirect relations reinforced the impact of the archbishop of Olinda and Recife, Dom Hélder Câmara in the North. In the Netherlands, his call for a revolution inspired by a radical reading of the Christian gospel was translated into a bestselling Dutch book in 1969 (Câmara). Soon after this publication, Câmara visited Western Europe, receiving an honorary doctorate from Leuven University before arriving in the Netherlands. Lashing out against an international trading system which enabled the rich to exploit the poor and failed to hold multinational companies accountable, Câmara urged his audiences to take the fate of the poor to heart ("Christelijke beschaving mist moed om onrecht een halt toe te roepen." *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 29 May 1970). In order to achieve fair international relations, it would not be enough to support developing countries with financial aid, he insisted: 'I see only one way to get rid of this injustice: that is, creating a true movement of public opinion' (Filius 47). His appeal reinforced fair trade activists' call for a reform of the global market and related their attempts to the search for a way to renew the actuality of Christian faith. Calls for fair trade among the public in the North thus benefited from the broad appeal of the popular Brazilian archbishop. At the same time, Câmara personally stimulated new initiatives to address global inequality, initiating a conference on nonviolent ways to transform society in collaboration with the Protestant institute *Kerk en Wereld* ("Dom Helder Camara: kerk wantrouw behoedzaamheid." *Leidsch Dagblad*, 8 April 1972).

Just as Câmara called for reforms of global market structures and for a revolution, Third World Activists were torn between reform and revolution. At a remarkable international meeting of Third World activists in April 1970 in Egmond aan Zee, the participants attempted to arrive at transnationally coordinated action on behalf of Third

World countries. 80 activists had gathered on invitation of the Dutch X-Y working group, a self-tax group which funded a broad range of initiatives aiming at improving the situation of the South. This meeting, however, was just as telling for the different transnational perspectives which clashed during their deliberations. Opening the conference, the Argentian labor leader Emilio Maspéro of the Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores spoke at length about the need to fight the capitalist system in Latin America, but, more importantly, in Europe, where 'the head of the serpent' of the capitalist system was located (X-Y Working Group 64). With his speech, he hovered between two positions which were propagated by those present On the one hand, many adhered to a tradition which was also visible in the encounter between Prebisch and Scherpenzeel: the idea that the South had to liberated from its dependency on the North. On the other, more radical activists had become critical of such attempts, because they did not attempt to directly overthrow the capitalist system.

At the same conference, the way in which encounters of people from across the world can change the dynamics of activism became apparent. An unexpected critique of the cane sugar campaign resulted from the presence of delegates from the South, who pointed out the appalling working conditions on cane sugar plantations. In order to be viable, the campaign would also have to aim to improve these working conditions. They also debated whether selling cane sugar would make a difference because the plantations were often managed by Northern companies (X-Y Working Group 87-91). European activists were also divided among themselves: whereas Dutch and German representatives wanted the campaign to aim at opening up the common market for cane sugar, English participants wanted to focus on the future of sugar produced in Commonwealth countries after England would join the EEC (Gebert).

A critique of capitalism could be formulated in the face of global market structures and addressed at international institutions. However, activists also proposed more localized approaches. Such an approach could be focused on mobilizing solidarity for a specific anticapitalistic country. During the 1970s, like-minded activists from Chile and the Western Europe met regularly, first in Chile, then in Europe after Salvador Allende's government had been violently replaced by the regime of Augusto Pinochet in 1973 (Christiaens, Goddeeris, and Rodríguez Garcia). Solidarity with Chile was a regular theme for many local world shops and an issue which united the many different local groups throughout the 1970s. This was underlined by the presence of the former minister of education in Allendes government, Aníbal Palma, as a prominent speaker at the decennial of the Dutch world shops in 1979 (Landelijke Vereniging van Wereldwinkels. *Programma 10 jaar wereldwinkels*, 1979). Around this time, products sold in many world shops—such as Algerian wine and Tanzanian coffee—also reflected the aim of supporting individual socialist countries. During the 1980s, solidarity with the Sandinista movement in Nicaragua would become a staple of fair trade activism (Quaas 148-209)

The movement headed by Salvador Allende in Chile did not just inspire solidarity with Chile specifically, however. Whereas some fair trade activists directed their attention to specific countries in the global South, others focused on their own vicinity. Allendes movement also served as an incentive to explore a local approach to social transformation. After working in Santiago de Chile until 1973, the Dutch social worker Bertus Bolk was forced by the military regime to leave Chile. Back in the Netherlands, he published about the way in which Allendes popular movement had been organized and presented the Chilean grassroots approach as a model for activism in the North (Bolk). Bolk regarded participation in local groups and committees the most viable way to construct a broad movement of people who would take responsibility for improving their daily lives and thus, in the long run, transform larger structures.

A similar message had been communicated by the Brazilian pedagogue Paolo Freire, who had took up a position as counsellor at the World Council of Churches in 1970 (Kirkendall 33-39). Visiting the Netherlands the same year, he had urged his audiences to lead the people around them out of a state of resignation by fostering a critical awareness for the world in which they lived. This should be accomplished by taking their immediate environs as the point of departure. By encouraging people to find words to describe their own world, they would also be empowered to formulate critiques and find common ground from which to transform it (Het Vrije Volk. *Overwinning van de gewoonte om in alles te berusten*, 3 December 1970). According to Freire, this approach changed the role of the educator, too. Instead of confronting students with knowledge, students and teachers were on a joint quest for knowledge, which would change the views of all involved (De Tijd. *Leraar en leerling doen beiden scheppend werk*, 3 December 1970). Freire's method, his Dutch students commented, was not just suitable for those involved with development in the global South. It was also an important tool for democratization and political action in the North, because it offered activists an opportunity to reach people who were not predisposed to political action (Leenders).

The lack of reforms and the failure to provide a counterweight to those in power led many fair trade activists to reconsider their strategy. After the disappointing results of the 1972 UNCTAD-conference in Santiago de Chile and the subsequent military coup in Chile, Piet Reckman, one of the leading activists and a prolific writer on the subject, concluded: "If one honestly … analyses the reality of UNCTAD, one has to conclude the failure of an idealistic world view and consider the world in a more 'materialistic' perspective—departing from reality itself" (Reckman, *Sociale Aktie, Opnieuw Bekeken* 14). The notion of a grassroots movement and of promoting a critical awareness within one's own daily environment thus tied into the resignation of fair trade activists regarding the possibilities of changing the structure of the global economy by targeting international institutions. The exchanges with South American actors such as Paolo Freire instilled among these activists a new focus on raising awareness and initiating change on a local level first and foremost. Paradoxically, transnational entanglement could thus lead to the primacy of a local orientation. Although this local orientation was in many cases based on the assumption that local struggles were connected to a global class struggle, in practice, activists often struggled to make a con-

nection between the issues of local concern and the situation of people in the global South

Because of different local and national ties, then, activists who shared a common global framework had considerable difficulties translating their shared global perspectives into common actions. An example from the relations between representatives of a Central American cooperative and their contacts in Western Europe is telling in this respect. The director of the Guatemalan Fedecocagua-cooperative, Alfredo Hernández, experienced these difficulties first-hand in 1976. Visiting the Netherlands for a conference on alternative trade, Hernández found himself in a crossfire resulting from the different local and national frameworks in which transatlantic promoters of fair trade were situated. The director of the largest Dutch importer of fair trade goods, Paul Meijs of SOS, had planned the conference hoping to win support of Southern producers for expanding sales beyond alternative trading channels (Nederlands Dagblad. *Veranderen handelsstructuur zou "zwevend idealisme" zijn*, 30 July 1976). At the same time, world shop members had criticized Hernandez for his relations with the rightwing political leadership in Guatemala. Hernandez replied with a twofold answer: whereas moderation was needed at the national, Guatemalan level because of the risks the members of the cooperative would otherwise run, Hernandez and his fellow producer representatives stressed their political edge by deeming the need for structural international trade reforms much more important than the immediate sales of their own products (Wereldwinkel bulletin, *De positie van de fedecogagua-cooperatie*).

With this answer Hernández demonstrated how the perspective he shared with many world shop activists translated to a different kind of strategy than these activists envisaged in the particular position in which he and his fellow producers found themselves. At the same time, his answer put him at odds with his main trading partner in the Netherlands, who had invited him to his conference to support his attempts to expand the sales of fair trade goods. Whilst Hernández and Meijs shared an immediate concern for selling products, Meijs regarded these sales as a crucial element of his humanitarian internationalism, whereas these sales for Hernández were a temporary solution which should not overshadow the importance of structural reforms.

Remarkably, a lack of principal agreement could also be negated through the entanglement of actors. As the example of the relationship between Hernández and Meijs demonstrated, their fundamental difference of perspective did not stop them from cooperating in practice to sell the coffee which the Fedecocagua-cooperation produced During the late 1970s and early 1980s, many fair trade activists became convinced of the need for a more pragmatic approach. This pragmatism was especially viable because of the opportunity to practically support leftist states through selling their produce. For example, after witnessing the independence of the former Portugese colonies as an activist in solidarity groups for Mozambique and Angola, Carl Grasveld focused on the economic future of these states by setting up Stichting Ideële Import in 1976 to import their produce and sell it in countries across the global North (De Waarheid. *Als je het professioneel aanpakt, is de markt gigantisch*, 07 October 1986). Stichting

Ideële Import would go on to become one of the primary distributors of Nicaraguan coffee for the fair trade movement all over the globe (Ideële Import Informatiekrant. *Het buitenlands circuit*, 1987) Like other initiatives, this distribution network cooperated closely with the Sandinista solidarity network both in Nicaragua and in several Northern countries (Christiaens, "Between diplomacy and solidarity"; Quaas 148-194). Similarly, the Mexican cooperative Unión de Comunidades Indígenas del Región del Istmo (UCIRI) actively sought out trading partners in Western Europe and promoted attempts to sell larger amounts of coffee, bypassing the traditional channels of 'alternative trade' (Fridell 173-187).

The pragmatic turn among fair trade activists, then, was not caused by a more moderate outlook among activists. Instead, it was caused by a combination of the more explicit focus on achieving change within the activists' own environment, the calls from producers in the South not to restrict fair trade to symbolic actions, and by the opportunity to support leftist causes by selling. By putting the local perspectives of people in the South and the North first, anti-imperialist, reform-oriented, and humanitarian internationalist activists thus found common ground during the 1980s.

4. Untying the Knot: Two Forms of Entanglement

In the course of these encounters around the issue of 'fair trade' during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, actors from South and Central America and Western Europe developed shared frames of reference ranging from humanitarian internationalism to dependency theory, and from militant anti-imperialism to grassroots-activism. Conflicts among fair trade activists could arise from a clash between these different visions of a global order, as when they clashed over whether to stimulate trade between the South and the North or to strife for a revolution which would do away with the current trading system. However, conflicts could also arise among groups with shared global perspectives due to different spatial frames of reference. For example, although European activists agreed about the viability of the cane sugar campaign, British activists wanted to focus on the precarious position of sugar producers in the Commonwealth as the United Kingdom was on the verge of joining the European Economic Community. German and Dutch activists on the other hand preferred to focus on the tariffs and the agricultural subsidies impeding the importing of cane sugar.

The history of these encounters prompts a more intricate understanding of the nature of entanglement between actors in the Americas and Europe. It is crucial to discern between the entanglement of actors and the entanglement of spatial frames of reference in which each individual actor operates. The entanglement of spatial frameworks has important consequences for the motives for pursuing fair trade and the frictions which arose among fair trade activists across the globe. A shared global frame of reference did not necessarily result in concerted actions, because it did not replace existing spatial frameworks such as the local, the national, Europe and the Third World. Rather, the global became interwoven with these frames. Thus, on the one hand the

entanglement of actors enabled them to negotiate shared perspectives such as humanitarian internationalism, dependency theory and anti-imperialism. On the other, the entanglement of spatial frameworks within the perspective of each of these actors made it difficult to achieve sufficient overlap to warrant joint action.

Analyzing the puzzle of postcolonial entanglement in fair trade history thus leads to a double adjustment in our understanding of globalization. In the first place, postwar globalization was clearly marked by the advent of a postcolonial world, not only in fields such as international politics and migration, but also where citizens in the South and the North discussed the morality of the market implicitly and explicitly against the background of a colonial legacy. Second, the rise of a global framework was driven by networks operating on a local, national and transnational scale. Here, the global did not replace pre-existing spatial frames. Often, it did not even become the predominant perspective. The puzzle of postcolonial entanglement thus leads us to question how the relative weight of entangled spatial frameworks shifted over time both for individual actors and within direct and indirect encounters between actors from different parts of the world. Here we can find the key to understanding both the evolution of intercontinental movements such as the fair trade movement, and their limitations

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The Nexus of Indigenismo and International Development Cooperation in Peru: The Examples of the Vicos-Cornell and the Puno-Tambopata Projects in the 1950s and 1960s

MARTIN BREUER

1. Introduction

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Andean States of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru implemented a series of development projects in cooperation with international technical assistance agencies which aimed at integrating the indigenous populations into the respective national communities These projects were an important part of the policies of what is known as institutional or state *indigenismo.*[1] At the same time, they were conducted with international funds and expertise and, in that sense, embedded in the logic of the emerging field of international development cooperation in the region. Therefore, they can be regarded as examples of an intersection of *indigenista* state policies on the one hand and early international development assistance in the region on the other.

Until today, historians working on the history of development cooperation in the Andes during the 1950s and 1960s, as well as scholars focusing on the history of Andean *indigenismo*, have largely neglected this intersection. This paper argues that a reconsideration of its circumstances and consequences provides fruitful insights for a deeper understanding of Andean *indigenismo* as well as for the early phase of international cooperation in the field of rural development in this region. In the following, I will focus on the Peruvian case, in particular on the history of two of these development projects: the Vicos-Cornell project from the *Instituto Indigenista Peruano* (IIP) and U.S. American *Cornell University*, and the Puno-Tambopata project, coordinated by the Peruvian State and the *International Labor Organization* (ILO). Both projects received intensive press coverage in Peru at the time and were also seen as corner stones of the envisioned integration policy by contemporary Peruvian *indigenistas.*[2]

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1 The term *indigenismo* was coined in the Latin American context on the turn of the 19th to the 20th century subsuming political and cultural programs regarding the integration of indigenous peoples and cultures in Latin American processes of nation building (e.g. Kaltmeier; Favre; Giraudo and Martín-Sanchez).

2 Luis Valcárcel, one of Peru's leading *indigenistas* at that time, e.g. related to both projects in his articles "Indigenismo en el Perú" published in 1958 in the journal *Cuadernos Americanos* in Mexico or "Los problemas del campesinado" published in the Peruvian newspaper *El Comercio* in June 24, 1955

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Connecting Transnational Flows and Local Perspectives

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Introduction: Politics of Entanglement in the Americas—Connecting Transnational Flows and Local Perspectives

LUKAS REHM, JOCHEN KEMNER, OLAF KALTMEIER

During the 2016 US presidential election campaign, the US American-Mexican border and the proposed construction of a wall barring Latin American migrants served as a pars pro toto for international relations policies current President Donald J. Trump has proposed to establish. Nevertheless, beyond contemporary politics, the border at the Rio Grande symbolizes different approaches in general Humanities and particularly in Area Studies. As the border between the United States and Mexico stands for clear-cut boundaries, rupture of mobility, and the impossibility of striding, already established Area Studies considered regions as well-defined spaces that could be easily distinguished from other areas by assuming presupposed essential characteristics of different spaces: North of the Rio Grande is supposed to be English speaking, white, Protestant, and rational, whereas the South is said to be culturally mestizo, Spanish speaking, Catholic, or syncretistic in religious terms, and passionate.

The example par excellence of this conceptualization of areas—which by no means is confined to the United States and Mexico—is the nation-state in an occidental tradition. Nation-states are thought to be characterized by unique cultural, social, economic and/or political characteristics that allude to a homogenous order. The nation-state like a container is supposedly "filled" with traits, characteristics and features that make the nation and state unique as the political expression of cultural discrepancy. Against the background of such a different and separate conceptualization of spaces, interaction, transfer, and interdependence between those is reduced to spontaneity, sporadic, and often undesirable contact.

This container model of spaces and areas is reflected in academic disciplines, as well. Area Studies on the Americas have usually been segregated along the Rio Grande borderline in North-American and Latin-American Studies. This academic spatial segregation is repeated also on a lower scale, separating US-American from Canadian Studies and differentiating the Caribbean from Central America, the Andes, and the Cono Sur, etc.

Nevertheless, the idea of clear cut boundaries that accurately separate areas is thwarted by real and concrete developments in the Americas, where the latinoization of the US has changed not only demographics and cultural politics in the US, but also academia. The establishment of Chicano Studies departments highlights the fact that Latin-American Studies are not a remote object, but an urgent perspective in the core of the US.